# HOW DOES THE CARIBBEAN CREOLE CUISINE ADVERTISE TO THE LADYWOOD CONSTITUENCY'S SUPERDIVERSITY SCENE?

by

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**Abstract**

This research asks how do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency. This thesis builds on the insights of Cook and Harrison (2003) who explored the success of Caribbean produce and questioned whether such success is confined to placement in British supermarkets and catering to mainstream tastes. By addressing this question, their study highlighted the potential for Caribbean produce to appeal to an alternative diverse and global market. Whilst this thesis does not focus on the success of the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways it does focus on the potential to serve an alternative superdiverse audience in the Ladywood constituency.

Employing photography and Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) Visual Grammar Framework, this study asks how do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood constituency whilst examining how the Caribbean creole cuisine evolves within an increasingly diverse locale.

Several ways were discovered in which Caribbean eatery signage targets a superdiverse audience. The implementation of delivery systems broadened access to a wider socioeconomic audience, with delivery symbols serving as a commercial seal of approval. Additionally, the use of halal wording was notable, as many shops offered halal produce even when the religion does not have prominence in the Caribbean region. Third, the use of palm trees and Caribbean-associated colours underscored global meanings, as these symbols universally represent the Caribbean and hold significance in superdiverse areas.

Furthermore, the food images on the signage in this research are categorised into two groups: old creole and new creole. The old creole reflected the traditional Caribbean cuisine, influenced by other nationalities due to slavery, indentured servitude, and colonialism. Despite these historical connotations, the food offered something for many minorities, especially in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency due to cultural overlaps. The new creole incorporated British and American elements which have been added further since the arrival of the food to the UK, reflecting British and American influence and the varied generational diets within the Caribbean community.

Elements of the Caribbean eatery signage clearly advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency through multimodal messaging that involves different sizing, colouring, and positioning of the different modes mentioned above. This thesis not only introduces superdiversity into the discussion of creolisation, but also creolises the concept of superdiversity itself, offering a minority Caribbean perspective on the concept.

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# Contents

# 1 Chapter 1: Introduction

The study of food has often been side-lined, seen as unimportant. However, as Ciofalo et al. (2019) states food can illuminate sociocultural structures. Food is a part of the past, the present and the future. As part of the past, it has helped reconstruct historical ways of life, representing belief systems and social identity (Twiss et al., 2007). Food is an important aspect of any culture, it links to class, social identity, religious practices and even nationalism (Garth, 2013). The world is a stage, people are the actors and food products are the actions of the performance, the fluid movements of the participants in the show. More importantly however food consumed at a community level has eased the acceptance of belonging. (Dweba and Mearns, 2011).

There has been a growing interest in food studies especially in relation to superdiversity, not only with the discussion of how new cuisines are introduced but how these cuisines can create a coexistence between different communities (Wessendorf and Farrer, 2021). This is particularly relevant as the topic of social cohesion is becoming more prominent and there is an increased encouragement for different groups to mix after the backlash against multiculturalism.

Entanglements of food are common. Individuals experiment with cuisines from different cultures creating intriguing combinations thanks to superdiversity and the blending of people's lives. Random examples include Henderson (2004) talking of the popular German currywurst, a combination of the German sausage and the British colonial invention of curry powder and Cwiertka (2005) explaining how teppanyaki was created for GI soldiers by a Japanese okonomiyaki owner who decided to fry beef instead of pancakes after the second world war.

This research uses Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar Framework to analyse the Caribbean takeaway and restaurant signage, exploring how it is used to attract a superdiverse community. This introduction will discuss the rationale of the study, highlight the importance of decolonialism, discuss the necessity of the terms creole and superdiversity and reveal the research questions proposed. It will then finish with the structure of the thesis and concluding thoughts of the introduction.

## 1.1 Rationale of the Study

There are three primary motivations for conducting this research. The first is not to determine whether Caribbean restaurants are inherently successful or unsuccessful, but rather to explore the underlying assumptions and examine whether these establishments cater to an alternative, superdiverse market. Cook and Harrison (2003) discussed how food critics had labelled Caribbean cuisine as unsuccessful. However, in their analysis of the food company Grace, they discovered that the business not only catered to the Caribbean diaspora but also had the potential to cross-sell to other minority groups. This thesis builds upon Cook and Harrison's (2003) findings, focusing on how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways market themselves to the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency.

Secondly, the Caribbean community has long been stigmatised, often depicted as dangerous and associated with criminal activity. This has been exacerbated by issues such as police brutality, the Windrush scandal, and unethical research practices targeting the community. These repeated failures have fostered deep mistrust towards institutions, including a scepticism towards research. By undertaking this study, a more positive representation of the community is being highlighted. Moreover, it demonstrates that the Caribbean community is willing to engage with research, provided there is an understanding of the reasons behind their reluctance. This research seeks to identify the necessary adjustments and reforms required to address these concerns. Conversely, it

also shows the Caribbean community that, although improvements are needed, not all research is inherently harmful.

Finally, the analysis of visual communication is important, and Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002) believe this also. Visual communication can produce feelings of inclusion but also exclusion, it is a medium that convey feelings as well as messages. The importance of shop signage was highlighted by Steinbrenner and Dempf in 2005 who on one popular high street in Vienna covered all signs, apart from those which were public, with fluorescent foil to highlight the excessive advertisements provided by shop signage in urban settings (Ruzaitė, 2008). The amount of fluorescent foil used highlighted how much information is conveyed by this medium. Billions of people walk past shop signage every day without knowing the influence it has on their consumption choices.

The analysis of Caribbean eatery shop signage, particularly a substantial amount of signage (substantial within the context of the Visual Grammar Framework or Multimodal Discourse Analysis), using Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar Framework, is a crucial aspect of this research. Studies employing the Visual Grammar Framework or Multimodal Discourse Analysis with large data sets are relatively rare, and its application from a Caribbean or Black British perspective is even less explored. This study underscores the importance of these methods in larger-scale research and within alternative disciplines.

By examining the signage through Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar Framework, this research addresses how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways convey their creole identity through various modes on shop signage to attract the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency, adding an interdisciplinary dimension to the study.

## 1.2 Shining a light on Decolonialism

This thesis builds on the findings of Cook and Harrison (2003). Through field based and documentary research they examined the 'failure' of Caribbean food to cross over into the UK mainstream; explaining how local Jamaican brands that may not appear global, are in fact successful due to hybridity and the ability to cross alternative boundaries (Cook and Harrison, 2003). These businesses have negotiated a new meaning of what it means to be successful through a historical, cultural, and geographical lens that is not based solely on Europe and America (Cook and Harrison, 2003).

Cook and Harrison (2003) explore the success of Caribbean food producer Grace who focus on a global audience, not just the dominant society, their research explored the company Grace who ignored the 'crossing over' concept into the mainstream Eurocentric market, where ending up on a supermarket shelf supposedly meant success. Examining superdiverse areas such as the Ladywood constituency could also support the argument that Caribbean restaurants and takeaways can serve an alternative superdiverse market, serving all not just one. Using Cook and Harrison's (2003) research, this research is not asking if the Caribbean cuisine is successful or unsuccessful in the Ladywood constituency, but instead asking how does the cuisine advertise to a superdiverse audience, whilst also investigating how the Caribbean creole has developed in an increasingly superdiverse area.

Postcolonialism correctly highlights the difficulties of the Caribbean community, through the injustices it has faced from postcolonial discourses; importantly explaining the history of why certain parts of the UK have become superdiverse. Decolonialism shows how the community traverses the colonial narratives and puts an emphasis on how the colonial thought is navigated around, whether that be the company Grace serving the Caribbean diaspora in the US and UK alongside those from other ethnic minorities in these countries or Caribbean eateries in the Ladywood constituency

serving an alternative superdiverse audience. The thesis also applies a decolonial lens on superdiversity which whilst looks at diversity being 'super' tends to flatten out issues within diversity, focusing on statistics of different groups that supposedly make a setting superdiverse. Instead of the top-down approach just described, looking at superdiversity with a Caribbean or black British lens is a case of a minority group looking out to the superdiverse world. It provides one aspect of a decolonial perception of a superdiverse city.

## 1.3 Bringing Creole to Superdiversity

Superdiversity, a term coined by Steven Vertovec, acknowledges the differences that go beyond ethnicity. Vertovec (2023, p.2) who coined the term describes superdiversity as the below:

'Superdiversity explores processes of diversification and the complex, emergent social configurations that now supersede prior forms of diversity in societies around the world. Migration plays a key role in these processes, bringing changes not just in social, cultural, religious, and linguistic phenomena but also in the ways that these phenomena combine with others like gender, age, and legal status.'

It goes beyond ethnicity, examining factors such as net inflows, countries of origin, language, religion, gender, the importance of space and place alongside migration channels and immigration statuses (Vertovec, 2007). Birmingham, more specifically the Ladywood constituency has diversity in all these intersections.

The term creole itself has gone through many changes throughout history. Both in the past and present the word 'creole' has been used in many ways by different societies. Brathwaite (1971) explains that creolisation is where a community creates a new social construct which involves different cultures absorbing each other's identities and in turn creating a new fusion of society. The Caribbean islands have had an extreme amount of global input and movement of people, both forced and voluntary, over the centuries, making it a melting pot of cultures.

Superdiversity has many commonalities with creolisation itself, focusing on the intertwining of different languages, and ethnicities, what it lacks however is the historical background which creolisation provides, essential for a region such as the Caribbean which has been so affected by history. Some argue whether the term creolisation can be used outside of the Caribbean due to the history of the term itself as discussed in section 3.1, 'The Importance of Creole and its importance in Caribbean Food'. However, it is important to assess what happens to the people and in this case the food when the regions people become diasporic. In the case of this thesis, there is the question of what happens when it enters a superdiverse community and in this research, there is evidence that Caribbean food becomes further creolised once it enters a superdiverse setting such as the Ladywood constituency. Not only showing that creolisation can occur outside the Caribbean, but it potentially starts to blend with the superdiversity around it highlighting the importance of how the Caribbean diet may have changed since arriving in the UK.

The ability of the Caribbean cuisine to adapt and mix is beneficial for the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham, where not only are the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways advertising to the superdiverse community where some of the communities cuisines have similarities with certain aspects of the Caribbean cuisine's creole nature, but the Caribbean food itself, in the Ladywood constituency is further creolising in its current environment through the influence of superdiversity.

## 1.4 Research Questions

The overarching research question for the thesis is below:

- How do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood constituency?

Which then led to the further following questions:

- Does the Caribbean cuisine use its creole identity to help advertise to different nationalities in a superdiverse area?
- Has the Caribbean cuisine further creolised since being in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency, and does this help to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency also?

## 1.5 Structure of Thesis

This thesis, unfolding across eight chapters, explores the intricate dynamics of superdiversity, Caribbean cuisine, shop signage, and the interplay between Caribbean culture and migration. In the opening chapter, the introduction aims to provide a contextual background, offering a rationale for the research, and suggesting the contribution this work will make to the discourse on superdiversity. This is alongside an embrace of decolonialism which is explored through the interdisciplinary intersections of a linguistic methodology in the field of human geography.

The subsequent chapter is an exploration of multiculturalism and superdiversity, seeking to navigate the reader through the experiences of migrants within this complex framework. The examination of everyday multiculturalism is approached with a sense of curiosity, acknowledging the intricacies that permeate the making of society. Policies shaping migration, the relationship between religion and superdiversity, and the exploration of Birmingham's superdiverse fabric are discussed with an awareness of the multifaceted nature of these subjects.

Chapter three considers Caribbean post-war migration and the culinary creole of Caribbean cuisine and acknowledges the community's place in superdiverse studies. Postcolonialism and decolonialism are approached with a sense of inquiry, recognising that the discourse is ongoing. This is followed by thoughts on the concepts of branding and the diversity dividend and how these may contribute to superdiverse settings with a nuanced discussion on restaurant authenticity and nomenclature. The chapter then delves into the cultural crossover of the Caribbean in the UK, recognising the vastness and complexity of the subject matter. Music and tourism are examined as potential conduits for cultural exchange, understanding that the historical reasons behind these phenomena are complex. This leads onto asking why Caribbean food has been deemed as unsuccessful at crossing over, comparing with other popular cuisines in the UK, whilst exploring Cook and Harrison's (2003) study of the food company Grace who defied the norm and found alternative global markets to sell to which were not the dominant mainstream. The chapter starts to come to an end with a discussion on methods of food delivery through restaurants and takeaways and how this relates to superdiversity, finishing with a chapter conclusion.

Chapters four details the research methods and methodologies, with an acknowledgment that the chosen approaches, namely autoethnography which is analysed via thematic analysis, and the Visual Grammar framework, are tools that come with their own set of strengths and limitations. It then seeks to unfold the findings of the autoethnographic analysis which also includes a statement of positionality in relation to the research.

Chapters five, six, and seven, present the Visual Grammar Framework findings in a thoughtful manner, recognising three key areas: aesthetics and advertising, reaching new communities, and the

appeal of the old creole and new creole. These chapters will also include a geographical discussion of where the modes are featured, asking how this links to advertising in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency. The thesis culminates in an eighth chapter that discusses the contributions made by the research, recognising that it is but a small voice in a larger conversation. It then reflects on the limitations of the research alongside future research aspirations.

## 1.6 Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has highlighted the importance of food geographies and its relation to superdiversity followed by an explanation of what this research entails and the rationales behind it. It then shines a light on the importance of decolonialism, using the company Grace as an example of the thought processes behind this research. It then highlights the similarities between the notion of creole and how it can interlink with superdiversity, especially important when a creole food is part of a superdiverse nation such as the UK. It then finishes discussing the specific questions this research aims to answer alongside the structure of the thesis moving forward. The next chapter will entail a detailed literature review, explaining and discussing the importance of superdiversity, its place in Birmingham and its essentiality to this research.

# 2 Chapter 2: Superdiversity: The New Multiculturalism

Whilst this chapter focuses on superdiversity it is important to assess its supposed predecessor, multiculturalism, and the concepts that surround it also. It is necessary to establish the difference between multiculturalism and superdiversity, understanding that the latter encompasses more than ethnicity when trying to understand the diverseness of an area or region which is essential in modern day society.

This chapter will explore the meanings of multiculturalism as both a concept and policy alongside understanding policies that have affected post war migration in the United Kingdom. Following this, there will be an exploration into the meaning of superdiversity alongside the critiques of the concept, with a comparison of the concept to everyday multiculturalism.

Religion's relationship with superdiversity is then examined, with a closer focus on Islam in the UK and Birmingham, alongside how policies have shaped the complex superdiverse society of Birmingham today. Understanding these topics will highlight the importance of superdiversity, explaining why it is more than just multiculturalism, and therefore understanding why the term has been applied to Birmingham and the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham throughout this research. This chapter follows with a discussion on Caribbean post war migration and the discrimination the community has faced. The chapter finishes by looking at Caribbean and Jamaican migration in the United Kingdom and Birmingham, examining the reasons why they settled in the city.

## 2.1 Multiculturalism: The Predecessor to Superdiversity

Before the term superdiversity, there was multiculturalism, a concept that has been linked to academia, policy, and political parties. Whilst it has laid the way to policies encouraging acceptance, it has also categorised ethnicities into distinct groups, showing no relations with one another, leading to its decline in popularity, which will be explained further. Berg and Sigona (2013) believes diversity can be used in three ways; as a marketable narrative, as a social fact and within policy and whilst interlinked they have different motives and causes. These three descriptions have influenced UK policy, especially on post war migration in numerous ways, primarily as a concept and through policy itself.

### 2.1.1 Multiculturalism as a Concept

Whilst the term multiculturalism was once used frequently, its definition was often hard to formulate. Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) describe the concept of multiculturalism as something being hard to pin down; numerous frameworks and philosophies have tried to describe the meaning of the concept. However, generally, multiculturalism as a concept, acknowledges numerous distinct ethnic groups, promoting an inclusive society which allows the maintenance of different individual cultural identities (Ivison, 2015).

Whilst this meaning seems relatively simple it has meant that the description of the concept can seem like a singular fixed ideology where its contributions to policy and practice are unknown or overlooked; it is often seen as a dominating agenda which discourages integration and ignores social problems whilst being pushed by ethnic minority activists and white liberals (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010).

Berg and Sigona (2013) argue that the term multiculturalism is restrictive, creating boundaries and constructing narratives that are limiting, and are then used as categories of analysis. Additionally, whilst multiculturalism is used to encourage and recognise ethnic diversity, through acknowledging the traditions and languages of different ethnic groups it can play on stereotypes. Alibhai-Brown

(2000) uses the example of how when the country, Jamaica, or region, South Asia, are taught in schools, museums and festivals, there are mentions of steel pans, saris and samosas but no true mention of the problems these communities face in Britain such as poor educational outcomes or unemployment.

Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) explained how David Blunkett in 2002, the UK New Labour Home secretary, suggested that Europeanism drained the meaning of Britishness and denied national identity. Another example is the critique of multiculturalism in The Netherlands, which suggests a new divide in Dutch society, between mainstream society and its economically and socially unsuccessful non-Western migrants and their descendants, which the government supposedly turns a blind eye to (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010).

It has now become apparent that a diverse population is not simply just different ethnicities that live parallel to one another, which multiculturalism suggests. Vertovec (2007) points out that migration patterns are changing, coming from further lands and more numerous places which creates a further complex society with different languages, immigration statuses, age differences and other variables and this highlights issues with the word multiculturalism as seen in the paragraph below.

When the word 'multiculturalism' is used it often interchanges with the phrase's 'ethnicity' and 'nationality', which is incorrect as each term has a different meaning. This habit is often carried throughout research in the social sciences (Vertovec, 2007). The Cambridge Dictionary describes nationality as the official right to belong to a particular country and provides the definition of ethnicity as a large group of people with a shared culture, language, history and set of traditions. Chandra (2006) gives the example of Horowitz (1985) who describes ethnicity as having a common ancestry yet describes Christians and Muslims in Lebanon as different ethnicities. Additionally, Fearon (2003) describes those that speak Hindi as an ethnic group even though there are those who speak the language who do not have a shared culture or history with most of the speaking group. These examples of the misuse of ethnicity, highlight the importance of acknowledging the intricacies and intersectionalities of a complex society.

Multiculturalism insinuates a separateness of cultures, has a heavy focus on ethnicity and looks at ethnicity on a superficial plane as seen in educational policy which was discussed above. Newer theories are emerging when describing diverse populations not just accounting for ethnicity but language, religion, immigration status and more, exploring how all these different factors cross and intertwine in everyday lives, one of those theories is superdiversity. Superdiversity differs from multiculturalism which separates people into distinct cultural groups that coexist in a country, downplaying the complexity of society. Culture is a complex entity, constantly changing and viscous (Cook, 2008). What multiculturalism fails to understand is that within multiculturalism there are 'different kind of differences' (Berg and Sigona, 2013, p.348).

### 2.1.2 Multiculturalism as a Policy

Multiculturalism in the UK revolves around the national policy framework of the Race Relations Act, which was first created in the 1960s, criminalising racial discrimination (Mathieu, 2018). Multiculturalism influences legislations which address issues such as discrimination and governance of society (Sealy, 2018). Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) state that there is often no singular formula for multiculturalism in policy and that it is often managed through numerous institutions. Freeman (2004) also stated this, explaining that most institutions involved in creating multicultural policies are not built for those purposes. This includes actions such as in education where different cultural dress codes and gender practices are considered; cultural exceptions being accommodated in law, such as swearing on sacred books other than the Bible in court, and health resources being accessible in multiple languages (Freeman, 2004). Further examples include provision of own media

facilities for different cultures and allowance of ritual slaughter or prescribed produce in relation to food (Freeman, 2004).

Banting and Kymlicka (2013) expressed what they believed should be in multicultural policy when creating their multicultural social policy index, they assessed 21 countries using their index, one of which included the United Kingdom. Factors in the index that deemed if countries were successful in committing to certain principles expected in public multicultural policies related to immigrants, included, but was not limited to, parliamentary legislation affirming multiculturalism, adoption of multiculturalism in the educational curriculum, ethnic representation in the public media, exemption from dress codes in court cases and funding and support of cultural activities for immigrant groups that are disadvantaged (Banting and Kymlicka, 2013).

The dislike of the term multiculturalism in the European public sphere became apparent after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York; where both Angela Merkel and David Cameron attacked the concept (Berg and Sigona, 2013). In 2007, the chair of the Equality and Human Rights commission declared that Britain had been 'sleepwalking into segregation', believing that multiculturalism emphasised separateness (Banks, 2009). Multiculturalism politically was described as a failure and a tolerant patience and the term began to disappear in the academic sphere during the 1990s (Berg and Sigona, 2013). These critiques led to a change in policy which focused on assimilation and integration which involved the display of loyalty, accepting national values and language requirements (Ambrosini, 2017).

Multiculturalism can have varying meanings and can be implemented differently in various countries, due to varying political, economic, and historical factors. Hall (2001b) agrees, stating that different countries such as Canada, Australia, Great Britain, Sweden and the United States approached policies to do with multiculturalism differently and may not use the same institutions to implement them; even within a country, cities have different approaches to multiculturalism.

Furthermore, whilst multiculturalism allows freedom of expression, allowing individuals to freely practice their beliefs, it also allows the development of intolerance and hate speech, with different religious groups inciting hatred towards each other (Lester, 2010). As explained above, Berg and Sigona (2013) explained that multiculturalism is restrictive and creates boundaries. Due to the separateness multiculturalism creates, suggesting different ethnicities run parallel and separate of each other, it creates distinct differences leading to potential animosity. This disregards one of multiculturalism's main core factors of protecting against discrimination and promoting equality of different groups.

However, this does not mean that the term has disappeared, there is the Bristol School of Multiculturalism, a group of scholars who focuses on immigrants who become citizens and their descendants whilst contributing to politically urgent debates (Uberoi and Modood, 2019). Their thoughts are different to the ideas of liberal multiculturalists such as Kymlicka, who are also still current, and focus on the discrimination minorities face and are influenced by Canadian policy and political parties (Uberoi and Modood, 2019).

Furthermore Modood (2023, p.78) believes that multiculturalism is confused for liberal globalism, believing that multiculturalism does not create the separatist divisions many claim as seen in his statement below:

'if you think that multiculturalism is all about singular identities, separatism, the privileging of minorities, racial binaries, unprovoked militancy, fundamentalism, ethnic absolutism, anti-nationalism… that is a caricature. I know of no multiculturalist theorist – as opposed to liberal globalist, aka a cosmopolitan – who has advocated any of these things.'

To conclude, multiculturalism is no longer the go-to term in politics, with superdiversity often taking its place, within academia other avenues are being explored in relation to diversity however there

are still prominent scholars in the field of multiculturalism. Its distinct focus on different cultures living parallel to one another does not adequately describe today's society. It has been replaced by superdiversity, but not the smooth surface-level superdiversity that is used in politics for bidding on events like the Olympics as mentioned in section 2.2.2, 'Critiques of Superdiversity'. It is similar to the everyday multiculturalism and conviviality that is described in section 2.2.1, 'Everyday Multiculturalism', which focuses on the individuals experience at the local level and the intertwining of variances. Throughout this thesis the term superdiversity will be used in relation to the Caribbean shop signage and society, however there will be strong elements of everyday multiculturalism and interculturalism which superdiversity inadvertently incorporates.

Multiculturalism still has its place, it is essential in law and policy, especially in relation to promoting equality, fostering acceptance and preventing anti-discrimination (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010). Additionally, whilst multicultural policy might be linked to education, housing or attainment it is not directly responsible for the low-quality of life a migrant may face. Geographies of deprivation, obvious discrimination, failed housing policies or an ever-changing labour market can cause these issues also, multicultural policy is not responsible for all faults that migrants face (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010). Furthermore, ethnicity is a powerful quantitative tool of classification for recording data. The national census is an example of such, measuring ethnicity, inequality and integration (Fella and Bozzini, 2013).

Despite not being in favour, multiculturalism is needed, especially in relation to law and policy. Superdiversity is most certainly real, but it cannot be ignored that racial discrimination does happen, and multiculturalism helps to identify this due to its categoric foundations. Whilst this thesis will use the term superdiversity it is not completely disregarding multiculturalism; multiculturalism has value in relation to law, and in this regard, it is best to keep the term in circulation.

### 2.1.3 United Kingdom: Policies and Post War Migration

This section gives a brief explanation of the UK's migration history, mainly focusing on post-World War II and beyond, explaining how and why many different groups and nationalities have arrived to the country. It sets the scene for understanding the different communities in the UK and Birmingham. It also highlights how small the Caribbean community is in the UK comparatively, as seen in Table 2-1 below, which may explain why their takeaway and restaurant businesses are adapting and may be further creolising due to the diverseness of the country.

The United Kingdom is a nation that is global, with a population of 67.6 million (Office for National Statistics, 2023). It is important to recognise that there are new migrant diversity traits which have followed the old waves of diversity; diversity has moved beyond 'us and them' (Pemberton, 2017). There are individuals from the furthest reaches of the earth that never experienced the effects of the United Kingdom's rule or have come from countries that were, or are, the United Kingdom's greatest allies. This means that the term global must be used to include all destinations of origins for the superdiverse community of the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom has a complex relationship with migration, there are constant movements of immigration and emigration which has set its precedence of becoming a superdiverse nation. According to the 2021 census 74.4% of the population of England and Wales are white British, compared to 80.5% in 2011 and 87.5% in 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2023). This is seen in Table 2-1 below.

| **Ethnicity** | **2021%** | **2011%** | **2001%** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Asian** | **9.3** | **7.5** | **4.4** |
| Bangladeshi | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Chinese | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.4 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Indian | 3.1 | 2.5 | 2 |
| Pakistani | 2.7 | 2 | 1.4 |
| Asian other | 1.6 | 1.5 | 0.5 |
| **Black** | **4** | **3.3** | **2.2** |
| Black African | 2.5 | 1.8 | 0.9 |
| Black Caribbean | 1 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Black other | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.2 |
| **Mixed** | **2.9** | **2.2** | **1.3** |
| Mixed White/Asian | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.4 |
| Mixed White/Black African | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| Mixed White/Black Caribbean | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Mixed other | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.3 |
| **White** | **81.7** | **86** | **91.3** |
| White British | 74.4 | 80.5 | 87.5 |
| White Irish | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.2 |
| Gypsy Or Irish Traveller | 0.1 | 0.1 | N/A |
| Roma | 0.2 | N/A | N/A |
| White other | 6.2 | 4.4 | 2.6 |
| **Other** | 2.1 | 1 | 0.9 |
| Arab | 0.6 | 0.4 | N/A |
| Any Other | 1.6 | 0.6 | 0.4 |

*Table 2-1: Ethnicity changes in the past 30 years in England and Wales with the Caribbean population percentage highlighted (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

Before 1945 most of the migration to the United Kingdom was from Europe, the main percentage of this wave of migration came from Ireland which had suffered greatly due to the potato famine; after the Irish, the German and Jewish populations were the largest number of foreign settlers in the UK (Panayi, 2005). It was only until the early 20th century that policies such as the 1905 Aliens Act, created migration barriers, primarily to Jewish individuals trying to enter the country to escape pogroms and persecution in Eastern Europe. When these policies were introduced, they were tainted with malicious rumours in an age of social Darwinism that described migrants as being dangerous outsiders who carried diseases and relied on state welfare; social reformers reiterated a racial discourse that declared a social order that those who were not of 'British blood' were at the bottom of the scale (Humphries, 2004). Whilst these views are no longer stated with obvious discrimination, in the present day there are remnants of this race discourse, and the rhetoric is often used in anti-migration propaganda.

Humphries (2004) points out the main reason for people migrating to the UK is to join family or fill job vacancies, despite the media often portraying the reason as to seek asylum. After World War II, migration from the Caribbean and Asian Commonwealth to the United Kingdom was encouraged by the British government to fill labour shortages and boost the economy (Donmez and Sutton, 2020). After the second World War in 1945 the shape of the United Kingdom's demography truly began to change.

The economy controls the need for migrants. Once the economy began to shrink in the 1960s and 1970s immigration suddenly became a problem, creating crime and spreading diseases (Humphries, 2004). Buettner (2008) states that South Asian migrants were seen as unhygienic, and the West Indian migrants were viewed as immoral and rowdy. This led to policies such as the 1962

Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act and the 1971 Immigration Act, which controlled claims on British nationality (Humphries, 2004). The convenience of these policy-driven restrictions meant that migration could be controlled to benefit the economy, when the economy no longer needed outsourced migrant labour, it could be legally reduced.

Many migrants from African countries in the 1950s and 1960s came to study in the United Kingdom; this was to support the individuals and their countries when the independence movement of the African nations were developing (Daley, 1998). There was another large wave of educational migration from Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, this was predominantly from Nigeria due to the oil boom however these students settled in the UK as their skills were in high demand (Daley, 1998). Further migration legislation was introduced in 1981. The 1981 British Nationality Act removed automatic right to citizenship or right of entry through being born in the UK (Humphries, 2004). This meant that one could only claim citizenship through a grandparent or parent who was born in Britain which excluded many from the Commonwealth. Whilst the legislation did not discriminate on race explicitly, it was discriminatory in its effects as it meant that migration only benefited white South Africans and Zimbabweans who could gain access to British nationality through heritage whilst many black citizens of these countries could not (Humphries, 2004).

It has been stated that the growth of the European Union in 2004 produced the largest amount of immigration ever seen in the United Kingdom (Drinkwater et al., 2009). The belief for the large influx towards the United Kingdom was due to it being one of only three countries in the EU that allowed migrants to enter the country with little restrictions, this allowed migrants from poorer EU countries to move to the more prosperous countries to better their lives (Drinkwater et al., 2009).

Brexit has affected the citizenship of many European migrants in the United Kingdom. They now must apply for indefinite leave to remain in the United Kingdom and cannot leave the country for more than five years or they lose their settled status, if they do not apply, they then become unlawfully present resulting in the loss of healthcare, employment and subject to Home Office enforcement (GOV.UK, 2019b). This even applies to those who have been in the country for many years, who have formed relationships and careers. These policies are a further restriction of migration and have created a further divide, with an emphasis of ‘us and them’.

## 2.2 What is Superdiversity?

Superdiversity, a term coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), acknowledges the differences that go beyond ethnicity, examining factors such as net inflows, countries of origin, language, religion, gender, the importance of space and place alongside migration channels and immigration statuses. It is not just cultural or social, it interacts with factors such as age and gender.

The term superdiversity is replacing multiculturalism, especially in the political and public policy sphere where the absence of multiculturalism has needed to be filled with a term that encompassed fluidity and hybridity between communities and cultures, allowing an exploration of intricacies (Arnaut, 2015). Many of these intricacies are factors which are listed in the paragraph above that go beyond ethnicity.

In the past few decades, global migration has evolved, creating many categories, not just in relation to ethnicity, religion, and language but motives, itineraries, and patterns (Blommaert and Rampton, 2012). Jones et al. (2014) explains that whilst migrant workers may live in a country; through cheap flights and technology they are still connected to their homeland. Alternatively, the migrant’s family may move to join them in their host country (Jones et al., 2015). This creates complex patterns of how people identify. Additionally, newer patterns of migration are not only happening in urban

settings but also rural areas too, rural and suburban areas were once homogenous but are now experiencing diversity whilst urban areas are now becoming superdiverse (Davern et al., 2015).

### 2.2.1 Everyday Multiculturalism

The demand of the labour market for migrants, alongside travel and tourism, world trade and international students are proof that borders cannot be closed regardless of the political rhetoric (Ambrosini, 2017). Sassen (2004) describes similar stating that we are seeing greater cross border interactions in relation to curating art, environmental activism, and even criminal networks. It is also important to understand that whilst politics tries to define who is an insider and who is an outsider through policy this is most likely not the thinking of an everyday citizen who mixes with a variety of people daily.

Locality, neighbourly behaviours, and societal interactions must be recognised. Neal et al. (2013) explains that whilst new migrants in an area can cause tensions and racism may occur, there are also welcoming behaviours. A convivial approach may be needed to assess migration in society, such as everyday multiculturalism; conviviality originates from the Spanish word 'convivir' which means to live together and share the same life (Neal et al. 2013). A convivial approach suggests people can manage cultural differences and mix in a pragmatic way; however, it does not suggest each interaction is loaded with positive emotion and should not be romanticised (Noble, 2013). Hall et al. (2017) also acknowledge that exchanges on the street are pragmatic before ideological, proprietors are engaged in the pursual of profit however this can transcend into social kindness and counsel. This everyday multiculturalism aligns with superdiversity.

Everyday multiculturalism argues against the view that multiculturalism creates 'parallel lives' and instead has focused on the intricacies of everyday lives, like superdiversity. For example, Sealy (2018) writes of 'contact zones' which allows multicultural interactions and encounters in shared public spaces such as cafes, markets, and food courts, these observations of multiculturalism in everyday practices contradicts the opinions that multiculturalism segregates and instead shows a theory that can be fluid. Everyday multiculturalism also delves into 'sensual contact' which relates to smells and flavours, adapting to other cultures culinary palettes or the notice of smells of different ethnic cuisines amongst neighbouring flats (Wise and Velayutham, 2014). However, Hage (1997) states that this no more than a cosmo-multiculturalism of the culinary; it is simply traders meeting the consumers demands and believes the theory has been severely romanticised. Ho (2011) points out that multiculturalism is unevenly distributed as not all areas of the country have equal representation of the country's demographics. Therefore, everyday multiculturalism cannot be applied to the whole country. Amin (2012) states that there is a difference between co-existing and actual collaboration. This leads to the question of who encounters whom. It asks if these forms of contact really have enough meaning to contribute towards identity, asking if they are worthy of being examined in everyday multiculturalism or superdiversity.

When speaking of superdiversity and multiculturalism it is important to acknowledge 'Interculturalism'. It is not so much a theory about diversity but essentially a perspective on cross cultural communication and how this can be used to merge different parts of society together. Interculturalism emerged from The Netherlands and Germany, describing the combination of communication within different cultures; the premise being that two, or more, different cultures can communicate with each other to aid in understanding and create ease of each respective culture and minimise offense or harm to each other which in turn creates cohesion and functionality regardless of a person's origin (Wood et al., 2006). Once the skill of cross-cultural communication is acquired, signs, symbols and situations would be read differently which in turn would create an intercultural literacy; interculturalism is different from community cohesion in the fact that it does not strive for the ultimate goal of harmony by avoiding disagreement at all costs, by creating a blanket set of rules

for a community that is extremely diverse (Wood et al., 2006). It acknowledges each person is distinctly different; it encourages discussion, which is vital for a democratic society.

Sealy (2018) states that interculturalism accuses multiculturalism of creating parallel lives through segregation and multicultural policies, however interculturalism, ignores the economic factors of an area and the impact of structural racism. The latter part of the previous sentence has been related to the critiques of superdiversity which will be discussed in the next section. In addition to this, interculturalism ignores identity on a macro level and individualises each person's experience which supposedly starts on a neutral pallet; however, it is impossible to ignore the historical and political backgrounds which are the essential moulds for what a person will become, it develops their opinions and forms part of their personality (Sealy, 2018).

### 2.2.2 Critiques of Superdiversity

Whilst superdiversity is a valid concept, which this thesis is based on, there are faults. Understanding the issues surrounding superdiversity requires an examination of the often-overlooked economic dimensions and their impact on social inequalities. The terms vagueness is problematic, leading to issues surrounding methodological choices and the inconsideration of intersectionality due to its limited development. Socio-economic factors such as income, occupation, and discrimination in the labour market significantly contribute to the concept of superdiversity. The interplay between global politics and superdiverse areas illustrates profound power dynamics brought about by globalisation, capitalisation, and at times nativism.

Hall (2017) points out that capitalism and the economy are not touched upon much in Vertovec's theory of superdiversity and it is important to acknowledge. Socio-economic factors such as income, occupation, and education contribute towards understanding superdiversity. Bourdieu (2011) explains that whilst economic capital is important, disguised capitals such as social capital, especially membership of privileged and advantaged groups alongside cultural capital, such as academic attainment and the language skills accepted by society can equally make individuals unequal in society, producing inequalities.

The economy and global cities, which are often superdiverse, interlink. Whist wealth is not spread uniformly globally there have always been cross border transactions involving goods, capital, and people. However, globalisation, privatisation and deregulation has changed the scene of the economy dramatically, the nation state has weakened as a physical entity especially (Sassen, 2004). It is not as simple to say a nation is one area on a map with clearly lined borders. The introduction of digital technologies, international investment and corporate headquarters in multiple cities now exist (Sassen, 2004). Digital technologies, such as the internet, cannot be stopped by guards on a border as many are not physical. The introduction of international investment and corporate headquarters which in different cities are often authorised by the country they choose to set up in introduce a cross communication of cultures in business.

Superdiversity as an approach to understanding society is quite broad, covering a range of areas, and is a relatively recent concept. Vertovec (2019) explains that whilst it is used across a surprising range of disciplines there is no specific consensus on the meaning. Mesissener and Vertovec (2017) describe it as being trendy and acknowledge that it is still a work in progress due to its recency, it still requires theoretical and empirical workings. Even the word super can make people panic, giving a false impression that it is too big and gives policy makers and practitioners the idea that it will be a struggle to comprehend or work with (Boccagni, 2014). Superdiversity is used as a backdrop for much research, even if there is no link to superdiversity itself (Vertovec, 2019). Additionally, there is no official criteria for what deems a city or place to be superdiverse (Pollacci, 2022). Researchers have raised the importance, and problem, of having to count multiple variables when measuring

diversity (Longhi, 2013). The methodological issue is where to start with superdiversity in relation to research, asking the questions are there different contextual elements dependent on topic and what is being measured, due to superdiversity's perceived vagueness it is difficult to say what to measure (Meissner and Vertovec, 2017). Moreover, superdiversity can be context specific, varying between cities and places, and therefore the unique feature of one study may not be applicable to all settings. Meissner and Vertovec (2017) ask how we include this aspect when building superdiversity into a comprehensive global comparative perspective.

However, whilst there is no official criteria for superdiversity, there are normally key features that are reoccurring throughout many studies. Firstly, is the use of demographic data such as the census (Stringer, 2014), a quantitative way which can reveal ethnicity, language, country of birth and religion, revealing patterns and compositions of areas, all of which are key features of superdiversity and in some parts covers the multidimensionality of the concept.

Ethnicity still seems to be a key focus of superdiversity despite the approach emphasising other factors, it is simply used to describe more ethnicities which is the incorrect use of the term (Meissner and Vertovec, 2017). For example, Birmingham City Council describe Birmingham as superdiverse on their website (Birmingham City Council, 2022). The website primarily focuses on the reasoning of the city being superdiverse due to ethnic minorities making up more than half of the city alongside the different nationalities within it. Whilst ethnicity is a factor of superdiversity and should be considered, it is not the primary element. Fomina (2006) believes ethnicity hides more significant features of superdiversity. Furthermore, ethnicity is becoming increasingly blurred (Gobo, 2010). It is no longer a matter of being black, white, Asian, or other, there are many with multiple groups because of mixed heritage, or who may identify by religion or another variable. Ethnicity also affects the methodological viewpoint, Meissner and Vertovec (2017) notice that research into superdiversity often has an ethnic lens due to this being one of the fundamental approaches to migration, superdiversity needs methods that rethink inequality and help to understand social interactions.

Whilst superdiversity is apparent, equality is not and there is a clear hierarchy. There is a constant strain in the United Kingdom for obtaining foreign workers, whether this be through historical slavery and colonisation or recent migrant labour, whilst still maintaining a hierarchy of race in relation to national authenticity and identity. For example, in the UK in 2013, government adverts on vehicles were circulated stating 'In the UK illegally? Go home or face arrest', they were driven around numerous London boroughs generating anxiety and fear (Hall, 2017). In times of fear the government uses migrants as the scapegoat, this rhetoric was also produced once again when Brexit occurred. Along with this hierarchy comes a power dynamic with an element of control in relation to migrants. Whilst slavery is no longer accepted there is still an ethos of subordination (Goldberg, 2006). On one hand the migrant is necessary for labour but restricted by inconsistent capitalist policy which is enforced by national authenticity which has an air of nativism (Hall, 2019). The country needs migrant labour to serve society but doesn't necessarily want them to stay. Hall (2019) points out the inequalities with migration, highlighting that some can move freely within Europe due to the Schengen agreement however others, for example from sub-Saharan Africa attempt to cross the Mediterranean dangerously to get to Europe, there are racial biopolitics of border control. This is another element of a power dynamic within superdiversity.

It should also be acknowledged that some of the most diverse areas of the country are also the most deprived. Superdiversity in those areas did not happen by choice but by a necessity for the individual who had faced labour discrimination and targeted policies (Hall, 2017). It must be acknowledged that superdiversity is not a concept that should be looked at with rose-tinted glasses, superdiversity often occurs due to unfortunate or negative reasons. However, Neal et al. (2013) points out that

ethnic diversity is becoming increasingly dispersed, with migrants moving away from long established settlements due to more affluence.

Meissner and Vertovec (2017) highlight the call for the importance of intersectionality and gender in superdiversity from feminists. Meissner and Vertovec (2017) states that superdiversity concentrates more on migration, nationality, ethnicity and age rather than gender. Intersectionality is important within superdiversity as it highlights powers at play. Racism, classism and sexism are issuing that interplay against, and within, categories such as ethnicity, nationality and migration. Vertovec (2019) does note how there has been a call to notice that classification does take place within migrant groups, and how different variables within these groups changes the outcomes of life for each individual and can act as capital. Spoonley and Butcher (2009) highlight the importance of power in the political sense and how this can emphasise superdiversity on a context specific level, different countries have different political discourses, especially in relation to immigration and these specific power differentials must be recognised.

There has been a European political return to less tolerant views of cultural and religious diversity involving tougher immigration rules, reaffirmations of geographical boundaries and a reduction on social benefits for migrants which often gains favour for political parties especially during periods of elections (Ambrosini, 2017). This fact, paired with violent administrative processes means migrants do not feel the positive superdiversity narrative that the government often portrays. Violent administration refers to the bureaucratic and institutional tools that divide who is worthy and who is not, through dehumanised administrative processes (Elsrud and Lalander, 2021). Administrative violence affects bureaucratic paperwork relating to an individual's life, whether this be through welfare, immigration status or another administrative act; creating negative consequences, seen as a legitimate procedure with no attachment to the emotional pressures or stresses that that an administrative act can cause (Elsrud and Lalander, 2021).

Whilst the individuals involved are just seen as a case or a number, these simple administrative processes can cause catastrophic events, one of which being the Holocaust. Millions were murdered as many people were just following bureaucratic processes and therefore were not morally responsible for their part in what happened. Another recent example of violent administration is the UK's Windrush scandal. Immigration regulations were introduced that required certain documents for the right to work and reside in the country. However, many of these documents for Caribbean migrants had been destroyed, this caused many job losses and even deportations of innocent individuals. This is further discussed in section 2.5.1, 'Discrimination against the Caribbean Community'. Whilst administrative violence does not directly involve discrimination against migrants, it has a repetitive habit of targeting those that are not a national of a country. It is a systematic form of racism and undermines the positive superdiversity narrative.

Populations are becoming more diverse, and it is not easy to define who is an insider or outsider with many different legal statuses and rights being applied to all of society (Ambrosini, 2017). Legal status is invisible, and nationality is hard to guess visibly, no one knows who technically has the 'right' to be in the country through visual sight. However, this leads to the politics of xenophobia which Hall (2017) explained, where fear is created through using migrants as scapegoats. Whilst superdiversity makes it harder to see who has legal status, reducing what it means to be 'different', the government stokes anxiety in society, reminding people there are 'outsiders' who are supposedly not supposed to be in the country.

Vertovec (2019) is aware that critics often describe superdiversity as a misguided utopia where all different communities in societies live in relative bliss with one another, he believes this to be a large misrepresentation acknowledging that racism and tensions are still present and what happens in a public sphere may contrast to what happens in an individual's private sphere. Despite the critiques of superdiversity, it is a valid approach. The expansion of the globe has led to an increased and

complex amount of immigration and emigration. This in turn leads to different ages, ethnicities, religions, and other qualities living together in different countries, a superdiverse society. However, in a superdiverse community there is not equality for all, and this can make inequality even more complex due to more additional factors now added into society.

Superdiversity highlights the need for policy to change. Policy needs to recognise the new conditions created by global migration that surpasses ethnicity (Meissner and Vertovec, 2017). However, it has also became the corporate go-to for inclusiveness, a way of describing unity and involvement of all. An example of such is the 2012 Olympics, where the UK used its superdiverse nation as a selling point despite tensions such as the English Defence League marches which were happening at the same time (Berg and Sigona, 2013). It has a shiny gloss that multiculturalism could never emulate, however this sheen hides many structural inequalities and exclusions in the corporate world itself. Superdiversity risks smoothing over diversity, flattening ethnicity and removing social inequalities clearly based on race to present a flat superficial meaning with no depth; the consequence of this could be an ignorance of the history that multiculturalism shaped especially relating to many anti-racist policies (Berg and Sigona, 2013).

These critiques of superdiversity are all valid, however Vertovec (2019) describes the term as a concept or approach, not a fully-fledged theory with explanations of how these changes in migration arose or how variables are interlinked. This is why we must be wary of its involvement in policy, and in this essence, multiculturalism is still needed if there is not full meaning behind the term. Essentially intersectionality, history and power dynamics must be considered within the theory to give it that background that it needs.

## 2.3 Religion, Superdiversity and Food: Islam Globally, in the UK, and Birmingham

Religion has an important role in superdiversity, and it is one of the ways people primarily identify and understand themselves; in relation to migration, when someone finds it hard to find people of their ethnicity, religious organisations are the people they turn to first (Stringer, 2014). Burchardt (2016) states that different religions in society have led to superdiversity and there now needs to be new ways to monitor how they interact and evolve alongside each other as religion is recognised as central to many migrant choices.

When speaking of religious diversity most sociologists describe the travel of world religions through migration and how it relates to cities, nations, and the world (Burchardt, 2016). Beckford (2003) explains that to show religious diversity many scholars numerically count the number of religions in an area, without acknowledging their symbolic influence or the amount of people who believe in that faith.

Whilst religious diversity considers how many religions are within a society, what happens within religions can also be counted as superdiversity. Despite being a largely Christian country, the United States has a large amount of diversity within the religion; the same can be applied to the Middle East with Islam (Stringer, 2014). There's Mormon, Catholic, Protestantism and many more denominations in the US within Christianity and for the Middle East there is the split between Sunni and Shi'a alongside some smaller Muslim religious factions. Additionally, whilst some may follow the same faith and sect, they may view their faiths differently due to cultural and language differences such as a Catholic from Poland compared to a Catholic from the Philippines (Stringer, 2014).

Religion also has an important part to play in the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways of the Ladywood constituency as discussed in section 7.2, 'Halal Wording'. Whilst Islam does not have a large following in the Caribbean, it is considered by many of the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency who serve halal food, showing the importance of superdiversity and religion.

Currently the global Muslim population has reached 1.6 billion, approximately a quarter of the world's population (Desilver, 2013). Additionally, Islam is the second largest religion in the world after Christianity (Lugo, 2011). It is also the fastest growing religion, increasing in all regions of the world; apart from Latin America and the Caribbean, where the Muslim populations are predominantly smaller; it is likely that it will surpass Christianity globally in the second half of the century (Hackett and Lipka, 2018).

In 2011, Alam and Sayuti reported that a large proportion of Muslims lived on the Asian continent (805 million), followed by Africa (300 million), after this, the next largest region was the Middle East (210 million) and Europe had the smallest number of Muslims residing on the continent, sitting at 18 million. It is estimated that just over a quarter of Muslims live in a country that does not follow Islam (Pew Research Centre, 2012). Currently in England and Wales there are 3,868,133 Muslims representing 6.5% of the population.

Birmingham's Muslim population represents 29.9% of the city, compared to an average of 6.5% across England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2023). This study focuses on the Ladywood constituency, and it can be seen in Table 2-2 below that each ward, to varying degrees, has a higher-than-average Muslim population compared to England and Wales.

| Ward | Muslim Population (Percentage) |
|---|---|
| Aston | 73.3 |
| Bordesley & Highgate | 53.0 |
| Bordesley Green | 80.2 |
| Holyhead | 31.7 |
| Ladywood | 19.3 |
| Lozells | 73.2 |
| Nechells | 40.2 |
| Newtown | 43.0 |
| North Edgbaston | 35.1 |
| Soho & Jewellery Quarter | 25.5 |
| Average of Ladywood Constituency | 47.45 (although official Census 2021 data states 43.1%) |

*Table 2-2: Muslim population in the Ladywood constituency wards (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

In the 1960s and 1970s South Asians started emigrating to the UK (Jaspal, 2015). Many South Asian Muslims lived in heavy engineering and textile towns, located primarily in the Midlands, North and Southeast of England; in the city of Birmingham, employment factors combined with unaffordable housing due to low income and limited opportunities of obtaining a mortgage, pushed Muslims into specific parts of the city (Abbas, 2006). Many Muslims settled in areas of transition, where migrants often moved to when first entering the country, and where white Briton's previously lived, however left due to 'white flight', the effect of which left the areas poorer as economic opportunities moved with them (Abbas and Anwar, 2005).

However, Muslims, do not only come from Asia to the United Kingdom, the migration of Muslims to the UK is also worldwide. In recent years, especially in Birmingham, they have come from Somalia, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Albania; many of the newer groups have settled where second and third generation Muslims currently live in Birmingham (Amara and Henry, 2014). The migration is no longer linked to the commonwealth, it is worldwide through globalisation. This

shows that there is intersectionality within religion. Not all Muslims are of one ethnicity or nationality, entering the country with different citizenship status; having come to Britain for different reasons unrelated to the commonwealth and the imperial ties that the country used to have.

### 2.3.1 Halal Meaning

Regardless of nationality or location, for many Muslims, one of the most vital Islamic followings is the consumption of halal meat. The term halal is an Arabic phrase, literally translating to 'lawful under the allowance of Allah' (Sack, 2001). Halal laws originate from the Quran, the key religious text of Islam, and the Hadith, traditions from the prophet Mohammed; both have rules regarding which animals can be consumed and forbids the consumption of blood, pork, and alcohol (Regenstein, 2003). The items forbidden are known as 'haram' (Kocturk, 2002). In addition, Muslims are instructed to only consume the meat of permitted animals where an invocation of Allah's name has been invoked at the time of slaughter (Regenstein, 2003). Whilst there may be some variation of the meaning of what halal is in various Muslim sects, it is generally viewed as a sign of quality (Ali, 2021). The sacredness of halal law means that many Muslims abide by the rules; in turn this influences their choices in food consumerism.

### 2.3.2 Islam and Halal Food in the Caribbean

There is a history of Islam within the Caribbean through historical migration. However, Islam has been growing faster on the Asian and African continents than the Latin and Northern American ones; there is believed to be 1.4 million Muslims in Latin America, 4 million in Northern America, and 107,000 in the Caribbean; most of the Muslim population in the Caribbean are to be found in Trinidad and Tobago with a population of 72,400 (Chitwood, 2017). Despite the smaller numbers in the Caribbean region the influence of Islam on Caribbean food in the Ladywood constituency is observable which is discussed in the analysis, section 7.2, 'Halal Wording'.

The history of Islam in the Caribbean can be broken down into four influences: Iberian, West African, indentured servitude, and immigration between the eighteenth and twentieth century, the Muslims that migrated between the eighteenth and twentieth century came over through a range of means, as servants, interpreters, and other professions (Chitwood, 2017).

In the Iberian period, many Muslims and Jews were forced to flee due to persecution during the Christian conquest of Spain; many went to the Ottoman Empire and Europe, however some travelled to the Americas (Shohat, 1992). The slave trade brought Islam through Africans from the Mandingo, Fulani and Hausa nations, but the break-up of families during this period meant that it was hard to pass the religion onto their descendants (Mustapha, 2012). However, the transatlantic slave trade bought the Islamic faith to the Caribbean region through indentured servants from Asia who were primarily located in Trinidad and Suriname and Arab migrants then followed in the 19$^{th}$ and 20$^{th}$ century (Chitwood, 2017). This has led to certain Muslim festivals such as Hosay being celebrated in the region, where the grandson of the Islamic prophet Muhammad is commemorated in countries such as Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad (Mondal, 2020).

By having a sizeable Muslim population, Trinidad and Tobago are an exception to the predominantly Christian region. A twin island state only seven miles away from Venezuela (Ali, 2021). It has a Muslim population of 5.8% (Lugo et al., 2011). Halal food has an established presence on the islands, with halal organisations, processors, and products, some of which is also imported due to demand

(Ali, 2021). Halal food has a positive acceptance in Trinidadian society, however even in Trinidad and Tobago, outer lying areas and Tobago struggle to have readily available halal food, it is more likely to be found in concentrated urban areas (Ali, 2021). This shows that the emphasis and availability of halal food is needed where it is most desired and most profitable.

### 2.3.3 Islam, Food and Identity

Fam et al. (2004) explains that Islam is more than a religion, influencing societal factors such as family, fashion, and ethics. It must be remembered that all Muslims are not one homogenous group. Considering all those who follow the faith to be homogeneous, would be ignoring multiple social factors, as well as a massive oversimplification (Ibrahim, 2015). Like any religion, Islam consists of different sects, generations, socioeconomic statuses, and different countries of origin.

It is also important to identify the difference between 'religion', in this case Islam, and 'religiosity', which refers to the measure of how an individual practices and follows said religion in their daily life (Essoo and Dibb, 2004). A number of Muslims do not buy Halal food, being Muslim does not automatically equate to following the religious processes or behaviours, this may be due to individual choice or may relate to informal education, different cultures and socialisation (Soesilowati, 2010). For example, a second-generation Muslim, born in the UK may identify as Muslim, but may still eat, or even prefer, British food.

Many academics in the field of advertising and marketing, however, argue that religion is a part of culture and the two are inevitably interlinked. Geertz (1973) believes religion creates an understanding of oneself and the world, building a culture that has certain values and attitudes. The sociologist, Giddens (1991) agrees, stating that despite the fact it can vary on scale, displaying one's identity has been translated through the owning and possession of desired goods and portrayal of a lifestyle. Lindridge (2005) explains that in the West, marketing is focused on materialism and consumption allowing individuals to express their individuality, adding that in Eastern societies religion and culture are intrinsically interlinked, religion is the backbone of culture.

Alternatively, Wong (2007) points out that whilst consumerism and consumption can build identities, it works the other way too, eroding them away, leading to confusion of how the individual expresses their 'self'. When consumerism is dictated by trends and capitalism, it may be a case of how one is expressing how society would like them to behave, instead of what they believe to be true.

Ibrahim (2015) explains that Muslims may have multiple identities in the UK, including being British citizens simultaneously. Many Muslims do label themselves as British, alongside being a Muslim; this was not necessarily seen as a conflict although sometimes they did feel like they had to alternate between the two (Ibrahim, 2015).

Food, its habits, and consumption can be a representation of identity, a nostalgic reminder of who someone is religiously and culturally and is often used as a social function in relationships, whether that be with friends, families, or a partner. It can determine, create, and maintain ethnic, cultural, and individual expressions (Reilly and Wallendorf, 1987). Moreover, it can also have a religious or symbolic meaning. White and Kokotsaki (2004) explains that food consumption allows expression of individuality, halal food specifically reminds people of religion and therefore tradition.

Jamal (1998) explains that throughout the world there are different food systems with their own meanings and etiquettes. The amount of different global food patterns, combined with migration and identity means that the production of identities that could develop are endless. When migrants

migrate to other countries, in this case Britain, they may alternate, or mix different food groups (Jamal, 1996). This suggests that whilst ethnicity and religion is important in moulding identity, it is not concrete, it is fluid. This does not mean that people will ignore the importance of halal foods, they may adapt to incorporate other foods that fit within the rules of what is halal. Whilst cultural differences and boundaries are evident, food consumption is constantly changing shape, which may cause fear of a loss of identity (Wilk, 1999). However, it may not be a loss of identity if they are still following religious guidelines, in fact it may show a respect of their religiosity whilst still participating in everyday society.

### 2.3.4 Business Benefits of Halal Meat

As discussed in the previous section religion influences consumer behaviour. Shafie and Othman (2006) confirm this by stating that product consumerism is dependent on religious behaviour and identity. For many Muslims it is important to have the availability of halal products at hand, this relates to a variety of categories such as food, cosmetics, and pharmaceuticals (Ali, 2021). Services catering to the needs of Muslims, such as halal butchers, restaurants, media stores, book shops and jewellers are readily available in areas with a high percentage of different cultures and within Muslim communities in Birmingham (Abbas, 2006). Within Islam, food consumption has importance, when combined with Western fast-food choices that also cater to Muslim's there becomes a whole range of choices for individuals; the UK demographics are changing, and a new halal market is emerging, considering British Muslims and their fast-food needs (Ibrahim, 2015).

The halal food market is highly profitable. It was estimated by the Muslim Council of Britain (2014) that the value of the UK halal food market at that time was approximately £3 billion. An example of the profitability is that whilst the Muslim population accounts for approximately 6.5% of the population, they consume 20% of British lamb and mutton produced, British farmers have therefore been encouraged to diversify (Ahmed, 2008). Even though the halal market is extremely profitable, it is still relatively restricted; the demand is so high that some Islamic countries have had to import goods from countries who do not follow the religion, such as Australia and Brazil (Zulfakar et al., 2012). It is believed that up to 80% of halal food products are produced in countries that are considered non-Muslim (Ibrahim, 2015).

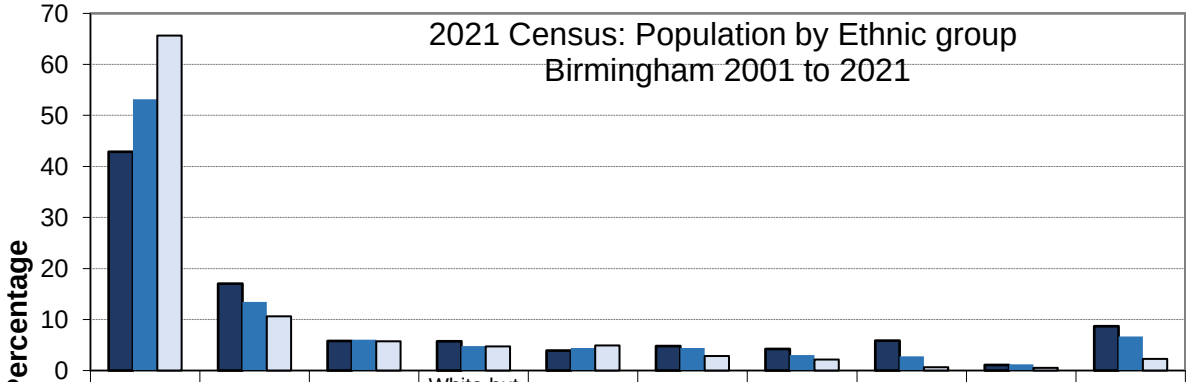
It is not just about profitability, however. Many people, who are both Muslim and non-Muslim associate Halal food with cleanliness. To many Muslims halal meat signifies food that is hygienic, sanitised and prepared correctly, which is believed to be healthier and tastier (Shafie and Othman, 2006). This is slowly becoming true for non-Muslims also, who are now being considered as a potential target market in the halal food industry; halal food has surpassed religion and to many it generally signifies high quality, freshness and cleanliness (Mathew, 2014). Additionally, foods from different regions of the world are now entering different countries mainstream societies globally, changing local food tastes (Alam and Sayuti, 2011). People are adventuring into new boundaries, experiencing halal foods and becoming familiar with what it means. However, there are animal welfare concerns that are raised periodically in Europe in relation to the inclusion, or removal, of stunning when animals are being prepared for ritual slaughter for consumption (Bergeaud-Blackler, 2007).

Many policies and the representations of migrants created by government and the media have undertones of racism and nationalism, creating an 'us and them' narrative with tones of British superiority. However, different cultures and ethnicities intertwine with each other as discussed in section 2.2.1, 'Everyday Multiculturalism'. They could be next door neighbours, second and third generation relatives or even work colleagues; these social constructs create a merger of cultures

leading to a superdiverse nation. As we explore how the signage of Caribbean takeaways and restaurants advertise to the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency we should consider all these different factors, surpassing just thoughts on ethnicity, and considering religion. As specified in this chapter Islam has an important presence in Birmingham however it does not have significant ties to the region of the Caribbean yet many of the restaurants and takeaways feature the halal wording showing a clear superdiverse element in the Ladywood constituency as discussed in the analysis section 7.2, 'Halal Wording'.

## 2.4 Birmingham and Superdiversity

Birmingham, a city with a population of approximately 1,144,900 people (Office for National Statistics, 2023), can be considered a superdiverse city due to its high levels of ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity. Through historical immigration, a wide range of ethnic communities, its linguistic diversity, student population, economic opportunities, religious practices, and it's work on social cohesion, it has attracted many people across the globe.




| | White British | Pakistani | Indian | White but not 'White British' | Black Caribbean | Mixed | Bangladeshi | Black African | Chinese | Other ethnicity |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2021 | 42.9 | 17.0 | 5.8 | 5.7 | 3.9 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 5.8 | 1.1 | 8.7 |
| 2011 | 53.1 | 13.5 | 6.0 | 4.8 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 1.2 | 6.7 |
| 2001 | 65.6 | 10.6 | 5.7 | 4.7 | 4.9 | 2.9 | 2.1 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 2.3 |

*Figure 2-1: Population by Ethnic Group in Birmingham 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

According to Birmingham City Council (2022) Birmingham is one of the first superdiverse cities in the United Kingdom, basing this recognition on ethnicity alone, ethnic minorities are more than half of the city's population. As seen above in Figure 2-1 which shows the 2021 census data, Birmingham has a wide range of ethnic groups that have increased in diversity throughout time, apart from Chinese and Caribbean dipping slightly in the past 20 years (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Despite the dip, Birmingham still has the largest Caribbean population in England and Wales based on local authority, which is discussed in section 2.5.2, 'Caribbean and Jamaican Migration in Birmingham'. No other local authority has a larger Caribbean population than Birmingham.

Birmingham has a long and significant history of immigration, with people entering the city from all over the world. The city hosts migrants from 170 different countries (Phillimore, 2011). The intensity of such immigration increased in the 20th century and continues to the present day, continuing the superdiverse population. Due to the 'Great Famine' and 'Act of Union' many individuals from Ireland emigrated to the city in the 19th century due to its industrial importance (McCarvill, 2002); however, it was undermined with anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice (Peach, 2000). Irish migration after the

second world war increased further due to shortages in employment in Britain, hastening intermixing and intermarriage of the Irish community into the general population (McCarvill, 2002).

Many migrants in the city have arrived due to the UK's postcolonial and imperialist links. Many Pakistani and Bangladeshi men were cheap labour on British steamships or were British army caterers and bearers who responded to Britain's call of shortage of labour in the second world war but were also influenced to migrate due to the Kashmir dispute, and flooding of villages for hydro-electricity projects (Henry et al., 2002). Also, around this period Gujaratis and Punjabis from East Africa and India, who had already been involved in British infrastructure arrived, contributing to the manufacturing trade and also working as manual labourers, alongside many from the West Indies; these groups were linked to the UK through colonial ties, coming to fill the shortage of labour in the mother country (Cross and Johnson, 2022). Additionally Chinese migrants came to Birmingham through colonial links, once recruited as sailors from villages in Hong Kong seeking opportunities that post war Britain was offering (Henry et al., 2002).

There has also been migration from individuals within the Accession 8 of Europe, most evidently Poland, who could move to the UK through the European Union (Brown et al., 2004). This was due to the European Union agreeing to enlarge its membership in 2004 at the Copenhagen EU summit in 2002 (Taras, 2003). However, Brexit has made this more complex as discussed in section 2.1.3, 'United Kingdom: Policies and Post War Migration'. Migration to Birmingham has also often been motivated by political reasons, this has included migrants seeking refuge and asylum from the Balkan regions, alongside those from Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan (Brown et al., 2004).

Birmingham is linguistically diverse. The Institute for Research into Super-diversity at the University of Birmingham found that in Handsworth, Birmingham, a GP held a registration of 6000 people from 170 different countries of origin (Stringer, 2014). Different countries of origin means that there are often different languages. These numbers suggest that services, both public and private, must adapt to the changing population, a one size fits all approach would not work (Stringer, 2014).

The city promotes and invests in the development of itself through education and economic opportunities. The city has an increasingly large and quickly expanding student population (Green et al., 2021). It is home to five universities, attracting many from different towns and cities in the country as well as a diverse international student community. Additionally, the city council has invested in many projects throughout the city, becoming entrepreneurial through its EU funding, without approaching funding on a UK governmental level on more than one occasion (Thornley et al., 2003).

Whilst the city still depends on its manufacturing history, it has replaced jobs that have been lost in declining sectors and restructured its economy in the past 30 years (Thornley et al., 2003). Ventures have been made into travel and tourism with the development of the Symphony Hall, International Convention Centre and National Indoor Arena which were all built in 1991 (Barber and Hall, 2008). Additionally, the mid-90s led to the development of Brindley place, a mixed-use development of sophisticated bars, offices and housing; the Bullring was redeveloped in 2003 from its outdated 1960's style and there was also the creation of The Mailbox (Barber and Hall, 2008). The Mailbox opened in 2000, like Brindley place, it is a mixed-use development destination with a luxury feel. Furthermore, the new HSBC headquarters recently opened in the city (BBC, 2019), and the BBC MasterChef studios have now been given the go ahead in the Digbeth area of the city (BBC, 2023).

Birmingham has a rich history of cultural and religious practices, alongside those who do not practice a religion. It is home to a variety of places to worship, including mosques, gurdwaras, churches, and synagogues, representing different religious faiths. As seen below in Figure 2-3, the city has a variety of religions, the only ones being lower than the national average which can be seen in Figure 2-2 below were Judaism, and Christianity, however Christianity still has a significantly large following.

These statistics show that the city's diversity goes beyond ethnicity, reaching into other remits such as religion.

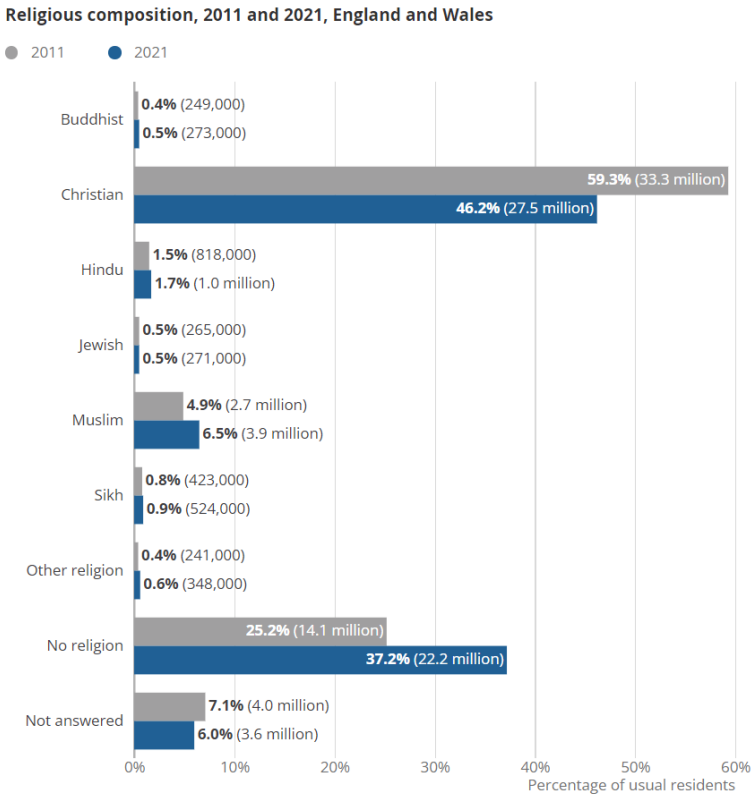



*Figure 2-2: Religion in England and Wales in 2011 and 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

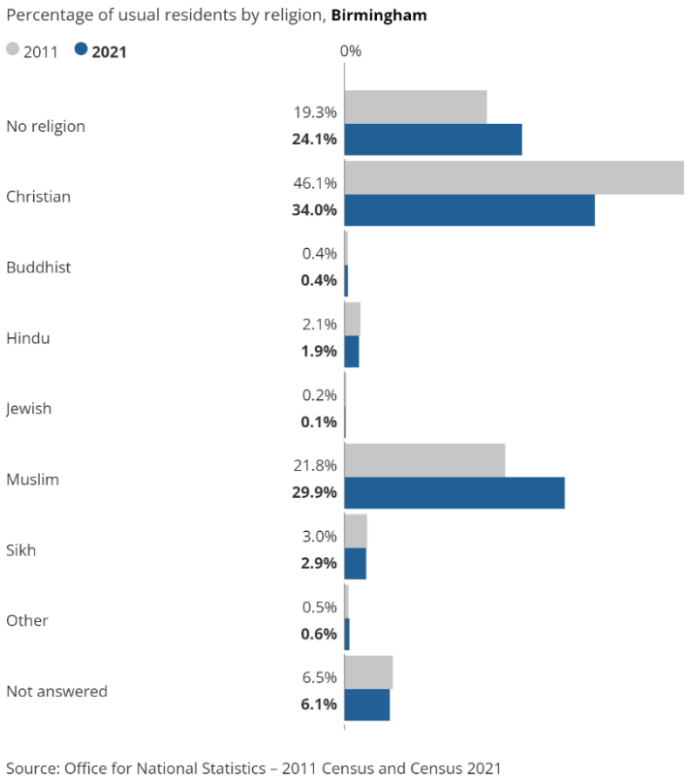


*Figure 2-3: Religion in the city of Birmingham in 2011 and 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

Birmingham has faced the challenges of integrating a diverse community but it has developed many social cohesion projects to ensure community engagement, tolerance and understanding within the different communities in the city, one example being the redevelopment of Soho House in Handsworth throughout the 1990s. Handsworth has faced problems of poverty and employment issues however the council wanted the community to be involved with the project and it was successful with this endeavour (Caffyn and Lutz, 1999). Public meetings were held to discuss the redevelopment, a local black media company filmed and produced the content for an exhibition regarding the house itself and schools within the area use the building of which many have high ethnic minority numbers (Caffyn and Lutz, 1999).

Superdiversity has planted itself into Birmingham's soil, growing to produce a vibrant society filled with a community intertwined with many differences. Despite challenges it has produced opportunities and has shown evidence of social cohesion that is necessary for a diverse population.

### 2.4.1 Ladywood Constituency

The Ladywood constituency is the area of focus in this thesis and is one of ten constituencies in Birmingham, it is an area that is superdiverse due to its religious, linguistic, ethnic, and socio-economic diversity. The area has a population of approximately 144,091 (Office for National Statistics, 2023). The Ladywood constituency consists of ten wards; Aston, Bordesley and Highgate, Bordesley Green, Ladywood, Holyhead, Nechells, Lozells, Newtown, North Edgbaston and Soho and Jewellery Quarter, which can be seen in the map in Figure 2-4 below. Four of the wards are considered inner-city: Soho, Nechells, Aston and Ladywood and the constituency also consists of the city centre (Birmingham City Council, 2015). Aston and Soho are wards that are also considered residential (Birmingham City Council, 2015). The BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) community make up 76.7% of the Ladywood constituency (Office for National Statistics, 2023). This is above the city percentage of 51.4% and approximately three times more than the national percentage of 25.6% (Office for National Statistics, 2023).


*Figure 2-4: Map of Birmingham showing its constituencies and wards including Ladywood (Birmingham Public Health, 2019)*

The area is superdiverse for several reasons. Firstly, its inhabitants are of multiple ethnicities, as illustrated in Figure 2-5 below. There is a significant black and Asian community in the Ladywood constituency, alongside the mixed and white 'other' population being above the national average. This is for varying reasons such as war, employment, or educational opportunities as discussed in section 2.4, 'Birmingham and Superdiversity'. With migration often comes different languages, it can be seen in Table 2-3 that 62.3% of all people over the age of 16 in a household in the Ladywood constituency has English as a main language compared to the national average of 89.6% (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Additionally in the Ladywood constituency just over 18% of the households in the constituency has no one in the household over the age of 16 who speaks English as the main language compared to the national average of 4.8%. These figures show the abundance of different language use in the area.

Furthermore, diversity of religion is experienced in the constituency. Every religion having a higher-than-average following than the England and Wales average apart from Judaism and Christianity as seen in Figure 2-5 below (Office for National Statistics, 2023). The Ladywood constituency has many places to worship including churches, mosques, gurdwaras and temples which represent different faiths and contribute to the superdiversity. Stringer (2014) notes that when researching the Soho Road, which goes through both the wards of Soho in the Ladywood constituency and Handsworth in the Perry Barr constituency, there were numerous religious buildings, ranging from a Rastafarian

café, Gurdwaras at either end of the large main road, various Christian churches and houses converted to house religions such as Jainism or Buddhism (Stringer, 2014). The religious diversity of the area is physically visible.

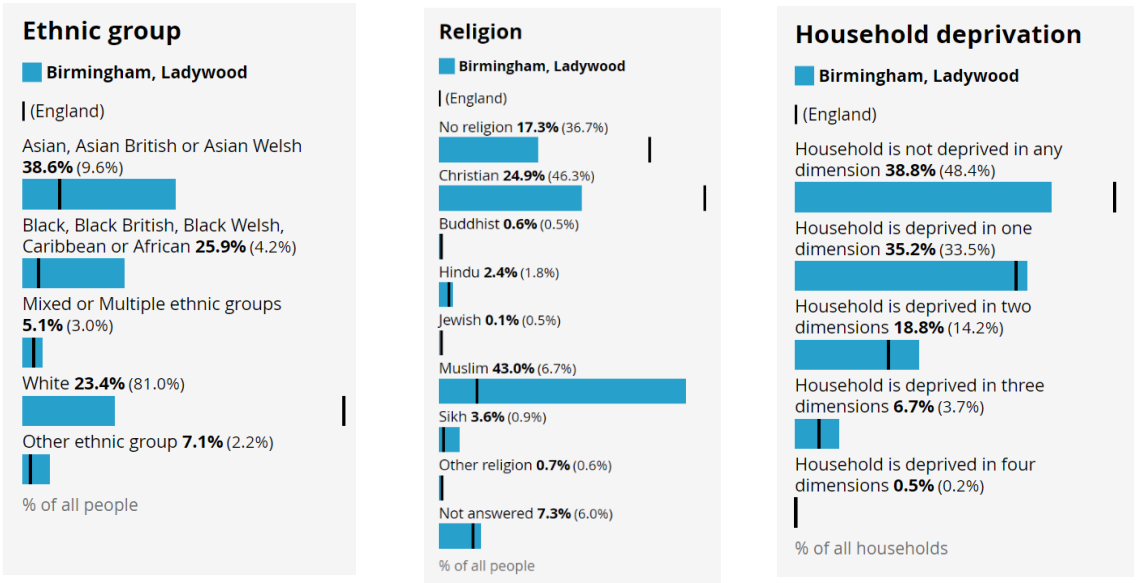



*Figure 2-5: Religion, ethnicity, and deprivation demographics in the Ladywood Constituency (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

| Geography | All households | All people 16 and over have English as main language | At least one but not all people 16 and over have English as main language | No people aged 16 and over in household but at least one person aged 3 to 15 has English as a main language | No people aged 16 and over in household have English as a main language |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| England & Wales | 24,783,199 | 89.6 | 4.2 | 1.3 | 4.8 |
| Birmingham | 423,456 | 79.1 | 10.0 | 2.6 | 8.3 |
| Ladywood | 52,201 | 62.3 | 14.7 | 4.8 | 18.2 |

*Table 2-3 Main language use in households of the Ladywood Constituency, Birmingham, and England & Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

The area is also socioeconomically diverse. Part of the Ladywood constituency contains the city centre, where there is a considerable amount of wealth and affluence in the area. However, this is counterbalanced by high levels of deprivation in other parts of the constituency with 61.2% of the Ladywood population facing at least one dimension of deprivation as seen in Figure 2-5 above (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Additionally, in Figure 2-6 below it can be seen on the map that many parts of the Ladywood constituency are in above average deprivation levels.

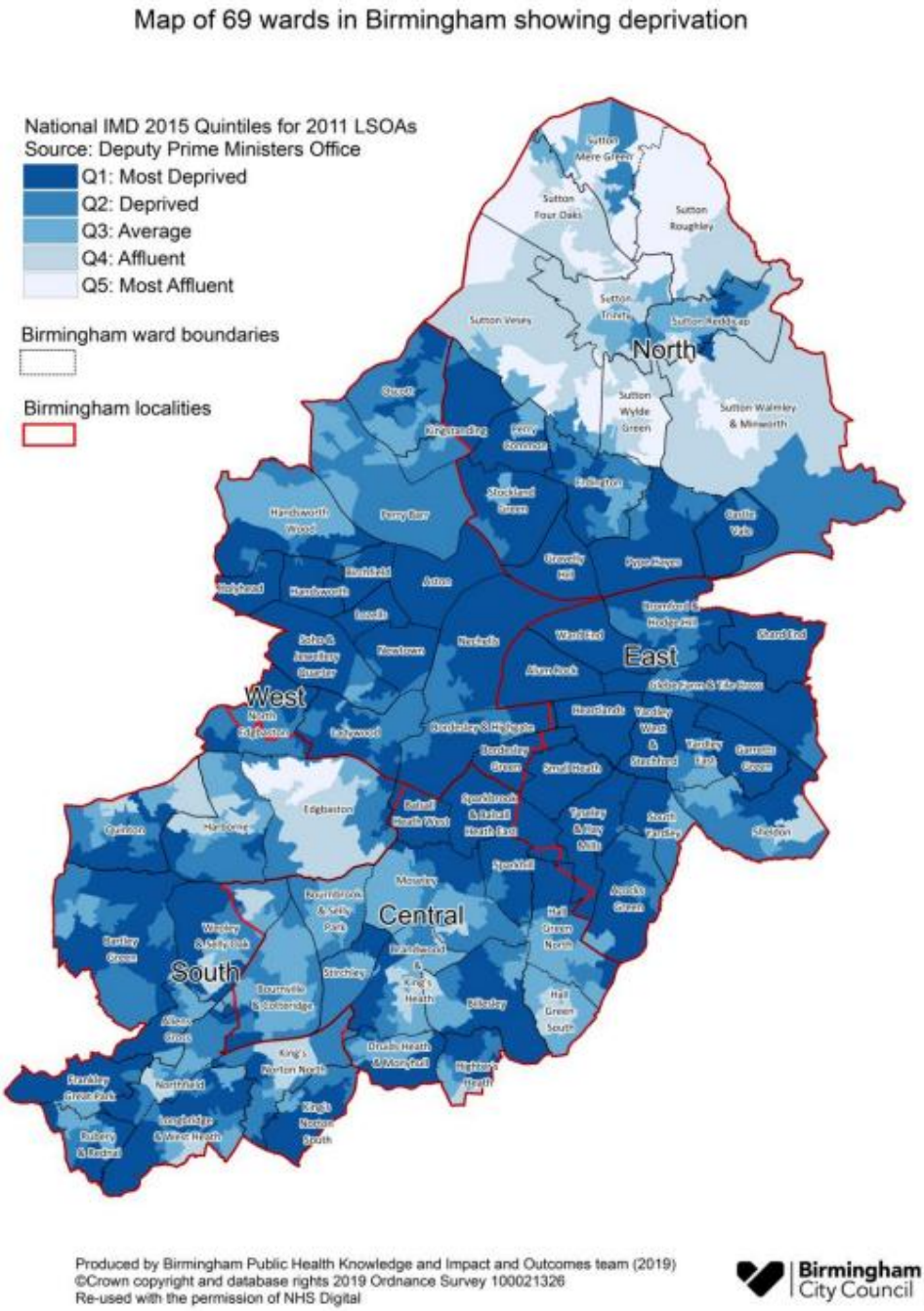



*Figure 2-6 Deprivation by Ward in Birmingham (Birmingham Public Health, 2019)*

Due to many of the universities and educational institutions in Birmingham being in the city centre there is a large student population in the area. Compared to a national average of 7.7%, 22.3% of the Ladywood population that are over the age of 16 are students (Office for National Statistics, 2023). They add to the cultural, ethnic and socioeconomic diversity of the Ladywood constituency.

Local authorities are funding social cohesion projects to promote tolerance, equality, and understanding in the communities of the Ladywood constituency. One of which is the Financial Inclusion Partnership which was piloted in Ladywood and aims to support individuals and families with their financial capabilities, alongside advising on insurance policies and employment

(Birmingham City Council, 2018). There are also centres set up related specifically to ethnic minority diseases in the Ladywood area such as the Sickle Cell and Thalassaemia centre whilst Aston has the Bangladeshi Youth Council (Abbas, 2006).

Whilst the UK is diverse and Birmingham is even more so, Ladywood surpasses both entering a truly superdiverse status through multiple factors such as ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status, language, and student status, emphasising the importance of local neighbourhood research when exploring superdiversity. It is also important to emphasise the superdiversity of Ladywood in this thesis as whilst many in Birmingham may understand the diversity of the city it may be difficult for those not based in the city to comprehend its immensity or proportions, having different meanings of what superdiversity may mean.

### 2.4.2 Post War Settlement of Inner-city Birmingham

Hall (2017) has found that areas of superdiversity often went hand in hand with areas of deprivation. This was evidenced in the previous section where it could be seen that the Ladywood constituency had both high levels of deprivation and a superdiverse population. Hall et al. (2017) state that in superdiverse areas deprivation and unemployment are common, the areas are often neglected by governments and receive little funding; this was found across multiple cities which had marginalised areas, such as Birmingham, Leicester, and Manchester. Thornley (2003) states that employment changes have led to large areas of deprivation in the inner-city of Birmingham. Economic restructuring within the city has been uneven and this has been experienced especially within the inner city with ethnic minorities feeling the disadvantage (Barber and Hall, 2008).

Rex and Tomlinson (1979) state that ethnic minorities reside in the inner city of Birmingham. Whilst this is an older reference it suggests that even in the 1970's Birmingham was notably diverse in terms of ethnicity. This is supported by Abbas (2006) over 25 years later who stated that ethnic minorities are often found on the inner-city ring of Birmingham.

The Afro-Caribbean population of Birmingham were pushed into inner city areas in the late 1960s due to affordability, which meant they only had the options of private rentals or old house purchases as living arrangements (Peach, 1991). Burholt (2004) explains that there are areas of Birmingham that for decades have had high concentrations of South Asians, with many living in the wards of Lozells, Handsworth, Alum Rock and Aston (Burholt, 2004).

The housing situation in the inner city of Birmingham was deemed as poor quality in the 1960s and was described as a 'twilight zone' by Rex and Moore (1967). Those who had migrated from the Caribbean were positioned in a weak labour market where their incomes meant that they could not escape the cycle of inadequate housing (Smith, 1977). Harrison and Phillips (2003) explain that some estate agents were guilty of racial steering; where ethnic minorities were deliberately steered away from white areas (Smith, 1989). Fenton-Joseph (2007) also reported that ethnic minorities were sent property details and literature later than their white counterparts.

The factors listed above reduced the chances for ethnic minorities to leave the inner-city. Whilst superdiversity was establishing itself there was an effort to keep it contained to one area in the city of Birmingham, excluding those in the inner-city from the rest of the society. This shows that whilst superdiversity occurs, it does not mean it is readily accepted by society. As referred to in 2.2.2 'Critiques of Superdiversity', despite superdiversity existing the relationship is not always equal. As Hall (2017) suggests, superdiversity is not always created by choice.

### 2.4.3 Continued Settlement in Inner-city Birmingham

There are different reasons for the continued settlement in these areas for both migrants and non-migrants. Phillips (1998) believes that the reason for post war migrants staying in the same area is because they wish to circulate within their community, in the same geographical area. Robinson (1996) believes that the youth of these areas want to carry on their religion and cultural traditions of previous generations, especially due to the negative experiences they have faced in the labour market.

Abbas (2006) states that second and third generation migrants are more likely to live in the same geographical location as their parents as well as carrying on their cultural traditions also. This is further backed by Antonsich (2010) who also states that family is an important factor for why both migrants and non-migrants stay in the same area for generations. Amenities are also important. When Stringer (2014) viewed the Soho Road, he noted the cultural diversity of services ranging from halal butchers to South Asian sweet stores and Eastern European grocery stores. Local shops that suit the needs of local migrants may result in their preference to stay in the area (Pemberton, 2017).

Phillimore (2013) also studied inner city Birmingham establishing that both migrants and non-migrants choose to stay in the area due to familial ties, feeling accepted, neighbourly behaviour and community; these factors were seen as important as they related to the feeling of safety. Phillimore's (2013) study examined how new and settled residents in a superdiverse area conceptualised home in the West Midlands, the participants stated that ethnicity and nationality were not particularly important to the meaning of home. It was found however that others focused more on religion or class in relation to conceptualising home, and when ethnicity was mentioned, it was in relation to safety rather than in relation to culture (Phillimore, 2013).

Pemberton (2023) went on to analyse the areas of Ladywood, Lozells and Handsworth, two of which feature in this study; he discovered that there were financial and social constraints that caused migrants to stay. However, Pemberton (2023) discovered there were many active choices, people liked the superdiversity of Lozells and Handsworth, including the lack of a dominant race and the range of different ethnicities and religions alongside the goods and services offered. Whilst Ladywood was deemed more transient in Pemberton's (2023) study, migrants liked this due to the anonymity it provided, additionally for non-migrants there was a mixture of compositional and contextual factors encouraging them to stay in the area such as family, friends and services, there was not a flight factor when migrants arrived.

Whilst many were, and are, forced to live in the inner-city because of financial and housing factors, a significant number of people choose to stay. There are different reasons for everyone (migrant and non-migrant), including familial and community ties, anonymity, and amenities.

### 2.4.4 Tensions within the Inner-city

It is unwise to think however that there has always been social harmony between different minority groups, and this includes Birmingham, where many different ethnic groups live closely together. Despite the positives of superdiversity there can still be tensions within communities. When studying Highgate, a working-class area with moderate diversity within inner-city Birmingham that primarily consisted of people from a white, black and Bangladeshi background, Stringer (2013) noted how the differences of religion were pointed out when speaking to participants within the study. There was a clear difference and separation between Christianity and Islam but more significantly religion and no religion (Stringer, 2013).

Whilst many riots have been between ethnic minorities and the establishment whether that be government or policing, or between the white British population and minorities, in Birmingham there have also been historic tensions, and rioting between ethnic minorities.

At the end of the 20th century there were many cultural protests, where politics, music and drugs were central (Lagrange, 2012). Many of these riots happened in large cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, and certain boroughs of London, like Brixton (Lagrange, 2012). An example of this was in Lozells, north of the city of Birmingham, which suffered from significant racial and police tensions in the 1980s (Burholt, 2004). Whilst there was fragmentation between minority groups, these cracks were often overlooked due to a distrust and disappointment in the mainstream government (Lagrange, 2012). A large amount of the riots were largely Afro-Caribbean youths protesting harsh policing and brutality, only intensified by a period of social and political instability (King, 2013).

Deindustrialisation and unemployment alongside social and economic disadvantage meant that in the turn of the millennium many Commonwealth migrants of different ancestries began to have conflicts with each other (Lagrange, 2012). Many of the Commonwealth migrants reside in the inner city of Birmingham, in areas such as Lozells and Handsworth (King, 2013). Treadwell and Kelly (2023) state that areas such as Lozells, Soho and Handsworth are synonymous with crime. Lozells is also named as an area by Benoit et al. (2023) that has issues with crime. It is also seen in Figure 2-5 that the area has issues with deprivation, levels of which are above the England and Wales average.

In November 2005, the atmosphere finally exploded in the area after rising socio-political tensions. Rumours amongst the pirate radio stations in Lozells and the neighbouring areas led to a riot between the South Asian community and the Caribbean community (Lagrange, 2012). The radio stations reported that a teenage girl of Caribbean origin had been raped in an Asian hair salon, both police and journalists investigated the matter, and the victim or evidence could not be found, however it led to death, arson, property damage and assault (Poynting, 2006).

Police recognised that tensions had been building between the communities for quite some time, from the Caribbean perspective, it was deemed that the areas where they lived, were being ‘taken over’ by those of South Asian origin (King, 2013). Economically the disparity was clear, with over 90% of shops on the Lozells road owned by someone of South Asian origin or descent (Vulliamy, 2005). Additionally, in the political arena there was a larger South Asian representation (King, 2013).

Karner and Parker (2008) have stated that tensions are still present in the area between communities. Lagrange (2012) reports that ethnic tensions are still visible and clearly felt. However, during the national August 2011 riots which were nationwide, there was no violence in the Lozells area (King, 2013). It is key to note that the 2011 riots were to do with disappointment with the government and not cross ethnic tensions, relating more to government treatment of ethnicities through over-policing and underserving, however it should be recognised that riots can trigger further rioting. An example of this is discussed by Segreto (2012) in section 2.5.1, ‘Discrimination against the Caribbean Community’. Latchford (2012) as cited by King (2013) believes that the lack of rioting in Birmingham was not due to luck but rather efforts between the community and police to prevent a repeat of what occurred in 2005, although the timing (it was Ramadan) and the lack of expensive shops may also have contributed.

Alongside the riots there are also stigmas. Stigmatisations are created through the media’s overhyped representations of many inner-city areas (Rhodes and Brown, 2019). Frost and Catney (2020) also agree that mainstream narratives stigmatise the inner-city where negative press coverage is constant. Articles from news sites such as Birmingham Mail, list the top ten worst areas for crime in Birmingham, 4 of which are in the Ladywood constituency, these were the city centre, Aston, Lozells and Highgate (Balloo, 2023). There are 69 wards in total in the city of Birmingham (Birmingham Public Health, 2019). This emphasises the rhetoric of danger within the constituency. Additionally, this has been published even though crime is generally decreasing in the inner-city of

Birmingham. This is due to urban regeneration and gentrification along with crime interventions (Lymperopoulou and Bannister, 2022).

There can be tensions within a superdiverse community, as seen in the city of Birmingham. It can also be seen that superdiversity does not equate to an automatic utopia which is discussed in 2.2.2, 'Critiques of Superdiversity' as one of the approaches disadvantages. However, the inner-city, where there are often diverse communities, can be overhyped and inflated by the media, creating zones of 'danger'. Although, once a negative event occurs within a community, they do not want it to happen again as seen with the calmness in the area during the 2011 riots. Efforts were put in to ensure that disruption did not happen again, showing that people of different backgrounds have the intentions of living together peacefully.

## 2.5 Caribbean Post War Migration

There are many reasons for post war migration from the Caribbean. Understanding why it has happened is important and exploring the reasonings behind why some Caribbean islands had more emigration than others is also essential. The UK has been a major destination for Caribbean migration since World War II. Many have migrated from islands such as Jamaica, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Dominica. These migrants have brought with them their own unique cultural traditions. Indentured servitude from the Caribbean has brought an Indo-Caribbean population to the UK, primarily from Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. A multitude of religions have followed the people of the Caribbean to the UK including Rastafarianism, Christianity and Hinduism. A range of social and cultural factors have enriched the regions social and cultural life. Globally speaking, the Caribbean region tends to be conflated with the island of Jamaica. There are several reasons for this misconception, which is discussed in the next chapter, Chapter 3, 'Decolonial Deconstruction of a Caribbean Crossover'.

Migration from the West Indies to Britain began in the early 1950s through to the 1970s to meet the UK's increased labour demands after the war (Smith et al., 2004). The United Kingdom was viewed as the 'motherland' to many West Indians. Whilst economic influence was a strong factor for emigrating to the United Kingdom, the imperial element had a pulling influence as from early life in the Caribbean the importance and connection of the colonising country was enforced in education (Banton, 1953).

This does not mean that all Caribbean migrants are settled in the same area and some cities have more people from certain Caribbean countries than others. As will be discussed in this section, Birmingham has a large Jamaican community. Also, Leicester has a large Antiguan and Barbudan community (Reilly, 2003). There is a significant Guyanese community in London (Sinclair and Connelly, 2018). Many Indo-Caribbeans from varying Caribbean countries live in London (Roopnarine, 2003). Additionally, there are settlers from Montserrat settled in North and East London (Shotte, 2007). Furthermore, countries such as Guadeloupe, French Guyana and Martinique are still French overseas territories (Roopnarine, 2003). Likewise, Suriname is still a Dutch overseas territory. Independence of many Caribbean islands in the West Indies from the UK did not happen at the same time. Independence started from the early 1960s to the early 1980s (Roopnarine, 2003). These factors would have affected legal status and migration rights for each island independently. Some islands like Montserrat are still under British rule and are an overseas territory. Hence why when the Soufriere volcano erupted in 1995 and destroyed a large portion of the island many migrated to the UK without a challenge to legal status, however some did struggle to adjust culturally, especially in relation to the bureaucracy and paperwork (Shotte, 2007).

For West Indians, in particular Jamaicans, migration to the UK was desirable as after World War II. Jamaica had hit an economic downfall where it was difficult to find employment and once

unemployed someone could be in that position for months or even years (Banton, 1953). When the first Windrush ship arrived from the Caribbean, majority of the British population believed everyone on the ship to be Jamaican, even though this was not the case. Lowe (2018) states that the British press recorded the spectacle, describing all aboard as Jamaicans; and this belief persisted. This view was still prominent until almost the 1990s when the show Desmond's premiered on Channel 4. Starting in 1989, Desmond's introduced other Caribbean islands to the United Kingdom, where many of the public were only familiar with Jamaica (Osborne, 2016). The phenomenon of Jamaica being the representation of the Caribbean is discussed further in 3.4.1, 'The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise'.

In the UK there was a post war time focus on labour from overseas Commonwealth countries and regions, such as the Caribbean. The emigration of migrants from the West Indies to the United Kingdom was one of the largest movements of people from the Caribbean ever recorded in the region's history. The largest amount of immigration was from the island of Jamaica (Peach, 1965). Whilst high population growth was a factor of emigration for Jamaica, it could not be the only reason, both Trinidad and British Guyana had a high population growth and Barbados was considered overpopulated, but nowhere near as many inhabitants of those islands chose to leave (Peach, 1965). Additionally, to date, the largest Caribbean residency in the United Kingdom is Jamaicans, almost 30,000 people identified with the nationality in the 2021 census, the total for all the other islands combined was approximately 25,000, the remaining islands did not even have separate categories (Office for National Statistics, 2023).

The difference between Jamaica and the other islands in the Caribbean was the immense political transitions it has encountered alongside a move to independence and economic problems. This had led to large social tensions through poverty, political corruption, and crime throughout the years. Jamaica gained independence in 1962, however both before and after this year the country had been through many political and cultural changes, where violence was unfortunately common (Edmonds, 2015).

Whilst slavery had been abolished on the island in 1838, the rule of the British elite was still felt up to the 1930s (Edmonds, 2015). The growing tensions of this political set up, alongside the price drop in sugar, between 1934 and 1939, which the country relied on, and the general poverty and exploitation that the country faced at the time, led to social unrest that made the colonial elites feel uneasy and led to early calls for independence (Edmonds, 2015). Prior to independence, after the increasing rising tensions in the 1930s, Jamaica was granted limited self-government in 1944 (Altink, 2015). However, despite the growth of Jamaican nationalism there was still a display of loyalty to Britain during the lead up to World War II (Collins (2016). The first elections were held under the new system in 1955, where the People's National Party won the vote and were appointed. However, many of the Jamaican parties were run by the middle and upper-class elite. Alongside social unrest there was a high unemployment rate in Jamaica in the 1950s, unemployment was predicted at 15%, coupled with a high birth rate, the socio-economic situation was problematic for the Jamaican government (Tidrick, 1966).

Throughout the 1950s, the British government recognised there was a need for replacement labour in key UK industries, such as rubber, construction, and manufacturing (Tidrick, 1966). The British government encouraged migrants from the commonwealth to migrate to the United Kingdom to take these vacancies (Humphries, 2004). This was convenient for the Jamaican government as an emigration of a large amount of the working-class population to the United Kingdom helped alleviate the domestic pressures and was easier to action than birth control (Tidrick, 1966). These migrants would be known as the 'Windrush Generation' as many of the Caribbean migrants arrived

in the UK on the ship, Empire Windrush, in 1948. They would unfortunately face personal and systematic racism in the UK which is discussed in the next section.

From 1960 to 1962 the UK conservative government tried to control migration by introducing a voucher system for non-UK commonwealth citizens to enter the country (Stratton, 2010). Due to the uncertainty of their migration rights this caused an increase of Caribbean migrants to Britain, and those already in Britain sent for their immediate families (Stratton, 2010). Whilst one in nine West Indians eventually returned to the Caribbean, the introduction of the legislation had inadvertently increased and introduced long term settlement of the black population (Stratton, 2010, p.13). The announcement of the law ironically increased a rush of migration for a short period until the policy was finalised (Stratton, 2010). In the same year, despite initial resistance from the British, Jamaica gained independence. However, the deal was not clear cut, Jamaica's new legal system was still based on English Common Law and the political institutions still followed the patterns of Westminster (Henry and Miller, 2009).

Jamaica has had a two-party system since the 1950s which has resulted in much blood loss. Starting from trade unions, the Jamaican Labour Party emerged from the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and the Peoples National Party rose from the Trade Union Congress, and it was not uncommon for there to be violence between both groups (Dawson, 2016). This led to further migration from the island of Jamaica to the United Kingdom in the 1960s and 1970s, driven by factors such as political unrest and economic instability in the Caribbean.

The weakening economy caused by both parties, the Cold War and general class tensions resulted in an increase in violent clashes in urban areas of Jamaica in the 1970s between the supporters of both the PNP and the JLP. Arson, garrison communities, political assassinations and the rise of criminal gangs, who were more like paramilitary organisations were commonly involved both in politics and the drug trade, and the Jamaican military were deployed at points (Clarke, 2006). Throughout this time, the line between who were the 'good guys' and the 'bad guys' was becoming increasingly blurred; with the CIA adding fuel to the fire, destabilising the country by providing arms and financial support to the pro-US Jamaican Labour Party which then led to JLP-affiliated criminals such as Dudus and Lester Coke (Edmonds, 2016).

The paramilitaries' tasks ranged from protecting the party's supporters to acting as security for the politicians themselves or using violence against the opposing politicians, judging people on their own political systems. This system continued for almost two decades, however the tides changed in the 1980s with the growth of the international drugs trade. Now, the paramilitaries no longer had to rely on the government for funding but could make it through their own means (Edmonds, 2016). The tables turned. The politicians were struggling, and the paramilitaries were profiting due to Jamaica's position of being a valuable shipment point for Colombian drug lords (Arias, 2020). The Dons were now the state providing employment and welfare services (Clarke, 2006). The turn of tides did not last long for the paramilitaries however, Manley was re-elected in 1989, who now steered towards neoliberalism and had no interest in protecting the JLP affiliated gangs (Edmonds, 2016).

It is clear to see why the island has had such large migration and why the country has such a large diaspora worldwide with a clear distrust between the people and the government that still exists to this day even though it has subsided. The countries periods of violence and economic instability has meant that many migrated for safety and better opportunities. The large diasporic movement has led to it being one of the better-known islands in the Caribbean with many of the island's inhabitants and descendants now in the UK, and more specific to this thesis, Birmingham. The prominence of Jamaican migration has led to findings in the analysis of how shops advertise to superdiverse

communities. The countries prominence has become a signifier of the Caribbean itself as discussed in section 5.2 'Shop Names, Subheadings and Colour'.

### 2.5.1 Discrimination against the Black and Caribbean Community

Initially, Caribbean migrants faced great hostilities from the British public when they arrived. They struggled to find employment and housing whilst also facing difficulties in education and healthcare, they faced discrimination from many different quarters. The most famous sign they were greeted with on establishments were 'No Blacks, no dogs, no Irish' (Corbally, 2009). Mass immigration from the Caribbean, perceived as Jamaicans caused a racial backlash in the UK, this led to riots between Two-Tone followers who were pro-integration and the skin head subculture who followed a conservative punk subculture motivated by racial prejudice (Stambuli, 2007). The Caribbean community were seen to be on the lowest rungs of society.

Buettner (2014) writes of how in 1964 Conservative politician Peter Griffiths ran a notoriously racist platform in Smethwick, stoking racial tensions using the slogan 'If you want a nigger for a neighbour vote Labour' even though his and his followers' discontent was primarily aimed at Sikhs. Birmingham was also the centre of Conservative politician Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968. Atkins (2018) explained how he induced fear into his constituents, speaking of the 'overflowing' Commonwealth migration that would destroy the country, invoking support through terror using phrases such as 'Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad'. There were even cases in Birmingham of schools rejecting children with support of some parents, as the 1965 Education White Paper declared only a third of school children should be migrants, however this would be difficult in zones with high number of ethnic minorities and resulted in children being transported to other areas (Henry, 1982). Additionally, as discussed in 2.4.2 'Post War Settlement of Inner-city Birmingham' the living situation for many ethnic migrants was also undesirable.

Post World War II Britain displayed the belief of the Caribbean creole language, and the people who spoke it, as unintelligible. Mühleisen (2005) identifies how English creoles were mostly viewed as inferior and incorrect English deemed as unintelligible; the Caribbean populations' grammar and speech were viewed as wrong, rather than different, or a dialect. For many white Britons, all black people were assumed to have West Indian accents and to come from Jamaica; however, this led to the positive media representations through the creation of programmes such as Desmond's which broadened conceptions of narrow-minded stereotypes and familiarised the British audience with the complex nature and history of the Caribbean (Osborne, 2016). It defied the stereotype of black families being unstable and lazy, and used the West Indian dialect prominently which was often perceived as 'unintelligible' (Osborne, 2016).

Most likely in retaliation to what has been discussed above Birmingham developed a strong relationship with the black power movement through the 1960s and 1970s. When US Black Power pioneer Stokely Carmichael visited London, he inspired several Black Power movements to develop throughout the country, one location included Birmingham (Narayan, 2019). This did not only inspire the black minority, but also other minorities, with new inter-ethnic alliances made. The Birmingham branch of the Indian Workers Association was led by Jagmohan Joshi who routinely collaborated with Black British Power groups, often sending members of the IWA to BBP movements and demonstrations (Wild, 2008).

In addition to societal reactions and housing issues, finding employment was difficult and these issues were not just Birmingham specific, they were national. Despite the Windrush generation being invited to the UK to seek employment, they faced many barriers to obtaining work. The expansion of the economy due to US loans meant that factories, such as those involved in metal

could increase production to develop technologies, this led to work for many Caribbean migrants as the jobs were deemed unattractive to the British public as the shifts were long and the pay was poor (Segreto, 2014). Many West Indian migrants could only find work in unskilled and menial jobs (Cross and Johnson, 2022). London Transport and the British Restaurant and Hotels Association had agents residing in the Caribbean looking for workers (Gmelch, 1987). Nurses and doctors from the Caribbean also endured discrimination when it came to training. The workers were expected to gain the State Register Nurse qualification for international recognition, however statistical data from the National Archives found that nursing authorities deemed the racial characteristics of the Caribbean doctors and nurses 'limited', stating that their intellect would never match the standard of that time (Segreto, 2014). Even when in esteemed positions, such as academia, minorities are subject to microaggressions and subtle racism, through acts such as hyper surveillance, or acts which suggest that ethnic minorities are less capable (Rollock, 2012). Additionally, Ram et al. (2001) found that there have been difficulties for those from Afro-Caribbean background to get business funding, often being less successful in accessing bank loans, often having to turn to start-up funding as a last resort.

Ethnic minorities are more likely to receive a lower standard of healthcare through factors such as persistent hospital visits, poor treatment of pain management or being transferred to more suitable hospitals after inadequacy (Soares et al., 2019). This may be due to ethnic minority patients being subject to testimonial injustice where they are judged and diagnosed on the physician's subtle unconscious biases and stereotypes. They are not taken seriously, or their conditions are downplayed, studies have shown this is more likely to happen to black patients than white patients (Beach et al., 2021). Beach et al. (2021) also discusses how black patients with proven diseases such as sickle cell are still treated with suspicion when explaining how much distress the disease is causing, explaining how they must convince medical professionals to trust them.

Research has also had its moments of discrimination against ethnic minorities. Throughout slavery new techniques and remedies were tried upon black slaves however many of these trials were highly unethical. For example, to investigate heat stroke one slave was put in an open pit and covered until he succumbed and fainted, he was then given 'medication' that was trialled to see if it would prevent the condition (Harris et al., 1996). Women in slavery were also used in this practice, Southern doctors were searching for a cure for vaginal fistulas, however no pain medication was used as anaesthetic was not invented and the women involved could not refuse to participate (Savitt, 1982). This is not to say white bodies were not exposed to these practices also, poor seaman and European immigrants were also used as medical material however black people were easier to use due to having no voice in the public sphere (Evans et al., 2020).

Distrust carried on further with the Tuskegee Syphilis study in the 1930s. The study involved poor croppers infected with syphilis in Alabama and was designed to document the natural development of the disease (Harris et al., 1996). In the 1930s however a cure was found with the use of penicillin, and this became widely available in the 1940s but the participants were not made aware of the treatment; only due to a press release in the 1970s the study was reluctantly terminated (Harris et al., 1996). This study had no therapeutic properties and was an extreme violation of human rights.

In addition, the education system itself, especially universities, were built on colonial histories. Several Russell Group universities, which are some of the most celebrated, have quite strong ties to enforcing and protecting British imperialism (Bhambra et al., 2018). The histories of colonisation are woven into the stories of these universities. Oxford University has a statue of Cecil Rhodes whilst Francis Galton has a campus named after him at University College London (Ahmet, 2020). Francis Galton was a eugenicist, and Rhodes may have led the way to apartheid in South Africa by changing laws which affected land ownership.

Furthermore, throughout history there have been studies and research that has constantly undermined or viewed black people as inferior. The book, The Bell Curve written by Hernstein and

Murray (1994) argued that some races were less intelligent and featured many stereotypes. Rothman and Snyderman (1988) wrote a book claiming that the supposed gap in intelligence between the black and white population was genetically based. Even recently in the UK Sociology curriculum in 2018, an AQA textbook was found describing Caribbean fathers and husbands as absent whilst the women bore majority of the responsibility (Briscoe-Palmer, 2021).

These points are further emphasised by the lack of black researchers, professors, and academics in academia. Mattocks and Briscoe Palmer (2018) write how black students are less likely to progress onto doctorates due to often studying at a post-1992 university with additional factors interplaying such as class and language. Additionally, Bhopal (2014) points out that black students lack the access to insider networks. The Higher Educational Statistics Agency (2014) state that less than 1% of professors are black. Even within universities black professors are aware of their sparsity. Rollock (2019) reports how one participant noticed the lack of black academics in her university institution, describing them as 'dotted about'. Fazackerley (2019) adds how minority students are turning away from PhDs, with feelings of anxiety and depression, often realising that they are the only minority in the room with no role models to look up to or supervisors who do not understand the view they are trying to present through their research.

The number of issues surrounding the policing of the black Caribbean community has long been problematic, the Caribbean community have faced countless acts of discrimination. When migrants arrived in the UK, the 'mother' country, in the 1960s, they were naïve and not prepared for the hostilities of the police force, who held the prejudices and attitudes of the host community; when they went to the police for support and help, they were met with ignorance and coldness (Whitfield, 2006). The police rejected offers from the West Indian community to help with training and relations and whilst the police began to offer racial awareness training in 1964 it was tokenistic; it was rewritten in 1981, but complaints have persisted (Whitfield, 2006).

On 18th January 1981 13 young black individuals were burnt to death at a house whilst celebrating a birthday in Brixton in a suspected racist arson attack; police found a liquid spread across the ground floor that potentially started the fire however the investigation did not lead to arrests (Mercer, 2013). This led to a march which went past parliament with the slogan 'Thirteen Dead and Nothing Said' (Segreto, 2014). The march had a small number of marchers who had confrontations with the police, however the minor confrontations were emphasised in the national newspapers over the following days and the organisers were arrested and accused of inciting riots, but were later released without charges (Segreto, 2014). Additionally in 1981, there was a chase between a policeman patrolling a street and an injured young black individual, a rumour started that the policeman was trying to arrest the injured boy and within hours riots started; the riot in Brixton lasted for one day but it quickly spread to other cities in the country (Segreto, 2014).

In the 1990s there was the case of Stephen Lawrence; a young and gifted boy studying and aspiring to be an architect who was the victim of an inhumane and brutal racially motivated murder. The murder initially received limited attention from the press. The opening of the private prosecution case in 1996 collapsed due to limited evidence. This led to further publicity in the papers which reported on the murder, taking the side of Stephen who was not a perceived stereotype and had 'respectable' hardworking parents (Cottle, 2008). Touched by the grief of the Lawrences and disgusted by the suspects, the media began to report on the blunders made by the police alongside the suspects' refusal to answer questions (Cottle, 2008). The inquiry led by William Macpherson on the murder in 1999 further highlighted institutional racism, incompetencies and lack of leadership within the police force (Foster et al., 2005). These revelations began to highlight the racism within the police force. The murder of Stephen Lawrence confirmed and justified ethnic minorities' distrust of the police and the policing system in general.

Issues with policing did not stop with Stephen Lawrence however, in 2011 Mark Duggan was shot to death by the police under unclear circumstances (Segreto, 2012). A peaceful protest was held but disorder spread into the London borough of Islington, Tottenham, and Brixton, this then spread into other cities such as Nottingham and Birmingham (Segreto, 2012).

Most recently the Windrush scandal highlighted further discrimination towards the Caribbean community in the United Kingdom and is an explicit example of administrative violence which was discussed in 2.2.2, 'Critiques of Superdiversity'. The Windrush scandal occurred as a consequence of a 2012 immigration policy where a 'hostile environment' was created for illegal immigrants (Hewitt, 2020). Due to a lack of documentation to confirm their legal status, many Caribbean-born migrants were denied the right to work, access to healthcare, state benefits and in some cases were faced with deportation or barred from entry after travelling abroad despite many of these individuals' having lawfully lived decades in the UK. The absence of documents was for valid reasons. Firstly, the landing cards that were used by officials to validate the Windrush arrivals legitimate right to stay were destroyed (Peng, 2020). Some travelled in 1948 as 'Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies' where their island of birth was still under British rule, and many travelled on parents' passports into the country and never had their own documents (Hewitt, 2020). It highlighted the issues within the bureaucracy that was not structured or heavily resourced, and many people could not legally challenge the accusations. The real insult was the suspicion placed on those who were accused having to collate their own evidence, when national insurance numbers, NHS records and Revenue and Customs information showed their right to reside in the United Kingdom (Hewitt, 2020).

Despite these challenges, the Caribbean community has persisted and established strong communities in cities such as Birmingham. They have showed resilience and determination, contributing culturally, socially, and economically. However, highlighting the discrimination the community has faced through different areas of society shows how postcolonial treatment has constantly undermined and penalised the society. It also highlights the reasons why there is a clear distrust in policing and establishments which is further discussed in the autoethnography featured in Chapter 4, 'Methods and Methodologies'. It also explains the background to movements such as Black Lives Matter, which started in America after the murder of George Floyd by a police officer and gained global prominence.

### 2.5.2 Caribbean and Jamaican Migration in Birmingham

The black Caribbean population in England and Wales was 622,381 in 2021, an increase from 594,825 in 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Birmingham still had the largest Caribbean population in any local authority of England and Wales, but in terms of the city's overall makeup, it has decreased by one percentage in the ten years between the 2011 and 2021 census, the comparisons can be made between Table 2-4 and Figure 2-7 below. According to the 2021 census Croydon and Lewisham still have the second and third largest amounts of Black Caribbean residents, whilst another West Midlands destination - Sandwell - entered the list as seen in Table 2-4 below as one of the most popular areas for Black Caribbean residents also.

| Local Authority | Number of black residents | Percentage of Black Caribbean population of England and Wales living in each local authority area |
|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 44673 | 7.2% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Croydon | 36076 | 5.8% |
| Lewisham | 31857 | 5.1% |
| Lambeth | 28951 | 4.6% |
| Brent | 21238 | 3.4% |
| Southwark | 18133 | 2.9% |
| Hackney | 17886 | 2.9% |
| Waltham Forest | 17576 | 2.8% |
| Enfield | 16976 | 2.7% |
| Haringey | 16324 | 2.6% |
| Newham | 13567 | 2.2% |
| Sandwell | 13096 | 2.1% |
| Ealing | 12878 | 2.1% |
| Wandsworth | 11343 | 1.8% |

*Table 2-4 Local authorities with the highest Black Caribbean populations according to the 2021 census (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

**Table 1: Percentage of the Black Caribbean population of England and Wales living in each local authority area (top 13)**

| Local authority | Number of Black Caribbean residents | Percentage of Black Caribbean people living there |
|---|---|---|
| **Birmingham** | 47,641 | 8.0% |
| **Croydon** | 31,320 | 5.3% |
| **Lewisham** | 30,854 | 5.2% |
| **Lambeth** | 28,886 | 4.9% |
| **Brent** | 23,723 | 4.0% |
| **Hackney** | 19,168 | 3.2% |
| **Waltham Forest** | 18,841 | 3.2% |
| **Haringey** | 18,087 | 3.0% |
| **Southwark** | 17,974 | 3.0% |
| **Enfield** | 17,334 | 2.9% |
| **Newham** | 15,050 | 2.5% |
| **Ealing** | 13,192 | 2.2% |
| **Wandsworth** | 12,297 | 2.1% |

In 2011, 164 local authorities had fewer than 200 Black Caribbean residents. This is almost half (47%) of all local authorities in England and Wales.

*Figure 2-7 Local authorities with the highest Black Caribbean populations in 2011 (GOV.UK, 2019a)*

According to the Office for National Statistics (2023) the mixed population of white and black Caribbean accounted for 2.2% of the city population. Whilst Birmingham has the largest Caribbean population of any local authority in the UK, it is only approximately 7% of the Caribbean population in England and Wales according to the 2021 Census as seen in Table 2-4 above. When we situate this to the city of Birmingham it is only 3.88% of the city's population. In other words, they are a small ethnicity within the city. Despite this, they still have built communities within Birmingham.

As discussed throughout the latter part of this chapter and into the next, the Caribbean region is made up of a number of nationalities and ethnicities. The Black Caribbean community does not represent all of the Caribbean, there is a sizeable Asian Caribbean community in the UK from

countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Suriname. Unfortunately, the census does not reflect this, and it cannot be seen as an option to choose 'Asian: Caribbean'.

When looking at the national identity data from the Office for National Statistics (2019), the highest number of Jamaicans living in the UK are in Birmingham with a population of almost 2500. This is 25% more than the next highest location, Lambeth in London. There is a numerical Jamaican dominance in most big cities (Sebba and Tate, 2002). In relation to the other islands, which were grouped together in the census, the highest population numbers were of similar amounts across five local authorities: Birmingham, Croydon, Lambeth, Lewisham, and Southwark. All of which had populations between 750 and 1000 people who identified as Caribbean: other (Office for National Statistics, 2023).

As discussed in section 2.5.1, 'Discrimination against the Caribbean Community', Caribbean migrants often faced discrimination through housing and employment. This led to localised West Indian communities being developed in big cities. This was mainly due to safety and negativity (Robinson, 1996). Premdas (1996) explains this happens with transnational movement between Caribbean migrants due to familiarity and loneliness. The discrimination the Caribbean community faced reduced the chances for ethnic minorities to improve their lives, confining them to their current predicaments and hindering their ability to move from the inner city. Just under half of the Caribbean community today are in the Ladywood constituency or its neighbouring constituencies, Erdington and Perry Barr; the staying power of these constituencies include family, amenities, safety and superdiversity. Whilst Perry Barr has the largest percentage of the Caribbean community, Ladywood has the largest number of individuals (Office for National Statistics, 2023).

It should be remembered that whilst these three constituencies hold many of the Caribbean community, there are pockets of the community in other areas of the city as seen in Table 2-5 below. The Ladywood constituency is broken further down in Table 2-6 showing the amount of the Caribbean community in each ward, and there is a clear diversity within the constituency itself. This, along with a growing Caribbean population in Sandwell shows that whilst just under half of the community is based in three constituencies, it is important to remember that the Caribbean community is all over the city and surrounding regions.

| Geography | **All people** | **Black Caribbean or Black British** | **Percentage of Constituency** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Constituencies (BCC)** | | | |
| Birmingham, Edgbaston | 100,173 | 3,617 | 3.61% |
| Birmingham, Erdington | 104,885 | 6,762 | 6.45% |
| Birmingham, Hall Green | 121,916 | 2,816 | 2.31% |
| Birmingham, Hodge Hill | 132,351 | 2,823 | 2.13% |
| Birmingham, Ladywood | 144,091 | 10,178 | 7.06% |
| Birmingham, Northfield | 105,955 | 2,775 | 2.62% |
| Birmingham, Perry Barr | 112,408 | 8,977 | 7.99% |
| Birmingham, Selly Oak | 109,573 | 2,677 | 2.44% |
| Sutton Coldfield | 96,661 | 1,410 | 1.46% |
| Birmingham, Yardley | 116,938 | 2,688 | 2.30% |

*Table 2-5 Numbers of Black Caribbean or Black British residents in each constituency of Birmingham (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

| Ward | Percentage of Ward that is Black Caribbean or Black British |
|---|---|
| Aston | 5.6 |
| Bordesley & Highgate | 5 |
| Bordesley Green | 2.8 |
| Holyhead | 10.4 |
| Ladywood | 6.3 |
| Lozells | 5.7 |
| Nechells | 6.5 |
| Newtown | 9.4 |
| North Edgbaston | 5.6 |
| Soho & Jewellery Quarter | 9.8 |
| Average of Ladywood Constituency | 6.71 (although official Census 2021 data states 7.06%) |

*Table 2-6: Numbers of Black Caribbean or Black British residents in the Ladywood constituency wards (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

Despite the Caribbean community having a large presence in Birmingham, the largest of any local authority in England and Wales, they are still a small community, which raises the question of how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways attract the wider audience of Birmingham or more specifically the superdiverse Ladywood constituency. Realistically it would be difficult for the businesses to survive serving just the Caribbean community. This thesis explores how they attract other communities using a number of methods which are discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

## 2.6 Chapter Conclusion

In conclusion, while this chapter has delved into the concept of superdiversity, it is equally vital to examine its precursor, multiculturalism, along with the associated concepts. Differentiating between multiculturalism and superdiversity is crucial, recognising that the latter extends beyond ethnicity to fully comprehend the diversity of a region, which is indispensable in contemporary society. However, it remains a work in progress that needs to incorporate power dynamics and intersectionality.

Multiculturalism and superdiversity both address the diversity in society however the angles they take are different. Multiculturalism feeds into policies, often focusing on specific communities and teaching equality between all cultural identities, and whilst inevitably having good intentions multiculturalism created a further separateness. Superdiversity is a concept that refers to a heightened state of a complex diversity that is fluid and dynamic in nature, with intersecting identities that go beyond ethnicity and include, but is not limited to, age, socio-economic background, religion, and migration status.

Religion is of importance in superdiversity. The relationship between religion and superdiversity is examined in this chapter, especially in relation to food. The focus on Islam in the UK and Birmingham leads to a discussion of halal food and the significant role religion plays in food consumption. This examination underscores the significance of religion in superdiversity and, more importantly, its

application to food. This will be further analysed in Chapter 7, 'The Appeal of the Old Creole and the New Creole' in relation to this thesis's research on how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways advertise to the Ladywood constituency.

The chapter concludes with a discussion on Caribbean post-war migration to the UK and the discrimination faced by this community. It explores Caribbean and Jamaican migration in Birmingham, delving into the motivations behind their settlement in the country and city, providing a vital background to the community itself and its wariness of the establishment.

Understanding all these aspects underscores the broader implications of superdiversity, highlighting its necessity in analysing modern urban landscapes, particularly in the context of Birmingham and the Ladywood constituency.

# 3 Chapter 3: Decolonial Deconstruction of a Caribbean Crossover

The investigation into the term superdiversity in the previous chapter initiated more intensive consideration of how diverse the UK is, and how superdiverse Birmingham is, in relation to multiple factors such as ethnicity, religion, migration status, and language.

This chapter begins with an exploration of the term creole and its meaning in relation to the Caribbean and the regions cuisine. It examines the similarities between creole and superdiversity and is followed by an examination of the Caribbean menu today, both in the Caribbean and the United Kingdom. It explores how the cuisine has become further creolised since entering the United Kingdom and forms the argument of how all these factors contribute to a cuisine that may attract a superdiverse community.

The chapter then delves into the meanings of postcolonialism and decolonialism, understanding how these terms are related to superdiversity. This is followed by a discussion on branding and the economic value of diversity, exploring how a broader reach of diversity may influence advertising for economic purposes, alongside the meaning of authenticity and the importance of naming.

There is then a discussion on how the Caribbean is perceived globally and in the United Kingdom. This is followed by an exploration of the crossover of Caribbean culture, examining the perceived popularity of the community's music compared to the supposed lack of popularity of the community's cuisine.

The previous chapter focused on how the Caribbean community, among others, has become marginalised and oppressed through a British colonial framework of systemic racism and discrimination. This power hierarchy has led to the belief that success in business is only relevant if it occurs in the dominant mainstream society, overlooking the potential to advertise to an alternative superdiverse audience.

The power of decolonial thought, i.e. viewing the Caribbean community and their food businesses from a decolonial perspective, is explored through the story of the Jamaican food company Grace from Cook and Harrison's (2003) research. Their research highlights how the company has learnt to advertise to a diasporic Caribbean community in different countries and to other global audiences (Cook and Harrison, 2003). This is where superdiversity comes in, explaining how a superdiverse society has many different needs that a creole cuisine like Caribbean can provide. Instead of focusing solely on how the Caribbean cuisine fits into mainstream British society, this thesis looks at how the Caribbean cuisine could advertise to a superdiverse hub such as the Ladywood constituency.

The chapter concludes by discussing the different delivery methods for the cuisine, including delivery and dine-in, understanding how superdiversity and COVID-19 influenced choices through these methods. It then ends with a summary of the chapter discussion.

## 3.1 The Meaning of Creole and its importance in Caribbean Food

The term creole itself has gone through many changes throughout history. Starting in the 16$^{th}$ century, the word is thought to have originated from the Portuguese word 'crioulo', meaning a person raised in the house (Eble, 2006). In between the 17$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century it originally referred to a white individual of European descent who was born in a tropical colony, usually the West Indies; after this it was applied to languages (Ashcroft et al., 2003). The term creole came with negative connotations, emigrations to far lands was thought to transform people, it was not just ethnic, or social but also geographical (Stewart, 2016). The terms reputation started to shift in the Americas

during independence, it had positive connotations, being of a creole identity made the population distinctive from the old world, the New world society embraced their newfound identity (Stewart, 2016). Brathwaite (1971) explains that creolisation is a where a community creates a new social construct which involves different cultures absorbing each other's identities and in turn creating a new fusion of society.

Those who were displaced against their will in the Caribbean were often on their own in their journey, this meant they had to interact with others (Mintz, 1993). This led to a creolisation which created a new identity, not just biologically, but socially and culturally (Garth, 2013). This was the Caribbean identity, and with that came a new cuisine, which is the focus of this thesis. South American food had been introduced approximately 6000 years ago whilst in 500 BCE sea travel connected the Lesser and Greater Antilles, which introduced farming to most islands; the African continent through slavery contributed Yoruba, Kongolese and Fulani culinary traditions to the Caribbean (Goucher, 2014). Senat (2023) also confirms African influence on the Caribbean cuisine. Silver trade from the Americas to East Asia bought cuisines from Indonesia, Mauritius, and the Philippines (Goucher, 2014). The fight in favour of ending slavery mean that Europe began to favour indentured servitude, which in turn led to an influx of Chinese and South Asian labourers (Galenson, 1984). Indentured servants then contributed to the foods and cooking styles of the Caribbean, combining the East and the West (Goffe, 2019). Whilst in the 19$^{th}$ century the term of creolisation had shifted due to the continuous mixing of cultures, in this period it meant locally born, but excluded Asians who had just arrived in the Caribbean; however, this did not stop Asian cuisines entering the cultural cooking pot (Goucher, 2014). Whilst colonialism forcibly brought people and their traditions to the Caribbean it also contributed European influences to the culture and cuisine also (Garth, 2013).

The Caribbean cuisine is unique, yet identifiable with a complex mixture of time, circumstance, and nationality. The regions' cuisine has been influenced by the original Arawak inhabitants, followed by a synchroneity of migrants, slavery, indentured servitude, colonial rule, and a complex import and exportation model. However, when people speak of the Caribbean it is often as a collective, not identifying that it is a collection of different islands and countries with a mixture of cultures and ethnicities. Garth (2013) argues that the Caribbean is hard to define due to its social and cultural practices being as varied as the cuisine itself thanks to colonial experiments in the New World. Additionally, the terms 'West Indies' and the 'Caribbean' are often used interchangeably to describe the island nations and South American mainland countries surrounding the Caribbean Sea. This thesis primarily focuses on the islands and countries that were owned by the British colonies in the Caribbean.

It could be argued that the Caribbean was one of the first examples of globalisation. Goucher (2014) explains how the region shows the earliest examples of a shared humanity, with the culture and languages of four continents meeting in one place, the responsibility of which belonged to Christopher Columbus in 1492, although this was not his main intention. European colonisers visited the islands which in turn led to a globalised Atlantic naval trade. Iberians, such as the Portuguese and Spanish, arrived first, followed by the English French, Dutch and Danish (Webb et al., 2020). The visitors, who were soon to be colonisers amongst other things, changed the landscape with each ship's arrival being larger and their stays being longer (Goucher, 2014). This resulted in a new global world within a particularly small region of the globe.

The influence of the number of religions in the Caribbean should also not be ignored. The Caribbean is largely Christian as discussed in section 3.4.1.2, 'Portrayal of the Caribbean in Cinema, Literature and the Media'. It has been said that Jamaica has the most churches per square mile (Mordecai and Mordecai, 2000). Whilst Trinidad and Tobago have a sizeable community that follow Islam as

discussed in section 2.3, 'Religion, Superdiversity and Food: Islam globally, in the UK, and Birmingham'. There is also the Rastafarian religion, founded in Jamaica in the 1930s, which additionally acted as a Jamaican underclass movement fighting oppression. Rastafarians were often persecuted by locals and government however the development of reggae and Bob Marley promoted and popularised the religion. The influence of Rastafarianism and Bob Marley is discussed further in section 3.4.2 'The 'successful' crossover of Caribbean music'.

Each island has had centuries of immigration and emigration. Majority of the islands started with indigenous tribes' examples being the Arawaks and Caribs. Approximately 500 years ago Jamaica and other Caribbean islands were also home to European colonisers and the slaves they brought (Lindskog, 1998). Examples of such are Suriname being ruled by the Dutch, Martinique by the French and Antigua and Barbuda by the English. These take-overs, which were often hostile, would have an influence over the region's architecture, food and language. On many Caribbean islands you can find Little Englands, Little Frances and Little Spains, which are colonial replicas of the ruling countries at the times of conquests and slavery (Hall, 1995). Whilst conquests and colonies are an important aspect of Caribbean cultural identity, counter movements from the indigenous and undermined communities led to independence and the development of a national consciousness (Hall, 1995). It is important to acknowledge that even before colonisation, the inhabitants of the Caribbean were aware of 'others' (Garth, 2013), reflecting an even earlier example of globalisation, that whilst might have been smaller scale was still impactful to the region. Mintz (1993) describes the indigenous Caribbeans as the first modernised people of the world aware of their neighbours who had cultural differences with the ability to be open to alternative ideas which could change their ways of thinking. Additionally, there are several islands where black people are not the majority. Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana have large Indian populations due to indentured labour from colonialism, Cuba has a large Hispanic population, and the Dominican Republic is heavily influenced by Latin America (Hall, 1995). All of these factors have created a complex creole of identities in the Caribbean.

Whilst the acquisition of new knowledge and discoveries are essential for development and progress, they do not always have positive consequences. European discovery of the Caribbean led to natural food sources being exhausted, with soil exhaustion prevalent due to the plantation production of sugar through the Atlantic slave trade (Sandiford, 2000). Over two hundred years, from the 16$^{th}$ to the 19$^{th}$ century, millions of Africans were forced into chattel slavery whilst hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Asian labourers were put into indentured servitude to contribute to the plantation economy (Garth, 2013). These interactions brought people, and food from all over the world together, leading to many cultural elements being transformed, one of which was food, which essentially became a creole.

Creole can also be associated with language. Creole languages develop from pidgin languages; where the language vocabulary has been simplified by both parties to the extent it is no longer native to either side but still mutually intelligible, when pidgins become the established language of the community it then evolves into the description of a 'creole' language (Dwivedi, 2015). An example of a creole is Caribbean English, also known as 'patois. From a linguistics perspective this would be labelled as a dialect as it is a regional variant of the same lexicon, distinguished by grammar and pronunciation. However, Braithwaite (1996) describes it as a national language as it is not the imported taught English, but a language of experience which has its own rhythm; he winces at the term dialect as he believes it insinuates the use of 'bad' English that can be used for comedic value or as a parody. Braithwaite's (1996) opinion of patois being a national language mirrors that of many post-colonial linguists who believe it is an oral tradition, where the noise that is pronounced is part of the meaning.

### 3.1.1 The Complexity of Creole

The above focuses on the definitions of creole but it is important to know where the term developed from and the interpretations that followed it, especially with the importance of time and place. Cohen and Sheringham (2016) agree with the latter part of the sentence, stating that historians emphasise the importance of time whilst geographers highlight the importance of space. For social geographers, space and place are imperative in influencing social encounters. Massey (1993) argues that not only does society construct space but space constructs sociality, and these processes are not static but in fact dynamic. These two elements are imperative to understanding the complexities of the term creole.

Stewart (2016) highlights that several creole languages developed from slavery and plantations, he explains that linguists, anthropologists and historians have tried to understand the painful social conditions in which the creole grew. However, some believe that the process of slavery does not represent the origins of the term creole. Hannerz (1987) believes that different societies draw on the same available cultural stock material, mixing through the same similar processes; the worlds continuous movement is in effect creolisation. Glissant (1995) agrees, stating that creolisation is not unique to the Caribbean region, believing there is no purity of one society and that creolisation is fluid and unending. There are some who ask if creolisation is being used correctly in contemporary society, instead describing hybridity or syncretism which have been reappropriated from their past negative meanings to present a positive re-evaluation of the importance of mixture (Stewart, 2016).

Mintz (1998) however, states that you cannot remove the history of the New World development from the term creolisation, there is a history to how the term developed. The extremes of slavery do not match the possibility of eating a Big Mac in Tokyo (Stewart, 2016). Ashcroft et al. (2003) has said similar, stating that whilst it could be argued that the continuous intermixing of the modern population is in fact creating a creole community the term is generally used in South America and the Caribbean with a connection to European post-colonial societies that have racially or ethnically mixed communities. Khan (2004) adds to that argument of why the term creolisation should not be used globally; in Trinidad creolisation speaks of a genetic mixture between those of white European ancestry and those that have ancestry of black African slaves, it does not tend to include Sino or Indo-Trinidadian populations. If it does not include all cultures in the Caribbean, then how can creole become an open phenomenon globally.

Another example of the complexity of the term applies to the island of Mauritius. It is an island that has a population of approximately one million people and is located 800km from Madagascar; the island's inhabitants have arrived over the past 300 years and are descendants of those from France, China, Africa, India and Madagascar (Eriksen, 2016). Half the population is Hindu, but this consists of North Indians, Tamils, Telugus, and Marathis, who all function separately as ethnic groups. This is followed by a 17% North Indian Muslim population, 28% percent are creoles, which in a Mauritian context means non-white Catholics of African, Malagasy, or mixed descent, 7% are Tamils, 3% of the population are Chinese whilst less than 2% percent are Franco-Mauritians (Eriksen, 2016). The African population arrived via slavery from Africa and Madagascar in the 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century, the Sino-Mauritians were the most recent arrivals, arriving in the first half of the 20$^{th}$ century with a small number following after the Chinese revolution, the French Mauritians are descendants of the Frenchmen who arrived in the 18$^{th}$ century, and those of Indian descent arrived through a system similar to indentured servitude, replacing the liberated plantation slaves (Eriksen, 2016).

Some would argue that the island is an example of creolisation, Franco-Mauritians eat spicy curries and rice like others on the island and the French based creole (known as Kreol or Morisyen) is spoken by most of the island; however, it is only the Mauritians of African or Malagasy descent that are classified locally as Creoles (Eriksen, 2016). Also to clarify whilst Kreol is widely spoken, French is largely used in the media and English is used for administration (Eriksen, 2016). Unlike the other groups Creoles do not have ties to their past; Sino-Mauritians whilst changing culturally still have ties

to relatives in China, and Franco-Mauritian ties to France have waned however despite being the smallest group they are the most economically and culturally dominant, even maintaining their rights and customs when Britain conquered the island during the Napoleonic wars (Eriksen, 2016). Those from the Indian subcontinent could be seen as uprooted like those with an African background however they have found their identities through identity politics since the 1990s, with a Hindu movement similar to the Bharatiya Janata Party (Eriksen, 2016). Muslims have adopted an Islamic identity rather than one related to their country of origin, forging relations with Arabic states, whilst Tamils have also followed the route of identity politics travelling to ancestral countries to find their selves (Eriksen, 2016).

Whilst the Kreol language is spoken by many on the island, it is not the official language and when pushes were made to make it the official language there was resistance from all communities on the island (Eriksen, 2016). Firstly, Kreol is seen as a less developed French, it is not seen as proper; secondly there was a fear that making it the main language at the expense of French and English would increase the isolation the island faces, finally whilst all groups used it, it still had strong ties to the Kreol community and represented unwanted pasts (Eriksen, 2016). There is also a battle between multiculturalism and creolisation on the island, whilst there are many different communities, there can be a tendency to oppose intermixing, many believe mixing would upset the balance and the equilibrium in place that is already precarious (Eriksen, 2016).

However, it should be clear that this is not the view of all on the island, Eriksen (2016) spoke to a child of an acquaintance on the island who lived in a middle-class town whose father was Tamil and mother was Hindu, whilst this is considered mixed, it is considered less mixed then a' Hindu-Creole' marriage. The child does not learn Tamil at school even though it was expected as it is his father's background, Indian and European culture was evident in his clothes, food and interior but more importantly the child considered himself Creole because the language he spoke was Kreol, and this view is held by other non-Creole Mauritians (Eriksen, 2016). Eriksen (2016) explained the parents did not argue with the child's logic, explaining that their main priority was that he got a good education.

Whilst the arguments from Khan (2004) for Trinidad and Eriksen (2016) for Madagascar show that the term is not used universally some believe that it can still be viewed as a global term. Stewart (2016) points out that the term creole travelled across the world with sailors, traders and slaves taking on different meanings as it moved geographically across the centuries. In the past and present the word 'creole' has been used in many ways by different societies. In Louisiana it described the white French population and in New Orleans it applied to people of mixed heritage (Ashcroft et al., 2013). Stewart (2016) asks if the Caribbean can really trademark the term creole as the term itself has creolised. Additionally, Vergès (2012) adds that whilst there is a history to the word creolisation and it should be cautiously applied to metropolitan settings, a lot of those unequal power dynamics associated with creolisation still exist today in modern society. Vergès (2004) believes that further studies are need for potential sites where creolisation may coexist with modern society.

Cohen and Sheringham (2016) used Pratt's (2008) theories on contact zones being spaces where diasporic groups meet and grapple with each other to explain how diasporas and creolisation intersect. Pratt (2008) did use her contact zone analysis in relation to travel writing in imperial times. This is quite different to the use by Cohen and Sheringham (2016). Cohen and Sheringham (2016) identified three zones, plantations (and islands), port cities and superdiverse cities. Plantations comprised of slaves and labourers and related to mercantile capitalism where identity was born out of trauma; the second zone relates to port cities and the expansion of capitalism in the 19$^{th}$ century where merchants broke out of enclaves becoming benefactors to society (Cohen and Sheringham, 2016). Port cities became self-governed spaces that were multiethnic and multilingual (İleri, 2012). Cohen and Sheringham (2006, p.8) list several areas they consider creolised areas and instances across the world:

‘District Six in Cape Town remained defiantly creolized, until the apartheid state finally ordered the area to be flattened with bulldozers. Tiger Bay in Cardiff fused, sexually and culturally, Somali, Yemeni, Italian, Spanish, Caribbean and Irish migrants with the Welsh. Toxteth in Liverpool housed some of Britain’s oldest African, Caribbean and Chinese populations with admixtures of Irish and Welsh. Across the Atlantic, more dramatic and large-scale instances of creolization occurred. In Salvador de Bahia, Candomblé – a religion syncretized from African and Catholic traditions – spread to a number of other countries and is said now to have two million followers. Salvador is also the home of capoeira, a martial art developed by slaves, which combines dance, music and acrobatics. Samba, again creolized in Brazil, is enjoyed by countless dance enthusiasts throughout the world.’

It is important to remember however that creolised spaces are not eternal states. As mentioned above by Cohen and Sheringham (2016) District 6 in Cape Town was demolished by the apartheid state. The third zone Cohen and Sheringham list as a site for creolisation is superdiverse cities, hubs for communication, finance, media and transport creating new spatial hierarchies, it should be highlighted that a superdiverse city is not just a global city, migration is spreading to cities that would not be considered the usual destination (Cohen and Sheringham, 2016). Enwezor (2003) states that cities today are new spaces of creolisation and diasporic communities have reconfigured the space of cities.

The importance of place is highlighted not only in relation to geographical location but also when diasporic movement becomes involved with creolisation. The idea of ‘home’ is important to the ideas surrounding diasporas, becoming more ambiguous in an age of global connectivity, but an idea of ‘home’ has to exist for the meaning of diaspora to be valid (Cohen and Sheringham, 2016). Horst (2004) highlights how when West Indians who have resided in the United Kingdom for decades return to the Caribbean they suddenly stand out, their accents, attitudes and clothing have changed. This does not go unnoticed by the locals resulting in vandalization of properties and ridicule (Stewart, 2016).

The term creole cannot be confused with hybridity, its past must be acknowledged, and the term has its roots within the New World as Mintz (1998) points out. However, not all the people of the creolised Caribbean stayed in the region, World War II led to a large diasporic movement as discussed in Chapter 2, ‘Superdiversity: The New Multiculturalism’. Therefore, the term moves with the people, it cannot be fixed. As Stewart (2016) explained, the term creole has travelled the world with sailors and traders, it has never been static even if the meanings have changed. Cohen and Sheringham (2016, p.11) point out that there is a delicate dance between diaspora and creolisation. Whilst the Caribbean diaspora is not excessively explored in this thesis, the food that travelled with them is. This diasporic element has introduced the food to superdiverse settings and caused further creolisation.

Superdiversity as a concept and creolisation have many similarities focusing on the adaption and innovation of different groups interacting with each other. They both discuss the blending of cultural elements however superdiversity is based on contemporary urban settings, it lacks the history that creole contains. Again, both have a strong focus on the movements of people, however the movements of the people vary in the different terms. Both terms focus on the creation of new identities, however superdiversity focuses on fluid identities and complex interplays that may not create a single identifiable culture whilst creolisation tends to focus on the development of new solidified cultures and languages.

The Caribbean islands have had an extreme amount of global input and movement of people (both forced and voluntary) over the centuries, making it a melting pot of cultures, with its population having the ability to adapt and mix, which has influenced the food, as discussed in the next section. The food further became creolised when exposed to superdiversity after moving out of the region. The term creole is used in conjunction with superdiversity in this thesis despite the setting of the

research being the UK. The reasoning for this is that the diasporic community being discussed is from the Caribbean, their history of emigrating relates to the history of creolisation, which the UK plays a heavy part in. As Vergès (2012) points out some of these power dynamics do still exist today. Even if they are not as extreme or obvious. When the Caribbean community migrated to the UK, their food became further creolised when exposed to superdiversity in the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham, where not only are the restaurants and takeaways advertising to the superdiverse community by displaying the creole nature of their foods, but the food is also becoming further creolised through the assistance of other cuisines and religion as discussed in the analysis in Chapter 7 'Visual Grammar Framework – The Appeal of the Old and New Creole'.

### 3.1.2 The Caribbean Menu

Mintz (1983) revealed that Caribbean ingredients have come from multiple sources all over the globe: sweet potatoes, beans, yams, coffee, red peppers, maize and squash were cultivated from the Caribbean lands in the Greater Antilles by the aboriginal islanders alongside other agricultural produce such as pineapple, arrowroot and soursop. Papaya came from Central America, tomatoes and potatoes came from the New World whilst watermelon, okra and millet came from Africa (Mintz, 1983). South Asians brought many fast-food dishes through indentured servitude such as dhal-puri, a stuffed seasoned pea flatbread accompanied with mango chutney (Roy, 2021). Southeast Asians also brought rice, mangoes, coconuts, breadfruit and bananas whilst Europeans brought many vegetables and domesticated animals (Mintz, 1983). All of these combinations have interwoven and created a superdiverse Caribbean cuisine.

Fish is an important part of the Caribbean diet. Island Caribs and Arawak's considered fishing an important activity, the bounty of which supplemented their diets (Yandle et al., 2020). Fish became somewhat of a valuable currency during the period of slavery. Brazilian fishermen traded shark meat with African slaves for the fruit and vegetables they grew in their spare time whilst the Europeans depended on Caribs for fresh fish and other products as they were unfamiliar with the tropical environment (Price, 1966).

Saltfish was introduced to the Caribbean diets through Basque fisherman. The Basques provided Europeans with a constant supply of salted cod which held preservation longer and later fed the enslaved Africans on ships sailing for the Caribbean, becoming a staple part of the cuisine right through the 20$^{th}$ century (Goucher, 2014). Salted cod was an important part of European religion (Grafe, 2004). The Catholic religion had a big impact on the way meals were consumed during the time of colonisation. Diet was thought to affect attitude, meat was restricted and was not to be eaten on religious days as it was considered to have impure energy, whereas fish was considered sacred and pure (Reis and Hibbeln, 2006).

The importance of fishing was not just associated with the native islanders or colonisers. Whilst cod did not live in the tropical seas of the South Atlantic, other fish, especially preserved fish, was already familiar to the diet of the enslaved Africans; it was a fundamental part of the West and Central African diets, partially due to the spread of Islam between the 12$^{th}$ and 14$^{th}$ century (Goucher, 2014). Many African fishing slaves were located on numerous islands across the Caribbean and were known to be skilled at fishing, providing food to entertain guests (Price, 1966). The skills and cuisine travelled with the people across the Atlantic.

Whilst meat is an important part of the Caribbean diet it should be noted that certain meats are consumed more than others. The Caribbean region is a net importer of meats such as beef and poultry as production is insufficient to meet the consumption demands needed mainly by the tourist industry (Vokaty and Torres, 1997). Small ruminant meats such as sheep and goat are mainly eaten by the locals or tourists looking for authentic Caribbean cuisine and most locals prefer goat to

mutton if the supply is reasonable and the price is competitive (Vokaty and Torres, 1997). Torres-Hernández et al. (2022) also note the consumption of goat in the Caribbean, preference for the meat is due to its low cost, high nutritional value and the animal's adaption to climate and environmental changes.

Additionally, some foods in the Caribbean are seen as more desirable whilst others are eaten as a necessity. Rice and beans (or 'peas') are a key staple of all Caribbean cuisines regardless of the regional area; Puerto Ricans call it 'el matrimonio' and prefer it to funchme (cornmeal) which is often looked down upon and would not be served to a respected guest, similar to Haitians who eat rice and peas every day if affordable and would not serve piti-mi (millet) to visitors (Mintz, 2010). Mintz (2010) explains Jamaica is similar, with rice and peas being preferred to hard foods such as yam, sweet potato and green banana, these preferences can be traced back to slavery where rice and beans were seen as a luxury dish compared to the other comparative foods.

Europeans travelled the seas, and food was essential for the ship's survival meaning their tastes were added to the Caribbean cuisine also. Ships were damp which caused issues for certain foods to be stored (Mustakeem, 2008). For 200 years the diet was largely similar on ships; Europeans such as Columbus bought foods such as biscuits from Genoa and goats' cheese from the Canary Islands alongside honey, garlic, chickpeas, and lentils which were accompanied with spices, pickled and salted beef and pork, and when waters were calm flying fish and shark were caught (Goucher, 2014).

Whilst Caribbean food is a complex mix it is important to note that what may be found on one Caribbean Island may not be found on another, whilst all islands may share a familiar dish, the differences between the cuisines on each individual island is as important as the similarities. Certain foods are linked to certain regional areas in the Caribbean or even one island. For example, islands that are heavily influenced by Spanish culture feature items such as cassava, coriander, plantains, coconut, beans, tomatoes, and chickpeas; also mashed plantains known as Mangu, is popular in the Dominican Republic whilst the Pina Colada drink is Puerto Rican (Kwon, 2021). Another example is ackee, which originates from Africa, and is often accompanied by salted fish in Jamaica, however this dish is not familiar in the Eastern Caribbean; Haiti also has a dish of African origin called 'akansan' that is made of cornmeal, but Jamaica does not, but both islands have the African dishes akra and doukounou (Mintz, 2010). In Jamaica meats can be covered in jerk seasoning, and this also where it originates from. There are multiple thoughts as to how jerk came to exist, some believe the Maroons (runaway slaves) created it, using the recipe for hog, others argue that it travelled with slavery from West or Central Africa, where smoking meat was practiced and an alternative belief is that the Taino's created it, the natives to the island who taught runaway slaves the method (Sperry, 2021). Despite contemporary popularity in the UK, chicken was not traditionally used with jerk. Chicken was considered an overpriced meat only consumed by the colonisers (Mintz, 1986). For slaves and the lower classes, pork or mackerel would have been traditionally used (Higman, 2008).

Due to food security, the diets of the Caribbean islands are now changing, thanks to European and American influence. The complex relations of globalisation, importation, changes in cultural norms, and colonial relations are the reason for this nutritional transition (Foster et al., 2018). Another factor that has influenced this is the decline of the Caribbean agricultural sector. The region no longer has many favourable trade agreements which is combined with small farmers being marginalised and costly food importations (Weis, 2007). This is not to say these issues are a new thing. The region has long been involved in trading in the international market, both for imports and exports. Sugar and bananas were the main export earners for decades (Gillson et al., 2004). However, until the 1990s exports far exceeded imports, after the 1990s struggles increased due to preferred trade agreements within the European Union, domestic markets being liberalised and rising grain and livestock prices from North America, Europe, and South America (Clegg, 2018). Under the Lomé Convention the Caribbean region received preferential trade agreements however with the creation a single European market the marketing prices no longer favoured the area and

opened them up to larger competition from Africa and Latin America (Clegg, 2018). Natural disasters also affect agricultural performance (Mohan and Strobl, 2018). These factors combined means that production cannot meet domestic demand.

Most Caribbean countries are net importers, more importantly of staple foods; however, the gap between domestic production and consumption is significantly larger with consumption being two to three times greater than production (Walters and Jones, 2012). This has meant that the Caribbean has become the most food import dependant region in the world according to the US Department of Agriculture (Weis, 2007). Walters and Jones (2012) support this stating that the Caribbean region is the seventh largest export region for the United States, reasons for this including the nations reliance on developed nations for investment assistance and trade. Reliance on food imports has now started to affect nutrition and change the diets of the Caribbean nation.

The Caribbean diet is influenced by many nations and whilst there are many similarities between the islands there are also quite a few differences. It can be seen that it cannot be assumed that all the islands have the same cultural bearings even if their historical backgrounds may have similar patterns. The significant variety throughout the cuisine due to slavery, colonisation, and indigenous tribes makes it a truly creole palette. In the modern day due to import and export the diet has changed further. The Caribbean menus complex history means that it can advertise well to the superdiverse British population of today.

### 3.1.3 The Caribbean Diet Today in the Caribbean and UK

This thesis focuses on how Caribbean takeaways and restaurants advertise to a superdiverse community; one of the ways this is done is through the display of food images on signage. Through its creole nature the images show similarities with other minorities cuisine, but it can also show further creolisation of the food. To understand the further creolisation, it is important to assess how the Caribbean diet has changed in the UK. Apekey et al. (2019) investigated the diets of Caribbean adults in Leeds through focus groups and surveys with additional information from research papers. It was found that traditional desserts were not often consumed however traditional foods were still important to their diet and culture. Prioritised foods of Caribbean adults in Leeds, England, included items such as rice and peas, ackee and saltfish, West Indian Soup, curry goat, jerked meats, Caribbean fish curry, Caribbean vegetable curry, callaloo and saltfish, cornmeal porridge, Guinness punch, rum punch, fried dumplings and meat patties.

When thinking of superdiversity, we must think of the differences within communities. Whilst there may be a Caribbean community, birthplace and age will affect eating habits. The dietary requirements of the varied ages will be vastly different. Many health journals have written about the increase of diseases such as high blood pressure and diabetes in the Caribbean community in the UK which has now overtaken diseases related to infection and malnutrition in both the rich and poor (Lawrence and Henry, 2002). Studies previous have shown that there are different nutritional patterns between native Caribbeans and first-generation Caribbean migrants in the United Kingdom with a noticeable increase of fats, the suggested reasons being related to acculturation (Goff et al., 2015). Sharma et al. (1996) studied this also, finding clear dietary differences between Jamaican's still in Jamaica and migrant Jamaicans, with the latter having a larger intake of fats, and these differences were also discovered between first generation Caribbean migrants and second-generation UK born descendants of migrants. This shows the influence of migration and birthplace on diet.

Whilst it might be assumed a migrant's diet may change when they are situated in a different country, it is interesting to compare with other migrants. For example, African migrants, one of the

fastest growing minority groups in the UK, with West African being the predominant migrators, have differing results of the intake in fats between African and Caribbean children in the United Kingdom (Donin et al., 2010). Reason for this being due to a shorter process of dietary acculturation for African migrants who generally migrated later than Caribbean migrants, alongside traditional cultural differences (Donin et al., 2010).

There has been an incorporation of different foods found in diets of first-generation Caribbean migrants in the UK, earlier studies do show that traditional foods are still important to first generation migrants but less than African migrants (Goff et al., 2015). Goff et al. (2015) found that the Caribbean diet had become more Westernised, identifying key non-traditional foods contributing to the Caribbean diet in the UK, such as confectionary, sweetened beverages, breakfast cereals and processed meats; traditional dishes that were prevalent 20 years ago were often no longer included in Caribbean diets such as curried mutton, hard dough bread and homemade West Indian soup. Jerk chicken is another adaption in the UK. As discussed in the previous section, jerking of meat began with hog. In the 1960s chicken became cheaper in Britain due to mass production practices (Kiple and Ornelas, 2000). The change of price of chicken meat in the UK meant that cooking styles changed, those from the Caribbean and their descendants could diversify their meat choices, jerking chicken was now an opportunity.

The Grace company, who provide Caribbean food commodities, found that providing for the first Caribbean generation was easy, but that it was harder to cater for the second generation onwards in the UK. With no mass migration from the Caribbean to the UK for decades and many of the Caribbean population returning to the islands, it meant the tastes and identities of the children from this community had changed (Cook and Harrison, 2003). The watered-down exposure meant that Grace had to change their approach to these new customers when promoting their brand relaunch overseas; Caribbean meals were only cooked on special occasions by elder relatives and busier times meant that longer meal preparations, for dishes such as ackee and saltfish, could not be done; for some, the meals were just distant memories, Grace had to adapt to the new Black British identity (Cook and Harrison, 2003). This was an identity that would put tomato ketchup in their trolley alongside ackee and saltfish, as Neil Hill, the UK company representative of Grace, described at the time; they were proud to be black but not necessarily using mealtimes to show this (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Due to European and American influence the diets of first- and second-generation Caribbean immigrants were changing.

The difference of food consumption between first generation Caribbean migrants and their descendants has meant that Caribbean restaurants and takeaways have had to adapt further to their changes in preferences of foods. It emphasises what superdiversity explains, despite belonging to the same ethnicity, age has contributed to the difference in tastebuds. It is no longer just about the traditional cooking, which some would describe as authentic, but also the combinations that are made with British cuisine and American influence today and how that influences people's food choices within the Caribbean community in the UK. Chapter 7, 'Visual Grammar Framework: The Appeal of the Old Creole and the New Creole' explores how this is displayed in the signage with Caribbean restaurants and takeaways trying to attract those from a Caribbean background who may now incorporate other influences that are not Caribbean into their dietary consumption.

## 3.2 Postcolonialism, Decolonialism and Superdiversity

It is important to delve deeply into the definitions of postcolonialism and decolonialism, exploring their intricate relationships and their significance within the context of superdiversity. It is necessary

to examine the unique meanings of these terms, exploring their historical and theoretical foundations. Additionally, it highlights the nuanced differences between postcolonialism and decolonialism, offering insights into how each framework approaches issues of power, identity, and cultural dynamics. By doing so, this section aims to foster a comprehensive understanding of how these concepts interrelate and diverge, and their implications for analysing contemporary social landscapes. It is not only important to understand these terms in relation to this particular research but also in terms of where this thesis fits in the grander remit of the fields of geography and superdiversity, especially in relation to decolonialising academia.

### 3.2.1 Postcolonialism in Relation to Superdiversity

Postcolonialism was founded approximately, in the decade of the 1980s (Chari and Verdery, 2009). It crosses disciplines such as history, sociology, literature, and cultural studies. It is a theoretical framework that examines colonialism and imperialism and its effects on both the colonised and colonising societies, exploring its impact on society, culture, politics, and economics. It primarily looks between the 15$^{th}$ and 20$^{th}$ century, focusing on how the colonial past interacts with the post-colonial present (Young, 2001).

Hall (1993) centralises postcolonial thought as the belief of colonial discourses such as orientalism and primitivism. Primitivism relating to an uncontrolled nature, that is natural, primitive, before human, and orientalism refers to a submissive, abstract exoticism (Eglash, 2018). Hall (1993) stated that European imperialists reasoned their actions as civilising the oppressed and marginalised colonised others through government and education, with the colonised only gaining partial and unequal recognition when conforming to the colonists. Jordan and Weedon (1995) explain that postcolonialism focuses on European colonialism which often involved 'fixing' colonised people, moulding them to the mainstream belief system, displacing enslaved people from their homes and forcibly replacing their knowledge and languages with what they considered superior.

Postcolonialisms discusses the effect of unequal trade relations, an example of which was the struggle of agricultural trade in Jamaica that was discussed in section 3.1.2, 'The Caribbean Menu', one example of many forms of economic dependency often felt in postcolonialism. It also challenges Eurocentric perspectives. Eurocentrism would be described as a European, or Western view put in a position of power, with Western and European standards being positioned as a base value due to a belief of European culture being superior (Joseph et al., 1990).

Many describe Edward Said as a foundational figure in postcolonial studies, often citing his work 'Orientalism' written in 1978 as a starting point for the field. Said (1987) argues that knowledge is constructed by Western scholars and that this knowledge presented the East as inferior to the West. Said (1978) stated the Western knowledge constructed is not an innocent academic endeavour which should consist of objectivity but a way of exerting power. The West's portrayal of the East is that of stereotypes, portraying the region as exotic and uncivilised compared to the progressive West, often leading to the West imposing their norms and erasing Eastern culture for imperial ambitions and political intentions (Said, 1978).

Homi K. Bhabha is another key figure in postcolonial thinking. Bhabha (1994) introduced hybridity in relation to colonial and postcolonial contexts, challenging the notion of fixed identities, and argued that these new mixed identities disrupt the colonial powers binary distinctions. Bhabha (1994) also introduces the idea of the third space, an in-between space where cultural exchanges and negotiations occur, allowing for the development of new meaningful independent identities to develop that are not in sync with the coloniser or colonised. He also discusses the topic of

ambivalence, where the colonised are both desired and feared, mimicked and mocked, showing the instability of colonial power (Bhabha, 1994).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is also a prominent postcolonial critic, known for her contributions to feminist and postcolonial theory. Spivak (2023) questions whether marginalised groups can have a voice or genuine representation within the dominant Western discourse, where it is often appropriated or silenced. Wilder (2013) speaks of this also, further developing the ideas of marginalised groups being oppressed through education, pointing out that many slaves were used as labour to construct early US institutions. Nandy (2000) states that colonial knowledge prevents the attempt for education to be decolonialised, as there is a hierarchy where Western education is put on a pedestal and when acknowledged non-Western culture is patronisingly called 'local culture', appropriated, commodified or not recognised.

Spivak (1999) delves into postcolonialism further examining the role of intellectuals in a postcolonial world, critiquing Western approaches on knowledge production and representation alongside examining how postcolonialism intersects with gender, race and class. Spivak (1999) builds on her work of the subaltern, a very simple description of a subaltern being someone of low social ranking or oppressed in society, questioning who speaks for them and if they are truly represented in academia, adding that women's voices are additionally marginalised, excluded from the mainstream narrative. More importantly Spivak (1999) highlights the importance globalisation, asking how this shapes identity and experience, pointing out that these thoughts are necessary for understanding contemporary society.

Postcolonialism and superdiversity are both frameworks that examine the complexity of social identities and cultural interactions in contemporary societies. While they have distinct origins and focuses, there are significant areas of overlap and interplay between the two.

Postcolonialism is an academic and theoretical approach that critiques the cultural, political, and economic impacts of colonialism and imperialism. It seeks to understand and address the enduring legacies of colonial rule on formerly colonised societies and people. It examines how colonial histories continue to shape contemporary power structures, identities, and cultural practices, explores the complex identities that emerge from colonial encounters and emphasises cultural hybridity and the creation of new, mixed identities.

Superdiversity refers to the complex and multi-layered diversity in contemporary societies, characterised by many intersecting factors including ethnicity, nationality, language, immigration status, age, gender, and more. It acknowledges that there are many dimensions of diversity beyond ethnicity and nationality and that identities intertwine in diverse societies.

Postcolonialism provides a historical lens to understand the origins and development of contemporary diversity and superdiversity, highlighting how colonialism has shaped migration patterns, cultural exchanges, and social hierarchies. Within UK society a sizeable amount of migration is due to the Commonwealth which has colonial origins, and to understand this history helps to understand the development of a superdiverse society in the UK. It helps deepen the meanings of superdiversity which has been accused of flattening diversity. Understanding these colonial ties can further explain why there are still inequalities today, however superdiversity highlights the importance of intersectionality in these discussions and how it can cause different nuances when discussing inequalities.

Whilst postcolonialism and superdiversity are different concepts, their interrelation provides a more comprehensive understanding of social dynamics. By integrating the historical and critical insights of

postcolonialism with the multilayered approach of superdiversity, academics can better address the complexities of identity, representation, and inequality not only in the UK, or the superdiverse Ladywood constituency but in the globalised world of today.

Whilst postcolonialism is important for understanding the dominance of Western ideologies, highlighting alternative views, and explaining social inequalities created through colonialism, it tends to have a lesser focus on the successes of minorities, especially when the success is not dependant on what would be considered a success in Western thinking. Whilst the arguments of postcolonialism include hybridity and fluidity, Heldke (2003), Cwiertka (2005) and Davis (2002) acknowledge there is a tendency to focus too much on colonial control.

Cook and Harrison's work is a prime example. Through field based and documentary research they examined the 'failure' of Caribbean food to cross over into the mainstream; explaining how Jamaican brands that may not appear global, are in fact successful due to hybridity and the ability to cross alternative boundaries (Cook and Harrison, 2003). These businesses have negotiated a new meaning of what it means to be successful through a historical, cultural, and geographical lens that is not based solely on Europe and America (Cook and Harrison, 2003). This is a view that Jackson (2004) also agrees with. Whilst Cook and Harrison (2003) do not disregard the texts and discourses found in postcolonialism, they put emphasis on how postcolonialism could be hybrid, resistant and boundary-crossing, not just equating to meeting the demands of the colonial power, being forever bound to the hierarchy of colonialism. These are themes frequent in decolonialism which is discussed in the next chapter. By examining superdiverse areas such as the Ladywood constituency there could be support to the argument that Caribbean food businesses do not need to depend on the mainstream market but can advertise to a superdiverse audience.

### 3.2.2 Decolonialism in Relation to Superdiversity

Decolonialism was founded in the 20th century (Chari and Verdry, 2009). It is traced back to the 1960s and 1970s where many anticolonial movements began across Asia and Africa against colonial rule alongside the growth of antiracist social movements, often interrupting a process seen as colonial which is viewed as undesirable (Stein and Andreotti, 2016).

Stein and Andreotti (2016) explain that decolonisation can be broadly understood as a term to resist the intertwined material and epistemic processes of colonisation and racialisation; addressing the historical and current effects these processes have against the life of minorities, indigenous, non-binary, and non-patriarchal. It also acknowledges the impact that Eurocentric focus has on cultural identity through aspects such as indigenous cultures, knowledge and language and aims to emphasise their importance, giving the marginalised and often non-Western, a voice (Dastile, 2013). Collins (2016) acknowledges that decolonisation is a spacious concept, and that whilst history and the social sciences separate empire, imperialism, colonisation and colonialism; decolonialism encompasses all actions that interact with these terms.

Moments of decolonisation are often marked with ceremony, political and military change often accompanied by a changing flag and national anthem, however decolonialism often starts before this, where certain colonies self-govern under the term of 'dominion' (Hopkins, 2008). Additionally, as discussed in 2.5, 'Caribbean Post War Migration', whilst Jamaica didn't gain independence until 1962, conversations about independence arose decades before. Hopkins (2008) states that the ceremony is merely a tidying-up process for what has already begun. Thiong'o (1986) believes there is more to decolonisation than independence, economic control is still a factor and more importantly the mind must be decolonised from the imperial cultural thinking system. Collins (2016) speaks of

neo-colonialism, whilst there has been a separation from the imperialist power and the emergent nation state, the process of decolonisation is layered, comprising of different levels, causes and consequences in space and time where power dynamics play a key role.

Postcolonialism often argues that colonialism has destroyed many indigenous cultures. However, this assumes that these cultures are passive, unable to resist and adapt, underplaying agency, and portraying colonised people as victims (Ashcroft, 2001). There are many examples of active agency at play. An example is the Maroons of Jamaica who resisted slavery (Sinclair-Maragh and Simpson, 2021). Decolonialism recognises the agency of indigenous and oppressed communities, noticing their moves for independence from postcolonial rule and the restoration of their rights, examples being the writings of Ogot and Ochieng (1995) who discussed the independence of Kenya or Young (2015) who analyses the independence of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Decolonialism aims to deconstruct Eurocentrism, critically examining Eurocentric discourses and narratives and advocating for diverse perspectives. Eurocentric narratives are prominent in education, where a Western way of understanding the world is embedded. Decolonialism also aims to centre indigenous knowledge, revitalising their systems and understandings that have been marginalised due to colonial thinking, promoting a wider understanding of the world (Sharp, 2013). Murphy (2013) acknowledges a discourse which consists of a global North-South divide and Jazeel (2017) suggests going beyond an Anglophone bias when speaking to the global South to learn their knowledge. Naylor (2018) explains that the division of the globe ignores differing knowledges and believes there is a need to reframe the understanding of the world through multiple and diverse knowledges.

Decolonialism looks at the possibilities of undoing postcolonial structures, such as economic systems and social hierarchies that continue to oppress marginalised communities. Legg (2017) speaks of the agencies such as banks, the political elites in society and insurance agencies that are central to British dominance, he describes these as conservative and narrow. They limit opportunities and preserve the power and narrative of imperialism and the elite, only when we look at narratives past this there will be a larger host of spaces and scales to explore (Legg, 2017). Stein and Andreotti (2016) believe that today there are three primary concerns in relation to decolonisation, the concern in relation to the continued colonisation of indigenous people in colonial countries; continued black enslavement and borders being violently policed; the uneven social and economic effects due to centuries of colonialism and the colonial architectures that continue to govern such as the World bank, European immigration control and the IMF. Whilst there are strict immigration rules there has been a large flow of immigrants to Europe. Betts (2012) argues that this large flow of migrants to Europe, a reversal of the outgoing movement during colonial times is a form of decolonisation, seeking economic and educational betterment. The development of this movement has led to a positive and a negative, the negative being the racism migrants have faced, especially during the 1970s and 1980s, the positive is the enrichment to culture with different nationalities, most notably in the vast number of different foods from different nationalities that can be found in different European cities (Betts, 2012).

Decolonialism highlights social injustice and inequalities which have happened through colonial oppression and discrimination just like postcolonialism. However, decolonialism takes it one step further, asking how we can deconstruct colonial thought and create a world where everyone's view is held and there is not just one dominant narrative, where there is equality and justice for all. This is achieved through various academic disciplines and activism. Relating to this thesis, decolonialism highlights the importance to consider alternative audiences of marketing, looking at how the advertisement of a certain cuisine in the UK can be provided to a superdiverse market, not just a

Western one. This thesis explores how Caribbean restaurants can serve all in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency, not just one aspect of society.

Superdiversity is a concept that has been critiqued of flattening the issues of diversity, although academics such as Hall (2017) have recognised the unequal power structures in relation to migrants in superdiverse societies as discussed in section 2.2.2, 'Critiques of Superdiversity'. It is important to highlight the role of power dynamics in superdiversity. In a superdiverse community there are existing power hierarchies often based on colonial systems. This means certain groups may struggle to get their voice heard or face injustice, such as with the Windrush scandal which was a systematic failure that largely affected minorities as discussed in section 2.5.2, 'Caribbean and Jamaican Migration in Birmingham'.

Decolonialism highlights these power dynamics, with a strong focus to deconstruct the legacies of imperialism and colonialism, challenging Western idealisms with the aim to highlight the knowledge and perspectives of the marginalised and previously colonised, their oppressed languages and cultures. It does not just focus on ideologies; however, it highlights imbalanced economic powers and more importantly suggests for these to be restructured.

The intersection of superdiversity and decolonialism is insightful for understanding contemporary power dynamics. In superdiverse societies, decolonial perspectives can illuminate the ongoing impacts of colonialism and help address the power imbalances that shape the experiences of diverse groups. Understanding power dynamics in relation to superdiversity and decolonialism involves recognising and addressing the historical and ongoing inequalities that shape contemporary societies. It requires a commitment to inclusivity, equity, and the re-evaluation of marginalised knowledges and identities. Whilst Caribbean restaurants and takeaways may not be considered successful in the mainstream, it should be questioned what they are giving to an alternative superdiverse audience. By examining decolonialism and superdiversity together, a decolonial lens can be applied the complexity of superdiversity and advertising in relation to Caribbean restaurants and takeaways. Additionally, this research will provide a decolonial lens to superdiversity, allowing it to be viewed from the aspect of a minority group, seeing how the concept influences their businesses and lives.

## 3.3 Branding and the Diversity Dividend

It is essential to recognise the economic implications of superdiversity and its potential profit power through thoughtful and inclusive branding strategies that can include techniques such as selling authenticity or giving products names that provide feelings of nostalgia. As discussed in Chapter 2, 'Superdiversity: The New Multiculturalism', while conviviality fosters social bonds and a sense of community, the financial opportunities that arise from embracing and promoting diversity in the marketplace are substantial and should not be overlooked. By ensuring that products are accessible and appealing to a diverse audience, and by crafting branding that reflects this inclusivity, businesses can unlock new revenue streams and enhance their market presence.

Neglecting to consider the diversity of a society not only limits a company's potential customer base but may also result in missed opportunities for growth and expansion. In fact, in some cases, failing to account for diversity can severely hinder a business's ability to compete and succeed in an increasingly globalised market. As individuals become more intertwined with one another across cultural and social lines, businesses must adapt to meet the needs of a broad and varied clientele. In our interconnected, capitalist society, the ability to cater to diverse markets is not just an advantage but a necessity for ensuring a competitive edge in business.

### 3.3.1 Branding

Many consider branding essential in business due to the potential it can contribute to profits. Branding is the process of creating a unique identity for a business, product, or service to help establish oneself in the market (Czinkota et al., 1995). When the market is saturated with similar products there is a necessity to stand out and successful branding allows this (Jahan et al., 2024). Branding involves the strategic use of names, logos, symbols and colours that create a lasting impression, these are the outward expressions (Jain, 2017). Logos are important, they are a brands signature (Adîr et al. 2012). The use of these strategies facilitates easy recognition and recall if used successfully (Jahan, 2024). The familiarity of the brand leads to trust and credibility as customers are more likely to purchase from a brand they recognise, perceiving it as reliable. Additionally, a brand needs to be durable, being able to be recognised by the consumer in constant changing times (Jain, 2017).

Kotler et al. (1996) explains that a brand is more than just a name, it needs to create a deep meaning which the consumer associates with, it has value and personality. When messaging is consistent across varying advertising channels it strengthens the brand and reinforces its presence; furthermore, effective branding can enhance the perceived value of a product, enabling a brand to command premium prices and create a perception of exclusivity (Jahan, 2024). Jain (2017) explains that in current times whilst culture is rich, time is sparse therefore the visual element of a brand is essential as it is what consumers base their brief moments on before they even know the details of the product the brand is representing.

Strong branding contributes to a company's market positioning, helping to define how it is perceived to the wider public. Ultimately, branding is crucial for building a solid reputation, fostering customer loyalty, and ensuring long-term business success. If used successfully, over time, a well-developed brand can become a company's most valuable asset.

It is important to understand that branding can surpass just a product or service, branding can also be applied to places. Place branding relates specifically to branding that adds value to a place which can result in attracting more tourists, inhabitants or businesses (Boisen et al., 2011). Cleave et al. (2016) states that place branding can range from slogans and logos to promotional marketing activities or actions implemented by government and stakeholders; it can also include the quality of local infrastructure. The emphasis of which of these elements are advertised is decided by policymakers who choose which they think will attract and retain business (Cleave et al., 2016). Malecki (2004) describe the approaches to policies involved with regional economic development as high-road, which is the more effective, and low-road; low road is a narrow set of initiatives that are common and mimicked across many places whilst high road is comprehensive and strategic with the aim to improve and enhance local conditions. There are techniques that are more valued in relation to place branding and those that are seen as inefficient. Braun et al. (2014) confirm this stating that governments have been criticised for the misuse of place branding, especially when focused on surface level branding such as logos and slogans, which are further scrutinised when there are issues within the community. It is not just about branding; communication is needed also. Without communication to assist the branding investors may not understand the assets of the place itself and will potentially take their business elsewhere (Cleaves et al., 2016)

There is a question of whether place branding adds value to the existing inhabitants (Boisen et al., 2011). Place branding may only focus on and advertise certain sections of a city, town or region. For example, a city may have a prosperous neighbourhood or university, and they will be prioritised (Boisen et al. 2011). Like products and services, places carry associations and reputations, Paris is seen as romantic, and Germans are viewed as efficient however, due to places being more complex, the similarities are more metaphorical (Boisen, 2008).

Boisen et al. (2011) use the example of Utrecht in The Netherlands as an example of place branding, the city is represented by the historical Dom Tower, the tower is the identification of the city which provides a story of the city's Roman history. Policy makers, government officials and stakeholders are aware of how a strong and attractive place brand will attract business and promote economic growth in their city, region or country (Boisen et al., 2011). However, there are spatial scales to the place branding. Whilst a city is represented by a certain landmark, it does not mean the region or country is (Boisen et al., 2011). Additionally place branding is not time specific. Boisen et al. (2011) use the example of the Dutch 'Food Valley' centred around the University of Wageningen which focuses its research on food science. In turn this has led to businesses associated with that industry joining the region and may encourage others in the industry, such as farmers, to focus on the region also (Boisen et al. 2011).

Moreover, whilst branding is strong people may have their own associations with a place. Kozma and Ashworth (1993) point out that stereotypes are widely accepted, and that these views may be a 'collective' or 'shared' perception. Boisen (2011) uses the example of Botswana, a country in Africa that rates above some European countries when measuring countries with the least corruption. However, due to the negative aspects associated with poverty and war which have taken place on the continent, Botswana suffers the repercussions of the connotations and therefore may potentially struggle to attract investors (Boisen et al. 2011). These examples show the complexity of place branding and why it is more difficult to control than product branding.

Place branding is a complex process, yet when implemented with strategic intent, it can be highly effective. This approach becomes particularly impactful when integrated with the principles of diversity or superdiversity, leading to the emergence of the concept known as the diversity dividend. This concept underscores the idea that diversity can serve as a significant source of economic advantage. By utilising diversity, place branding can not only enhance a location's appeal but also drive economic growth and competitiveness on a global scale.

### 3.3.2 Diversity Dividend

Diversity dividend describes the use of population diversity or superdiversity, which is a characteristic of many urban areas, as a source of economic advantage (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011). Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) note that not only does a diverse mix of population contribute to knowledge, education and formal skills but also creates a potential for new services and goods whilst downplaying tension between communities. The use of the diversity dividend is often used in policies related to urban economic development. Raco (2018) highlights how diversity can be used for political agendas, often used as a marketable commodity to attract large scale events and foreign investments. This is especially relevant when market competitiveness is no longer national but global (Boisen et al, 2011).

However, there can be a disconnect between metropolitan cities and national governments, with the former usually being more tolerant towards diversity than the latter (Raco, 2018). The impact of diversity can have several effects on the economy. It may result in individuals purchasing within their own community or bring different skill sets and experience to the community (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011). The element of diversity is believed to bring a competitive advantage in a globalised world, especially for places who can use it for city branding. The city can use diversity as a distinctive feature of the city's strong identity, whilst also holding a solid skills and knowledge base which includes successful industries and institutions (Turok, 2009).

An example of such is the city of London, where city authorities have acknowledged the importance of diversity and its involvement with the city being global, where there are flows of services, goods and people (LDA, 2010). Syrett and Sepulveda (2012) state that through diversity London has been

advertised as an open and inclusive cosmopolitan city to attract highly skilled overseas workers. This has resulted in marketing strategies and inward investment alongside initiatives related to the celebration of minority cultures (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012). These actions promote London as a global and innovative business and education talent quarter.

Oliviera and Padilla (2020) explore a similar process in Mouraria, Lisbon, where economic development has been entangled with place branding and superdiversity to attract tourists and creative classes. Clifton (2008) describes the characteristics of the creative class as those who are technologists, bohemians and professionals who are open to diversity. Portuguese authorities have often opted for intercultural policies with little concern for those that were multicultural (Oliviera and Padilla, 2020). Migrants have settled in Mouraria since the 1970s, starting with postcolonial migration from India, later followed by migrants from Africa and more recently migrants from China, Eastern Europe, Brazil, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan, many of whom enter business and the labour market (Oliviera and Padilla, 2020). The area is also classed as an area of intervention by Lisbon's council due to elderly populations, homelessness issues and activities surrounding drugs, and this has led to urban regeneration, changing buildings and infrastructure to improve the neighbourhood (Oliviera and Padilla, 2020). The diversity of Mouraria has been highlighted as one of the most important features of the area for almost twenty years, being exhibited in festivals and celebrations arranged by state and anti-racist and immigrant organisations (Oliveira and Padilla, 2020). These redevelopments have acted as a springboard for the internationalisation of Lisbon, advertising it as a cultural centre which is beneficial to tourism and has been receiving increasing revenues (Oliveira and Padilla, 2020).

Whilst the use of the diversity dividend, which emphasises the positives of diversity, is used for urban development policies it is not uncommon for migrants to support it also. Migrants are acutely aware of the negative representations projected onto them and the tensions faced (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011). Evidence suggests they contribute to society, often self-employed due to difficulties entering the labour market, contributing entrepreneurialism and economic vitality (Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp, 2009). Migrants highlight the contributions they make, giving them the feeling of more validity in the city they reside.

Due to difficulties entering the labour market the route of self-employment is often taken by migrants, entering sectors that have low barriers of entry such as restaurants and retail (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2011). For some migrants owning a restaurant or takeaway means navigating around discrimination in the labour market and allows them to have an economic input and output in society (Wessendorf and Farrer, 2021). Hall et al. (2017) agree, stating migrants often own independent shops due to policy and economic discrimination. Kershen (2017) explains that majority of migrant groups enter self-employment more compared to the white population. Whilst specific areas often have a high number of ethnic minorities due to racism or familiarity, it has allowed a recreation of the migrant culture and allowed ethnic enterprises to thrive in a visibly cultural space (Shinnie et al., 2019). High numbers of ethnic minorities in certain areas is further discussed through sections 2.4, 'Birmingham and Superdiversity'.

Many theories often focus on the disadvantages faced by migrants, but it should be acknowledged that many migrants want to enter business with great enthusiasm as it gives them independence and self-fulfilment (Jones et al., 2014). This is supported by Kershen (2017) who found that migrants liked the idea of independence, wanting to put their expertise to good use and thought they had found a niche in the market; family tradition and racism were not leading factors of why they entered self-employment, although many did use social networks of family and friends to help them

start. Additionally, whilst superdiverse areas develop due to discrimination, these areas show spirits of invention, adaptiveness and a push against subordination (Hall, 2019).

Whether migrants go into self-employment due to discrimination or by their own choice, these elements are then combined with an element of hybridity in later years. Hybridity in second and third generation descendants of migrants means that they have a greater impact on the economy due to their positionality in different cultures (Smallbone et al, 2005). The change in generations highlights the importance of superdiversity and the essentiality of not creating the stereotypical migrant entrepreneur due to the variability of factors.

Storper and Manville (2006) argue that whilst diversity can influence the economy it is relatively neutral, not being sufficient enough to contribute to significant growth. Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) also acknowledge that there needs to be a contextualised understanding of the diversity dividend, and this should inform strategy in relation to urban policy developments in different cities, additionally equality and justice should not be ignored for the pursuit of profit that diversity can potentially produce.

Furthermore, through the diversity dividend diversity can become de-ethnicised. Oliviera and Padilla (2020) believe that the use of diversity for economic development has led to a commodification of culture. It can create a fetish of the gentrified urban (Edensor et al., 2010); this in turn leads to an aestheticised space for the middle-class lifestyle (de Oliver, 2016). Terruhn (2019) also raises these concerns explaining that ethno-cultural diversity is becoming an appropriated commodity, especially in relation to food, disguising issues within communities that exist. It takes away the serious issues surrounding diversity and policymakers have reformulated its meaning to suit their needs. Raco and Kesten (2018) argue that diversity detracts from the real socio-economic issues, with diversity being used to only benefit a few and not the entirety of the community who need it. When the Northcote development in Auckland, New Zealand was being redeveloped the publicly available texts mentioned the benefits of diversity but did not mention the current inequality issues in the area or the needs to address them (Terruhn, 2019).

Whilst the diversity dividend focuses on diversity in relation to ethnicity there is very little mention of other types of diversity such as generational, or socioeconomic status. Terruhn (2019) notices this with the Northcote development, that there is little mention of socio-economic diversity despite Northcote having a large number of low-income residents and the new town centre being revitalised to a middle-class aesthetic which the locals may not be able to afford. However ethnic diversity was mentioned repeatedly and positively throughout the available texts in relation the development (Terruhn, 2019). Whilst diversity is sold, it is only certain aspects and the aspects that are beneficial for the policymakers to the sell the area.

The attraction of others may cause those who already exist in an area to feel isolated and excluded as they are unable to relate with where they once resided (Boisen et al, 2011). The area no longer represents their identity or needs. The diversity dividend also leads to the separation of migrants who are supposedly good and those that are bad (Raco, 2018). Whilst diversity is used to attract migrant to big cities only a certain type of migrant is accepted. The emphasis of the attraction is towards migrants considered talented, those that are poorer or guest workers less so, the former are seen as self-sufficient whilst the latter are presumed to be an impediment on the city (Raco, 2018).

### 3.3.3 Symbolic Capital and Caribbean Eateries

The thoughts on the diversity dividend can relate to Bordieu's theories on symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1980) believed that social capital came in two components, first was the resource that came with connections through groups and networks that can lead to mobilisation, produced through the relationship of actors. Secret societies, trade unions and political parties are examples of the embodiment of social capital where individuals become a mass collective, and the group's membership can be exploited for capital (Siisiainen, 2003). Siisiainen (2003) explains however that social networks are dependent on the individual in the group feeling recognition and respect alongside the network providing the guaranteed benefits.

Bourdieu (1998) explains that the second part of social capital, is the symbolic capital that is based on mutual recognition in the group and in itself becomes a form of capital. Symbolic capital refers to the prestige and recognition that an individual or group accumulates. It is the acknowledgment by others that someone or a group has a high standing or significant influence in society.

There is a distinction between social capital when compared with economic and cultural capital. Cultural and economic capital have their own modes of existence through items such as money and examinations; whereas symbolic capital exists only in the eyes of the others, it reflects the beliefs of those with the social capital (Bordieu, 1998). However, it still forms an ideological function and legitimises different forms of distinction.

Oliviera and Padilla (2020) highlight the importance of the symbolic economy with initiatives concerning place making, city branding, and the diversity dividend being created by policy makers and governing bodies to react to the new consumption habits. Diversity is used as the proposed aesthetic for the current social life. The use of the diversity dividend highlights the importance of symbolic capital as it is a form of capital itself.

Diversity is used as symbolic capital; it is touted as a positive force with the main aim when used by policy makers to increase economic capital. Whilst the diversity dividend looks at how cities use diversity it could be applied to the Caribbean eateries in the Ladywood constituency. Diversity is held in high esteem and Birmingham is superdiverse. However, ultimately catering to a diverse community earns a profit. There is a slight difference in the sense that the eateries are not using diversity to change the area or give it a middle-class aesthetic. Owners of Caribbean eateries are most likely aware of the profit diversity makes and by showing certain qualities that represent or influence a diverse community on their signage it contributes to their income.

### 3.3.4 Restaurant and Takeaway Authenticity

Superdiversity encourages the intertwining of different lives and communities, while the diversity dividend promotes the inclusion of diverse groups for profit. Both dynamics significantly influence the marketing strategies of businesses. As these forces drive greater diversity, companies may need to adapt their products to better align with the unique characteristics of the communities they serve. Cook and Harrison (2003) highlight how the company Grace emphasises the authenticity of its products. The company Grace is discussed further in section 3.5.5, 'The Story of Grace'. Grace markets itself as genuinely Jamaican, sourcing nearly all ingredients from the island and using traditional recipes. However, the concept of authenticity in packaged products like those from Grace may differ from that in restaurants or takeaways, where authenticity can take on various forms.

This leads to the argument of authenticity. If cultures start to entwine is there such a thing as a specific culture. The Caribbean cuisine is a creole, but there's still an authenticity, or one that is perceived. The element of if something is real or part of a culture may be questioned. The aspect of

authenticity can influence the feeling of nostalgia, or can lead to the controversiality of theming, both of which are discussed in this section.

Restaurants and takeaways offering cuisine from cultures outside the host country give people the chance to explore new flavours that may become part of their everyday lives. However, the pressures of superdiversity and the diversity dividend may lead these establishments to adapt to the needs of their surroundings. This adaptation can result in the use of stereotypes, changes to traditional recipes, or generalised branding strategies that lack cultural specificity.

#### *3.3.4.1 Objective or Subjective*

Authenticity is often misunderstood to be a straightforward notion; the realness of an object or thing, however authenticity can have many interpretations and meanings. The most popular concept is that supported by Clemes et al. (2013) which is the objective standpoint where authenticity can be a determined construct. With this view authenticity relating to restaurants can be assessed by whether the décor, food preparation, ingredients, uniforms and service conforms to that of the native traditions. Authenticity can also relate to religion when in association with food, for example Muslims cannot eat pork and meat must be halal whilst Jewish food must be kosher (Clemes et al., 2013).

Bond (2015) points out that for some in minorities it feels like you have to prove how much of that ethnicity you are. How much you are of that minority proves your authenticity. If not perceived as how one should be acting it can lead to views of being a sellout to your ethnicity. When linked to identity an example of this is the term 'Oreo' which is used to describe a person perceived as black on the outside due to their race but white on the inside in terms of behaviour, and cultural preferences in line with white middle-class society (Pollard, 2021). It is seen as not being true to your culture.

However, for each consumer the authenticity of these foods is going to have an individual meaning. Some customers may be familiar with the ethnic foods of a restaurant or takeaway, through holidays, family, or their country of origin, however if this is not the case, they may accept what is presented to them as the authentic cuisine even if it is unlike the food produced in the cuisine traditionally (Lu et al., 2015). This means stereotypes and common misconceptions may be presented and then accepted.

There are those who see authenticity as subjective, it is a personally constructed perspective and is based on unique observation and ones understanding of a culture. In relation to this argument customers who are not familiar with a particular culture would still accept an ethnically themed restaurant as authentic even if it is not true to the native culture itself due to their perceived feeling of trueness at the time (Lu et al., 2015).

#### *3.3.4.2 Theming*

Davis (2002) believes that ethnic groups have to perform and exaggerate their culture to attract customers which consists of the Eurocentric mainstream, they have to make their culture more appetising. The original culture is monitored by the mainstream which consists of consumers, critics, and retailers therefore they must make sure their culture does not make people feel uncomfortable (Davis, 2002). Ethnicity is cleansed and sanitised of any history, often colonial, which is deemed untalkable or unlikeable.

Some ethnic restaurants use theming. Theming is a simulation through projection, whether it is a projection of a world, culture, place, or time; it uses architecture and design along with the five senses and even performance (Lukas, 2007b). Erb and Ong (2017) also explain theming as multi-

sensory, using imageries and immersion to intensify reality often including schemas and stereotypes. The objective view of authenticity deems theming to be a negative concept since the themes are often developed on contradictory and unreliable sources which often become gimmicks (Lukas, 2007a). Places of entertainment that use theming are often not created by people who are familiar or have an expertise of the culture they are selling (Ebster and Guist, 2005). Those who use theming will attempt to use décor, music, and costumes to represent the desired ethnicity, but it will often not represent the ethnicities customs (Lego et al., 2003).

Lego et al. (2003) states that 'themed' restaurants often portray what popular culture believes an ethnicity or theme should be and it is often idealised to suit the host country. However, many customers are aware of this, whilst the experience may not be authentic from an objective standpoint; the authenticity comes from the customers feelings towards the entertainment they are receiving (Lego et al., 2003). Conran (2006) supports this notion believing that an accepted 'authentic' experience correlates with the intimacy of the encounter which is only intensified by reciprocation, and this supersedes objective authenticity. If they are feeling emotionally fulfilled after the experience, then this equates to authenticity for the customer. Erb and Ong (2017) believe that most businesses are forced to theme to reach achievement as it is the most recognised architecture.

Restaurants or takeaways that use themes may be attracting those who want to 'progress', who want to try a new experience or understand about the world more (Erb and Ong, 2017); especially in a world that is becoming more globalised where we are meeting more and more different people every day. This is discussed in section 3.6.1 'Superdiversity and Restaurants' where new eating experiences are now seen as part of cultural capital. People want to be seen as more culturally aware and trying cuisines of different nationalities allows them to do this. Whilst people may not get the true objective facts of a nationality when eating in themed restaurants it may start as a building block. Restaurants may have to use the unattractive selling technique of stereotyping; but it must be acknowledged that for people outside of the culture this may be all that they know.

#### *3.3.4.3 Nostalgia*

Alternatively, restaurants may use theming to reflect nostalgia (Bruner, 2001). When applied to ethnic minority migrants who are in the food industry, they tend to start their businesses within their community for various reasons as discussed in section 3.3.2 'Diversity Dividend'. When migrants move to another country, they tend to preserve their traditional cultures eating habits; it is part of their identity and satisfies feelings of the homeland's nostalgia (Kershen, 2017). Without the host country being able to provide these foods new migrant business owners can step into the food industry (Kershen, 2017). Restaurants will then try and market to their fellow migrants through nostalgia of home; they will do this through décor, music, the name of the restaurant and advertising slogans (Kershen, 2017). They are trying to keep everything as true to the source as possible, an objective factual view. Whilst it may sometimes still be a stereotype, there is a truth primarily.

Authenticity is complex and has a complicated relationship with stereotypes. In relation to Caribbean cuisine in the United Kingdom the stereotypes that play into the cuisine are true, however they are more exaggerated. There is an island in the Caribbean called Jamaica that has palm trees and sunshine, and there is reggae music, just there is an explicit focus on these things as discussed in section 3.4 'Caribbean Culture and its Controversial Crossover'. This is part of how they attract customers who are not from the island as discussed in the analysis chapter, Chapter 5, 'Visual Grammar Framework – Aesthetics and Advertising within Superdiversity'. However, these advertising techniques may remind some people of home or even for those from sunny climates there may be similarities. Whilst the objective standpoint sees authenticity as fixed, the Caribbean cuisine is a creole, it has always been changing and the superdiverse community surrounding the

Caribbean cuisine in the Ladywood constituency is adding to the creolisation, therefore adding further layers.

### 3.3.5 Restaurant and Takeaway Names

The name of a shop is also as important as the décor. Again, like the idea of authenticity, it can lead to nostalgia, or as discussed in this section, emotion. A shop name is important despite often being overlooked, especially as part of the linguistic landscape (Torkington, 2009). The linguistic landscape is explored further in section 4.2, 'Methodology Inspiration: Linguistic Landscapes'. Shohamy (2019) states that the study of linguistic landscapes has often been overlooked in mainstream research. The name on the sign is more than just words, they act as a social meaning for the reader (Shang and Guo, 2017). There are not many rules in the UK in relation to naming a company when registering, apart from that its use does not constitute an offence, additionally if the name suggests a connection to the government or a public authority then it needs approval from the Secretary of State (Companies Act, 2006).

Shop names are one of the most familiar parts of the linguistic landscape or environmental print of a city. Unlike official signs such as road names or street signs which are controlled by authorities to create a certain ideology, shop names are the thoughts of individuals displaying their personal preferences (Shang and Zao, 2017). Shop names allow the observation of language use patterns and creativity whilst also revealing sociopolitical thought, ethnolinguistic vitality and multilingual happenings (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). For example, in Lithuania before the collapse of the Soviet Union, most shops used Russian or Lithuanian for the written language on their signage, after the collapse of the Soviet Union the influence of Westernisation on shop signage can now be easily observed (Ruzaite, 2008).

Ruzaitė (2008) gave shop signs two primary functions: to inform and promote. Edelmen (2008) agrees, explaining that the first use of language is to make the contents understood, the denotation, the second use is to appeal through emotion, the connotation, with advertisers focusing on connotation more than denotation. Additionally, the linguistic features of signage need to persuade customers (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996).

One way in which text appeals emotionally is using proper names. A proper name, also known as a proper noun, is a semantic category of nouns, whilst most common nouns distinguish one thing from another, proper names distinguish individuals, they are a form of identification, referring to people animals, geographical areas, celestial bodies and more (Haeseryn et al., 1997). Proper nouns are often further identifiable by an initial capital letter at the start of the word, proper nouns are prominent features found in the linguistic landscape (Edelman, 2008). Proper names transmit cultural values (Kayaoglu and Koroglu, 2013). They represent the individuality of a person but also their belonging as a member of society (Akinnaso, 1981). For those where the shop name is linked to a personal name it is part of a personal identity (Kayaoglu and Koroglu, 2013). Using proper nouns appeals to and influences emotion, focusing more on connotation than denotation (Shohamy and Gorter, 2008). This is further established when a shop may use a nickname. Nicknames originated from the Anglo-Saxons, acting as an additional name or alias (Bechar-Israeli, 1995). A nickname is a name that is often given by family or friends, however, nicknames especially when negative can be used to refer as well as address (Awedoba and Acheampong, 2017). Bechar-Israeli (1995) suggests this also in previous research, adding that negative nicknames can lead to issues with self-image. Amara (2019) believes that the language displayed on shop signage is often symbolic, it is not just structural. Kelly-Holmes (2014) describe the use of emotion behind words as a linguistic fetish, often used in commercial settings with the purpose of text to be symbolic, not to be instrumental in explaining what they have sold.

However, it is not just proper names that owners name their shops after, they often link their shop names to the products they sell, which often means the products being sold influence the language used on signage (Hussein et al., 2015). This relates to Ruzaite (2008) who states that one of the functions of a shop name is to inform. One way to do this is descriptive text. Kartika and Saun (2013) describe descriptive text as forms of writing used to create a vivid impression, where the reader can imagine what has been written, whether that be place, object, or person.

The issue with a headline or title, which are almost always used on shop signage is that they are often brief. They are often a short sentence that is topic related (Yamada et al., 2021). This means it can be hard to grasp the whole context from the text alone, some vendors tackle this issue with the use of a subheading, often located right below the title. Subheadings providing further information to the main content which cannot be provided by the headline alone (Jang and Kim, 2023). Whilst subheadings generally attract less attention, they are relevant due to the complimentary aspect they provide to the title (Luporini, 2021). Subheadings can further perpetuate the ideological and cultural standpoint of whatever they are serving (Downing, 2002).

The name is an important factor, firstly it is needed for identification, whether that is arbitrary or symbolic. When symbolism is involved especially with the use of proper names emotions are than bought into play also. Names are important to a person and for a brand, it gives them a place in the society that they are in.

## 3.4 Caribbean Culture and its Controversial Crossover

The Caribbean culture has provided much to the entertainment industry in the United Kingdom, some of which has been imported from the islands directly, and other parts were grown in the UK, creating a fusion of British and Caribbean culture. Despite tensions between the Caribbean community and other groups, the Caribbean community for decades has been involved in British popular culture through television, music, comedy, and carnivals, contributing to the start of superdiversity in Britain. With this crossover have been the colours associated with the Caribbean, many of which can be seen on the shop signage of this study. In addition to the entertainment industry, it is a popular tourist destination with the palm tree being a prime symbol of the Caribbean. These two industries have created an idealised state of the region as a paradise. If the Caribbean is popular in film, music, and tourism then it has to be asked why the food is deemed as unpopular, the latter part of this sentence Cook and Harrison (2003) ask also.

This section explores the idea that whilst some aspects of Caribbean culture may cross over not all of it does, Caribbean food being one of the aspects that does not. Additionally, it also explores the idea that whilst the Caribbean cuisine may not be in the mainstream it does not mean it is not serving others such as a superdiverse audience similar to the company Grace.

There is an exploration of how the company Grace is successful through a decolonial lens. Instead of entering the mainstream British supermarkets which through a colonial, and a critical postcolonial lens would be deemed as a success due to entering the dominant market, they focused on serving the Caribbean diaspora and global community. These reflections could explain how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency serve a superdiverse community, an alternative audience.

### 3.4.1 The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise

When many in the United Kingdom, and worldwide, think of the Caribbean, they think of palm trees

and beaches. This section explores how the palm tree has been associated with the Caribbean and how it has reached a global audience. Wilkes (2016) explains that symbols, in this case the palm tree, can be viewed in an alternate way. Whilst the view of the palm tree in this thesis may seem negative and is not the dominant narrative, it is the narrative of this thesis. In this thesis the palm tree is primarily representing the idea of a supposed paradise that has been created through a colonial narrative.

Palm trees are mostly found in neotropical regions, referring to the South America region that starts from Mexico, goes South to the subantarctic zones of Chile and Argentina, and West towards the Caribbean; favouring swampy or sand rich conditions that are high in moisture and soil fertility (Muscarella, et al. 2020). Muscarella et al. (2020) explains further, noting how palm trees are plentiful in tropical eco-systems like the Caribbean; however, they are diverse and different, ranging from small shrubs to large trees.

Palm trees are iconic; however, one type dominates people's perceptions, and when thinking of that palm tree thoughts often lead to the tropical paradises of the Caribbean, not everyone thinks of, or knows, the realities of their different shapes and sizes. Additionally, there are many different biomes throughout the Caribbean, such as dry forests in Cuba due to its higher latitude, and moist forests which dominate Puerto Rico and Jamaica (Yu et al., 2017). This is seen in Figure 3-1 below, created by Clark et al. (2021). There are also populous cities. For example, Kingston, Jamaica has a population of 1,243,000 (Coventry City Council, 2024). Therefore, it should be asked where the narrative of the palm tree signifying the Caribbean originated from, which is discussed next.


**Figure 1.** Terrestrial biomes of Latin America and the Caribbean with the short names used in this study (see Table 1).

*Figure 3-1: Clark et al. (2021) showing the differing and varying biomes of the Caribbean region*

### *3.4.1.1 The Romanticism of the Caribbean through Colonialism*

The Caribbean has consistently been portrayed as a tropical paradise through branding and advertisements. These portrayals of the Caribbean originate from colonialism. Colonial explorers and

slave owners have used the image of the palm tree to represent the Caribbean as a paradise filled with savages. Skelton and Mains (2009) explain that the Caribbean is sold to the 'West' as a sunny haven which tourists consume, it is sold as a commodity; a place where you can relax amongst the swaying palm trees, enjoying the unfamiliar and welcomed climate, with idyllic views of the sea, whilst you lie on the beach drinking rum and listening to reggae without a care in the world. The idea of the Caribbean as a commodity is not a new one, it originates from colonialism and slavery. The Caribbean was viewed as a paradise but it's plants, resources and inhabitants were invaded, occupied, and given a monetary value (Sheller, 2004).

The origins of the belief system that has promoted the romanticised version of the Caribbean must be discussed. Deckard (2009) also believes it started in the times of colonialisation; the paradox told of heaven and hell existing codependently in the Caribbean developed during slavery when Western colonisers would report back to their European countries; their literary depictions of the Caribbean spread throughout Europe; it was portrayed as a paradoxical paradise where the landscape was beautiful, but the inhabitants were not, they were spoken of as primitive and threatening. Once Columbus had stepped onto the Bahamas in 1492 and started his 'explorations' the tales soon started to emerge. Slavery was being enforced through the European conquest, and the Caribs were known to resist (Punnett and Greenidge, 2009). The indigenous habitants did not want to be slaves, they fought back (Ozuna, 2018). These defensive actions would also have been reported as hostilities by the European colonies, when really the indigenous people were fighting for their freedom, families, and land.

Francis Drake's voyages in the 16th century also heightened the interest of the public, becoming exaggerated in the cheap street literature of that time (Sheller, 2004). The writings of the Caribbean featured in European literature, travelogues and novels throughout the 18th century, described and promoted as a forbidden paradox; in these writings fertile soils existed alongside tropical diseases; deep and dark jungles produced delicious and exotic fruit, whilst the indigenous habitants were either feral or submissive (Poluha, 2018).

#### *3.4.1.2 Portrayal of the Caribbean in Cinema, Literature, and the Media*

These dramatised settings of what the Caribbean is like have made their way into modern-day films. An example of such is the Pirates of the Caribbean franchise, which is highly fictionalised and set in the realms of colonialism. The Pirates of the Caribbean franchise reiterates the Western stereotype of primitive and dangerous indigenous tribes, problematically basing these fictionalised tribes on real life indigenous inhabitants whose customs and clothing were displayed in the films (Paravisini-Gibert, 2002). Furthermore, indigenous people, who lived in St. Vincent, where the movie was being filmed featured as extras (Paravisini-Gibert, 2002).

It is not just the Pirates of the Caribbean films that portrays this view however, this belief has been around since the beginning of cinema. There are hundreds of foreign films that portray the Caribbean in a stereotypically negative light, which have influenced many worldwide (Paddington and Warner, 2009). According to Poluha (2018) there are three main stereotypes of the Caribbean that appear in twentieth-century Hollywood films; the Caribbean as an undiscovered paradise waiting to be conquered; an exotic land with primitive but submissive and unintelligent inhabitants, or a dangerous place, with cannibals, sexual deviants or most recently gangsters. In addition to this, the European colonisers are often seen as the hero. This was found in the Daniel Defoe film, Robinson Crusoe, in 1927, where the character Robinson Crusoe instils social order and organisation on a Caribbean island with Western culture and ideals; the film therefore justified to millions of

Britons why the Caribbean needed to be in the British empire (Paddington and Warner, 2009). Pirates of the Caribbean follows this narrative of using 'primitive' tribes as simple villains who fight the handsome and heroic colonialists.

Hernandez-Ramdwar (2005) recorded her university students, many of whom were international students of differing locations globally, perceptions of the Caribbean. The sandy beach, palm trees and unlimited fruits, with all the locals speaking patois and living happily was a prominent schema. The most prominent thought, however, was of the Caribbean being a place of debauchery, where nothing is prohibited and sex, alcohol and drugs are rife, especially cannabis (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2005). Hernandez-Ramdwar (2005) explained that many of her students said they had received this view from the media. This view may stem from the Rastafarian movement, which is strongly linked to the island of Jamaica, and has been popularised through reggae and tourism. Ironically the Rastafarian religion promotes peace as discussed further in this chapter. Additionally, weed was only decriminalised in Jamaica in 2015 (Oshi et al., 2020). Furthermore, Jamaica is a country that is largely Christian; Christianity is the largest religious group in Latin America and the Caribbean which has an estimated following of 531 million (Pew Research Centre, 2015).

#### *3.4.1.3 Tourism*

Whilst the paradisal belief of the Caribbean is strong, it was not, and has not, always been settled. Now the oppression of the Caribbean is sold through the idealised palm tree, it has taken a different format. Instead of being open through slavery, it is subtle and almost subconscious, through tourism. Many Caribbean islands switched from agricultural trade as their main source of income to tourism as the post-colonial era led to unfavourable trade deals (Clayton, 2009). This was discussed in section 3.1.2, 'The Caribbean Menu'. It is important to note that not all islands rely on tourism as strongly as each other. Jamaica and Antigua and Barbuda are highly dependent on tourism whilst Guyana and Grenada still have strong agricultural trade, despite the disparities the Caribbean is one of the most tourism dependent industries in the world (Clayton, 2009). Tourisms questionable behaviours is often smoothly covered to limit damaging reputations that would affect a business's profit. Tourists are treated better than the residents of many Caribbean countries, with a veil provided by holiday operators blocking the undesirable fact that many locals often do not live comfortably.

For example, the Jamaican neoliberal market means that there are wage caps for the nation's public employees, the Jamaican dollar decreases continuously in value and there is public service dissatisfaction (Skelton and Mains, 2009). The healthcare system is often seen as lacking by Jamaican nationals who view the system as poor, being voted as the 8$^{th}$ leading problem in the nation (Ellis et al., 2019). The most marginalised suffer against the tourism industry, which constantly devours resources and land, turning agriculture and fishing locations into golf courses and water parks (Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte, 2015). This is further backed by Poluha (2018) who points out that the Caribbean tourism industry displays the locals as happy however, developers are bulldozing their homes to make way for tourist resorts which in turn inflates property prices and pushes the locals out, forcing them to live in subpar conditions. The clear disparity between the treatment of tourists and locals is too evident.

Another example of the Caribbean being a commodity is its use for destination weddings and cruise ships. The Caribbean is the ultimate wedding destination, it is a recognition of an upper social status that still fits into the romantic norm, that many dream of and few achieve (Wilkes, 2016). Urry (1992) explains that the tourist gaze converts places into an object of consumption. The Caribbean is

synonymous with the cruise ship industry, however none of the cruise ships are owned by Caribbean nationals and only a small percentage of Caribbean nationals are employed by them (Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte, 2015). Instead, cruise ships use a crew that are from poorer countries to reduce labour costs greatly (Clancy, 2017). Typical cruise ship staff in lower positions often come from Asia or Eastern Europe (Dennett et al., 2014)

There needs to be an acknowledgement of dark tourism. Dark tourism is where people go on holiday to encounter histories of death or violence at their tourist destination of choice (Carrigan, 2014). An example of this is Trench Town in Jamaica which has a deep history with reggae music, however it has found tourists visiting due to the international reporting's of violence, looking for authentic experiences of struggles (Osbourne, 2020, p.49). Another example is the city of Falmouth, Jamaica which has large ties to the transatlantic slave trade and is developing tourism on its past cultural heritage (Stupart, 2013). Some people may actively choose to visit Falmouth due to its dark nature, a form of dark tourism. However, the locals have supported the developments as it teaches people about what happened throughout slavery (Stupart, 2013).

Additionally, there is also the view that the millennium generation want to increase their cultural capital to the extent it becomes cultural superiority over others; along with the view that globalisation has fuelled the tourism industry and has led to a fear of homogeny (Conran, 2006). Connell (2007) supports the idea that tourists are trying to escape the homogenous everyday whilst exploring what they deem to be as exotic.

It's not just foreign investors who are guilty of exploiting the paradise imagery. Laws are made by ministers which allow them to do this. For example, the government in Jamaica can issue licenses to resorts that allow the waters of the resort to be privatised by up to 25 metres; this is supposedly to stop guests being harassed by criminals, but the law then excludes locals (Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte, 2015). Additionally, some beaches, such as Blue Lagoon and San San Beach, located in Jamaica, charge entrance fees, something the locals can often not afford, also in the Dominican Republic the police monitor the locals and are there only for the tourists, often ushering away local residents (Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte, 2015). Supposedly the beach is for everyone but governmental systems such as the police follow the rules of the power and wealth, the hotels and resorts.

We can see that the tourism industry is guilty of pushing the capitalist paradise narrative, alongside the national governments, but those lower in society are also implicated. Derek Walcott (1992, p.32), a Nobel laureate poet, stated concern over the effect tourism could have in the Caribbean:

"But in our tourist brochures the Caribbean is a blue pool into which the republic dangles the extended foot of Florida as inflated rubber islands bob and drinks with umbrellas float towards her on a raft. This is how the islands from the shame of necessity sell themselves; this is the seasonal erosion of their identity, that high-pitched repetition of the same images of service that cannot distinguish one island from the other, with a future of polluted marinas, land deals negotiated by ministers, and all of this conducted to the music of Happy Hour and the rictus of a smile. What is the earthly paradise for our visitors? Two weeks without rain and a mahogany tan, and, at sunset, local troubadours in straw hats and floral shirts beating 'Yellow Bird' and 'Banana Boat Song' to death.".

The local vendors partake in the tourists' beliefs of how the Caribbean is, living up to the tourist ideals. However, the deception earns them a wage and living to support their family, an unfortunate necessity. Whilst the Caribbean is considered as part of the West, it is often treated as if it is beneath

them. Direct exploitative wealth from colonial slavery and modern-day tourism has given the constant view that the Caribbean is a place of paradise to be taken regardless of the inhabitants.

### 3.4.2 The 'Successful' Crossover of Caribbean Music

One of the main reasons for the spread of Caribbean culture is reggae. With the crossover of reggae came the introduction of the regions struggles, religions and culture which is now representative of the area, correctly or incorrectly. This section primarily focuses on music, and more importantly Bob Marley. He is one of the main reasons for Jamaica's, and the Caribbean's global prominence through the music of reggae. Bob Marley is one of the most iconic global Jamaican icons who has added significant touristic value to the island of Jamaica despite his ideological music once protesting the government itself (Onyebadi, 2017). However, the side effect of this is that the Caribbean is now believed to be Jamaica. Bob Marley is part of the Jamaican package, his music produced a 'reggae aesthetic', becoming an umbrella term, for other Caribbean music forms alongside engulfing Indo-Caribbean artistry (Niaah and Niaah, 2008, p.44). His music is also strongly entwined with his belief in Rastafarianism, therefore leading the religion to also become part of Jamaica's identity (Savishinsky, 1994).

Rastafarianism developed in the 1930s as an Ethiopian-centred pan African movement mainly led by Leonard Howell (Dunkley, 2013). Its movement challenged the neo-colonialist society which negatively affected the socio-economic structure of the country (King and Jensen, 1995). The government saw Howell as a problem, his anti-colonial views alongside his encouragement of the Jamaican public to reject the King of England meant that he was eventually imprisoned (King et al., 2002).

Many elders of the religion taught the younger musicians to sing the teachings of Rastafarianism through reggae; it is often argued as the first world music, emerging as a musical political voice after British independence (Edmonds, 2020). It went hand in hand with the Rastafarian teachings of non-violence (King et al., 2002). The philosophies of Rastafarianism spread worldwide. Bob Marley and the Wailers had produced ten albums which spoke of liberation and redemption which sold 20 million copies internationally (King and Jensen, 1995). The beauty of reggae was that it was oral in nature, it could reach the illiterate, and reached those who did not have technology (King and Jensen, 1995). It fought for the vulnerable.

Reggae revealed the presence of Rastafarianism, thrusting it into the limelight and naturally people wanted to know (Dagnini, 2011). Reggae spread beyond being protest music in just Jamaica, it became universal, it was used in the civil war in Nicaragua, Tienanmen square in China and at the falling of the Berlin War (King et al., 2002). Additionally, reggae has been used for reconciliation, at the 1978 One Love Peace Concert Marley invited the leader of the PNP party Michael Manley and his opposition The Jamaican Labour Party's Edward Seaga on stage for a symbolic peace movement, a handshake (Rolston, 2001). The parties' conflicts are discussed in detail in section 2.5, 'Caribbean Post War Migration'

Despite Marley's music opposing the Jamaican politicians of his time, the irony is that his music and Marley himself are used as key material in advertising for Jamaica and attracting visitors. In recent times the Jamaican government has promoted the Rastafarian culture as the 'official' culture of Jamaica and in the 1970s reggae music was used to revive the tourist industry; furthermore, travel brochures would often feature Rastafarians, promoting the culture as the norm (White, 2023). A promotional documentary was presented by the Jamaican prime minister on the USA's travel Channel in 2005; it promoted the island using the 'Jamaican aesthetic', palm trees, blue sea, many

Rastafarians, and Bob Marley was the first person mentioned (Niaah and Niaah, 2008). Skjelbo (2015) links exoticism to Rastafarianism; White (2023) states similar, stating that Rastafarianism was used to promote Jamaica; exploiting the religion of Rastafarianism, using it as a form of exoticism through fascination.

Rastafarianism's popularity also created divisions within the religion alongside creating pseudo-Rastafarians, turning it into a cultural fad, rather than a serious political movement (King et al., 2002). For some however Bob Marley represents more than this. Half of the Caribbean nationals who visit the Bob Marley Museum in Jamaica live abroad, for them it is a Jamaican story that represents resistance, it provides meaning to Jamaican Heritage (Niaah and Niaah, 2008). For many, above all, Bob Marley is a symbol of hope and is a positive role model, additionally he was not the one who created the aesthetic. When Bob Marley died, he championed human rights and what it meant to be Rastafarian to the Jamaican public and worldwide (King and Jensen, 1995).

Rastafarianism was not looked upon so favourably in Jamaica. Political leaders Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley looked down upon Rastafarians (Richard, 2024). The religion was frowned upon due to the teachings of cannabis being a religious sacrament (King and Jensen, 1995). Furthermore, dreadlocks were deemed as problematic in Jamaican society in this time period, dreadlocks were viewed as unkempt, associated with madness and being an outcast (King et al., 2002).

With the growth of Rastafarianism's prominence, the colours associated with the religion have now become representative of Jamaica and to an extent the Caribbean. This is discussed in the analysis in Chapter 5, 'Visual Grammar Framework – Aesthetics and Advertising within Superdiversity', where the colours are seen on some of the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency. Brand culture is important and prominent, as discussed in section 3.3.1, 'Branding'. Branding has an impact on our everyday lives, it is not just about materialism, but it also evokes emotion. Marketing has long utilised colour due to its ability to link the material and sensory (Aslam, 2006). The link to the sensory then leads to colour creating emotive feelings.

Horst (2014) states that the colour combination red, gold and green are associated with the country of Jamaica, which is linked to the religion of Rastafarianism. Within Rastafarianism the green signifies the land of Jamaica, gold signifies Africa's wealth and red represents the blood of Jamaican martyrs', these colours were then associated with pan-African movements and reggae, being enveloped into Jamaica's culture (Chevannes, 1994). However, the colours were diluted by a culture of youth, that was global, which removed the significance of the colours related to Rastafarianism (Chevannes, 1994).

Whilst the colours are associated with a global youth culture they still have meaning in Jamaica. Horst (2014) explains how the Irish telecommunications company Digicel approached the Jamaican market with reasonable telecommunication offers. They hired the red stripe brand marketer Harry Smith who approached the brand with the Rastafarian colours which represented the values of Jamaica and resonated with the local people, opposing the competition of Cable and Wireless who were associated with British colonialism and had dominated the countries communications for 200 years. This led to Cable and Wireless rebranding, ditching their corporate images, and using the green colour associated with Jamaica as well as elements of Jamaican culture in their advertising (Horst, 2014).

Another colour combination associated with Jamaica is black, gold and green which relates to the country's flag. These colours are also seen on Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency. Green represents the land which is lush with vegetation, the gold represents the bright sun, and the black signifies the majority African population with the addition of overcoming

adversity (Brownlie, 2003). These colours are often used in classrooms in Jamaica and within media, especially for occasions relating to independence and emancipation (Horst, 2014).

Bob Marley was iconic. The Jamaican governments continuous use of him in their promotional materials, have catapulted the island, and region, into popularity, far more than any other star on any other Caribbean island, although they too have had their influences. Whilst Bob Marley introduced the concept of Rastafarianism to the wider world, artists like Burning Spear and Black Uhuru were listened to in places such as New Zealand. Their music being spread through relatives who often lived abroad in Britain, Māori and Pasifika merchant seamen who had been to Jamaica or African students (Shilliam, 2015). Māori culture is oral in nature, like reggae, and the message of being of a different ethnicity, poor and on the margins of society resonated with many from the society who took inspiration from the lyrics (Shilliam, 2015).

The stereotyped Rastafarian aesthetic and colours associated with the island of Jamaica have now spread globally when selling the concept of the Caribbean through the rise of reggae. Alongside the rise of the music is the notoriety of the colours associated with it which are now recognised worldwide. It's important to realise how colour can be synonymous with an island, or even region, globally. When this happens it can act as a well-known mode that can be used to represent a nation or a region on restaurant or takeaway signage, acting as a familiar symbol in a superdiverse location that hosts people from all over the world.

#### *3.4.2.1 Cultural Crossover of Music*

Post war migration has led to a cross over within music between British culture and Caribbean genres of music. It seems that music of Caribbean origin has found a way to easily integrate into mainstream British society unlike the food supposedly. This chapter looks at the history of the crossover and asks if all aspects of Caribbean music have been accepted, especially in relation to the actual culture and its people alongside the issues of appropriation and profiteering.

One major example of the blend between British and Caribbean music is ska. Ska entered the British music scene through West Indian migrants in the United Kingdom (Stratton, 2010). Ska originated from Jamaica in the late 1950s and arrived in three waves across the Atlantic; the first wave arrived from Jamaica's working-class shantytowns where ska voiced people's poverty and oppressions, the second wave exploded in England from riots and cultural tensions and the third wave was more of a US commodity which had little impact in the UK (Stambuli, 2007).

Jamaican migration and English nationalism became more obvious in the second ska wave; also known as 'Two-Tone'; even though both groups influenced each other; the British youth adopted the Rude Boy culture with the addition of American punk culture which at the time was strongly influencing the music scene (Stambuli, 2007). This led to the development of many bands, some of which had hailed from the West Midlands area such as UB40 and The Specials, the bands fused together punk with reggae (Conduit, 2017). It was not just white British culture that was being influenced by the Caribbean culture, however. Birmingham reggae DJ Apache Indian who originated from Handsworth fused Asian Bhangra with reggae and dancehall, he called it 'Bhangramuffin music' and it made the UK pop charts (Acciari, 2014).

Further genres developed after this, Drum and Bass arrived in the 1990s, emerging in the UK as a subgenre of electronic dance music with origins from Jamaican reggae, hip-hop and European techno (Hall, 2009). Then there was the UK garage scene which featured So Solid Crew and the Heartless Crew in the early 1990s through to the 2000s which incorporated elements of jungle, R&B, and electronic dance music (Charles, 2022). After this was the development of grime which acted as

an alternative to the UK Garage's 'bling aesthetic' showing the rawness and marginalisation of London's council estates where many of the artists originated from (Fatsis, 2019).

The superdiverse nature of the music developed through migration and class issues which led to a unique development of music that combined musical styles. Music was not only influenced by ethnicity and migration but also class and socio-economic status in a heated political atmosphere.

#### *3.4.2.2 Has Caribbean music really crossed over?*

Whilst Caribbean music has crossed over, it must be asked are the people who brought it to the country accepted also. There is an association between blackness and coolness, or hipness, and it is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in the literature. Since the 1950s white youths have been attracted to black culture, dress, and music (Jones, 1988). Hall's (2009) study of the drum and bass culture found similar to Jones' (1988) Birmingham study which explored why young white people were attracted to black musical culture, discovering that there are white appropriations of black culture which are used as a currency and prestige in friendship groups. Jones (1988) identified several results from his study, firstly, there was the exoticism of black culture, being English and from Northfield was seen as boring whereas reggae was new and exciting. Then there was a slightly deeper meaning when explored further, the participants found universal meaning in Bob Marley's music of resistance, peace, class and unemployment issues despite it referring to a black experience (Jones, 1988).

Despite admiring and identifying with the music, the youths still held racist beliefs and identified the black community as threatening (Jones, 1988). Hewitt (1986) also identified similar two years previously, whilst a shared class led to limited understanding and association with black culture, prejudices towards the black community were still maintained. Perry (2002) also found similar in relation to hip-hop, where white people who listened to the music saw themselves as cool, or progressive, yet their colour blindness led them to be blind to racial inequalities, they didn't want to be black but took the characteristics of blackness that were deemed as cool. Christianson and Roberts (1998) also contributed to the hip-hop conversation previous to Perry (2002) confirming that there is a class element that links whiteness with black culture however there is clear appropriation, and it is linked to a factor of coolness. Rodriquez (2006) adds to the discussion, not only confirming the coolness factor but also discussing the lack of guilt towards or acknowledgment of the culture which should come along with participating in an activity where the community has been exploited.

It is not just the audience of the music that can be the issue, the artists themselves can also be problematic when understanding appropriation. Australian artist Iggy Azalea has been accused of using a 'blackcent' although she stated that she had created a new style, this ignored the struggles of a community and the genre, hip-hop, that she was profiting off (Kopano, 2014). Cultural appropriation has spread beyond music. For example, on Instagram, there are Instagram models 'black-fishing' (Kopano, 2014). Black-fishing is where someone uses black aesthetics and culture to capitalise economically (Cherid, 2021). Like the issues with the fans of the music, there is no acknowledgement of the historical struggle of the admired group. Instead, the group is economically exploited, becoming white-washed of its originality (Kopano, 2014). The Kardashians, a reality TV family have also come under fire for black-fishing and have been accused of appropriating black appearances (Balanda, 2020). Whilst darkening their skin tone and donning black hairstyles they have not admitted the artificiality of their appearance whilst ignoring the oppression that many women of colour face (Balanda, 2020). This can be considered another form of colonialism in a post-colonial world, where culture is being profited from and appropriated.

Food has also been subject to appropriation. A Caribbean inspired restaurant chain called Turtle Bay in the United Kingdom, owned by Sri Lankan born Ajith Jay, has been accused of the act. In 2015 the

restaurant chain ran a campaign called 'Rastafy Me', people could send in their photos on Twitter which would then be edited to include darkened skin and dreadlocks (Blundy, 2015). The chain later tweeted an apology, deleting the posts related to the campaign and blaming an external marketing team (Mullin, 2015). The restaurant chain was accused of mocking Rastafarians whilst also profiting and appropriating off the culture.

Whilst Caribbean music has crossed over into the mainstream British culture, positive attitudes towards the community have not. For example, the music genre of grime has been subject to police scrutiny, where after a small number of shootings at garage concerts, a different genre, the police created Event Risk Assessment Form 696 which aimed to minimise violent crimes at events (Fatsis, 2019). However, many grime artists, venue promoters and fans identified this primarily targeted black artists which led to its removal by London Mayor Sadiq Khan (Fatsis, 2019). Furthermore, the Metropolitan police were targeting grime music videos on YouTube and Facebook to identify potential gang members without any evidence that the individuals in the videos were involved in any wrongdoing but were still being profiled (Fatsis, 2019).

This section shows that there has been a creolisation of music within the Caribbean community since they migrated to the United Kingdom after World War II, especially in relation to the working class struggles irrespective of race. However, the Caribbean community is still marginalised and whilst many enjoy the music, the people are still not fully accepted, facing dual and contradictory opinions of liking the music but not the people. The complexity can be seen of labelling something as having the ability to cross over. Whilst the music has been accepted into the mainstream the people have not, if anything the product has been taken from the community and the people have been left out, and then furthermore appropriated and profited from.

## 3.5 The 'Unsuccessful' Crossover of Caribbean Food: YouGov and Food Critics

This section explores the notion that the Caribbean cuisine is perceived as a less popular food choice in the United Kingdom, especially when compared to established favourites like Indian, Chinese, or the classic fish and chips. It investigates the view that Caribbean cuisine has struggled to achieve widespread acceptance, delving into the potential reasons behind this perception. The analysis goes beyond surface-level comparisons, examining the relationships between various cuisines and British society, as well as the complexities involved in labelling a cuisine as unpopular, particularly given the limitations of statistical tools such as government surveys. The narrative then shifts to the story of Grace, a company that opted to focus on the global diasporic market rather than entering mainstream British supermarkets. This sets the stage for a discussion on whether Caribbean restaurants and takeaways discreetly cater to a diverse range of communities within the superdiverse Ladywood constituency in Birmingham, rather than solely appealing to a single mainstream demographic.

### 3.5.1 Reasonings for the Unsuccessfulness

Lyn (2007) believed the Caribbean cuisines reasons for not crossing into mainstream society is because of the community's smaller size compared to others therefore there is limited exposure to a wider audience. The size of the community has been explored in section 2.1.3, 'United Kingdom: Policies and Post War Migration'. Additionally, there may be misconceptions around the food itself. Female First (2022) reported that Just Eat carried out a survey in relation to Caribbean food finding that many had only tried jerk chicken, fearing other food in the cuisine to be too spicy, being unsure what to order and fear of the unfamiliar.

Mintel (1996) cited by Cook and Harrison, (2003) stated that during the 1990s Caribbean food was set to become the next big food to enter the UK scene, and that in that time its sales doubled from 10 to 20 million pounds. The Caribbean community was the third largest ethnic minority in the UK at that time and the cuisine had favourable commonalities with Indian and Chinese cuisine, which were already popular in British culture (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Jerk chicken was being heralded as the next big hype at trade shows whilst marinades and sauces were supposedly leading the way to the crossing line of British fame and success (Cook and Harrison, 2003).

However, the hype and sales of Caribbean food faded away, the market only grew 5% between 1995 and 1997 and by the year 2000 in-market reporting did not feature Caribbean cuisine as a separate category (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Mintel (1999) as cited by Cook and Harrison (2003) believed that despite the Caribbean tourist industry being a success, this did not necessarily mean that those who holidayed in the Caribbean were being exposed to the food. Another reason for the slowing in sales was the seasonal and inconsistent products and long cooking times in a market that only had 20 minutes to spare (Cook and Harrison, 2003).

Wade Lyn (2007) an owner of a Caribbean brand wrote for the 'Independent' newspaper online, asking why people were so reluctant to try the Caribbean cuisine. Lyn (2007) suggested it may be related to the lack of restaurants and the community not promoting itself, with dishes such as rice and peas being deemed as confusing, using the term peas instead of beans whilst the use of goat may be off-putting for some. Furthermore Eversham (2015) wrote for the Big Hospitality website reporting that according to the app 'bookable', Caribbean food, alongside Greek was one of the foods British people wished to see more and felt that it was underrepresented.

### 3.5.2 YouGov Survey and the Issues

The narrative that Caribbean food is unpopular has inadvertently been confirmed by the online opinion company YouGov. In December 2020 they asked the British public what their favourite takeaway was; Chinese, Indian and fish and chips topped the list, Caribbean food was not even an option on the poll (Ibbeston, 2021). This can be seen in Figure 3-2 below.

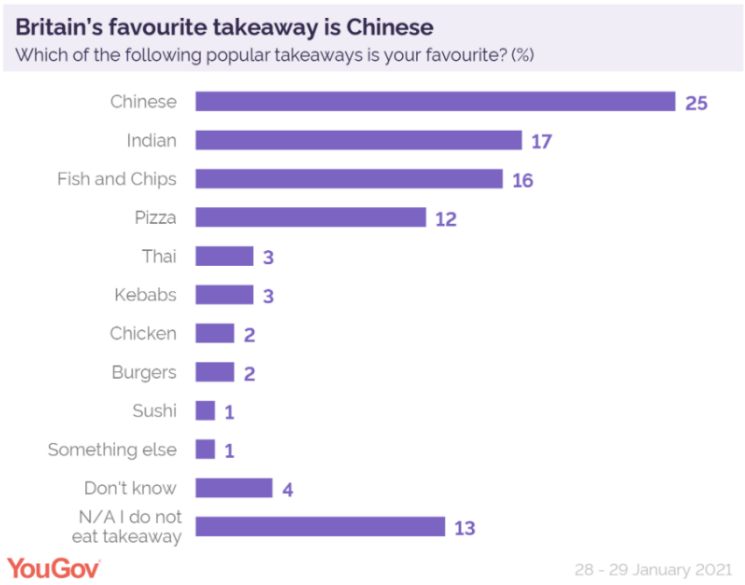


*Figure 3-2: YouGov survey of the UKs favourite food in 2020 (%) (Ibbeston, 2021)*

**YouGov Results - Takeaway**

**Sample Size: 1692 GB Adults**
**Fieldwork: 28th - 29th January 2021**

| | | Total | Gender | | Age | | | | Social Grade | | Region | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Male | Female | 18-24 | 25-49 | 50-64 | 65+ | ABC1 | C2DE | London | Rest of South | Midlands / Wales | North | Scotland |
| YouGov | Weighted Sample | 1692 | 822 | 870 | 184 | 706 | 408 | 394 | 964 | 728 | 203 | 569 | 367 | 408 | 146 |
| | Unweighted Sample | 1692 | 737 | 955 | 158 | 707 | 425 | 402 | 997 | 695 | 193 | 596 | 373 | 393 | 137 |
| | | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| **Which of the following popular takeaways is your favourite?** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chinese | | 25 | 22 | 28 | 16 | 29 | 26 | 21 | 24 | 26 | 21 | 28 | 25 | 24 | 24 |
| Indian | | 17 | 20 | 15 | 20 | 16 | 20 | 16 | 20 | 13 | 15 | 18 | 17 | 14 | 25 |
| Pizza | | 12 | 11 | 13 | 23 | 19 | 5 | 2 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 8 | 16 | 7 |
| Chicken | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Burgers | | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Fish and Chips | | 16 | 17 | 16 | 6 | 11 | 20 | 28 | 14 | 19 | 13 | 15 | 19 | 17 | 20 |
| Thai | | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Kebabs | | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Sushi | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Something else | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| N/A I do not eat takeaways | | 13 | 13 | 13 | 6 | 4 | 17 | 28 | 11 | 16 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 15 |
| Don't know | | 4 | 5 | 3 | 14 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 2 |

*Figure 3-3: YouGov survey results broken down into different intersections (Ibbeston, 2021)*

Online survey platforms are useful for research for several reasons. Twyman (2008) states that in 2007, Inside Research estimated that in Europe the amount spent on online research during 2006 was almost £400,000,000, considerably larger than ten years previous. Online surveys have gained preferential treatment as a research method due to their efficiency and the fact that that they are considerably cheaper than many other research methods (Sexton et al., 2011).

Before taking YouGov at face value the implications should be looked at of using a government online survey platform in general, and in relation to this study. Firstly, there is a limited sample size; Ibbeston (2021) states that the online survey only had 1692 participants. The UK has over 67.6 million residents (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Therefore, the survey is not representative. Wallace et al. (2022) and Murray et al. (2009) have also identified this problem with online surveys. Additionally, we can see an overwhelming amount of the participants came from the South of the UK, not including London, as seen in Figure 3-3. This ignores superdiverse areas such as Birmingham and London. Furthermore Tihelková (2013) states that the South of the UK is more affluent than the North, this is due to the closure of traditional industries in the North which led to unemployment and lower living standards. This would affect choices of food and dining experiences. Putting superdiversity aside, the South cannot equate to the rest of the country.

Furthermore, YouGov's online panel is self-selecting, individuals choose to join the survey, they are not randomly allocated which may introduce a bias. El-Kharboutly (1996, p.32) interviewed Steven Lubetkin, a director of seminar communications at Standard and Poor's Corporation, a financial firm, he stated

"The problem with online surveys is one of validity. The group online is not a true random sample in any way, primarily because they are all people who chose to be there. So you can't extrapolate the information to reflect the general population."

Wood et al. (2004) state that in online surveys people may not always be truthful, this could relate to the participants not taking the survey seriously or being embarrassed of what their true answers

may reveal. Additionally, Warmate et al. (2021) explains that online surveys may not always be clear with instructions which may mean people leave without explanation. Several people may have left this survey because their favourite food simply wasn't there.

### 3.5.3 YouGov Results

To take YouGov's results at face value, then it needs to be asked why these foods are the most popular, what makes these cuisines more important. How have they made it into the hearts of the British public compared to the numerous food options now available. This section explores why these choices may have been made and how they differ in relation to Caribbean cuisine.

Fish and chips are symbolic of British culture. The fish originated from Jewish immigrants cooking of fried fish during Sabbath as it was Kosher and became popular in the 19th century; whilst the chips are influenced by the Belgian and French crisped potatoes, leading to fish and chips sustaining the growing London population with an economic and convenient meal (Schuima, 2002). Fish was always available, and potatoes were hardy making them easily accessible (Schuima, 2002). Walton (1994) describes the cuisine as a pioneer within the fast-food industry, more importantly however he describes it as an essential part of the British working-class culture, found both rurally and in the city. Almost a century ago the fish and chip industry accounted for the use of 60% of white fish caught out at sea, directly through the industry 70,000 people were in employment from the trade (friers and assistants), whilst a further 200,000 people were indirectly employed through the industry through work at the docks and transport, it played a large part in the economy (Walton, 1989). In the early 20th century fish and chips had prominence in the working-class home; many from men's clubs regularly visited fish and chip shops after sports matches on a Saturday, it was a lunchtime dish for many factory workers, and it also acted as a family dish, providing ample food for a large family which has been a weekly occurrence since the Edwardian times (Walton, 1989).

Second in the results was Indian. The most renowned dish in Indian cuisine in the UK is curry, with it often being the default order (Sen, 2009). Collingham (2006) describes the word curry as problematic as it was created by British officials and commercial cookbooks, a project of colonialism where the East India company, created by London merchants, controlled many things, one being spices. Within Indian food there are different dishes with different names, but it has all been put under one umbrella in the UK by the British who learnt the word curry from the Portuguese 'caril', referring to foods that were made by Indians that used butter and spices. Chicken tikka masala is eaten by millions worldwide and is a chicken dish covered in a creamy orange sauce; some say it originated from a Bangladeshi chef in Scotland however many believe it originated from Northern India before South Asians migrated to the UK (Buettner, 2008). The dish was adjusted with a 'salan', a sauce, due to the British liking substances such as gravy with their food, the dish was adapted to the taste of the British needs (Buettner, 2008).

Sen (2009) explains that the Britons who served in India did consume Indian food and there was even an appreciation, but it was not respected and never consumed in public as they had to protect the view of their authority and highlight their separateness, creating a them and us. Up until the 1960s Indian food was thought to cause gastric problems which would shorten life due to its spiciness (Buettner, 2008). The only people who were visiting Indian restaurants in the UK at that time were Britons who had served or lived in India, wanting to relive and reminisce of their times of being important and viewed the servants as 'natives' (Buettner, 2008). In the 1970s Indian food started to gain prominence, students and the white working class were looking for affordable food options (Buettner, 2014). In this time period several upscale Indian restaurants had opened, playing on the theme of the colonial Raj era to the customers who were the British elite (Basu, 2011). Despite playing on stereotypes the restaurants did help reduce the stigma of curry and its origins, however it still was positioned in colonial narratives (Varman, 2017). Whilst the food was associated with a time of colonialism, it was still recognised.

The third favoured food of the British public according to the YouGov survey was Chinese. Chinese food came into high demand in the UK due to its interesting ingredients, taste and cheapness; many Chinese migrants and migrants from Hong Kong started family-run Chinese restaurants when they arrived in the UK (Chau and Yu, 2001).

Many migrants came from Hong Kong in the 1950s and 1960s to the UK as they were still British subjects and were heading to the 'mother country', not all migrants were from Hong Kong however, some were male Chinese farmers (Akilli, 2003). The main reason for migration was economic. After the second world war rice became more readily available leading to a decline in the use of rice fields in Hong Kong, alongside this many refugees arrived after the communist revolution meant that an already competitive job market became even more aggressive.

Buettner (2008) believes that Chinese food was more successful due to migrants from these groups being deemed as less problematic compared to the South Asian migrants who were seen as unhygienic, and the West Indian migrants who were viewed as immoral and rowdy. Whilst the Chinese community are sizeable, they are dispersed and are often not the largest migrant group in a city or district meaning local authorities do not pay attention to them (Chan and Chan, 1997). There is geographic sparsity between Chinese restaurants, and they are often family run (Eaton, 1999).

Chau and Yu (2001) have a slightly differing view stating that Chinese restaurants take two forms, being in close proximity in small districts, often in big cities, becoming Chinatowns or spread sparsely geographically. Roberts (2002) supports this also explaining that Chinese restaurants either have the choice of playing up or playing down their exoticism, it was the choice of being a tourist attraction or not looking as if they wanted to intrude on the area.

This does not mean that they do not face discrimination, with rumours such as their food consisting of cat meat (Parker, 1994). Furthermore, since COVID-19 increase in discrimination has risen against the Chinese community, with racist language found on social media towards the community alongside Asian Americans finding people acting uncomfortable around them or using verbal racial slurs towards them (Gao and Liu, 2021).

### 3.5.4 Thinking Beyond the Poll

Whilst the survey has used an extremely limited sample size which does skew results it should be acknowledged that other popular food groups may have a deeper relationship with the UK when discussing food specifically. Whilst the Caribbean has a deep history with the UK, the food itself has not been so intertwined.

Two of the cuisines listed as a favourite food were Indian and fish and chips, both have long been entwined in British culture and acknowledged, even if in the case of Indian food, the culture was not respected. Fish and chips were established as part of a working-class diet and supported the economy. Whilst the Indian population was not respected by the British, the British soldiers were still eating the cuisine, and continued to do so when they returned, again creating that link with British society. In relation to Chinese food, the cuisine is from a community that is deemed as non-threatening with a touristic element.

Slavery and hostile takeovers are where a lot of the British Caribbean cuisine originates from, these foods were reserved for slaves or the lower classes who did not repeatedly interact on a social level with the elite or slave owners. Therefore, the link with food was not developed enough. When the community migrated to the United Kingdom they were pushed to the inner-city due to discrimination as discussed in section 2.4, 'Birmingham and Superdiversity'. These areas however have become superdiverse, leading to a new market to serve despite a lack of mainstream

recognition. An example of a company who have targeted the global market instead of the mainstream is Grace who are discussed below.

### 3.5.5 The Story of Grace

Many Caribbean products tried entering the UK market through British supermarkets which proposed some difficulties. Carmichael (1999) as cited by Cook and Harrison, (2003, p.297) explains that expensive shelf space, extortionate advertising combined with an unstable economy where the businesses were based meant that it was a hostile environment which was hard to re-enter once you were pushed out. Whilst these reasonings explain why Caribbean food was unsuccessful in the mainstream UK market, they do not necessarily mean that they have failed.

Grace, formally known as Grace, Kennedy and Co., is a prime example of why not crossing over to the UK mainstream does not mean failure; they instead crossed over into 'Third World' consumerism as well as focusing on the UK's ethnic minority (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.299). Third World is a term that would be now seen as somewhat problematic due to its colonial ties. Grace was found in 1922 and is Jamaica's largest grocery supplier, the company started with food imports to Jamaica, eventually turning its tide to food exports, providing a taste of home for Jamaican migrants in the UK and America after World War II (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.300).

Faced with a poorer and smaller population of people on their home island of Jamaica, which at the time was 2.5 million, Grace targeted the larger wealthier diasporic Caribbean population who reminisced of tastes from home (Orane, 1998 as cited by Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.300); marketing themselves as an authentic, professional, and reliable brand. Grace changed the game, whilst they exported heavily to the UK and USA, they did not aim for the mainstream, instead, the fringe market of the Caribbean and ethnic minority populations in those countries were their main attraction, rejecting the stereotypical marketing that would have attracted the UK's media (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.297). Cook and Harrison (2003, p.301) state that Grace saw the Caribbean population as a solid market to invest in and saw the potential to 'cross over' to other diasporic groups due to their products ability to be versatile and hybrid (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.304). Grace stated that they wanted to align themselves with other minorities, many of which did not have brands of their own. One island's product could be for one world. The similarities of Caribbean cuisine with other foods around the world can be found in section 3.1.2, 'The Caribbean Menu'.

As mentioned in section 2.5.2, 'Caribbean and Jamaican Migration in Birmingham' the UK post-war Caribbean population merged due to safety and familiarity. This for Grace meant that a market of one island, had expanded to many, meaning more possible customers. Each island has its own style of cooking, however the mixing from being in one community meant that ideas were swapped, improved, and shared, hostility produced a hybrid Caribbean cuisine in the UK (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.301). Grace took advantage of the theory that social scientists had been trying to prove for years. The lines of culture are blurred, and people, ideas and food move freely (Wilk and Barbosa, 2012).

Market research taught Grace that whilst UK shoppers did their food shopping in supermarkets, it was found that ethnic minorities from a Caribbean background still used 'ethnic' retailers for Caribbean foods, which had often been running for generations, and this was where Grace products were legendary (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.303). Trying to tap into supermarkets meant that they were aiming for a completely new market. This new market would require serious expenses, with little room for error and would most likely have to play on the stereotypical perception of sunshine and palm tree packaging established by the tourist industry that was associated with the Caribbean,

this was not acceptable for a company like Grace that took themselves seriously (Cook and Harrison, 2003, p.303).

Grace showed true hybridity and adaptability, catering to a superdiverse market. It focused on relationships that are equal, not hierarchical, reducing the importance and reliance on the colonising powers, instead focusing on other previously colonised parts of the world and their diasporic communities. This decolonial response decentres the European economic grasp, questioning why so much power and importance is given to the Eurocentric mainstream, its press and critics.

However, the other side of the argument is that whilst there is a decolonial element to Grace finding an alternative audience there are other factors at play. Grace sells relatively small products such as kidney beans or jerk sauces (Cook and Harrison, 2003). This is very different to a cooked meal which needs preparation. Caribbean food takes a long time to cook (Hitchman et al, 2002). Regardless of histories this does not suit a fast-paced food retail industry, an industry discussed in section 3.6, 'Superdiversity, Restaurants and Online Food Delivery Platforms'.

Additionally, whilst it is hard to cross over, and advertising to an alternative audience is a solution, the owners of Grace still intended to get their products in supermarkets, admitting this during their interview with Cook and Harrison (2003). This shows that they still see supermarkets as important. Even if it is not in a colonial sense of having to reach the hierarchical dominant society, they still are aware that people shop in supermarkets, even those from Caribbean backgrounds. As Grace admits the new generation buy both Heinz beans and ackee and saltfish (Cook and Harrison, 2003). The five main multiple retailers account for 55-65% of the UK's food sales (Wrigley and Lowe, 2002). The UK has many ethnicities and ethnic minorities shop in supermarkets. Therefore, sales can still be made within supermarkets to alternative audiences also, it is still a potentially important sales revenue.

Furthermore, when interviewed, those who worked at Grace did admit that their products were bought on a whim, they were impulse buys (Cook and Harrison, 2003). This would not be sufficient, especially when stocked in a supermarket which in itself is an expensive process. In addition to this, as discussed in section 3.5.1, 'Reasonings for the Unsuccessfulness', Lyn (2007) highlighted the community's smaller size when compared to other communities, there is limited exposure to a wider audience in relation to food when there are larger minorities who have more food outlets.

To add on to the points above, whilst Grace try to keep all their products produced in the Caribbean some are not, Costa Rica being one of the locations (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Whilst this is for economic feasibility it leads to the question of are they taking advantage of the economic system by using the poorer worker. Especially when Walkerswood, another Caribbean food company that sells similar products, have kept all their ingredients based in Jamaica, using local workers and buying adequate land to grow scallions when there was a shortage (Cook and Harrison, 2003). This questions if their products can be seen as an empowerment story of Jamaica, or the Caribbean, when they are going with cheaper operations in another country, especially when other companies have made large efforts to keep production in Jamaica.

Despite these points Grace takes advantage of superdiversity, crossing the boundaries of numerous cultures, not just the 'dominant' one. They realised the power of a global market alongside the Caribbean cuisines unique ability to be fluid and hybrid. This can be applied to the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the superdiverse area of the Ladywood constituency who like Grace are advertising to a superdiverse global audience where one demographic is not the dominant group.

## 3.6 Superdiversity, Restaurants and Online Food Delivery Platforms

It is essential to examine the role of restaurants and delivery services as conduits for food, particularly in the context of how they may have been influenced by, or have contributed to, superdiversity. This section delves into how restaurants and takeaways have been impacted by superdiversity over time, shaped by the complex interweaving of various cuisines and the involvement of migration in the industry. Following this, the focus shifts to online food delivery platforms, exploring their interactions with superdiversity, their rapid expansion during the COVID-19 pandemic, and how they can potentially engage with diverse intersections within a superdiverse community.

### 3.6.1 Superdiversity and Restaurants

A revolution with food happened in Britain after the 1960s due to an increase of ethnic food and a normalcy towards eating out, eating out is no longer viewed as a special occasion or luxury but something that is taken for granted (Warde, 2018). Fast food has truly embedded itself into Western society (Schlosser, 2002). Fast food consumption is now a global entity that has diversified; and expanded at a phenomenal rate in the past few decades (Schau and Gilly, 1997). The most prime example being McDonald's, where Brewis and Jack reported in 2005 that there were approximately 1000 restaurants in the UK that serve over 2.5 million people daily (Brewis and Jack, 2005). McDonald's is a market leader that has grown rapidly and 96% of US schoolchildren are able to identify (Schlosser, 2002). Even during the 2008 recession, many outlets such as Greggs, Subway and Domino's continued to open stores (Ibrahim, 2015). Fast food is now a contributing factor to a person's identity, often delivering meanings and values alongside the food itself (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995).

Every city in the UK now has a wide range of restaurants, the bigger the city, the more alternatives with a variety of prices. Additionally, one in six meals, including light snacks, are eaten outside of the home, it is now a part of everyday consumption and one of the most popular leisure activities (Warde, 2018). Ibrahim (2015) states that the traditional meal has now been relegated to weekends and special occasions whilst fast food has moved into the British everyday life, reasons being limited time and increasingly busy lives. Examples of busier lives including both parents being in employment or single parents essentially performing a dual role (Grier et al., 2007). Mattson and Helmersson et al. (2007) continue with this theory, arguing that with more woman working, fast food consumption is increasing, in addition to this, irregular times of eating means that people need food to fit within their schedule.

Globalisation and migration have led to superdiverse communities, this can manifest in society in many ways, one of which is the different types of cuisines that may become available in a city. Cities become more complex, more diverse, and therefore the demand for a range of cuisines dramatically increases. Superdiversity can change cooking techniques and ingredients used, whilst adding new flavours to old dishes.

Entanglements of food are common and foods that come from migrant communities fit into a superdiverse society, often mixing and entwining with the host countries cuisine. Individuals experiment with cuisines from different cultures creating intriguing combinations thanks to superdiversity and the blending of people's lives. Henderson (2004) talks of the popular German currywurst, a combination of the German sausage and the British colonial invention of curry powder. Additionally, Heldke (2003) points out how the colonial curry exists in the Caribbean whilst Cwiertka

(2005) explains how teppanyaki was created for GI soldiers by a Japanese okonomiyaki owner who decided to fry beef instead of pancakes after the second world war. Whilst superdiversity has led to an introduction of new cuisines, it has also pioneered fusion cuisines, which results from different communities exchanging different culinary techniques.

How cuisines arrived in the hosting country is often hidden, unclear, or not thought of. Many reasons new cuisines enter is often due to a negative effect on a migrant group who brought the cuisine such as fleeing conflict, war or being exploited due to colonialism. Examples of such are the rise of Vietnamese restaurants in the USA due to the Vietnamese war, which the US was an active participant of, displacing many Vietnamese migrants (Heldke, 2003). Henderson (2004) points out the rise of both racial discrimination and 'ethnic' restaurants in Germany show that globalisation of food does not result in an equitable world.

For many in superdiverse communities, varying religions, ethnicities and cultures are no longer unusual despite differences. Restaurants and takeaways run by migrants often act as 'third places' where intercultural pleasantries occur of unfamiliar food tasting, cultural exchanges or a place where civil but momentary interactions happen; they act as 'culinary contact zones' (Wessendorf and Farrer, 2021). Pratt's (1991) work on 'contact zones' identifies the spaces where cultures and communities meet, acknowledging the relationships of power in these zones which may be based on their colonial or slavery pasts, or its aftermaths. Pragmatism also comes before ideological when street exchanges in business are made, people pursue profit however these transactional changes extend into caring about the society they work in (Hall et al., 2017).

Many people are more curious about new foods and are positively inquisitive about new culinary discoveries. Warde (2018) states that people get excited about going to new restaurants, appreciating the newness and novelty, especially with the increase of people trying new foods abroad. However, food knowledge is now important as it contributes to cultural capital. Warde (2018) states that in the twentieth century high culture related to class, focusing on literature and opera whereas in the modern-day knowledge of both popular and high culture is most profitable, with high culture being viewed as narrow minded. Food crosses both high and popular culture and has therefore become more important. Overall, the increase in superdiversity within cities globally has had a significant impact on the restaurant and culinary industry, it has led to an extremely exciting and assorted landscape with restaurants having to adapt to a differing customer base that didn't exist decades ago.

### 3.6.2 Online Food Delivery Platforms

Technological developments have meant that over the past decade on-demand digital platforms have increased dramatically. Customers can now summon goods through mobile devices in an instant, whether that be hiring a cleaner or ordering food (Bissell, 2020). Due to the normalcy of online delivery services which are now entangled in everyday urban spaces there has been a call for understanding how they affect our life. Joshi and Bhatt (2021) explain that the food industry is saturated, and retailers have begun to provide services online to remain competitive.

Online delivery services have benefited from the rise in superdiversity in contemporary societies; it has allowed people from many different backgrounds to be able to access a large variety of global cuisines. Companies, such as Just Eat, Uber Eats and Doordash allow the access of different cuisines from around the world to millions of customers. Khan (2020) reports that 30% of DoorDash customers eat 5 to 10 different cuisines per month.

With the increase of the internet demand for online technology relating to the consumer market has increased (Thakran and Verma, 2013). Hishamuddin (2019) states that since 2005 internet use has increased annually acting as an essential tool for communication and interaction; one of the markets who have taken advantage of this is the restaurant industry, embracing the technology to serve customers quickly and efficiently. The mobile phone has facilitated M-commerce, transactions through wireless telecommunication (Yang, 2005).

Through M-commerce mobile applications have developed to become one of the fastest growing software markets (Lee and Raghu, 2014). It is estimated that in 2024 mobile users will download 139 billion mobile apps from Google Play store alone (Garg and Baliyan, 2021). The app market allows developers to have more freedom of control regarding price, characteristics, and reviews (Lee and Raghu, 2014). Some of these apps are related to the food industry, allowing takeaways or restaurants to accept orders and deliver to customers' homes, booking a table at a restaurant, or leaving reviews about food. These apps allow many businesses to maximise on profits and show they are using up to date technology (Hishamuddin, 2019). Many mobile applications, especially food service apps are free. Cost is important to customers, once there is an element of expense it can be off-putting, so to attract customers, the app itself often must be free (Sadi and Noordin, 2011).

Some of the key predictions that the National Restaurant Association's (2019) had for restaurants and takeaways by 2030 included packaging for deliveries will be more sophisticated, restaurants will have a dedicated space for delivery services and technology will be used to monitor costs and manage efficiency. Additionally, customers will put their loyalty into third party apps, and eating out in a physical restaurant will decline and when people do, they will be even more critical, wanting the perfect experience (National Restaurant Association, 2019).

Convenience is also an advantage of apps. Shove (2012) explains how technologies such as washing machines and freezers have reduced the time taken for menial tasks. This has now spread to the kitchen through online delivery services, instead of cooking something new from a cookbook, someone else can do it who is more experienced in a shorter time, leaving more time for leisure. A rarity in modern times. On-demand platforms have restructured mobility; the power is now with the consumer who can remain immobile, adding cashless transactions and increased accessibility of choices greatens the convenience even further (Bissell, 2020).

A prime example of the success of food apps is Just Eat, one of the three largest online food delivery platform providers in the UK (Piecyk et al., 2021). Just Eat launched in Denmark in 2001, they operate almost as a takeaway broker, listing options of takeaways for users, in reward for its service Just Eat takes an 11-12% commission (Chopra, 2012). In 2008 the company moved its headquarters to London and further offices have opened in locations such as India, Canada and Italy (Chopra, 2012). In 2020, Just Eat was available in 13 countries (Keeble et al., 2020). In the UK alone, it has partnered with over 30,000 restaurants, both independents and chains (Piecyk et al., 2021). Just Eat's CEO Klaus Nyengaard has said that 50% of Europe's takeaway market is based in the UK, which led to the change of the headquarters location (Chopra, 2012).

The USA and UK have the largest two online food delivery markets respectively, in 2020, the three leading online delivery services in the UK were Just Eat, Uber Eats and Deliveroo (Jia et al., 2021). The online food delivery service is reaching a younger market with 48.4% of users being between the age of 18-34, this is a pivotal group considering that over 80% of 16-year-olds have a debit card in Australia, the UK and USA (Jia et al., 2021). They are the prime market; they are the digital market, highlighting superdiversity through another factor, age.

Online delivery services can help enable exchanges by providing interactions through features such as online ratings and reviews, where not only can people critique but also recommend (Hajati, 2022). The crossover of cultures helps facilitate a partial understanding or small glimpse into the lives of others who may be part of a different culture.

Some find it frustrating talking to restaurants or takeaways on the phone and online delivery services remove this (Farah et al., 2022). Additionally online food delivery services allow you to be more comfortable in your home (Chetan Panse et al., 2019). Online delivery services allow people to explore different foods without the fear of embarrassing themselves, there's a layer of protection for those who may be anxious about the unknown.

Delivery services allow accessibility, the first example being the ability to change languages. Language can be changed on delivery service apps, Uber has instructions of how to do this on their website, which is found in their official blog posts (Uber, 2016). As discussed in 2.4.1, 'Ladywood Constituency' there are a lot of languages spoken in the Ladywood constituency. 18.2% of households in the constituency do not have English as their main language. This feature of the app may be useful for some of these households. Additionally, someone may be disabled or ill, 20% of the Birmingham population have registered a disability as seen in Figure 3-4 below, this ranges from mental to physical and whether it impacts their daily lives greatly or minimally.

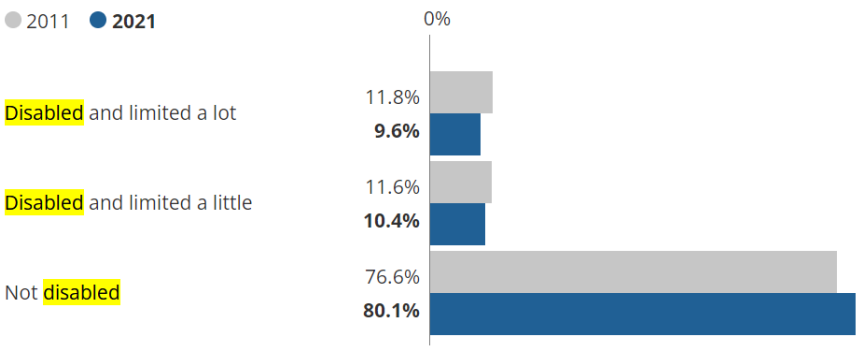



*Figure 3-4: Birmingham Disability Census Results for 2011 and 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2012 and 2023)*

Those with a disability may not be able to access a restaurant or takeaway, a delivery service allows access to their door, and this was particularly vital during COVID-19. Stay-at-home orders were issued during the time, and many had to order food online, this led to an increase in orders for companies such as UberEATS as they were a necessity (Smith and Inazu, 2021). Fast food delivery means that often no cash is needed (Schwartz et al.). This is easier for those that do not have access to a cash machine or cannot get to one, allowing them to participant in the enjoyment of different foods. Furthermore, many people with disabilities want to be offered entertainment, served food, and participate in a full and active life, online delivery services allow them to do this (Smith and Inazu, 2021).

There are disadvantages, the capitalistic element of online delivery apps has meant that there is a clear exploitation of labour and avoidance of tax. Uber does not acknowledge its drivers as employees and denies them employee rights, additionally the work itself is extremely precarious (Bissell, 2020). Furthermore, there is the issue of the lucrativeness of data which is now a very valuable currency. The National Restaurant Association's (2019) report predicts that there will have to be governance in relation to data privacy and online delivery systems.

Developing a better understanding of how online delivery services work is important as they are now becoming part of the infrastructure of cities and are changing the market by creating a network

between consumers and producers (Bissell, 2020). They change everyday habits in the city meaning that an understanding is needed of their contribution to society and superdiversity. Online food delivery services promote superdiversity by providing access to a wide variety of cuisines, especially to those who it would not have reached previously. They allow exploration into the unknown and new experiences at the click of a few buttons, providing an easiness that did not exist a couple of decades ago. These experiences allow people to widen their thinking and provide a new source of thought when it comes to culture through the simplicity of food. In addition to this they give accessibility to those who need it, further reaching into the realms of superdiversity.

### 3.6.3 The Covid Food Court

COVID-19 was first discovered in December 2019, a novel coronavirus that was related to the virus that causes SARS, severe acute respiratory syndrome (Fauci et al., 2019). This resulted in a worldwide lockdown where travel was restricted; the lockdowns varied in strictness and featured much confusion; from Spring 2020 until the Autumn of 2021 the disease dominated people's lives with the constant threat of new variants affecting consumer demands and supply chains (Allen 2022). COVID-19 has had a significant effect on online food delivery where lockdowns were placed worldwide and people could not leave their homes; the demand for food increased, with online delivery services such as Uber Eats and Just Eat becoming extremely popular. One of the bonuses of the pandemic for food outlets was that people were forced to experiment with food choices, with queues, stock shortages and price rises making many people reconsider (Panzone et al., 2021). Even just the fear of COVID-19, prevented many people from leaving the house, with many preferring the idea of ordering and eating indoors than going out to a restaurant which would risk hygiene and safety (Gavilan, 2021).

Many of the food delivery services could play on the public measures to help sales, with famous food items being used to show social distancing (Jia et al., 2021). Frontline workers were the pride of the nation, and many companies profited off this by offering them discounts and showing public support, an example of this is Just EAT offering discounts to UK frontline workers which totalled to an amount of over 3.3 million pounds (Jia et al., 2021). Many also used the increase of business to garner attention such as Deliveroo offering the chance to win free food for a virtual UK wedding (Jia et al., 2021).

Grab, a Singapore's food delivery service, observed a 20% increase during COVID-19 (Al Amin, 2021). Elsewhere online food services increased in varying degrees. It rose approximately 5% during the pandemic in Taiwan, China received a 766% increase in online food delivery service registrations in the first half of 2020 and Mexico saw a 60% increase in visits to online food delivery websites, globally there was a 27% increase in the use of online food delivery services (Jia et al., 2021).

The way the food was provided also changed. Many shops were closed and whilst food outlets were able to remain open, they had to battle with policies that severely restricted stores. Additionally, there was an increased promotion and importance placed on public safety measures. This included limited public transport which reduced footfall past restaurants dramatically, and a 2-metre social distancing rule which caused much longer queues (Panzone et al., 2021).

Restaurants had to adapt to the new environment and changes were made included offering takeaway services and using online delivery partners (Jia et al., 2021). Those that did already use online delivery services updated their products and revised their menus, including new products and simplifying the order process (Gavilan, 2021). The online delivery services encouraged deliveries, for example in the UK, UberEATS offered free delivery of products to support local businesses (Jia et al., 2021).

There were some challenges in relation to COVID-19 and online deliveries, high fees challenged the pockets of many. There was an increase in competition therefore businesses had to fight harder for the consumers attention and customers were willing to sacrifice loyalty for safety to accommodate to the changes the virus had caused (Pantano et al., 2020). However, the pandemic popularised online food delivery services as they became a necessity. It led to changes in technology in the food industry and encouraged people to branch out, allowing the consumer to try new opportunities in relation to different cuisines furthering superdiversity.

## 3.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring the complexity of the term 'creole' and its relevance to Caribbean cuisine, particularly in the context of its migration to the UK, where it has become intertwined with other cultures in Birmingham's superdiverse environment. It also examines how the Caribbean region is depicted through the lenses of colonialism, tourism, and the crossover of music, shaping perceptions of the region.

The chapter then delves into the theories of postcolonialism and decolonialism, recognising the significance of postcolonial thought while arguing for the necessity of a decolonial approach, especially when considering how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways serve a community far more diverse than the dominant societal group.

Branding is another key topic, including discussions on authenticity, naming, and the concept of the diversity dividend. While Chapter 2 explored the role of conviviality in the expansion of shops catering to a superdiverse audience, this chapter explores how diversity can be used for profit. It considers how policymakers leverage diversity as a means of profit, presenting it as a desirable trait of a city to attract the creative and middle classes. In this context, diversity becomes symbolic capital. Although this thesis does not focus on appealing to the middle class or look at the benefits of diversity from a city basis, it does suggest that targeting a diverse audience can be more economically advantageous.

The portrayal of the Caribbean as a paradise of sun, sea, and palm trees is then examined, considering how literature, film, and tourism have contributed to this image originating from colonial literature. The origins of these perceptions are explored, alongside the influence of reggae and Rastafarian colours, largely popularised by Bob Marley. These symbols have come to represent the Caribbean in the mainstream, where palm trees and Rastafarian colours are now globally recognised identifiers of the region. Although these symbols have origins rooted in exploitation, with the palm tree through colonialism and reggae and aspects of Rastafarianism through an oppressive Jamaican government, they have become valuable due to their recognisability in superdiverse communities, where people from around the world understand that they represent the Caribbean region.

The chapter further investigates why Caribbean food is often deemed unpopular in the UK, analysing its position within British society and comparing it with other cuisines to understand this perception. This is contrasted with the relative ease with which Caribbean music has entered the mainstream, although this too is subject to debate as whilst the music is accepted, the people are not.

The discussion then turns to the story of Grace, a company that has navigated the meaning of success without entering the UK's mainstream market. This sets the foundation for understanding how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in Birmingham's Ladywood constituency use signage to advertise to a superdiverse community.

Next, the relationship between superdiversity, restaurants, and online food delivery systems is explored, highlighting the significance of these platforms, which have been influenced by superdiversity and offer an alternative means for Caribbean restaurants and takeaways to reach a diverse audience. The impact on COVID-19 on both restaurants and online food delivery platforms was also explored.

The chapter seeks to understand the concept of 'crossing over,' not just in terms of Caribbean food entering the mainstream, but also in its appeal to a superdiverse audience. In doing so, it considers both postcolonial and decolonial perspectives. The colonial history of the food means it has a creole history shaped by the notoriety of colonisation, slavery, and indentured servitude and is often viewed through a postcolonial lens. However, as Caribbean cuisine further creolises in the UK, a decolonial lens becomes relevant, reflecting its adaptation to and resonance with a superdiverse audience.

Postcolonialism has allowed Europe and the West to exploit the Caribbean through tourism, perpetuating the myth of the region as a forbidden paradise, a narrative rooted in colonial literature. This has been exacerbated by local governments, which have permitted the destruction of land for tourist resorts. The dynamic between European investors and local ministers has cemented symbols like the palm tree and reggae as generic representations of the Caribbean islands, with these symbols now being globally recognised. The Jamaican government, in particular, has capitalised on the Rastafarian colours and reggae to promote the island.

While superdiversity offers a decolonial view on the advertising of Caribbean food, raising the question of whether restaurants and takeaways target a superdiverse audience for profit or conviviality, it underscores the importance of decolonial thought in understanding how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways operate within a superdiverse society through their signage. This chapter advocates for the adoption of decolonial perspectives, acknowledging the enduring relevance of postcolonialism while proposing a new way of thinking that is central to this research.

# 4 Chapter 4: Methods and Methodologies

This chapter outlines the methods and methodologies employed in this research, offering insights into the rationale behind these choices and the significance of neighbourhood studies. The first section delves into the influence of the linguistic landscape approach on the research, highlighting how this perspective shaped the development of the thesis. It also briefly addresses the impact of COVID-19 and the decision to adopt a mixed methods approach.

The discussion then shifts to Multimodal Discourse Analysis, focusing on the examination of multimodal modes of communication, the evolution of semiotics, and the visual grammar framework—the first analytical method used. The chapter further elaborates on the background of multimodal discourse analysis, including an exploration of semiotics and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) Visual Grammar Framework, which is applied to the analysis of shop signage. This section also considers the strengths and limitations of Multimodal Discourse Analysis and explains the rationale for employing a quantitative form of analysis.

Following this, the chapter introduces the second research method: autoethnography, coupled with the use of thematic analysis to interpret the self-reflective diary entries collected. The advantages and disadvantages of autoethnography are discussed in detail. The latter part of the chapter presents a step-by-step explanation of the methodologies used.

The chapter concludes by reaffirming the suitability of these methods for this research. It also reflects on the role of autoethnography, which, although not directly addressing the research questions, contributed to the exploration of positionality and self-reflections throughout the study. This reflection acknowledges potential biases and enhances transparency, providing a contextual understanding that may not have been considered otherwise.

## 4.1 Neighbourhood Studies

Berg and Sigona (2013) have noticed that there is a return to the study of the neighbourhood; research at the local level has taken precedence over the national level, especially in relation to questions of diversity and belonging. Stringer (2014) adds that the study of superdiversity needs a stronger focus on the neighbourhood as there is too much emphasis on the national level. One of the reasonings for the reluctance to study at a neighbourhood level is due to the terms fluidity, with no agreed definition of what it is, with the neighbourhood being deemed as a place, a policy unit, or the meaning of community (Baffoe, 2019). Additionally, the study of the neighbourhood has often been sociological, not falling into the remits of geography, apart from exploring regionality; as time has passed the field of geography has acknowledged the importance of the neighbourhood, as it can reveal the local consequences of societal issues where interaction and emotionality take place (Drilling and Schnur, 2019).

Marcus (1995) states that whilst multi-site ethnography is prominent, the study of multiple migrant groups living together in a diverse neighbourhood has rarely been attempted. The ethnic community is often the focus of research which obscures relationships beyond the group studied or the local context that they live within (Berg and Sigona, 2013). Schiller et al. (2006) agree with this also, stating that the focus on ethnicity hides the diversity and relations of their place of settlement. Berg and Sigona (2013) state that there is a need for ethnographers to pay attention to transactional connections within the local context. Amin (2002) calls this the micropolitics of everyday interaction.

The name of shops and study of signage is important yet has been relatively understudied. However there has been an increase in interest in the past decade through the study of the linguistic landscapes in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, where signs act as carriers for social meanings

intended for the reader's attention (Shang and Guo, 2017). Shop signage forms part of the linguistic landscape. They are sometimes known as shop front advertisements; whilst similar to media advertisements, the advertising platform is the public space instead of being broadcast over the air or in a magazine (Edelman, 2008).

The introduction of Multimodal Discourse Analysis in this thesis, and more importantly Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar Framework created in 2006, will introduce a method that alleviates some of the issues that may be found in local studies of superdiversity, which is also accompanied in this study by autoethnography.

## 4.2 Methodology Inspiration: Linguistic Landscapes

Vertovec (2019) states that the study of linguistic landscapes has extensively used superdiversity for methodological reassessment in fields such as sociolinguistics, a topic which linguistic landscapes falls under alongside digital superdiversity, translanguaging and sociolinguistic economies. This research project is inspired by the study of linguistic landscapes. Linguistic landscapes is a linguistic area of study that originated in the 1990s, focusing on the representation of language in public space. The object of research being any written piece of language, and people's reactions to it, more specifically language and society; the field is encompassed in many subject areas such as human geography, politics and sociology (Van Mensel et al., 2016).

The study of the landscape in geography had a strong scientific beginning. In the West, the landscape was a field that started with and belonged to that of rationalist bourgeoise mathematicians and artists, who were often the same being in the Italian renaissance of the 15$^{th}$ and 16$^{th}$ century (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) explain that they were concerned with the geometric studies of representing the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional plane; this in turn contributed to architecture, creations of maps and agriculture which then led to the advancement of capitalism and warfare. However, in recent years the subject of landscape has become interdisciplinary, deviating from the mechanistic views of traditional geography, leading the path of landscapes to include the human experience, with the development of humanist approaches and the rejection of positivism (Cosgrove, 1984).

This humanist aspect led to the linguistic landscape approach being underpinned by theory based on sociology's involvement in linguistics. This involved linguistic signs and language in the public space, alongside where language caused social conflicts (Van Mensel et al., 2016). Wenzel (1996) examined the use of French and Dutch in the city of Brussels, Belgium, whilst the city has a bilingual status, French was more dominant, indicating that the language was considered more important than Dutch. Monier (1989) discussed 'Bill 101'which was put in place in Quebec, which regulated the use of languages on commercial shop fronts with a preference of French over English.

Landry and Bourhis (1997, p.25) were the first to describe linguistic landscapes as shown below:

'The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combining to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.'

Landry and Bourhis (1997) explain that linguistic landscaping can be divided further into public, the language used by government officials, and private, signs used by private individuals or associations. When focusing on public signs this is known as a 'top-down' approach as these are the signs made by government officials who impose authority whilst signs that are private, made by businesses or individuals, are labelled as 'bottom-up', sending a message from themselves 'up' into the community (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006).

Linguistic landscaping is a useful diagnostic tool, it detects the main features of sociolinguistic patterns of an area. An example being if an area is monolingual or multilingual, revealing patterns that may leading to deeper investigation and societal reasons behind the linguistic occurrences (Blommaert, 2012). Additionally linguistic landscapes can even be used to understand globalisation, looking at the global spread of English in the public sphere (Manan et al., 2017).

Blommaert (2013) used Critical Discourse Analysis to explore linguistic landscapes in areas that could be deemed as superdiverse. Blommaert's (2013) study in Antwerp, a port city that has a large migrant population, investigated language use in relation to socioeconomic status, finding that English and Dutch appeared in areas of higher socioeconomic status compared to languages used by lower income migrants. This revealed a linguistic capital attached to certain languages which gave more value, status and economic capital to the speakers of those languages.

Blommaert (2013) used Critical Discourse Analysis, which examines how language is used to construct and maintain ideologies, social inequalities and power relations. Whilst different scholars have contributed to Critical Discourse Analysis a key figure is Norman Fairclough. Fairclough (2013) integrates the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies to explain how different social contexts could maintain or challenge power structures, it does not just describe it also evaluates the mechanical structures of power.

Critical Discourse analysis is useful for highlighting inequalities and power structures that may be naturalised in society which can reinforce prejudices alongside highlighting contextual understandings through sociopolitical and historical explanations. However, it can sometimes put an overemphasis on ideology ignoring the importance of functionality and aesthetics. The last part is important in relation to this study, one purpose of a shop is to attract, sometimes there is no ideology behind this, the shop may just want to attract customers with bright colours.

One issue with linguistic landscapes as an approach is that it is extremely broad, encompassing any sign, private or public in a social sphere. Whilst appreciative of the approach, and its ability when used correctly to be analytical, it can be overly descriptive (Maly, 2016). For this reason, in relation to this thesis, there is a need to focus on the research question and what needs to be answered specifically. This research has a specific focus on Caribbean takeaways and restaurants within the Ladywood constituency, not all the shops in this area. If all shops in the area were to be included then a linguistic landscape approach would be more approachable. This led to the choice of Multimodal Discourse Analysis, with the use of analysis being the Visual Grammar Framework created by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). It allowed for a more precise focus on the signage of interest in this research.

The Visual Grammar Framework permitted a more focused approach on one specific topic and had certain criterions as a method, that kept it bound and did not allow for distractions. Whilst this is a researcher issue, it is common and therefore boundaries through this method were helpful. Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework go further than traditional linguistics, not only studying words but also the semiotic meanings, acknowledging the importance of image, sound, and colour. This is discussed further in 4.5.1, 'Semiotics'.

The Visual Grammar Framework is a diagnostic and systematic tool that is intimate and detailed with the ability to dissect the shop signage in this study succinctly. Moreover, this research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, using the Visual Grammar Framework meant that there was still accessibility to shops through photography, which was needed for the analysis. It also conveniently limited contact with shop workers or customers, reducing the risk of catching or spreading the disease.

Autoethnography's qualitative traits complimented the analysis of the Visual Grammar Framework. Whilst the Visual Grammar Framework is usually qualitative, this piece of research did have

quantitative elements in this study due to the large number of shops in the research, large in terms of Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework as discussed further below in 4.5.5, 'Why the Qualitative Element to Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework?'. Beneficially autoethnographic diary entries reduced contact with people during COVID-19, and this research was not the only one which used a diary during this complex period. Sneller (2022) discusses how many sociolinguistic studies had to adapt or change their research to work within the pandemic as field work was limited, this led to some researchers using remote video and audio diaries as a research tool. However, when mentioning to participants in this research that there may be a small possibility for interviews should the pandemic subside there was a clear wariness, which is discussed in 4.9, 'Thematic Analysis of Autoethnography'. Whilst autoethnography was always to be included, the fact that interviews were hard to obtain due to COVID-19 and participant wariness meant that autoethnography ensured that there was still a qualitative side to the study giving it a methodological balance.

## 4.3 COVID-19

This study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. During this period there were full and partial lockdowns throughout the United Kingdom and globally. COVID-19 was first discovered in December 2019, a novel coronavirus that was related to the virus that causes severe acute respiratory syndrome (Fauci et al., 2019). This resulted in a worldwide lockdown where travel was restricted; the lockdowns varied in strictness and caused much confusion. From March 2020 until the end of 2021 the disease dominated people's lives with the constant threat of new variants (Allen 2022). Although COVID-19 was still persistent in the outside environment this research could continue. Visiting restaurants and takeaways for photography was needed for the Visual Grammar Framework, and observation during visits to the shops were needed for autoethnography, this research could not be conducted via remote research or desk study. Interviews were removed however due to the potential for infection, additionally shops could only be approached in the periods and areas where lockdowns were lifted. The timeline of the pandemic can be seen below in Figure 4-1.

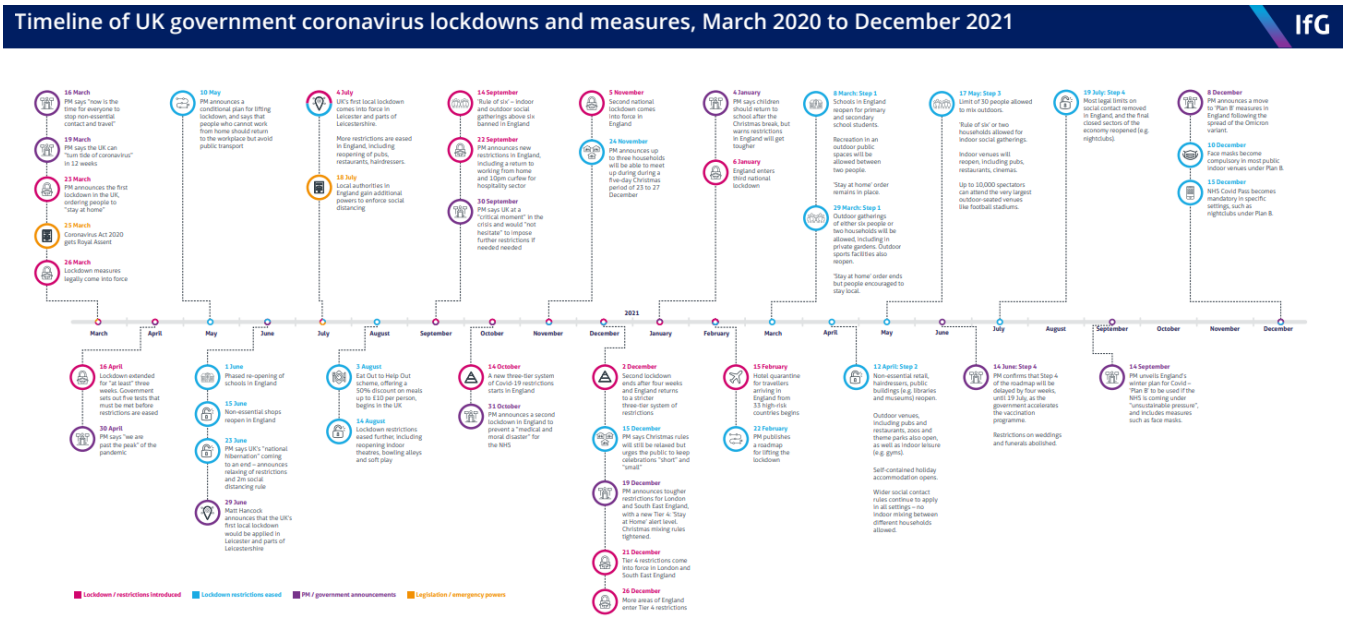


*Figure 4-1: Timeline of UK Lockdowns and Measures during COVID-19 (Institute for Government, 2022)*

Since this project had a moderate risk of exposure to COVID-19 due to the public facing element several risk mitigations were put in place. The main vector for spreading the disease was respiratory excretions (Miller and Englund, 2020). This meant the wearing of a mask and standing two metres away from participants which substantially reduced oral interaction during fieldwork. Additionally, NHS and government guidelines were always observed. There were measures in place for if I caught COVID-19. If positive testing was found then my supervisor was made aware and isolation would take place, following the NHS guidelines at that current point in time. Isolation was to continue if a high temperature was recorded or there was an occurrence of a runny nose, sneezing, vomiting or diarrhoea. Once testing negative after the NHS's advised isolation time and ensuring these symptoms had subsided after a further 48-hour isolation period then research would continue. All participants who had been in contact 3 weeks before the diagnosis would be alerted through phone calls. If the test was automatically negative, then research resumed as normal whilst following guidelines. When the city of Birmingham was under lockdown research was not carried out.

## 4.4 Why the use of Mixed Methods in this Research?

Quantitative data often uses closed response questionnaires or multiple-choice questions to objectively analyse using various statistical measures which can be generalised to a large population often aiming to prove or disprove a hypothesis, the primary aim of qualitative study is to understand the participants thoughts, experiences, and feelings (Ivankova and Creswell, 2009). Creswell (2008) describes mixed methods as a procedure that collects, analyses, and possibly mixes both quantitative and qualitative data, collecting both numeric and textual information where the quantitative and qualitative data then becomes connected at certain points or throughout the study.

Ivankova and Creswell (2009) explain that mixed methods allow meaningful integration of qualitative and quantitative data that provides more breadth and depth than a single research method by itself. Mixed methods are a popular research method in the social sciences (Cresswell, 2003). However, Rocco et al. (2003) explains in applied linguistics it is a newer phenomenon but believed it would gain traction especially in areas of study such as second language acquisition. Winchester (1999) explains how it has also become significant in geography due to over quantification in the field. Byrne and Humble (2007) states that all methods have limitations and using a mixture can cancel out the disadvantages of other methods, additionally the study of society is complex, and more than one method is needed, especially when exploratory and confirmatory answers are needed at the same time.

Stringer (2014) highlights the importance of qualitative data as well as quantitative, believing that the contribution of qualitative formats will make a real difference to the study of superdiversity. Stringer used interviews to examine religious superdiversity on the Soho Road in the Birmingham area of Handsworth (Stringer, 2013). Qualitative methods can provide a more nuanced, in depth meaning of superdiversity, allowing researchers to explore lived experiences. The qualitative method used in this study is autoethnography. Keller (1995) explains that autoethnography can be viewed as too emotional. Complimenting the autoethnography with another methodology, in this case, the Visual Grammar Framework used for Multimodal Discourse Analysis allows for an additional perspective that is not emotionally driven. The Visual Grammar Frameworks rigid structure reduces the risk of manipulating data to suit biases. There is a level of objectivity.

## 4.5 Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework as a Method

Before discussing Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework, it is important to start with the basic concepts that built their foundations, semiotics. Semiotics is the science of signs, focusing on how they generate meanings, whether that be by facial expressions, fashion, or piercings; it is anything that can reflect culture and society (Berger, 2018). Semiotics is within the field of linguistics however many disagree of what the subject comprises of despite agreeing on the relative description (Chandler, 2002). In relation to this thesis Chandler's (2002) description is more fitting; signs are different pieces of visual information, such as traffic signage, that humans see daily, consisting of multiple modes of communication that are both physical and verbal, both images and words which may include sound and movement. After this the section there is then a discussion on Multimodal Discourse Analysis, the Visual Grammar Framework, the advantages and disadvantages of Multimodal Discourse Analysis alongside why a quantitative approach of Multimodal Discourse Analysis through the Visual Grammar Framework was used.

### 4.5.1 Semiotics

The founding fathers of semiotics are Ferdinande de Saussure who created semiology and the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce who was the creator of semiotics, both have been used intermittently even though their theories are different for the analysis of signs. Saussure, a linguist, believed in the concept that the sign was the creation of the 'signifier' and 'signified'. An example being that if a sign was to be seen on a shop that said 'open', the word 'open' would be the signifier and the signified would be the shop trading for business and being able to enter the premises (De Saussure, 2011). Saussure made it clear that a sign cannot be made of a meaningless signifier or an unformed signified. However, the word 'open' could be applied to more than one thing, such as a door or a button on a lift, whilst the action of 'open' could be related to lifting the lid on a box or the opening of a door (Chandler, 1994). The interchangeability of the signifiers and the signifieds showed that no sign was absolute, it all depended on relations within the system. Whilst for Saussure the concept of the signifier and signified was purely mental over the years it has been interpreted that a material object is often the signifier; Saussure's concept for semiotics was to be applied to linguistics, for Saussure a word was abstract, it was not a proxy for an item, but simply a carrier for the conception, hence the psychological focus (Chandler, 1994).

In the same century, but on a different continent to Saussure, Charles Peirce, a philosopher had created a three-tier system to represent the notion of what a sign consists of. Peirce believed that for there to be a sign their needed to be a representamen, interpretant and object; the representamen is the psychological or physical state of the sign, the interpretant is what sense is made of the sign and the object is what the sign is referring to, these three parts join to create a 'semiosis' (Metro-Roland, 2009). Like Saussure who acknowledges that no sign is absolute, Peirce recognised this also. The 'interpretant' aspect of the 'semiosis' system, how the participant processes the representamen, could lead to a more developed sign through the snowball effect, like looking at an unfamiliar word in the dictionary, discovering its meaning from the description, then within that description you find another word to look for (Chandler, 1994). It becomes a long chain of events.

Peirce believed there were three types of signs, the symbolic, the indexical and the iconic. The iconic signs were photographic, cartoon or sketched images that matched the idea they were representing, the meaning could be taken at face value as the representamen, and object were similar (Rose, 2016). The symbolic sign had a representamen which was in no way related to the object, the meaning had to be learnt; an example of this would be the classic warning sign (Chandler, 1994). Finally, there was the indexical sign where the representamen and object are linked (Winston and

Tsang, 2009). Examples being an image of smoke indicating a fire. It is possible however for a sign to fit into more than one of the categories described and Pierce acknowledges this; Peirce knew it was impossible for many signs to purely belong to one category only (Chandler, 1994).

Many theorists have critiqued Saussure. Wood (1979) emphasises the importance of history, stating it is hard to see writing as a science when it has such a dependence on history and therefore cannot be objective. De Beaugrande (2014) agrees with this critique, explaining that Saussure has not given a home for etymology, the history of words, stating Saussure tries his hardest to make language static which in turn leaves confusion about time and history. There is also the issue that Saussure insisted on language being a synchronic system, studying language at one specific point in time, disregarding its future development and evolution, the diachronic system (Strohmayer and Hannah, 1992).

Stuart Hall also contributed to the field of semiotics through his work on decoding and encoding. A major contributor to the field of cultural studies, his work followed that of Gramsci's who thought that the dominant in society controlled the powerless through negotiation (Procter, 2004). Hall (2020) was critical of Saussure's work due to his findings focusing on the linguistic aspects of the world and not the political societal issues, with ignorance towards feminism and psychoanalysis. He therefore grew Marx's sender-message-receiver model into the more encompassing and less deterministic decoding and encoding model (Procter, 2004).

The decoding and encoding model relates to mass communication. Encoding describes the process of the media producing a piece of entertainment or information with ideological codes and messages; these messages are then sent out through relative media devices like the television and once it reaches the audience it is then decoded (Hall, 2001a). Decoding has three outcomes, the preferred position, oppositional position and negotiated position; the preferred position, is where the viewer accepts the meanings being portrayed by the encoded piece of media, the oppositional position is where the individual rejects the message, and the negotiated position is where the individual both accepts and opposes the message that has been displayed (Hall, 2001a). Hall (2001a) stated that these positions are not static. Whilst a person may be sympathetic with a nurse's strike one week, the following week, they may see it as a nuisance that is going on for too long and affecting people's lives. However, Hall (2001a), like Saussure, also believed that signs could be polysemic and could contain more than one meaning.

Hall also critiqued Peirce. He believed the decoding aspect had been neglected in Pierce's model, Hall believed that whilst there was some ideological stance behind the audiences' thoughts, they did have a certain amount of fluctuation of whether to agree or disagree with the perceived message being reported (Procter, 2004).

One of the arguments against Hall's theory is that it is reductional, assuming that the message or piece of media being relayed is always from the dominant standpoint, with only three outcomes for the audience. This led to Ross (2011) modifying Hall's framework and extending it to nine encoding and decoding outcomes to include texts that were not absolutely 'dominant-hegemonic'. Wren-Lewis (1983) who's work predated Hall's believed that it was important to acknowledge that the decoders of the text may interpret the message differently to the sender's intentions, history and society will have an influence on what they take from the message, not just what the producer wants them to see, hear or read.

The semiotician Roland Barthes (2013) spoke of denotation and connotation in relation to the signifier and signified. A simplistic explanation would be that denotation is the literal meaning of a sign whilst the connotation is the hidden and subtle meaning, the deeper message of the sign

(Berger, 2018). Chandler (1994) however explains that a sign can be both denotative and connotative and adds that whilst the denotation and connotation perspective are a lot simpler then both Saussure's and Peirce's theory, it tends to ignore the socio-cultural aspects of signage, it assumes that everyone is bound by the same cultural norms which is not the case. As time went on Barthes (2013) believed denotation and connotation to be the same. Barthes (2013) believed that there was an illusion that the denotation is literal, but these are just powerful ideologies that are the dominant thoughts of the time (Chandler, 1994). A denotation could not be pure as it would always be influenced by the ideologies behind it.

Barthes (2013) describes how when denotation and connotation combine it then creates the myth which builds the dominant ideologies of our time. Signs and codes are generated by myths and in turn maintain them (Barthes, 2013). This in turn is a repetitive and cyclical system which does not explain clearly which one came first. For Barthes (2013), myths helped with the process of naturalisation allowing the dominant cultural values of the bourgeoisie to seem normalised, myths hide the ideological signs and codes from the powerless as they are never deciphered or interpreted and are accepted as the cultural norm.

It is important to acknowledge that the form of the signifier can influence how the connotation forms. This can take place in a multitude of forms; whether something is shouted or whispered; if it's on paper, the difference of font can give different inclinations and a photo being in sharp or soft focus can give different meanings (Chandler, 1994). Even the choice of words an individual uses, such as describing a slap as the word itself or a 'strike' gives different connotational meanings also. Loftus and Palmer (1974) conducted two experiments relating to a film which presented a car crash. When using the word 'smashed' to describe the cars hitting each other compared to words such as 'bumped' or 'hit', higher speeds were estimated (Loftus and Palmer, 1974). The second experiment asked if they saw any broken glass in the video, when the word smashed was used in the question a higher percentage of participants said yes even though there was no glass present (Loftus and Palmer, 1974). This shows the importance of how a chosen word affects thinking.

Postcolonialism has also influenced semiotics, the term post-colonialism was discussed in section 3.2.1, 'Postcolonialism in relation to Superdiversity'. Tarasti (1998) explains that Saussure's theory of semiotics needs to be expanded to explain who makes something signify and gives it meaning; semiotics can lead to the subordination of communities due to power relations within society. Post-colonialism highlights the colonial significations created by the signifier, these creations coming from the coloniser. This thesis gives semiotics a decolonial viewpoint, looking at how Caribbean restaurants advertise to a superdiverse community, exploring signage and symbolism from a non-dominant community.

This research relates to social semiotics. Social semiotics differs from traditional semiotics which focuses on the written language; social semiotics studies how social resources communicate meaning (Harrison, 2003). Social semioticians believe that signs are related to the social conventions that we learn from birth which in turn can make sign-meaning seem natural, this internalised acceptance means that the meanings of signs are not often explored (Harrison, 2003).

It is hard to use Saussure's and Peirce's model when there is so much historical and social context surrounding the topic of this thesis, especially when this study looks at how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency in Birmingham. There will be elements of postcolonialism, decolonialism, history and sociology throughout the research which cannot be avoided. Some of the meanings may be interpreted as internalised notions of society and some of the meanings may be new, however there will be a historical and social context behind each finding, meaning it cannot only be based on the science of traditional linguistics only.

### 4.5.2 Multimodal Discourse Analysis

The study of multimodal discourses has its origins in the early 1990s and has since developed considerably over the past 30 years, since its development it has been used to analyse posters, magazines, videos and films which have multimodal content (Nguyen, 2021). O'Halloran (2011b) suggests that multimodal discourse analysis considers how language combines with other communication modes such as images, scientific symbolism, gestures, actions, music and sound to create multimodal meaning. In addition to considering visual modes of communication, multimodality also questions the social environment where the message is displayed alongside the agencies behind the message and the resources used to make the system of communication (Kress, 2010).

Kress (2010) explains that a mode is a culturally shaped resource that can be used for meaning, common examples being music, images, speech, and writing. When more than one of these are combined it becomes multimodal. Rose (2016) also explains that multimodality is often used as a replacement term for social semiotics. Multiple modes communicate in seconds what a single mode may do in hours (Kress, 2010). Interest in multimodality has been rising due to the influence of digital technology such as photography and video which are increasingly useful tools for recording human communication (Litosseliti, 2018). Multimodality assumes that all modes have been shaped culturally and historically to create social functions and each mode is interwoven with the other to co-present and co-produce meaning (Harrison, 2003).

Paltridge (2012) explains that images can have their own entire grammatical system. An example being that a cartoon conveys childish notions whilst a graph would be considered a serious statistical tool. Another example is a poster which has an actor who makes eye contact with the audience has a different meaning to a poster which consists of actors interacting with each other. Visual modes can portray an infinite number of meanings. Multimodality is interested in the many layers of visual communication and how the audience deciphers those meanings. This is where the Visual Grammar Framework created by Kress and van Leeuwen becomes useful, being able to differentiate between these different layers of visual multimodality.

### 4.5.3 Visual Grammar Framework

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest that Multimodal Discourse Analysis considers how visual communication modes such as images, colour, composition, and typography can convey meaning together. The Visual Grammar Framework focuses solely on the visual elements of multimodal analysis using a structured framework. It provides the tools needed for analysing visual communication in a multimodal context. The Visual Grammar Framework is based on Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics model. Halliday viewed language as semiotic, however this view was only confined to words. He created the Systematic Functional Linguistics model and within the model were three metafunctions: interpersonal, ideational, and textual (Almurashi, 2016). Almurashi (2016) states that the interpersonal meaning is concerned with exchanges between the speaker and addresser, the textual is concerned with organisation of text created whilst the ideational was concerned with the construction of the world surrounding, the transitivity and the processes of the participants involved.

Kress and van Leeuwen believed Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics Model could be extended to visual communication which they also perceived as having a semiotic process. Inspired by Halliday they created their version of his model. This in turn led to the development of the Grammar of Visual Design Framework in 1996, a systematic and comprehensive framework put forward for Multimodal Discourse Analysis (Ping, 2018). Kress and van Leeuwen modestly revised the Visual Grammar Framework again in 2006, the revised version added the need to consider

technological importance (Forceville et al., 2007). When comparing the Systematic Functional Linguistics model with the Visual Grammar Framework, the representational meaning would mirror the ideational metafunction; the interactive meaning would take the place of the interpersonal metafunction; and the compositional meaning would replace the textual metafunction (Feng, 2017). An expansion of the meanings can be found in the following three sections. These combine to create a multiverse of semantic meaning which can be expansive, compressive or even conflicting (O'Halloran, 2011a).

#### *4.5.3.1 Visual Grammar Framework: Representational Meaning*

Within the representational meaning there are the narrative and conceptual structures. Narrative structures describe the 'doing' motion of the agents in the visual representation, it is the verb of the picture, the story of what is happening (Ping, 2018). When this involves more than one participant motional vectors can be created and these actions can change the spatial arrangements (Guijarro and Sanz, 2008). Conceptual representations however lack vectors and are somewhat static, there is no action. Conceptual structures can be classificational, analytical or symbolic. Classificational is where the images are relational like taxonomy, there is usually a subordinate position and it is hierarchical, it categorises the images, somewhat like that of a flow chart (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Analytical structures are intended for scrutiny. It is a whole image, and this is known as the carrier, but it is made of attributes, and these parts can be scrutinised (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Examples of analytical structures are fashion shots where the outfits are picked apart (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Symbolic processes are concerned with the meaning behind the image (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). This thesis will focus mainly on the conceptual structures found in the representational meaning as only one shop used an image that would be considered to have a narrative structure. Below in Figure 4-2 is a flow chart of the representational meaning, explaining what each part means.

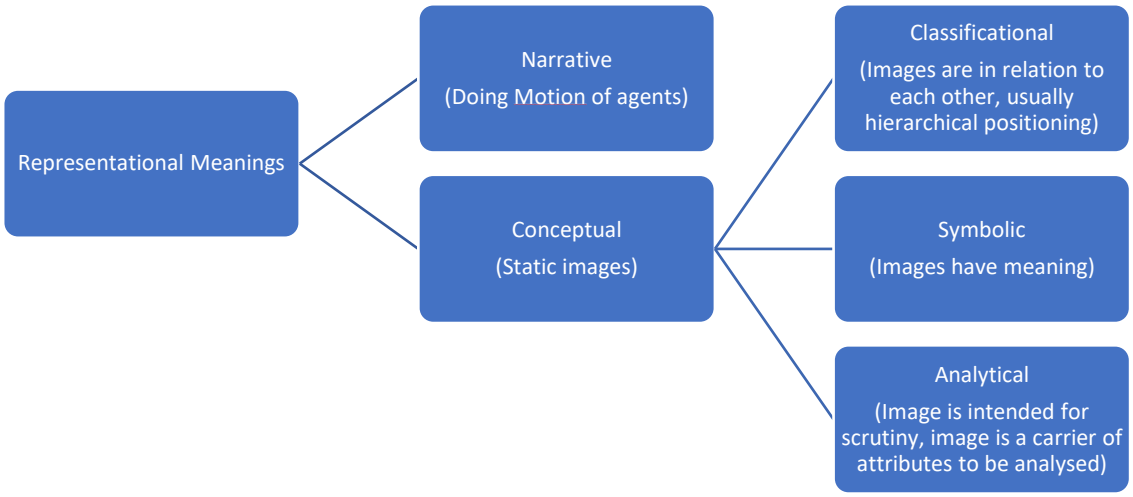



*Figure 4-2: Flow chart of the representational meaning in the Visual Grammar Framework*

#### *4.5.3.2 Visual Grammar Framework: Interactive Meaning*

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) describe the interactive meaning as the relationship between the producer of the image and the viewer, these are the active participants. The represented participants are described as the places, people and things depicted in the image (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Through the interactive meaning three relationships can be explored. The relationship between the represented participants; the relationship between the represented and active participants, such as the attitude of the viewer, an active participant, to the represented participant; and the relationship between the interactive participants, meaning the actions the viewer and producer do to each other through the images (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). This thesis will primarily focus on the latter two which occurred most frequently.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out importantly that whilst the producer of the image may have an idea of their audience it is not definite, this can lead to retaliation when the message is not agreed through acts such as vandalism or graffiti. This is why producers must adhere to the values and beliefs of the society they are within for their work to be circulated and disseminated; this way viewers will acknowledge the communicative intentions, it is an act of sending and receiving messages (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The latter point relates to this thesis, for the shops to advertise to a superdiverse community, they need to 'talk' to them through their signage succinctly. Discussed next will be subjective attitudes, then followed by the objective attitudes which is not relevant to this thesis as there are no scientific models, graphs, or information within the shop signage of this thesis, therefore it will only be covered briefly.

The understanding of social meaning in images comes from visual everyday facial interactions (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). When we see an angry or worried face, we know what it means even if our interpretation of an emotion isn't contingent on having a relationship with the person displaying the emotion, and this is the same within images. Within the interactive meaning images may involve commanding gestures from an actor (Ping, 2018). This is the demand position. The demand position will most likely give the visual design facial features that look straight ahead or a gesture of the hand whilst images with informational value will not require the viewer to react or perform a certain action (Guijarro and Sanz, 2008, p.1617). The use of demand position in images can be found as early as the 13$^{th}$ century used in religious images of the Virgin Mary, which the monks would pray before (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Images that are not demanding with a human or quasi human instinct are to be considered an offer. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) establish whilst the demand position is often portrayed by a human or animal this is not always the case, objects can be given human features also (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Images that are not demanding with a human or quasi human instinct are to be considered an offer, the represented participants are offering information to the viewer, they are objects of contemplation, almost as if looking in a display case at a museum (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

It is also important to focus on whether images are close-ups or long shots. These shots dictate the level of intimacy between the image and viewer, a close-up shot would suggest intimacy whilst a distanced shot would suggest a stranger-like relationship (Guijarro and Sanz, 2008). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggest that unlike demand and offer, distance of image can be applied to non-humans. Whilst objects come in different shapes and sizes and there are no equivalents for whole body, mid shot, or headshot, it can be done. Close distance would be the whole object with it in use, a mid-shot would be the image of the object with not much space around it with the object not in use whilst a longshot would have the object at a far distance, and it may be only shown in part (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

Involvement and detachment relate to frontal or oblique viewpoints. Feng and Espindola (2013) explain that the positioning of involvement relates to when we wish to interact with others, when we want to interact with people, we face them whilst we turn away if we are not interested in interaction. The degree of the involvement and detachment also matters, signifying the levels of involvement involved with the viewer.

The aspect of power is also important in understanding subjective attitudes. Looking up would suggest the image, represented participants, are in power, whilst if the viewer is looking down upon the visual image this would give power to the audience, the active participant (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Eye level would suggest equality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The relationship between the image and viewer is based on the real-life structural relation between the powerful and powerless, generally we look up to those with influence and look down on those who do not (Messaris, 1994). High positions make subjects look small whilst low positions, create the feeling of superiority, if the interactive participant is looking up to the represented participant, the represented participant has the power, if the active participant is looking down on the represented participant, then they have the power in that relationship (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006)

The objective viewpoint is different and does not apply to this thesis but will be discussed briefly to cover all aspects of the Visual Grammar Framework. The objective viewpoint relates to scientific pictures such as graphs and charts, often being directly frontal or from a perpendicular top-down angle (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). These angles do provide a viewer prospective but a privileged one where perspective and attitudes have been neutralised. The frontal angle is oriented towards action suggesting a direct point of this is how you do something (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The top-down angle gives maximum power, it is orientated towards theoretical knowledge with a God like view, it is no longer in reach of your hands but right at your feet (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). There is also a third objective viewpoint known as the cross section, it probes beyond the surface into deeper levels and in Western cultures is often used for diagrams (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The layout of the interactive meaning can be seen in Figure 4-3 below.

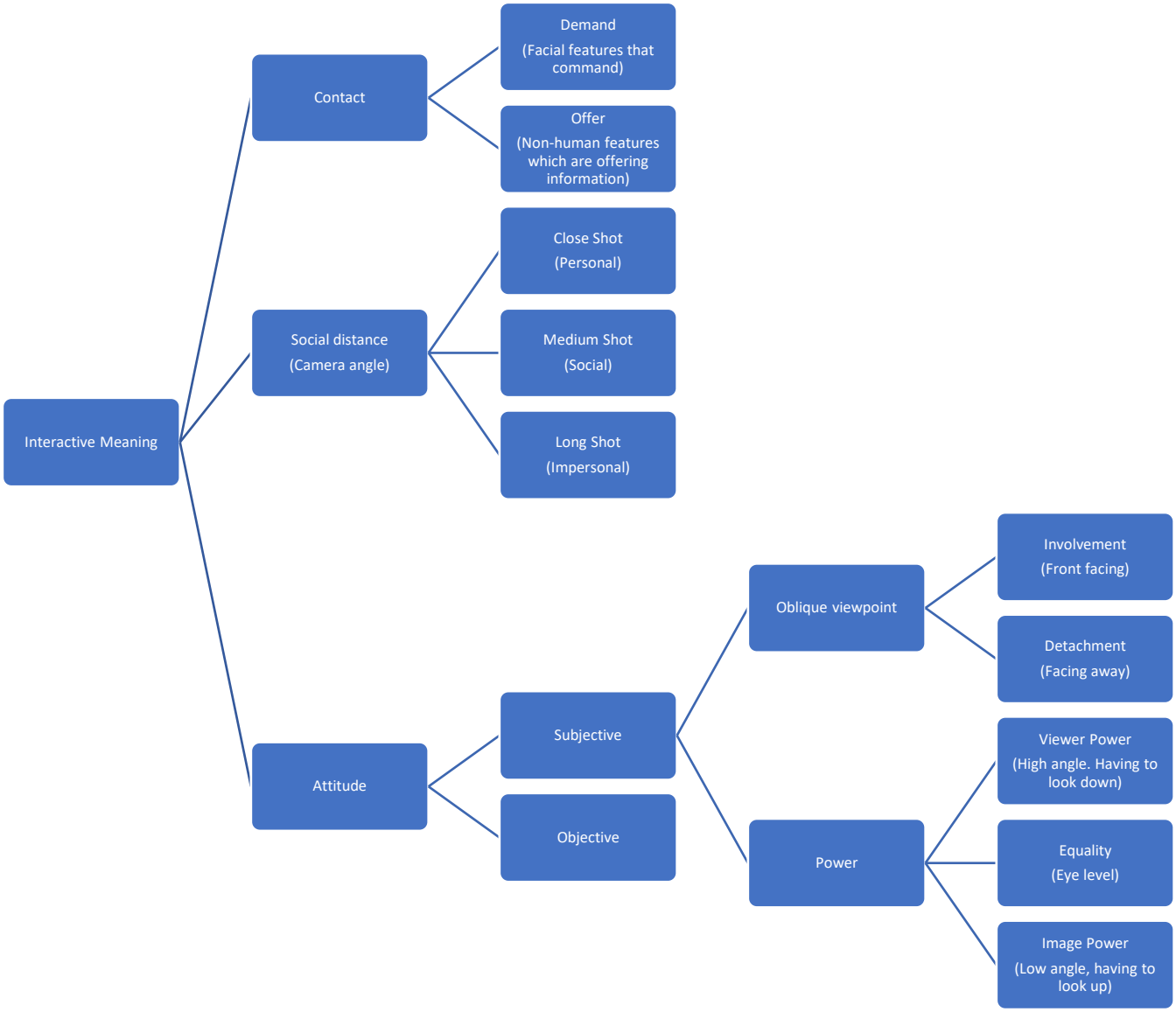



*Figure 4-3: Flow chart of the interactive meaning in the Visual Grammar Framework*

#### *4.5.3.3 Visual Grammar Framework: Compositional Meaning*

The compositional meaning relates to the information value, framing, salience and size. Information value relates to where the information is, such as the left, right, top, bottom, centre or margin, and what this positioning means (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The left and the right relate to given and new information, the left is the given information, the information that is already known whilst the right presents new information. It should be noted that this is culture specific, whilst English reads left to right, Arabic reads right to left (Mosa and Kakehi, 2015). Therefore, there would have to be accommodation for these factors.

The ideal and real positions relate to factual and idealistic information values. Magazines often promote the glamour of a product at the top, presenting the illusion of fulfilment it could bring whilst underneath is often a picture of the product or factual information such as where it can be bought (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The top is 'what it might be' whilst the bottom is 'what it is'

(Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The ideal and real relationship is related to desire and achievability (Feng and Espindola, 2013). Things that are desired are out of reach, the phrase 'aim high' or 'reach for the stars' are prime examples. The real is represented below, at the bottom, it is accessible, realistic, and easy to reach (Feng and Espindola, 2013). In this thesis any mode above eye level was considered in the ideal position, anything below eye level was considered as being in the real position. The discussion of position is subjective as discussed in 4.5.4 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Multimodal Discourse Analysis'.

Borders separate information, without borders there is a suggestion that all parts of the image are in relation to each other. Frames create a connect-disconnect relationship through dividing lines, which can be natural or deliberately placed, this signifies if modes are related (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The framing itself can signify a relationship with a thin weak border suggesting less separateness than a thick frame (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006).

In relations to margins and centrality, the centre signifies importance, for example when there is a picture of the Pope, he is often central, however in Western culture a central position is often uncommon. For a mode to be centre, it must be the nucleus and around it the margins must be equal (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Goatly (2007) believes this may relate to biology, as important organs such as your heart and liver are located centrally. However, when combining the given and new alongside the real and ideal with the addition of a centre it creates the figure of a cross, the obviousness of which depends on the marginal size, however it is a fundamental and important symbol in Western culture (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Another combination is the given and new with the centre and margin and is known as a triptych style. In many medieval artworks the style was triptych, a key religious event was central and on the given and new margins were saints admiring from below (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Whilst centrality is not a key position in Western culture it can be combined with other positions which emphasise importance.

Salience relates to how importance is highlighted in an image through techniques such as colour, focus, relative size and sharpness. Colour and branding are an important and understudied part of semiotics; however, it is a field that people are hesitant to study as whilst it may seem obvious on the surface it is highly unpredictable (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2002). These differences make many hesitant to study the theory of colour. Different cultures and regions of the world have different meanings behind the same colour. In Western society white symbolises purity and black symbolises mourning, however black is used in bridal wear in Northern parts of Portugal and in China white is used as a colour of mourning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2002). Even in the same community colour can be associated with more than one meaning, in the West red can represent both anger and love (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2002). Alongside this, psychologists put forward their contributions from experiments whilst artists put forward their interpretations and all these meanings combined generate anarchy (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2002).

Colours are an important part of advertising. Some go as far as to legally protect colours so others cannot use them (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2002). Colour on packaging has a substantial part to play in consumerism as it contributes to attractiveness, a pleasing aesthetic will increase sales more than an unattractive label (Kauppinen-Räisänen, 2014). Colours can also retain attention as well as causing an involuntary change of attention towards a product via a sensory effect using bright colours (Kauppinen-Räisänen, 2014). Furthermore, they can attract voluntary attention through emotional responses via cognitive recognition and create communication through cultural context, associative learning, or personal experiences (Kauppinen-Räisänen, 2014). Kress and van Leeuwen (2002) explain how colour impacts all three of their metafunctions, however this does not always happen simultaneously and there will be occasions where it only affects one or two categories.

Due to the complexity of colour, instead of focusing just on their perceived meanings, although this should not be completely ignored, the focus should be on how people use colour, such as decreasing and increasing the tones purity, interfering with the salience, changing the hues and examining how they are co-ordinated and combined (Almalech, 2017). Rose (2016) also mentions how hues, saturations and value of a colour can give a picture a different meaning, salience is immeasurable however contrast can create softness and sharpness can create focus. Size can also suggest importance, with large being more important than small (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). The compositional meaning can be seen below in Figure 4-4.

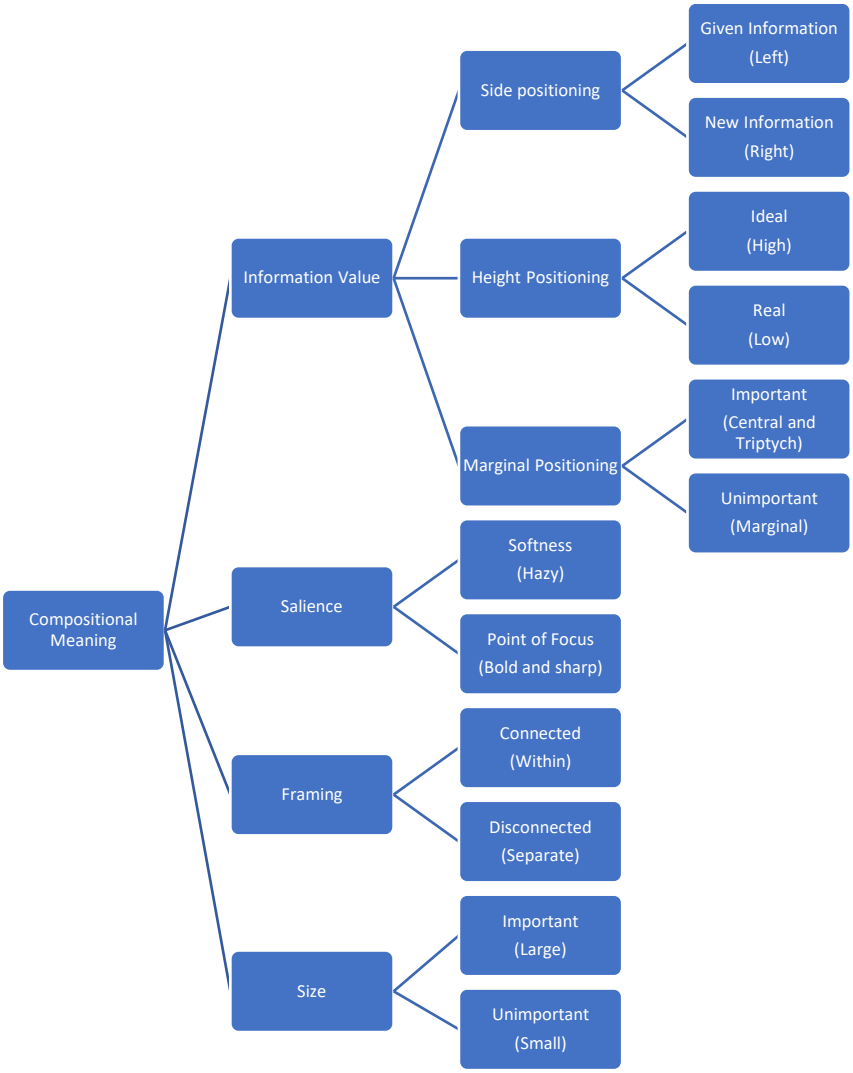



*Figure 4-4: Flow chart of the compositional meaning in the Visual Grammar Framework*

Dick (2005) points out however that there may be overriding factors despite what the positioning can mean, for example consistency may be the reason a high position is continuously used instead of symbolism. It is not always as straight forward as one position meaning one thing, there may be numerous reasons why that position is used, or a reason the creator chose it which researchers may never know and should consider when analysing.

Whilst there may seem to be a lot of elements to the Visual Grammar Framework, they are indeed essential. Page (2019) highlights the importance of taking in all aspects of a piece of media when

analysing ‘ugly selfies’ for the purpose of self-denigration. Whilst Page (2019) did not use the Visual Grammar Framework due to its predominant focus on social semiotics, she did use a multimodal framework that incorporated the comments thread on social media in relation to how the photos were perceived. Using multimodal analysis highlights the importance of contrast. For example, an ‘ugly selfie’ may have a large contrast between the image and the text which is associated with it. To understand the whole concept, all aspects must be analysed (Page, 2019). This is especially when the meaning of the image may differ from the caption. Selfies can be deemed as a form of narcissism (Buffardi and Campbell, 2008). Therefore, the intent of an ugly selfie may not be as clear as the picture itself.

Using the Visual Grammar framework will reveal many different relationships between the modes in the research but also the way they navigate different social messages at the same time. This research delves into superdiversity, which is not only broad but is complex. A method that intricately analyses each part of the signage ensures that all aspects of superdiversity on the signage should be covered.

### 4.5.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Multimodal Discourse Analysis is beneficial for multidisciplinary collaborations. Its use in multidisciplinary research is growing rapidly (Thomas, 2014). It is a tool of analysis that is relatively easy to use, with clear guidelines of what each positioning or angle means. It provides a more nuanced picture of the data explored (Caple, 2018). Whilst some may not agree with the meanings of the positions, there is a clear formula and structure to the analysis tool. Taking a photograph for Multimodal Discourse Analysis is a less invasive technique than interviews, whilst this relates to the collection of data, it is still part of the process and therefore important.

Multimodal Discourse Analysis’ formulaic system can be used in many fields by many researchers with little confusion; additionally, a different person could review the same piece of research using the same tool, therefore checking legitimacy or highlighting differences. Thomas (2014) additionally mentions that the methods empirical nature minimises the unavoidable effect of constant interpretation by the analyst. However, when carrying out Multimodal Discourse Analysis researchers must be aware of the time needed, it is a long process (Salignac, 2012). Every mode is analysed and ultimately deciphered, and then combined with all the other modes that have gone through the same methodological process. Even after all of this, the analysts’ meanings and interpretations may not match the intention of the creator of the signs vision. Additionally, whilst Multimodal Discourse Analysis encourages cross disciplinary research, as seen in this study with geography and linguistics, inadequate resources means that at times cross collaboration can be one of the struggles (O’Halloran, 2011a).

Bezemer and Jewitt (2010) warn that the process of Multimodal Discourse Analysis can become naturalised, it is almost assumed that given information is positioned on the left and new information is positioned on the right. There’s an idea that each mode has a societal meaning. Whilst it needs to be accepted that some positioning is indeed randomised or the maker of the sign did not intend for it to be that way, discussion can be built on these foundations, whether critical or not. Additionally, Schriver (1997) suggests that genre may also affect layout. Shop signage may be very different from a government poster. Ledin and Machin (2019) agree that the process of Multimodal Discourse Analysis may be taken for granted, becoming a large model that is assumed to explain any form of multimodal communication with the risk of being highly descriptive, it could be a danger to assume all communication has a form of grammar in a self-referential process. Finally, language must not be disregarded for all the other modes, it is still an equally important aspect (O’Halloran, 2011a).

Additionally determining positioning may be hard also. For one part of the analysis in this study, it was hard to determine if a certain number of halal wording on signage were positioned in a high or low position which made it hard to decide if they were in the ideal or real position. There was no mid-level meaning in this part of the analysis despite a certain number of the halal wording being positioned in that area. Due to this part of the analysis not having mid-level as a category, the decision was made that if the halal wording was directly below the researcher's eye level it would be considered low, representing real, and anything above the researcher's eye level would be considered high, representing ideal. This technique is subjective; however, it was the best resolution of a problematic predicament.

Multimodal Discourse Analysis often has photography used in its studies. Photography only captures a moment, it does not capture time, however as Blommaert (2012) explains that in fields such as linguistic landscapes they also shield researchers from mistakes; with the researcher taking photographs of the physical evidence there is less cause for argument unlike secondary published sources or unreliable participant accounts. Whilst photographs in themselves may not be neutral, everyone is seeing the same picture therefore making it practical and reliable. However, as Nash (2016) notes that whilst taking a photograph is a simple action there is a lot of visual pollution and overstimulation, that either may be missed or incorrectly interpreted. The argument against Nash, however, is that physical evidence still allows that evidence to be corrected and may even lead to further findings, allowing many researchers to work on one piece of material may lead to developments as well as differences.

### 4.5.5 Why the Quantitative Element to Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework?

Whilst this study is qualitative in nature it does have a quantitative element. Multimodal discourse analysis is a useful tool; however, it normally takes form in a qualitative format such as a report or case study which often leads to the risk of it becoming descriptive (Machin, 2013). Additionally, the number of examples or participants in Multimodal Discourse Analysis research is usually small.

Qi and Feng (2014) agree, stating that studies in Multimodal Discourse Analysis mostly focus on one or two samples, with very few studies using quantitative analysis on a large data set. Krisjanous (2016) explains that numerical interpretation for analysis allows a larger amount of data to be handled. An example is Glynm and Gimadieva (2021) who used a quantitative method in relation to Multimodal Discourse Analysis, manually tagging the various occurrences of sociolinguistic features of a large data sample creating a profile that was derived from a mathematical model revealing complex patterns when studying self-praise strategies in Russian and French social media. This research joins a few who use quantitative methods in Multimodal Discourse Analysis.

Whilst this may lead to a more monomodal result, it leads to the most common symbols being identified easily cutting out modes that are sporadic or anomalies leading to a better quality of analysis. This can then lead to the analysis of answering when these modes are combined how do they relay a message. Bower and Hedberg (2010) have a similar view of how a quantitative approach can be beneficial for Multimodal Discourse Analysis, believing that the quantitative element identifies cause-and-effect relationships which can be a complimentary addition to the interpretivist Multimodal Discourse Analysis approach. Bower and Hedberg (2010) do not disregard the qualitative approach used in the analysis. Bower and Hedberg (2010) appreciate and name many qualitative Multimodal Discourse Analysis studies: Baldry and Thibault, 2006; Jewitt, 2006; and Kress et al., 2001; however they do acknowledge an objective quantitative take may need to be taken with larger-scale studies which can then be followed with qualitative observation.

## 4.6 Autoethnography and Thematic Analysis as a Method

This section begins by offering a comprehensive explanation of autoethnography, delving into what this research method entails and exploring its various strengths and limitations. Following this, the discussion transitions to thematic analysis, where a detailed examination is provided on what thematic analysis involves, the systematic steps required to conduct it effectively, and a balanced consideration of its advantages and disadvantages as a methodological approach. This leads to the next section which goes onto discuss the methodologies that were employed in the research.

### 4.6.1 Autoethnography

Autoethnography is a qualitative research method that makes the writer systematically analyse their personal experience to understand a cultural experience (Holman Jones, 2005). This approach involves self-reflection, where the researcher analyses their personal experiences to uncover insights into their own research with analytical depth. It is a subjective narrative with the researcher's voice at the centre of the analysis (Plummer, 2001). Ellis et al. (2011, p.1) describe autoethnography as the below:

"Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experience. This approach challenges canonical ways of doing research and representing others and treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act. A researcher uses tenets of autobiography and ethnography to do and write autoethnography. Thus, as a method, autoethnography is both process and product"

This method is frequently used in fields such as education, health, and the social sciences, offering a nuanced understanding of cultural and social issues through the lens of lived experiences (Ellis et al., 2011). However, like with every method there are advantages and disadvantages.

### 4.6.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of Autoethnography

Autoethnography allows for self-reflection. It allows the researcher to analyse their beliefs, recognise their biases and if reflexive enough they may change their actions; it provides an in-depth, holistic view and understanding in real time. Additionally writing can be therapeutic, allowing one to make sense of themselves (Poulos, 2008). Autoethnography also excels in capturing the emotional dimensions of cultural experience, which are often overlooked in more positivist approaches to research (Jackson and Mazzei, 2008). This method acknowledges sentiment in human life, offering a more holistic understanding of society.

Furthermore, autoethnography's flexible format allows for a more diverse range of expression, accommodating multiple voices and perspectives. This inclusivity makes it a valuable tool for representing marginalised or silenced groups, whose experiences might otherwise be excluded from academic discourse (Boylorn and Orbe, 2013). In this way, autoethnography not only enriches the field of cultural studies but also contributes to social justice by giving a voice to those who are often unheard.

Autoethnography, as a subset of ethnography, has been met with considerable criticism within the realm of social sciences. Critics argue that it falls short of the rigorous, theoretical, and analytical standards traditionally expected in research, dismissing it as overly emotional and therapeutic (Keller, 1995). Another critique is that autoethnographers often engage in minimal fieldwork, observing a limited number of cultural participants and failing to dedicate sufficient time to interactions with diverse groups (Delamont, 2009).

The reliance on personal experience in autoethnography has also drawn criticism. It is perceived as a method that inherently relies on subjective and potentially biased data (Anderson, 2006). Furthermore, autoethnographers have been pejoratively labelled as self-absorbed (Madison, 2006). There could be an argument that an inward focus detracts from the academic responsibilities of developing hypotheses, engaging in rigorous analysis, and contributing to broader theoretical frameworks.

The allowance for autoethnography in this study allows marginalised voices to be heard alongside recognising the importance of positionality, both of which outweigh the negatives. However, the negatives should still be in the mind of the researcher to ensure ethical research is produced.

### 4.6.3 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a method that interprets and analyses patterns, also known as themes, in qualitative data, offering a method that is not bound by theoretical commitments (Clarke et al., 2015). Thematic analysis allows for the development of themes and codes from qualitative data, codes are the smallest pieces of analysis to come from the data, acting as the building block for larger themes to be established, which provide a framework where shared concepts are established and can be reported by the researcher (Clarke et al., 2015).

Thematic analysis may not necessarily use all the data provided and it is not a summary of the data, its main aim is to interpret and identify (Clarke et al., 2015). Thematic analysis has high quality procedural processes including a two-stage review, whilst this is rigorous it leads to further assurance (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.91). In regard to thematic analysis this thesis uses the method of Braun and Clarke (2006) who's framework is largely used in academics in regard to ethnography (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Braun and Clarke (2006, p.86) have a six-step process for thematic analysis as seen below in Maguire and Delahunt's (2017, p.3354) table below represented by Figure 4-5.

| | |
|---|---|
| Step 1: Become familiar with the data,<br>Step 2: Generate initial codes,<br>Step 3: Search for themes, | Step 4: Review themes,<br>Step 5: Define themes,<br>Step 6: Write-up. |

**Table 1:** Braun & Clarke's six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis

*Figure 4-5: Maguire and Delahunt's (2017) representation of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six step thematic analysis process*

Firstly, a researcher is to become familiar with their data, they need to read and truly understand their findings, after this a researcher should be able to generate initial codes from their data, where the data is split into smaller fragments of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.87). Maguire and Delahunt (2017) point out that there are different ways to code dependant on the perspectives of the researcher's data and questions, one important matter is whether the method used is a theoretical thematic analysis or an inductive thematic analysis. Theoretical, also known as deductive, draws on the theoretical ideas of the researcher and is coded in relation to their questions and ideas (Joffe 2011). However, this ignores other occurring information if it does not link to the researchers' investigations. Boyatzis (1998) believes that there is not much point in doing qualitative research if important reoccurring data is ignored as it does not fit in with the researcher's research. Inductive research accounts for all the raw data, analysing all patterns that may occur in the data (Joffe, 2011). This is the method this thesis uses. Maguire and Delahunt (2017) state that inductive tends to

analyse line by line due to the search for new information whereas theoretical may miss lines of data due to it not being relevant to the research questions posed.

This leads to the third step where themes are identified. Braun and Clarke (2006, p.89) make aware to those using their framework that there are no set rules about what makes a theme. The general principal is that the codes that have strong similarities, pointing out a significance in the research, are then grouped into themes which are highlighting something important about the research (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.89). The fourth step then leads to a review of said themes. The main questions asked being 'does it make sense, are the themes distinct from one another and does the data support the themes created?' (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). At this point Maguire and Delahunt (2017) advise gathering all the data into the relevant themes on excel and checking they link using cut and paste alongside colour coding, which is used in this thesis.

After these steps is the fifth step, defining what the themes are about, how do they relate or add to the research (Braun sand Clarke, 2006, p.92). It is asking what the theme is trying to say. The final stage is the writing process. Maguire and Delahunt (2017) describe this as the end point of the research where the data is presented in a report or a certain written format.

The main advantage of thematic analysis is the flexibility it provides. This is not just related to theoretical flexibility but also the research question (Clarke et al., 2015). Its flexibility means that it can be used broadly in a large range of academic fields and disciplines. This flexibility extends to sample sizes. Cerdevall and Åberg (2010) describe how the framework can be used for small and large data sets, ranging from interviews to focus groups with no topic out of scope.

Braun and Clarke (2006) point out some of the shortcomings of their method if used incorrectly, firstly there is the risk of the data just bring described or paraphrased and not actually interpreted. Secondly when interviews are used, some researchers may use these as the themes without analysing the answers within the data itself (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thirdly analysis can be weak if commendable data extracts cannot be used to back the defined themes leaving the findings unsupported (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Finally, the broadness of the method does allow flexibility which is an advantage however the disadvantage of this is that it can leave the researcher unsure of how to approach rendering them incapacitated, unsure of what data to focus on (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

## 4.7 Methodologies

This section explains the research methodologies employed in the study. It begins by discussing the overarching aims of the research, which are centred around three primary research questions that guided the entire investigative process. Following this, the section delves into the crucial ethical considerations that were carefully addressed throughout the study, ensuring that the research was conducted with the highest standards of integrity and respect for participants. This includes the procedures by which informed consent was obtained from all participants, highlighting the commitment to ethical research practices.

By providing a comprehensive and detailed account of the methodology, this section not only enhances the transparency of the research process but also ensures that the study can be replicated by other researchers who may wish to pursue similar inquiries, build upon the findings or apply the methodology in different contexts.

### 4.7.1 Aim of the Study

This research asks how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the

superdiverse audience of the Ladywood constituency. It builds on Cook and Harrison's (2003) research who examined the Jamaican food company Grace, who are a success due to serving the Caribbean diaspora as well as other ethnic minorities who have similarities within their cuisine. Grace were not aiming to sell their products through the British mainstream supermarkets which many would view as a symbol as success. They had found a market that is not the mainstream. This research suggests similar with Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency, that they may be serving an alternative, superdiverse audience.

The thesis shines a light on decolonialism, showing that the most dominant market is not always the market being served and there may be other audiences of economic interest in a superdiverse area. Therefore, it is important to ask how do the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways advertise to the superdiverse community, also asking does the foods creole nature, through slavery, indentured servitude and colonisation, have an advantage in advertising due to the number of nationalities involved in the cuisine. An equally important question to ask is has the food further creolised since arriving to the Ladywood constituency due to different cultures and intersectionalities within the area and is this another factor that would contribute to advertising to the superdiverse constituency.

The overarching research question for the thesis is below:

- How do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood constituency?

Which then led to the further following questions:

- Does the Caribbean cuisine use its creole identity to help advertise to different nationalities in a superdiverse area?
- Has the Caribbean cuisine further creolised since being in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency, and does this help to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency also?

Asking these questions proposes a decolonial view of marketing to different audiences. Additionally, it adds decolonial thought to superdiversity pushing progression in a field that is already progressive in the sense that it allows different intersectionalities or minorities to be seen and have a voice.

Whilst these are the main questions in this thesis the autoethnography also brought up further discussions that were key when visiting shops; these included approaches to the research, the wariness of the black community to participate in research and black identity, all of which are discussed further in 4.9, 'Thematic Analysis of Autoethnography'.

### 4.7.2 Ethical Considerations

This research did not involve any external bodies of funding and was primarily funded by the Student Loans Company. There were not any external bodies for data collection or access to participants. Therefore, there was no need for external institutional certification from the university. Additionally, there were no extremities involved in the research such as invasive procedures, restriction of basic needs, drug administration or procedures that could cause physical harm to the participant. Furthermore, there was no payment involved to take part in the study, need to withhold information or deceive or mislead participants. The methodology consisted of autoethnography and photographs of the Caribbean restaurant and takeaways that were analysed via the Visual Grammar Framework.

### 4.7.3 Consent

Once the shops were identified in the wider community of the Ladywood constituency, they were visited to explain the purpose of the study alongside handing over the consent form and participant

information sheet. They were informed that the photos were for research purposes, and it was made clear that they did not have to sign on the spot and further time was allowed for them to consider participation. In these cases, there were contact details for if they wished for further information or wanted to participate.

Most shops did sign the form on the same day. The form consisted of a request to take a photograph of the store and a request to interview providing the small chance the COVID-19 pandemic subsided in time. Shop visits and photography ranged from 30 minutes to an hour due to situations such as waiting for the manager to return or having to explain the study further. One shop out of the 31 did request that the photo of their store be retrieved off Google but did sign the consent form. There was no relationship between me or the participants. Consent was gained through a signed consent form from owners or managers of the restaurants or takeaways, none of whom were minors (under the age of 18).

Majority of the shops chose only photo participation on the form. There were multiple reasons for the rejection of interviews, ranging from being busy, seeing universities as pointless and whilst some did not provide reasons, the majority did portray an element of wariness, especially when the formality of a signed form was produced. This did not mean that there was no conversation, they just did not want to be recorded or documented.

From this aspect it could be deemed that there was an unpleasant or difficult stimuli presented that was causing slight discomfort and caution was took not to press further especially when mental health could be put at risk. There are many reasons for this discomfort which will be discussed further in section 4.9 ‘Thematic Analysis of Autoethnography’.

Participants were assured that their participation was entirely voluntary, however they were made aware that whilst their names would be anonymous the identity of the shops would not be therefore full anonymity could not be ensured. Participants were also made aware that they could withdraw from the study by contacting myself via the details provided on the consent form. Once contacted before the specified date on the consent form their data would not be involved in the research and it would be destroyed without having to provide a reason. All participants had contact details if they wanted any information regarding the research during the time it was taking place.

As a researcher there was no major risk apart from catching COVID-19, there was no involvement or discussion of illegal activity, and I was never alone with a participant in the shop due to customers or other staff members being present. Minor risks included pressure in building relationships, pressure in putting myself out there, and dealing with the occasional awkward conversations with research participants. These did not lead to harm, however. There is no expectation that this research will compromise the reputation of the university, cause concern in the public domain and there should be no advice needed for legal or media attention.

## 4.8 Visual Grammar Framework Methodology

The subsequent sections present a detailed account of one of the methodologies utilised in this research, the Visual Grammar Framework for the Multimodal Discourse Analysis. This discussion encompasses not only the intricacies of the methodology itself but also the carefully designed processes for data description and data collection. After this the process of the Visual Grammar Framework used for the photography is clearly outlined to ensure a strong understanding of how it was applied within the context of the study. This comprehensive approach aims to provide a solid foundation for readers to appreciate and if necessary, replicate the research methodology.

### 4.8.1 Data Description

The locations of the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways were established via Google Maps, using the search terms 'Caribbean', 'Caribbean restaurant' and 'Caribbean takeaway', focusing only on the city of Birmingham and more specifically the Ladywood constituency. There were a further two takeaways that were discovered via walking through the Ladywood constituency whilst conducting research within the area. To ensure that the restaurants could be defined as selling Caribbean food products the word 'Caribbean' or an island of the Caribbean had to be included in their shop name, or subheading, if applicable. There is an exception with the Caribbean naming for two restaurants which I was personally aware were Caribbean restaurants or takeaways but did not follow this rule.

This study consists of 31 different Caribbean restaurant and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency. The Ladywood constituency has 10 wards: Aston, Bordesley and Highgate, Bordesley Green, Holyhead, Ladywood, Lozells, Nechells, Newtown, North Edgbaston, and Soho and the Jewellery Quarter. These can be seen in Figure 4-6 below.

The use of Google Maps revealed that a large majority of the restaurants and takeaways were in an area considered to be superdiverse, the Ladywood constituency. The decision to focus on the Ladywood constituency rather than the ward was primarily driven by the distribution of businesses within the area. However, it is in correlation to the fact that the constituency has the highest number of individuals who were of a black Caribbean or black British background.

The levels of superdiversity vary significantly across the constituency, influencing the types of businesses that operate there. For example, it can be seen in section 2.3, 'Religion, Superdiversity and Food: Islam Globally, in the UK, and Birmingham', Table 2-2, that the population of people who follow Islam varies greatly from ward to ward, additionally the black Caribbean population varies from ward to ward as seen in section 2.5, 'Caribbean Post War Migration', Table 2-6. Furthermore, in section 2.4, 'Birmingham and Superdiversity', Figure 2-6, the levels of poverty can be seen to differ throughout the constituency.

This approach allows for a more nuanced exploration of how the location of businesses may shape the use of different signage and symbols in various parts of the constituency. These patterns will be further examined in the empirical chapters, where the impact of business location on the visual aspects of the signage will be discussed in greater detail.

The number of Caribbean restaurants or takeaways in each ward of the Ladywood constituency can be seen in Figure 4-6 below, highlighted with the red circles. In Aston there were 3 Caribbean restaurants or takeaways, Lozells had 6, Soho and Jewellery Quarter had 8, Newtown had 1, North Edgbaston had 5, Ladywood had 7 and Bordesley and Highgate had 1.

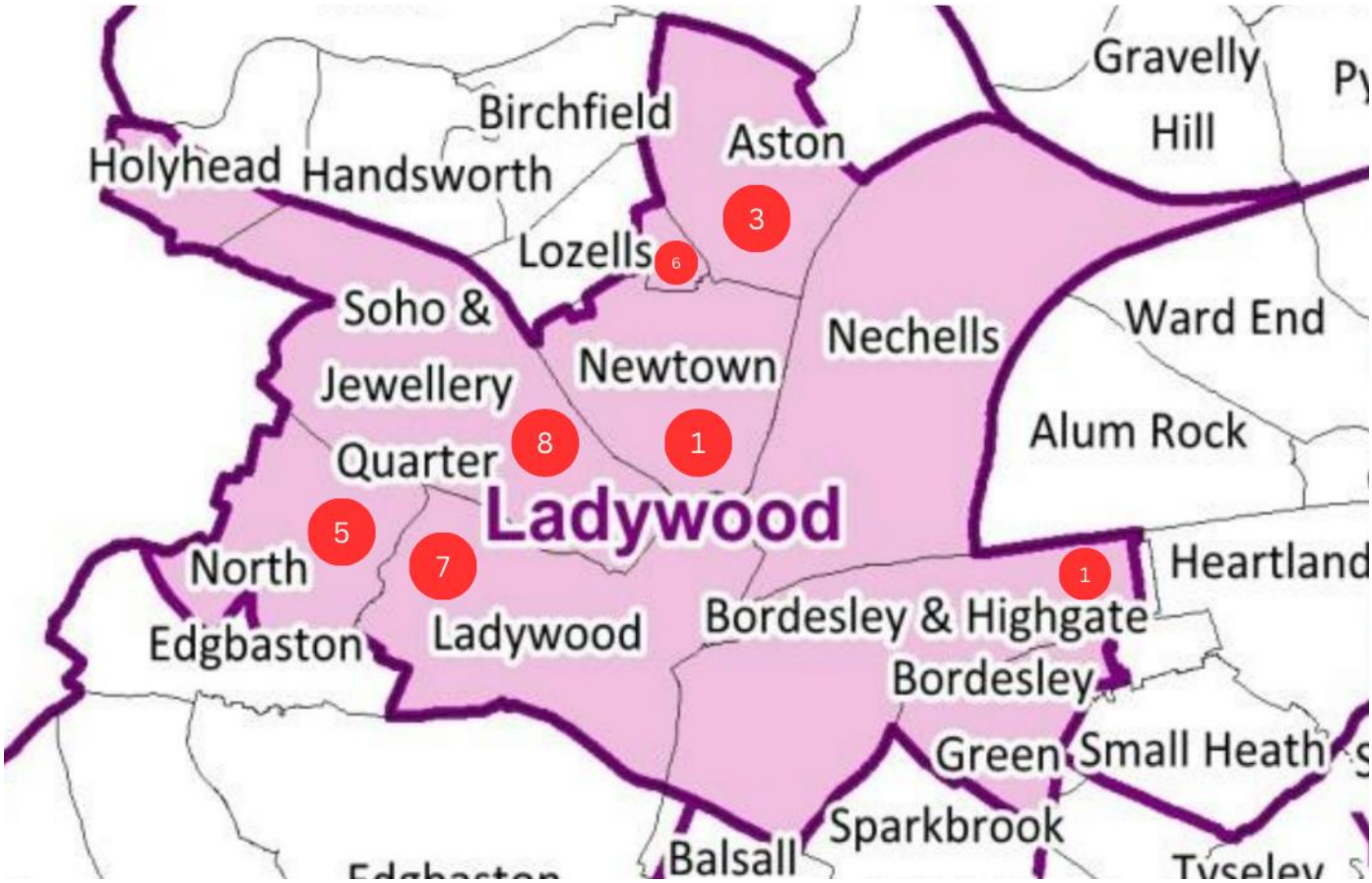



*Figure 4-6: Map of the Ladywood constituency with how many Caribbean eateries are in each ward*

There is a small overlap into the next constituency relating to the ward of Soho, where the main road, Soho Road, crosses both the constituencies of Ladywood and Perry Barr. Three shops declined to take part in the study and a further three shops were closed for business, presumed permanently after numerous visits despite being on Google Maps. There were relatively few Caribbean restaurants in other areas across the city, totalling to 8 counted on Google maps outside of the Ladywood and Perry Barr constituencies. However, this was according to the ones that were identifiable at the time on Google Maps, more Caribbean restaurants and takeaways may exist outside the realms of Google Maps in the city of Birmingham, however.

While Google Maps is a valuable tool for identifying Caribbean restaurants and takeaways within the Ladywood constituency, it has limitations. One of the main drawbacks is that Google Maps relies on data that may not always be up-to-date or accurate, especially in areas characterised by superdiversity like the Ladywood constituency. Here, the rapid pace of change, including frequent shifts in shop ownership and restaurant names, can make it difficult to capture the current business landscape, especially during the period of COVID-19 which affected businesses greatly and limited the movement of individuals.

Additionally, Google Maps may not reflect smaller, locally owned establishments that do not have a strong online presence or those that have recently opened or closed. While a more thorough approach, such as conducting a walking survey of the constituency, would have provided a more accurate picture, the extensive size of the Ladywood area made this method impractical within the scope of this project.

### 4.8.2 Collection of Data

Each shop had approximately 6-8 photos taken of it, covering different angles and to ensure nothing was accidentally missed which would mean a repeated visit. This stopped any feeling of unintentional harassment or a feeling of surveillance. Photographs were analysed using the Visual Grammar Framework with results being recorded in Microsoft Excel. Multimodal Discourse Analysis and the Visual Grammar Framework often require photography or physical evidence of the multimodal piece of media, whether that be through photography or the source material itself; this study took multiple photographs of each store that was a participant of the study. Photographs of the restaurants and takeaways allowed extensive research without having to continuously visit each store repetitively.

### 4.8.3 Visual Grammar Framework Analysis of the Photographs

Rules made for advertisements and signage in England are made by the secretary of state, currently sitting under the Town and Country Planning (Control of Advertisements) Regulations, 2007. The advertisement control system in England consists of rules made by the Secretary of State, which are monitored and held under responsibility by planning authorities, which is normally the local district council (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, p.4).

Certain advertisements do not need applications to be made to planning authorities. There are 14 classes within this rule and each class has its own sets of rules. Shop signage falls under class 5 and 6, 5 relating to the signage itself (as seen in Figure 4-7) and 6 relating to shop advertisements found in forecourts (as seen in Figure 4-8) (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, p.6). Class 5 is not permitted for all the advertisements within a shop, it is focused on the exterior display of the building where the advertisement should be, where only advertisements for the goods or services available at that premises should be displayed, or the person, or people, supplying the goods (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, p.19). Class 6 specifies that if a business has a forecourt, then there is further consent to display advertisements that fall under the category and rules of class 5, drawing attention to any services or goods available at the premise (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2007, p.20).A forecourt can include areas such as an enclosed area in front of a shop or a terrace in front of a restaurant or café, the advertisement must be on the ground, however.

Due to these descriptions the area of all the shop signage that was analysed in this study is shown as an example in the red squares of the images below. It's not just the signage but anything hanging off the shop or on the floor also. This does not apply to many of the shops but is still of interest.

*Figure 4-7: Example of an exterior shop front*

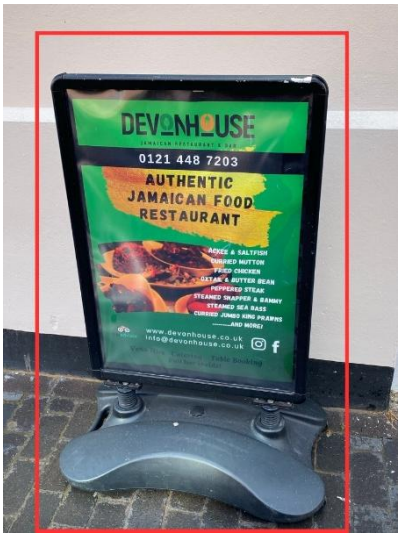
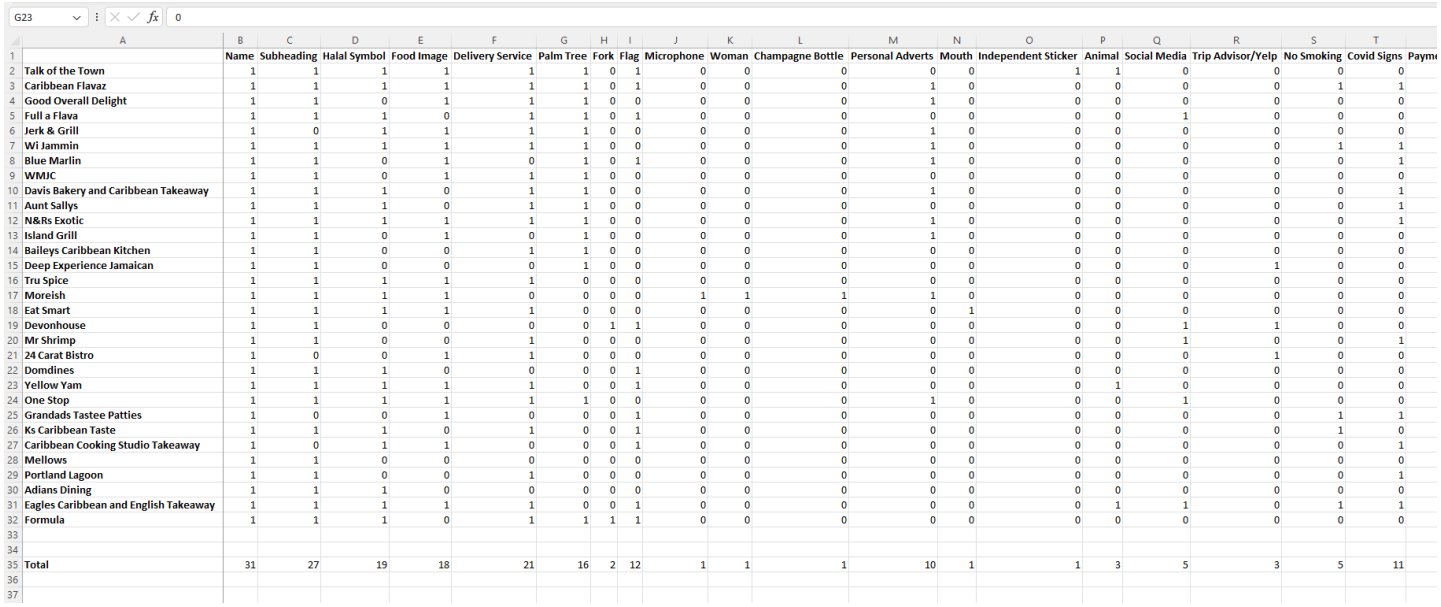



*Figure 4-8: Example of a forecourt advertisement*

Microsoft Excel was used as the programme to record and analyse the Visual Grammar Framework results. Whilst there are programmes like NVivo which could be used to help with data collection in this research, Microsoft Excel is accessible; world renowned, fairly user friendly, especially for quantitative analysis, and comparatively cheaper than tools such as NVivo. Especially for researchers who are not funded by research councils. This research has a heavy focus on accessibility and equality, especially for researchers who do not receive funding, to use a tool that would only further inequality or is only accessible via certain departments seemed problematic when Microsoft Excel is more readily available. Dollah et al. (2017) affirms this, pointing out that many researchers from developing and under-developing countries cannot afford the programme, even if it offers a month's free trial, research often takes longer than this. Time to learn the programme is also an issue. Dollah et al. (2017) noted this was another criticism of NVivo, where many learners thought it was time consuming to learn, switching to a manual process instead. Finally, it cannot interpret the data, it is a tool to help with collection. Excel can aid with analysis via formulas and formats, with less time consumption and financial deficits.

At the start of the methodology, all semiotic modes were identified on all shop signage and then were listed on a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In total there were 45 different modes. This varied from a shop name, an image of a palm tree, an image of a fork, a subheading, and more. The list was extensive. Once this list was created, it was tallied how many shops had the same, or an extremely similar mode. The number 1 was used to note if the shop had the mode and 0 was used for if it did not. This can be seen in Figure 4-9 below; each modes appearance was counted on the 31 shops. If a mode featured on 50% or more of the shops this was included in the analysis. There were 7 modes that featured over 50% of the time: the halal wording, the palm tree, delivery signage images, food images, shop names, subheadings, and the use of the same or similar colours.

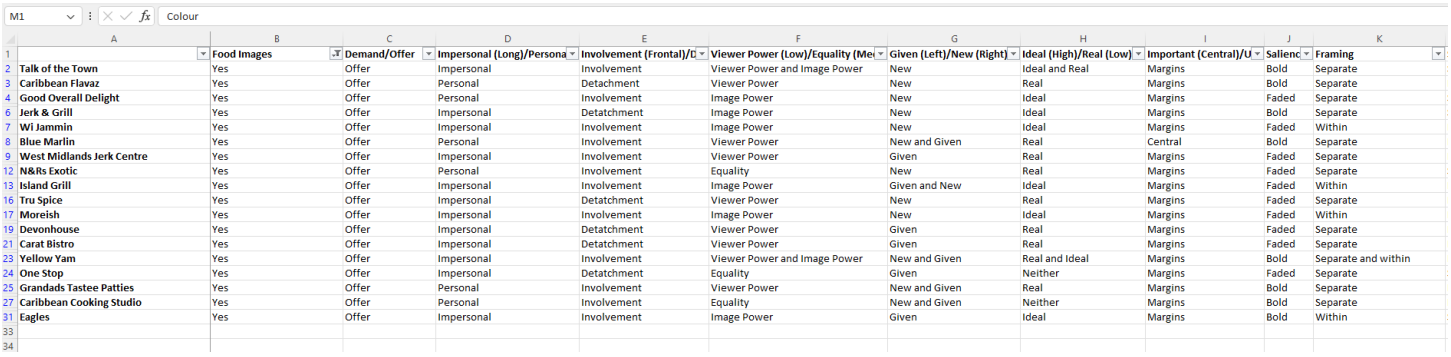


| | Name | Subheading | Halal Symbol | Food Image | Delivery Service | Palm Tree | Fork | Flag | Microphone | Woman | Champagne Bottle | Personal Adverts | Mouth | Independent Sticker | Animal | Social Media | Trip Advisor/Yelp | No Smoking | Covid Signs | Paym |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Talk of the Town | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Caribbean Flavaz | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | |
| Good Overall Delight | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Full a Flava | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Jerk & Grill | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Wi Jammin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | |
| Blue Marlin | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| WMJC | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Davis Bakery and Caribbean Takeaway | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| Aunt Sallys | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| N&Rs Exotic | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| Island Grill | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Baileys Caribbean Kitchen | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Deep Experience Jamaican | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Tru Spice | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Moreish | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Eat Smart | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Devonhouse | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Mr Shrimp | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| 24 Carat Bistro | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | |
| Domdines | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Yellow Yam | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| One Stop | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Grandads Tastee Patties | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | |
| Ks Caribbean Taste | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | |
| Caribbean Cooking Studio Takeaway | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| Mellows | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Portland Lagoon | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | |
| Adians Dining | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Eagles Caribbean and English Takeaway | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | |
| Formula | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 31 | 27 | 19 | 18 | 21 | 16 | 2 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 11 | |

*Figure 4-9: Counting of the different modes on Excel*

Once these modes were decided on, they were than assessed in another excel sheet, like the image below in Figure 4-10, using the Visual Grammar Frameworks meanings (representational, interactive, compositional) accordingly. The modes were assessed in relation to their angles, shots, distance, and other factors.

They were then analysed within the context of their relation to the superdiverse area of the Ladywood constituency. Each mode had its own spreadsheet apart from headings and subheadings which were paired together as they travelled as one unit in almost every sign, with the only difference of the subheading being smaller in size. Additionally, colour was discussed extensively in the heading and subheading part as headings and subheadings were situated primarily where majority of the colour was used on the signage.



| | Food Images | Demand/Offer | Impersonal (Long)/Persona | Involvement (Frontal)/D | Viewer Power (Low)/Equality (Me | Given (Left)/New (Right) | Ideal (High)/Real (Low) | Important (Central)/U | Salienc | Framing |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Talk of the Town | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Viewer Power and Image Power | New | Ideal and Real | Margins | Bold | Separate |
| Caribbean Flavaz | Yes | Offer | Personal | Detachment | Viewer Power | New | Real | Margins | Bold | Separate |
| Good Overall Delight | Yes | Offer | Personal | Involvement | Image Power | New | Ideal | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| Jerk & Grill | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Detatchment | Image Power | New | Ideal | Margins | Bold | Separate |
| Wi Jammin | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Image Power | New | Ideal | Margins | Faded | Within |
| Blue Marlin | Yes | Offer | Personal | Involvement | Viewer Power | New and Given | Real | Central | Bold | Separate |
| West Midlands Jerk Centre | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Viewer Power | Given | Real | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| N&Rs Exotic | Yes | Offer | Personal | Involvement | Equality | New | Real | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| Island Grill | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Image Power | Given and New | Ideal | Margins | Faded | Within |
| Tru Spice | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Detatchment | Viewer Power | New | Real | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| Moreish | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Image Power | New | Ideal | Margins | Faded | Within |
| Devonhouse | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Detatchment | Viewer Power | Given | Real | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| Carat Bistro | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Detatchment | Viewer Power | Given | Real | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| Yellow Yam | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Viewer Power and Image Power | New and Given | Real and Ideal | Margins | Bold | Separate and within |
| One Stop | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Detatchment | Equality | Given | Neither | Margins | Faded | Separate |
| Grandads Tastee Patties | Yes | Offer | Personal | Involvement | Viewer Power | New and Given | Real | Margins | Bold | Separate |
| Caribbean Cooking Studio | Yes | Offer | Personal | Involvement | Equality | New and Given | Neither | Margins | Bold | Separate |
| Eagles | Yes | Offer | Impersonal | Involvement | Image Power | Given | Ideal | Margins | Bold | Within |

*Figure 4-10: A mode being analysed through the Visual Grammar Framework*

Whilst the most popular modes were analysed independently through the different meanings they were discussed in combination in the conclusion, discussing how they combine to convey a message to the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency. Whilst discussing the modes separately is revealing, and does produce new information, it misses out the main point of the signage being multimodal, the communicative element would be lost. However, Kress et al. (2001) does note that the modes convey information both together, and separately, there is a constant interplay. It should be noted that this analysis is not an analysis of each specific shop but a general

overview of all the restaurants and takeaways in the study. When analysing the geographical location of the modes, pivot tables were used to reveal the number of each mode in each area, showing any patterns that may have occurred.

## 4.9 Thematic Analysis Methodology

The following sections present a comprehensive overview of the second methodology utilised in this research: thematic analysis for the autoethnography. This section starts with the description and collection of data, followed by a detailed, step-by-step process of the thematic analysis. These steps include immersing oneself in the data to gain familiarity, generating initial codes, identifying clusters of related codes, reviewing and refining themes, defining the final themes, finishing with detailed documentation of the findings.

### 4.9.1 Data Description

The data for the ethnography comes from 31 diary entries consisting of 250 to 500 words each. This data can be seen further below. The data describes observations, emotions, and conversations directly after each visit of the 31 shops. As discussed previously in section 4.8.1, 'Data Description', the locations of the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways were established via Google Maps, using the search terms 'Caribbean', 'Caribbean restaurant' and 'Caribbean takeaway', focusing only on the city of Birmingham and more importantly the Ladywood constituency.

### 4.9.2 Data Collection

Once the shops agreed to take part in the study written diary entries were recorded after visiting each shop. For each shop there was a period of thoughtful reflection on my experiences and conversations. The data of the 31 diary entries consisting of 250 to 500 words were written in a diary immediately after visiting each shop. They were then typed into Microsoft word concisely. It was important to do this soon after the visit whilst memories were still fresh.

### 4.9.3 Thematic Analysis Steps

The following sections are the steps in relation to the thematic analysis of this research. The first step consists of the familiarisation of the data, the second step involves the generation of codes, and the third step relates to identifying different clusters of codes. The latter part of the stages involves reviewing the themes found from the clusters of codes, defining what the themes are and the write up of the analysis.

#### *4.9.3.1 Step 1: Familiarisation with the data*

Firstly, familiarisation was made with the data. The data was read repeatedly and was given a thorough overview, removing spelling mistakes and any grammatical errors which may have occurred previously due to the imperativeness of getting the memories typed from the diary into Microsoft word, reducing delays and memories fading. This had to be done before individual sentences were analysed.

#### *4.9.3.2 Step 2: Generating Codes*

The data was then coded, where sections of text were highlighted to express different ideas or

meanings, sentence by sentence. Each of these sentences were then given a code, a label, as seen in Figure 4-11 below. This stage required an analysis of every detail and anything that seemed relevant or interesting was highlighted. New codes would be added frequently, and it was common for several sentences to fit into the same code.

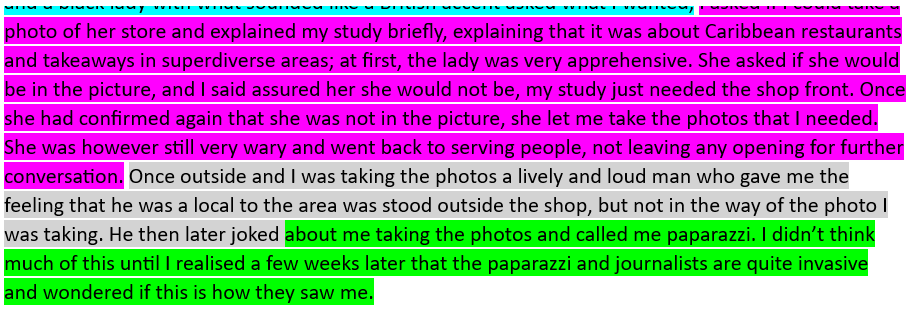



*Figure 4-11: A partial diary entry being analysed through thematic analysis*

The codes then allowed an overview of the main points that were found, alongside any common significances that have occurred within the data. In this research 19 codes were found in total which can be seen in Figure 4-12 below.


*Figure 4-12: Different codes found in the thematic analysis*

#### *4.9.3.3 Step 3: Identifying Clusters of Codes*

After looking at the codes created and the patterns that may have taken place themes were then developed from the clusters of codes found. Unlike the codes which are specific the themes are broader consisting of several codes. Codes that were too vague or did not have enough data to support them were removed. For this research three themes were created which can be seen in the image below. The themes created for this research were often created through codes that were similar or interlinked.

One theme in this research is highlighted in blue below. This includes the codes 'Buying Produce' which is often how I started the interaction, 'Interest in Research' which the participants expressed at the beginning, and 'Participant hesitation', often appearing at the approach to signing the consent documents. Another code 'Outsider inquisitiveness' refers to customers or people who may have seen the interaction or research being undertaken and were inquisitive not long after. All these codes created one theme linking to the approach of the research. The main purpose of themes is to provide a helpful insight into the data that was used in the diary entries.

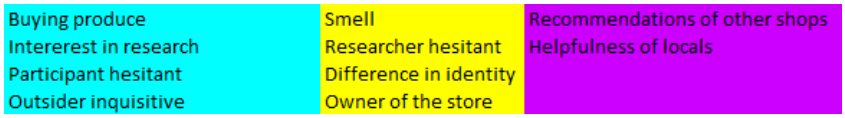



*Figure 4-13: Codes in different grouping of clusters*

#### *4.9.3.4 Step 4: Review of Themes*

Before deciding the final themes in the image above, they were reviewed to ensure that they were representing the data accurately and were an important contribution to the overall thesis. This was where the decisions were made to add or remove codes or decide if they needed to be moved to another theme. An example of such was the code 'Researcher hesitant', it was moved from the blue column to the yellow column. Whilst researcher hesitancy was involved in the process of approaching shops, it was more related to the difference in identity I was discovering between myself and participants within the research, therefore it was moved. This was the time where errors could be caught before being finalised in writing. The review allowed a second check of the data ensuring accurate reporting.

#### *4.9.3.5 Step 5: Defining Themes*

Once the relevant codes were grouped into themes and confirmed, the three themes were then named and defined. The three names for the themes found in the autoethnography of this thesis are 'Approaching the Research', 'Identity' and 'Convivality'. The defined names formulate what the themes are expressing and state what has been found in the data coherently in an understandable manner. The defining names, and the themes within them can be seen in the image below. Whilst it may be unclear why some of the codes fit into these themes, there is a lot more depth into the reasoning in section 4.9.4, 'Thematic Analysis of Autoethnography'.

| Approaching the Research | Identity | Convivality |
|---|---|---|
| Buying produce | Smell | Recommendations of other shops |
| Intererest in research | Researcher hesitant | Helpfulness of locals |
| Participant hesitant | Difference in identity | |
| Outsider inquisitive | Owner of the store | |
| | | |

*Figure 4-14: The clusters of codes placed into themes*

#### *4.9.3.6 Step 6: Writing up of Themes*

Once the themes had been defined a write up of the thematic analysis from the autoethnographic diary entries occurred, this features in the next section where the themes are addressed. The meaning of each theme and how it relates to the questions asked within the thesis will be examined.

### 4.9.4 Thematic Analysis of Autoethnography

Throughout this study, autoethnographic diary entries were recorded of my experiences after every restaurant or takeaway visit. While they did not reveal anything explicitly new to the study itself in relation to how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use signage to attract a superdiverse community, the diary entries did identify topics such as participant wariness, issues surrounding identity, and an existing conviviality.

Therefore, this thematic analysis should be seen more as an insight into pertinent issues that arose during data collection. The following themes were found in the thematic analysis and are how this section is split, 'Approaching the Research', 'Identity', and 'Conviviality'. 'Approaching the Research' links to the conduction of the research and what could be done to eliminate some of the issues found, as well as understanding why these issues have arisen. The section 'Identity' can be seen as a statement of positionality, which considers my place in the research.

The 'Convivality' section however does link to the research question of how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways advertise to a superdiverse community in the Ladywood constituency, and the discussion of conviviality appears in this section as a theme and in some of the analysis chapters, which follow this section.

#### *4.9.4.1 Approach to Research*

This part of the thematic analysis centres on the research approach, from entering the shop to approaching participants for their signature. Three key codes are discussed in this section: 'Buying Produce'; 'Interest in Research'; and 'Participant Hesitation and Outsider Inquisitiveness'. These themes explore strategies for easing into interactions, addressing wariness in research, understanding its underlying causes, and finding ways to alleviate it.

##### *4.9.4.1.1 Participant Hesitation and Outsider Inquisitiveness*

There was hesitancy with many participants relating to taking part in the research, majority of whom were black. This was noted in the autoethnography diary journals and was expressed in many ways both physically and verbally. Ranging from reading the paperwork very carefully, clear expressions of not wanting photos of themselves or the shop in the media, explicitly making it very clear they did not want to participate in interviews and one participant expressed how my research would only lead to debate, and no action would come from it, rendering it pointless (however the shop did participate). Additionally, whilst taking photos outside of the shop, passers-by often made comments about what I was doing, and whilst this was often friendly it was implied I was being intrusive, with one passerby calling me the paparazzi. There is a clear distrust of research in the black community, however the reasons why are explainable.

Since entering the UK after World War II, the community has faced numerous acts of discrimination in different areas of the establishment. In the political sphere, Birmingham was the centre of the Conservative politician Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968. Atkins (2018) explained how he induced fear into his constituents, speaking of the 'overflowing' Commonwealth migration that would destroy the country. This in turn stoked the wariness of migrants.

Furthermore, the Windrush scandal reinforced the administrative violence that happens through political institutions. The Windrush scandal occurred because of a 2012 immigration policy where a 'hostile environment' was created for illegal immigrants (Hewitt, 2020). Due to a lack of documentation to confirm their legal status, many Caribbean-born migrants were denied the right to work, access healthcare, state benefits and in some cases were faced with deportation or barred

from entry after travelling abroad. This is despite many of these individuals' having lawfully lived decades in the UK. The administrative violence of this process caused further distrust of the establishment within the Caribbean community.

Interactions between the police and the black community have been problematic and complex. Many racial attacks were not dealt with correctly. In the 1990s there was the case of Stephen Lawrence; an aspiring architect who was the victim of an inhumane and brutal racially motivated murder. The inquiry of Stephen Lawrence led by William Macpherson highlighted institutional racism, incompetencies and lack of leadership within the police force (Foster et al., 2005). The lack of protection and corruption from the police force made the community feel unsafe and caused a reasonable distrust of the police.

Additionally ethnic minorities are more likely to receive a lower standard of healthcare being subjected to testimonial injustice, where they are diagnosed on the physician's subtle unconscious biases and stereotypes. They are not taken seriously, or their conditions are downplayed, and studies have shown this is more likely to happen to black patients then white patients (Beach et al., 2021). These biases make the black community feel disbelieved which in turn means they are less likely to say how they really feel. More examples of discrimination by the establishment can be found in section 2.5.1, 'Discrimination Against the Caribbean Community'.

The abuse and racism stated above that many in the community have felt has resulted in a clear distrust of establishments. When approached for participation in research two feelings can occur. Either the community has always been treated badly and therefore refuse to participate in an unfair system or it leads to the fair question of 'why do you want to listen now?' when for so many years there has been no attention to these issues. The interest in the community alone is enough to raise suspicion. The community already had a negative light shined on them as discussed in section 2.4.4, 'Tensions in the Inner City'. It is hard to trust whether those researching will tell the story accurately.

##### *4.9.4.1.2 Interest in Research*

Despite wariness towards the research from participants there was still genuine interest. Many asked questions of what I was trying to find out or were happy that I was shining a positive spotlight on the Caribbean community and the food businesses that they have provided. This asks the question of why people may not be fond of the research process even if they agree with the research.

Firstly, slavery produced an accepted racism that has a deep history in many educational institutions and subjects, one of which was medicine (Evans et al., 2020) Within the black community the word 'research' often has disdain due to the histories linked with it. Slavery, especially in the Antebellum period, meant that many slaves, who had no power, were used by student doctors in medical schools to perfect their skill (Harris et al., 1996).

The education system itself has a relationship with colonial histories. Several Russell Group universities have ties to colonialism therefore enforcing British imperialism (Bhambra et al., 2018). This is discussed in section 2.5.1 'Discrimination against the Caribbean Community'. The histories of colonisation are woven into the stories of these universities. Whilst these histories may not be well known, the institutions are built on inequality which leads to a precedence of mindset. Furthermore, in the recent UK Sociology curriculum in 2018, an AQA textbook was found describing Caribbean fathers and husbands as absent whilst the women bore majority of the responsibility (Briscoe-Palmer, 2021). This was taught and circulated to Sociology students. These thoughts in education are being circulated, giving an inferior perspective of black people. The black community is less likely to contribute to research when it views them as subordinate.

In section 2.5.1, 'Discrimination against the Caribbean community' it was discussed how highly unethical techniques were used in research. One example was the Tuskegee Syphilis study in the 1930s where croppers who were already infected with syphilis were watched in the study to monitor the progression of the disease however a cure was found with the use of penicillin, but the participants were not made aware of the treatment. The study was an extreme violation of human rights. The black community have been treated as guinea pigs in research and the previous failures have made them rightly suspicious.

These points are further emphasised by the lack of black researchers, professors, and academics in academia. Within universities black professors are aware of their sparsity. Rollock (2019) reports how one participant in her study noticed the lack of black academics in her university institution. Fazackerley (2019) adds how minority students are turning away from PhDs, with feelings of anxiety, often realising that they are the only minority in the room with no role models to aspire to.

The rarity of black academics gives the inclination that education is predominantly white meaning those of ethnicity cannot identify or find similarities within it, fostering an isolating process. This paired with the colonial controversies of some universities means that there is a disconnect. The negative associations related to the educational system means that black participants may not want to partake in research even when there is the best of intentions. Promoting ethnic diversity in research may help. A shared ethnicity with the researcher may create more open discussions due to familiarity. This may build on trust and therefore may lead to more black participants in academic research.

#### *4.9.4.1.3 Buying Produce*

The result of these issues led to me approaching the research in a certain manner. I would start with what would be considered a normal interaction, buying produce and this would start the natural form of conversation. Once engaged I would inform them about the research, and this would result in a flow of dialogue. I believe in a sense this was me acting out a part of 'everyday' multiculturalism which is discussed in section 2.2.1, 'Everyday Multiculturalism'. The act helped establish further conversation about the research. It also acted as a breakdown of barriers for both myself with hesitator research, giving me a prepared script of sorts and for them it introduced the situation in a gentle manner. It worked for both parties. This, alongside being truthful and clear about my study helped the initial interaction greatly.

### *4.9.4.2 Identity*

This part of the thematic analysis relates to the theme of identity and can be seen as a statement of positionality. It discusses the codes found in the autoethnography related to this theme. The codes are 'Smell', speaking of its importance in research, 'Researcher Hesitance' which discusses bias, and 'Difference in Identity and Ownership of Store' discussing how there is difference within a community that is perceived to be the same. The theme of identity is important, in a superdiverse community identity can be viewed in different ways and experienced through different senses, all of which are discussed in this section.

#### *4.9.4.2.1 Smell*

When entering many of the shops the fragrances I could smell were familiar. They reminded me of my childhood, the home I grew up in, and the food I experienced. This was part of my identity and something I deemed as something instantly recognisable. Bruner (2001) explains that restaurants may use theming to reflect nostalgia. Whilst the smells may not be purposeful or explicit for some

they may link to nostalgia. Kershen (2017) explains that for some migrants they may want to be reminded of that place called home and migrant restaurants may do this through décor and music. Whilst the smell caused may not be intentional by the people cooking the food, it did play a notable factor for myself in the research and was not something that had not been considered in this study.

It highlights the importance of sensual contact. Sensual contact delves into the realms of smells and flavours which can link to many cultures' culinary palettes and the sensory experience in the environment (Wise and Velayutham, 2014). For myself many of the smells represented a very Caribbean upbringing and, in a sense, signified some sort of authenticity. For others they may find the smell corresponds with scents from different cultures leading to a recognition of similarity, or in some cases it may be a brand-new experience. These findings show it may be beneficial to record the experience of smell in research and the feelings it can reveal to each individual.

#### *4.9.4.2.2 Researcher Hesitance*

There was hesitation from myself when initially thinking of visiting some of the wards in the Ladywood constituency to carry out the research because of fears in relation to crime and this was noted in some diary entries. Some of the areas in the research have had issues with crime. This was furthered by friends and family who said these areas were notorious for crime also. In 2005 there were riots within some of the wards in the Ladywood constituency due to social tensions which led to arson and death (Poynting, 2006). These stigmas have been furthered by the media. Birmingham Mail listed the top ten areas worst for crime in Birmingham, 4 of which are in the Ladywood constituency (Birmingham Mail, 2023).

During this research, only one altercation was witnessed, admittedly it was a significant one, but realistically, such incidents could occur anywhere. This prompted a profound realisation about the bias I unconsciously harboured. This led me to reflect, what struck me was the irony that I had grown up in a comparable background in Coventry, in an area known as Hillfields, whilst my grandad after moving from Antigua had always lived in Highfields, Leicester, which I had visited frequently. Both were often labelled as less than favourable, subject to judgement.

Acknowledging this contradiction, I came to the stark realisation that I was essentially passing judgement on my own roots. The irony lay in the fact that I was scrutinising a community like the one I had emerged from. This introspection triggered a shift in my perspective. I decided to set aside my biases, recognising that if I, too, had been denied a voice or the opportunity to thrive based on my origins, it would be unjust. It dawned on me that I was, inadvertently, acting hypocritically.

In essence, it felt as if I had momentarily distanced myself from my own identity. This awakening led to a recalibration of my approach, fostering a more nuanced understanding of the individuals and communities under scrutiny. It became a pivotal moment of self-awareness, prompting me to embrace my own narrative and challenge preconceived notions that might have influenced my initial perceptions.

#### *4.9.4.2.3 Difference in Identity and Ownership of Store*

As long as I've known, I've been too black in white settings and too white in black settings. I know the feeling described by Fazackerley (2019) of being the only minority in the room at university and how lonely that feels. I understand the feeling that Ahmet (2020) describes of feeling out of place at university. This was more explicit at postgraduate level. I even had some obscenely racist things said to me at undergraduate level from other students. It was a few times, but still far too many.

However, I have been told by black people that I ‘act white’, called an ‘Oreo’ or ‘coconut’. Even my family have playfully called me an ‘English pickney’. Pickney being a term used for child by some Jamaicans. The term coconut is used to describe a black person as being black on the outside but being white inwardly, often used when upset at someone in the community for not aligning with the ways expected culturally, morally, or politically (Bond, 2015).

Like coconut the term ‘Oreo’ is used to describe a person perceived as black on the outside due to their race but white on the inside in terms of behaviour, and cultural preferences in line with white middle-class society; not conforming to certain stereotypes associated with their racial or ethnic background (Pollard, 2021). These issues from both communities used to upset me but by the age of 26 I’d learnt to ignore it from either side and create a mental shield that was adequate. By the age of 30 I have become very good at defending myself which can be a shock for both parties.

These experiences meant that whilst conducting the research I was slightly nervous. For some reason I’m different, and as I thought it would be, it was pointed out in the study, mainly through phases such as ‘you’re not from around here’ or saying how ‘nice’ I sounded. In all honesty no one insulted me, and everyone was nice, but my difference was apparent. I’m never sure if it’s the way I speak, the way I dress, or my mannerisms. I’m never sure.

Bond (2015) points out that for some in minorities it feels like you have to prove how much of that ethnicity you are, especially when considered not to be ‘fully’ that minority, which can be intrusive. I feel this is the case for myself; often informing people who question my blackness or class that I grew up in Hillfields, an area in Coventry that has its own reputation, and a father who in technical terms was an illegal immigrant due to the Windrush scandal. It feels like I must validate the struggle. Constantly in life I have had to inform people that I am like them in one way or another. Once I inform people of these struggles their attitudes then change. It’s not so much intrusive for me but more of an annoyance that I must prove my blackness or that I’ve had a ‘tough’ upbringing to be validated.

Maybe my issue is that I have never really focused backwards. Many bad things have happened, and I have faced racism, but I just move forward. If I dwell on the past, I’ll be stuck there, and I wouldn’t be doing a PhD and then I wouldn’t have a voice or chance in a society that is hierarchical. It’s not that I don’t care, it’s just that I can’t afford to dwell or ponder until I have a verified voice, and in part the PhD gives me this. Ironically doing a PhD means that I have probably contributed more to my community then I have ever imagined.

For some in the black community, there is often a complex relationship with the concept of ‘whiteness’, which can sometimes be perceived negatively. This perception can stem from a variety of factors, including historical and ongoing experiences of racial discrimination, systemic inequalities, and a sense of cultural identity that prioritises or valorises certain aspects of blackness. For some, "whiteness" can be associated with the oppressor, or it can symbolise privilege and power that has been historically denied to black individuals. As a result, anything perceived as aligning with or embodying "whiteness" may be viewed with suspicion or as a betrayal of authentic black identity.

In the context of my research, I encountered this dynamic when I approached two white participants in shops I visited. When I asked if they would participate in my study, their response was one of extreme hesitancy. This reaction may be rooted in their awareness of the complex and, at times, fraught relationship between black and white individuals, particularly in spaces where issues of race and identity are at the forefront. They might have been concerned about being perceived as outsiders or as intruding on a space where they might not be fully welcomed or understood.

Additionally, they could have been apprehensive about inadvertently saying or doing something that could be interpreted as insensitive or inappropriate, especially in a study that might touch on issues of race.

I had to ensure the first participant I was not questioning why she is managing the store and another I had to ensure she understood I was not saying she shouldn't be a part of our culture, her partner was more willing to sign the paperwork, he was black. I informed them that my thesis was exploring the cuisines relation to superdiversity. It was apparent they had received discrimination themselves. I particularly understood the second lady's hesitancy with a black partner being in an interracial relationship myself.

While the Caribbean community is minoritised, there exists an element of exclusion towards others, often accompanied by prescriptive notions of appropriate behaviour or identity. There can, at times, be a lack of recognition of the complexity and interconnectedness of the modern world. Interracial relationships are a reality, and friendships between black and white individuals are possible. This reflects the broader concept of superdiversity, where rigid categorisations of identity are increasingly insufficient. In a country as diverse as the United Kingdom, such binary distinctions cannot fully capture the multifaceted nature of contemporary social interactions.

I am also in agreement with Ahmet (2020) in the sense that whilst we can critique the higher education sphere for its lack of diversity, as a community we can help foster a growth of the inclusion of minorities, encouraging their presence and helping them flourish. I think the system has issues, but they can be fixed. I could just be an optimist, however. I would be lying if being at postgraduate level hasn't made me have a small identity crisis but I'm paving my way as a black academic that everyone can see.

My stance on being seen as different or the term 'Oreo' or 'coconut' is very simple. It's problematic and a narrow view of identity, reinforcing stereotypes and implying that individuals should conform to preconceived notions of how people of a particular race or ethnicity should behave. It stops people going into professions or areas of life that need diversity. It's essential to recognise and challenge these stereotypes, as they contribute to harmful generalisations and can perpetuate bias. As Bond (2015) states, you are not advancing your own position or blackness by diminishing someone's perceived lack of. Whilst you are insulting me, you are only harming another black person, you are not fighting injustice.

#### *4.9.4.3 Conviviality*

Despite the perceived differences, there were notable elements of conviviality. The willingness of businesses and takeaways to suggest other establishments for inclusion in the study, as well as the assistance I received when appearing lost, were clear demonstrations of 'everyday multiculturalism'. These acts challenge the prevailing stereotypes often associated with these areas, highlighting instead the fundamental human tendency towards kindness and cooperation. It becomes evident that, rather than hostility, the instinct to help others is a primary response in most interactions.

##### *4.9.4.3.1 Participant Recommendations*

Throughout the study, participants actively recommended additional shops for inquiry. This notable engagement not only underscored their vested interest in the success of the research but also illuminated the collective wisdom embedded within the Caribbean community. This collaborative

spirit reflects a historical continuity, reminiscent of the Windrush era when communal living was a response to safety concerns, solidifying the bonds within the community.

Examining the dynamics of the Windrush era, where many Caribbean individuals lived in the same area for mutual safety, provides insights into the enduring ties that persist today. The hostilities faced by the community during that period likely contributed to the establishment of a cohesive bond that has transcended time. This shared history and collective experience have fostered a reservoir of knowledge within the Caribbean community, contributing to the preservation of a mini-Caribbean diaspora in Birmingham, particularly within the Ladywood constituency.

While the residential landscape of the Caribbean community may have evolved, with individuals no longer concentrated in a single area, the ongoing exchange of recommendations among participants reflects a nuanced understanding of where the community may be dispersed. The continuity of this shared awareness, despite geographical dispersal, attests to the resilience and cohesion of the Caribbean diaspora in Ladywood.

In essence, the participants' proactive engagement in recommending additional shops not only serves as a practical contribution to the research but also symbolises a living testament to the enduring connections and collective consciousness within the Caribbean community. This participatory approach unveils layers of historical resilience and shared knowledge, painting a richer picture of the ongoing impact of the Caribbean diaspora within the intricacies of the Ladywood constituency's cultural landscape.

#### *4.9.4.3.2 Helpfulness*

Despite observing distinctions between myself and the participants, a prevailing atmosphere of friendliness persisted, a gesture that I deeply appreciated and one that underscored the enduring elements of conviviality. Neal et al. (2013) aptly notes that while tensions may arise between different groups, coexisting welcoming behaviours exist, a manifestation of conviviality. Noble's (2013) pragmatic view underscores that diverse cultures can coexist harmoniously.

Amid the differences, whether related to perceptions of racial identity or the perception of social class, there was an absence of hostility. This served as an exemplar of everyday multiculturalism, a testament to the capacity for diverse individuals to coexist harmoniously. Sealy's (2018) concept of 'contact zones,' where multicultural interactions occur amidst differences, exemplifies the fluidity of circumstances.

In essence, the continuous thread of friendliness amidst differences showcased the enduring spirit of conviviality within the community. The efforts to transcend historical stigmas and build bridges between diverse groups exemplify the resilience and potential for harmonious superdiverse interactions, showing the vibrancy of everyday life within this community.

### *4.9.4.4 Autoethnography Summary*

The autoethnography revealed a lot in relation to conviviality, identity and positionality. In the context of the theme 'Approaching the Research,' a hesitancy emulated from the participants, coupled with an undercurrent of suspicion to outsiders. This response is understandable within a community that has endured significant prejudice, a narrative elaborated upon in both this section and section 2.5.1, 'Discrimination against the Caribbean Community'. The enduring disbelief and suspicion directed towards black individuals within the societal establishment looms large. The repeated production of rhetoric that marginalises and discredits them raises the question: Why

would they willingly participate or contribute when their voices are seldom heard or believed? This persistent challenge however was met with a convivial approach, engaging in conversations by simply purchasing produce, an unassuming entry point that facilitated ease of dialogue. The nature of my research, not overly sensitive in the grand scheme, allowed for a positive representation of the community. Consequently, transparency about the study's aims, coupled with a clear explanation of the research process, furthered the engagement process.

While initially wary, the participants, once provided with an explanation, did not hesitate to contribute, and expressed genuine interest in the exploration of my thesis. As discussed in the 'Interest in Research' section, the importance of having more black researchers became evident, a familiar face, would instil trust. The willingness of the community to participate is not lacking; it's the lack of trust in the researchers that poses a barrier. The identity theme also prompted a personal realisation about the challenges of removing bias as a researcher. Confronting my own biases allowed for the collection of a diverse range of data and unveiled a personal hypocrisy, ironic considering my upbringing in a similar environment. Additionally, there's a call for a focus on the sense of smell in human geography research, as the role of smell invoked memories from my childhood, enriching the historical context.

In the Ladywood constituency, the evidence of conviviality prevailed despite differences, marking a pivotal point in the research journey. The willingness of the community to extend help was evident, emphasising the collaborative spirit that propelled this research forward. The diaspora is unmistakably present, and the knowledge base of the Caribbean community resonates throughout the Ladywood constituency, evident in the recommendations received from various individuals.

## 4.10 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the reasonings behind the choices of autoethnography and Multimodal Discourse Analysis alongside the use of the Visual Grammar Framework and Thematic Analysis. It reasoned the advantages and disadvantages behind these methods alongside going through the methodology of the study in a thorough step by step guide. The importance of this research is to be reproductive and accessible, providing a detailed guide allows this.

The research was both qualitative and quantitative, it was also multidisciplinary traversing through the fields of human geography and linguistics. COVID-19 did limit the opportunity for interviews and if this research was to be replicated an attempt at interviews would be beneficial. However as discussed in the autoethnography this is dependent on whether the community wants to be interviewed due to wariness and distrust.

Autoethnography proved to be a valuable approach, whilst it did not answer all the questions, it allowed me to deeply engage with and experience the context I was studying. Immersing myself in the environments of Caribbean restaurants and takeaways, I observed and reflected on how their signage was used to attract a superdiverse community.

The autoethnography may not have significantly contributed to the Visual Grammar Framework analysis, but it provided a unique dataset rooted in emotional experiences. Emotions, although not quantifiable, offer a richness to the narrative. In this research emotions revealed a spectrum that included suspicion, wariness, and hesitancy, juxtaposed with instances of kindness and genuine interest that contributed to the broader research.

Whilst the autoethnography did not answer directly how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract a superdiverse community, through my experience of entering the restaurants and takeaways conviviality was a clear aspect despite the noticeability of me being different apparent. In relation to the research questions that involved the topic of creole there is no clear answer from the autoethnography however it does reveal the importance of creole through

positionality, showing how through further creolisation and superdiversity of the UK I was different to those that were in the shop. Additionally, through informal conversations with business owners and customers, I gained a deeper understanding of the business owners and their views on my research by visiting the restaurants and takeaways.

Furthermore, autoethnography was particularly well-suited for exploring the cultural transformations within a superdiverse society. As a participant-observer, I documented lived experiences by immersing myself in the daily life of Caribbean communities, observing the language, food, and practices. Through personal reflections, I engaged with multiple perspectives, reflecting on my own cultural background in relation to the superdiverse society provided valuable insights into the ongoing process of creolisation.

Overall, autoethnography allowed me to bring a rich, personal, and culturally informed perspective. This approach enabled me to capture the complex, dynamic interactions between Caribbean cultural practices and the broader, superdiverse society in which they are situated. My reflections added depth and authenticity to the research, highlighting the lived experiences behind the Caribbean takeaway and restaurant signage.

The following three chapters delve deeply into an analysis structured around the Visual Grammar Framework, which serves as the foundation for exploring a series of key findings. These findings explore the aesthetics that define Caribbean culinary traditions, the strategies employed to engage and reach out to new and diverse communities, and the critical role of creole culture, both in its traditional forms and in the new, evolving expressions that are emerging within the superdiverse landscape. Each of these sections are carefully designed to unravel the complexities of how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways navigate the challenges of advertising and marketing to the superdiverse population of the Ladywood constituency. Through this exploration, the chapters aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of the unique ways in which Caribbean restaurants and takeaways communicate their culinary offerings to a varied community through their signage.

# 5 Chapter 5: Visual Grammar Framework - Aesthetics and Advertising within Superdiversity

The next three chapters will explore the key insights gained from the Visual Grammar Framework analysis, examining the various modes identified and the messages conveyed by each mode, or combination of modes, through representational, interactive, and compositional meanings. Examples of visual communication modes include images, colour, and typography, elements that convey meaning, as previously discussed in Section 4.5.2, 'Multimodal Discourse Analysis.'. These modes will also be analysed in terms of their spatial positioning within the Ladywood constituency, including a geographical discussion of where the modes are featured, asking how this links to advertising in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency.

In the concluding chapter, following the three chapters dedicated to the Visual Grammar Framework analysis, there will be a discussion on the relationships between these modes. For reference, the flowcharts of the Visual Grammar Framework' from Section 4.5.3, 'Visual Grammar Framework' are included below, offering a visual reminder of the positions within the Visual Grammar Framework analysis and their implications. Further details can be found in Section 4.5.3, 'Visual Grammar Framework,' if needed.

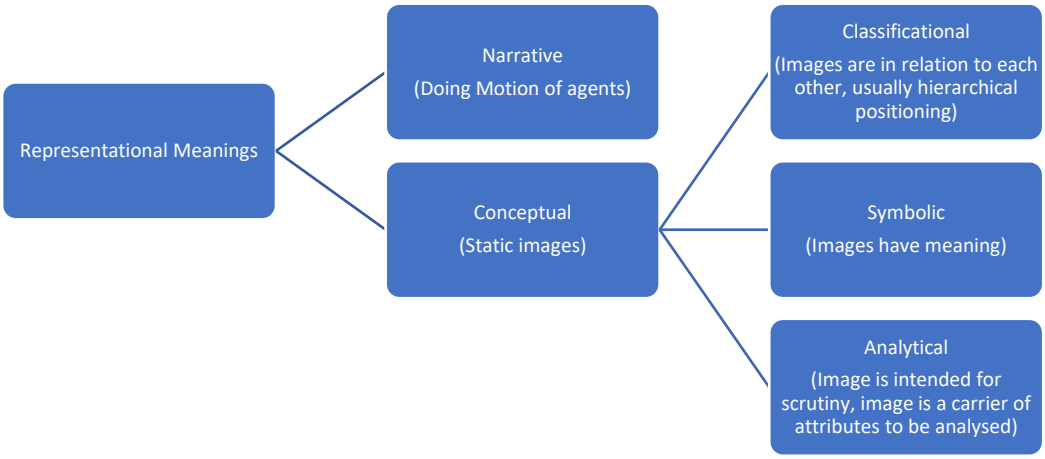



*Figure 5-1: Flowchart of the representational meaning of the Visual Grammar Framework*

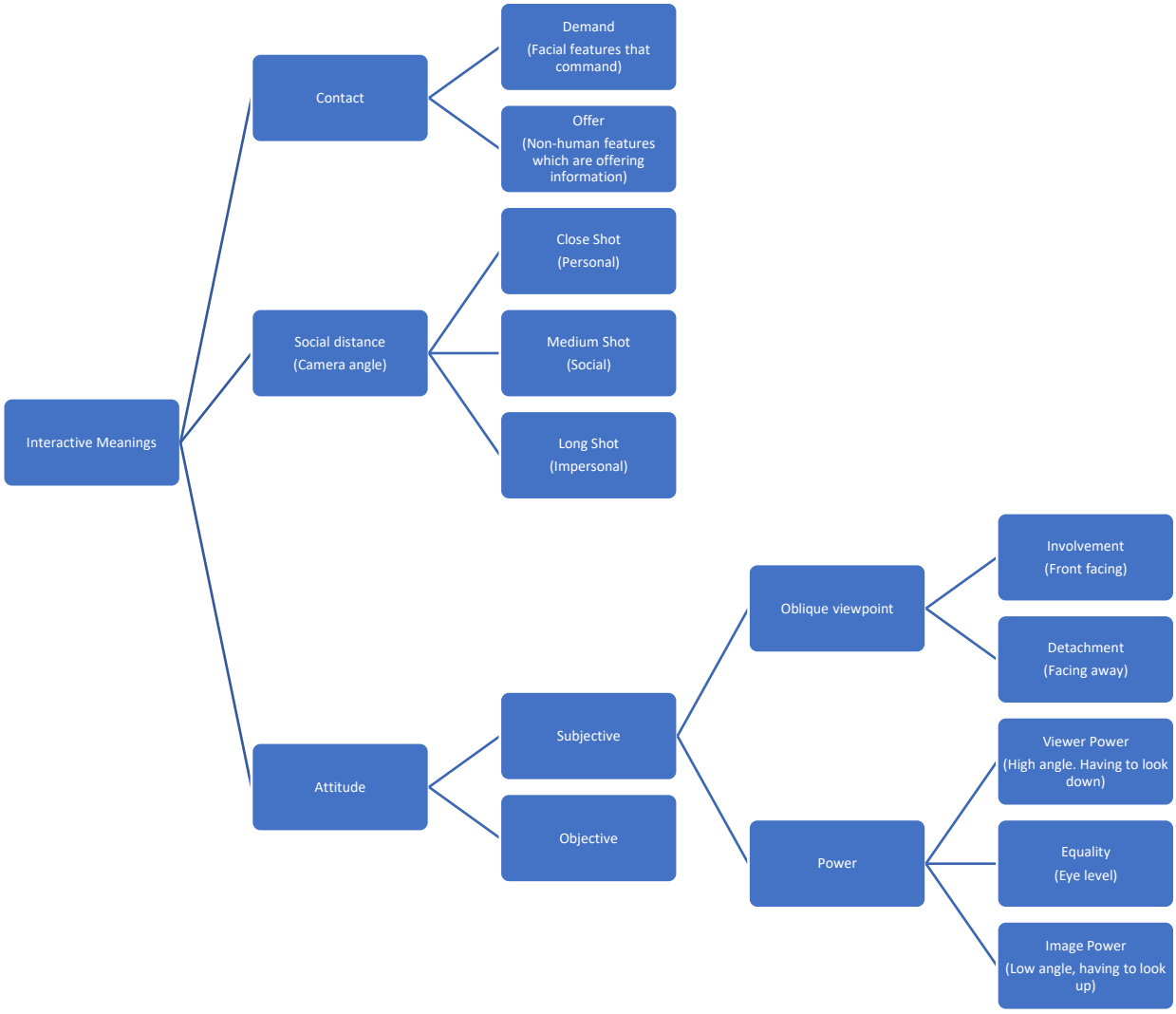



*Figure 5-2: Flowchart of the interactive meaning of the Visual Grammar Framework*

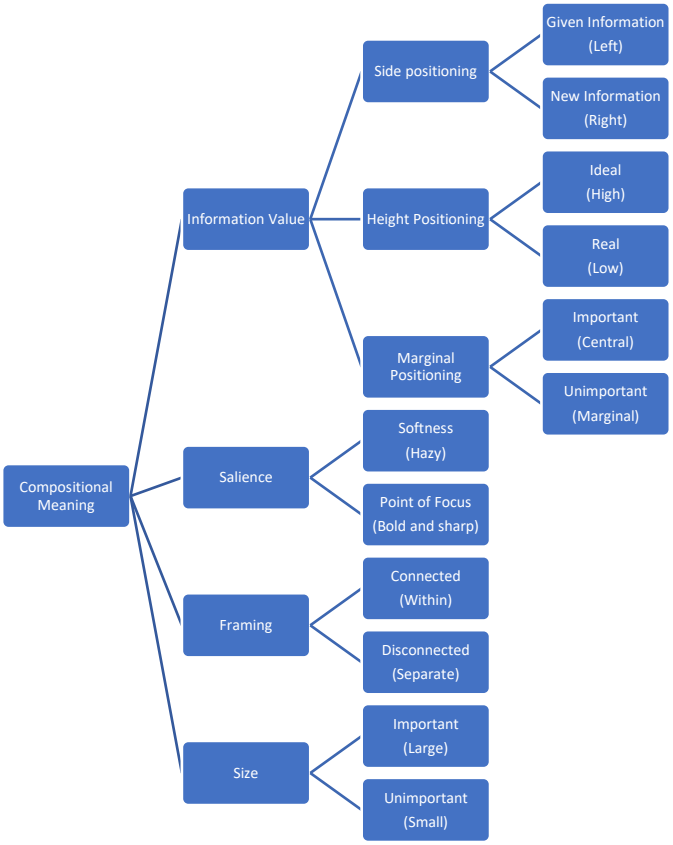



*Figure 5-3: Flowchart of the compositional meaning of the Visual Grammar Framework*

In this chapter, titled 'Chapter 5: Visual Grammar Framework - Aesthetics and Advertising within Superdiversity,' the modes identified in the Visual Grammar Framework analysis are those most closely associated with aesthetics and advertising. This leads to addressing the question: How do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood constituency? The modes discussed will include palm trees, colour, and shop names with subheadings. The latter three will be examined together following the section on palm trees and the concept of paradise. Each mode will be analysed through the lenses of the representational, interactive, and compositional meanings in the Visual Grammar Framework.

This chapter also examines how colours and the symbol of the palm tree are used to appeal to a global audience by evoking associations with the Caribbean region. Additionally, it considers the impact of shop names, which can be influential due to their descriptive, personalised, or location-based nature, each of which has a distinct effect.

The analysis then extends to explore the geographical distribution of the names, colours, and palm tree imagery within the Ladywood constituency, assessing whether variations in these elements occur across different parts of the area. By analysing how these visual and branding elements are distributed geographically across the Ladywood constituency, the research aims to highlight the ways in which businesses tailor their aesthetic cues to align with the socio-economic and geographical landscape of their specific locations. This assessment not only provides insight into the marketing strategies employed by these restaurants and takeaways but also offers a window into how visual markers are utilised to foster connections with distinct community identities within the Ladywood constituency's superdiverse society.

## 5.1 Palm Trees and Paradise

In this thesis, one of the central questions explored is how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways advertise to a superdiverse audience. This chapter delves into the aesthetic strategies they employ, focusing particularly on how certain visual elements, which could be perceived as stereotypes or cultural schemas, are used to establish and promote the Caribbean brand. A notable finding from the research indicates that nearly 60% of these establishments prominently feature a palm tree or palm leaf on their signage. This visual motif, strongly associated with tropical regions and frequently used in tourism marketing, serves as a shorthand for the Caribbean.

In this analytical section, an examination of how the use of palm trees or palm leaves communicate the essence of the Caribbean to a superdiverse audience. By applying the Visual Grammar Framework, the analysis will focus on the representational, compositional, and interactive meanings conveyed through these visuals, shedding light on how such imagery bridges cultural understanding and appeals to superdiverse consumers.

### 5.1.1 Representational Meanings

In terms of whether the palm tree represents a narrative or conceptual nature, it would be conceptual as it does not have any actors within the signage. The palm tree holds a symbolic meaning as a representation of paradise in the Caribbean as discussed in section 3.4.1, 'The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise'. Many shops that included the palm tree combined it with an image of the sun and beach, further emphasising the idea of paradise, as demonstrated in Figure 5-4 below.


*Figure 5-4: A restaurant and takeaway that have used the palm tree image*

As discussed in section 3.4.1.1, 'The Romanticism of the Caribbean through Colonialism', palm trees are diverse in nature and can range from shrubs to small trees (Muscarella et al., 2020), and the Caribbean has a range of biomes (Yu et al., 2017). Yet when found on the signage, the same stereotypical palm tree was used in a cartoon format, showing how iconic the symbol is at

representing paradise and more specifically the Caribbean. The palm tree has significant links to the Caribbean which started with colonialism, has been emphasised in tourism, and spread through film, as discussed extensively in section 3.4.1, 'The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise' where there is a longer discussion of this discursive tradition. Barthes (2013) a semiotician explains that the bourgeoisie set the dominant ideologies of our time which determine the denotations and connotations of signs. This then leads to the creation of the myth, the accepted mindset. The myth is discussed further in section 4.5.1, 'Semiotics'. As the meaning of the palm tree was set through colonialism, which is arguably still dominant, the meaning behind the palm tree as paradise has persisted.

The shops need to communicate what they are selling to their audience which in this case is the superdiverse constituency of Ladywood. Hernandez-Ramdwar (2005) confirmed that her students, who spanned from across the globe and came from different backgrounds, believed through the media that the Caribbean was predominantly sandy beaches with palm trees and happy people. The symbol is familiar to those of many different backgrounds. Whilst the symbol comes from the troublesome explorations of Columbus and Drake as discussed in section 3.4.1, 'The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise', it is now symbolic to those from many different backgrounds; to advertise conveniently, it is better to use a singular symbol that everyone recognises.

The symbol is used on food establishments as one of the key representatives of the Caribbean, universally understood by a superdiverse community even if the historical background could be deemed negative and somewhat colonial. For those who can afford it, they holiday to the Caribbean and see it in tourism, whether that's through a Caribbean cruise or marriage whilst for those who can't, they may see it in the media, through films such as Pirates of the Caribbean as explained by Poluha (2018), or Robinson Crusoe as stated by Paddington and Warner (2009). It is understandable why shops in the Ladywood constituency are using the palm tree within their signage. Between tourism, the media and a global perception linking the Caribbean with palm trees, it's hard not to use the symbol when it is so universal.

### 5.1.2 Interactive Meanings

In terms of ideal versus real positioning, over two-thirds of the shops who used the palm tree image had it in the high position of ideal, like in Figure 5-5 below. One shop used the low position of real, and the remainder used both the ideal and real position.

*Figure 5-5: A shop that has presented the palm trees in the idealised position*

The two-thirds majority in the ideal position fits with the theme of the palm tree meaning; the view of the Caribbean being idyllic. However, hidden behind a beautiful country with many palm trees are problems, some of which are serious but are often ignored or unknown by the public. This includes periods of unstable politics which at times were fraught with violence as discussed by Edmonds (2015), or a tourism trade that has taken land and devoured resources from residents (Higgins-Desbiolles and Whyte, 2015). Realistically customers would most likely not want to know this when they are eating, the ideal Caribbean is a better vision.

The Caribbean has consistently been portrayed as a tropical paradise. Skelton and Mains (2009) explain it has been stereotyped as a place where you can relax amongst the swaying palm trees, enjoying the unfamiliar and welcomed climate, with idyllic views of the sea, whilst you lie on the beach drinking rum and listening to reggae without a care in the world. It is the ultimate ideal dream and for many customers who visit the shops, this is how they would visualise the Caribbean ideally, the food being presented is from the perfect idealisation, which is tempting for customers, who wouldn't want food from a place that does not look tranquil.

For others in the Ladywood constituency, the palm tree, beach, or sunshine may remind them of 'home', meaning their ancestral origins or familial background. The area is extremely diverse, and some residents do come from hot or tropical places meaning the palm tree can serve as a reminder. The palm tree has the ability of being reassuringly familiar or nostalgic. For many not from the Caribbean but located in the superdiverse area of the Ladywood constituency the palm tree, sunshine and beach will represent home, whether that be Australia, Somalia, or India. As Bruner (2001) explained, some restaurants use nostalgia to market to migrants, reminding them of home, in this study, home may not be the Caribbean, but it may have a similar setting. This is also an idealisation, as it is not their current reality. It can also be applied to Caribbean migrants, many of whom do reside in the Ladywood constituency as discussed in 2.5.2, 'Caribbean and Jamaican Migration in Birmingham'. The palm tree does exist in the Caribbean as Muscarella (2020) described, so ideally it can be a reminder of the Caribbean region too.

In terms of whether viewer power or image power featured more, over two thirds of the shops positioned the palm tree or leaf, to hold image power, as seen in Figure 5-6 below. Only one shop used viewer power in relation to the palm tree. After this there was an equal amount between the positionings of image power and viewer power, and equality and image power, whilst one image solely used equality.

*Figure 5-6: A shop that has presented the palm tree leaves in the position of image power*

It would make sense for the image to have the power, it is the promise of sunshine and paradise, something that people want and often dream about. Positioning the palm tree in a higher position commands people's attention at what they could have from that store. Not only does the palm tree have the power of desire, but it has a commercial, capitalistic and profitability power.

The palm tree has the power to sell for these restaurants as an exciting new cuisine. Like tourism which pushes the capitalist paradise narrative (Skelton and Mains, 2009). Additionally, as mentioned above, it has the power of nostalgia to attract customers. The Caribbean can be sold as a commodity, especially for those who want to increase their cultural capital. The commodity of the palm tree is simple but desirable. In relation to offer and demand, the palm tree would be seen as being in an offer position as it did not have a human demanding element. This would make sense, whilst the image was placed in a high position of power, the palm tree is essentially offering the ideal of a paradise.

When speaking of whether the palm tree was in the involved position, a frontal viewpoint, or a detached position, an oblique viewpoint, all shops had the palm tree positioned in an involved view as seen in Figure 5-7 below. This suggests the palm tree should be noticed by the audience. However, it should be noted that three shops had the palm tree as a frontal view, but it was used as a background image, so whilst it was not at an angle which would be described as oblique, it was still obscured slightly**.**


*Figure 5-7: A shop with the palm trees in a frontal position*

For the three that used the palm tree as a background image, the palm tree was used more for decoration, it was not the primary focus of the shop fronts signage. For the others the palm tree needed to be frontal for many of the reasons stated above, it is important as a unified signifier for the Caribbean in the superdiverse society of the Ladywood constituency, it is used as a commodity for selling the food through cultural capital in the restaurants and takeaways, and thirdly it is a nostalgic reminder of home for both Caribbean and certain non-Caribbean migrants.

Just under two-thirds of the shops that had the palm tree included in their signage, had it as a distanced shot, compared to the remaining third that were mid shot or up close. Whilst using the Visual Grammar Framework analysis it must not be in a completely deterministic sense. For example, whilst a large amount of the signage had the palm tree in a distanced position, it was still important, as over half the shops that used the distanced shot had the palm tree included in their logo as seen in Figure 5-8 which changes the meaning of its importance despite its distance.


*Figure 5-8: A shop with the palm tree in the logo and window*

A logo is a brands signature (Adîr et al., 2012). It is an important part of a business. Whilst two thirds of establishments had the palm tree as a small distant feature, half of those shops had it in their logo which suggests an element of importance that overrides the distance. This is an addition to approximately a third of the restaurants and takeaways having the palm tree as a mid-sized or close

shot signifying it should be noticed, suggesting the importance of the palm tree with its closeness creating a level of intimacy with the viewer. The palm needs to attract attention and create some emotional bond, whether that is desire, excitement, or curiosity to create a sale. Finding what emotions are evoked would most likely need interviews which were difficult to conduct at the time of this study for reasons discussed in the methodology in section 4.3, 'COVID-19' and 4.9.4.1.1, 'Participant Hesitation and Outsider Inquisitiveness'.

### 5.1.3 Compositional Meanings

Regarding the given or new position, almost two thirds of the shops positioned the palm tree on the left side of their signage as seen in Figure 5-9 below, suggesting that the information conveyed by the palm tree is given, which suggests already known. After this a central position was favoured, with only one shop positioning the palm tree on the right and another placing palm trees on both the left and right.


*Figure 5-9: A shop with a palm tree that is positioned on the left side*

Many in the UK have a preconceived romanticised version of the Caribbean as mentioned in section 3.4.1.1, 'The Romanticism of the Caribbean'. The palm tree may be in the given position due to the dominant postcolonial views of British society that persists that the Caribbean is a tropical paradise. Poluha (2018) states that the origins of the belief system that has promoted the romanticised version of a Caribbean paradise was developed during the time of Western colonisation of the Caribbean and the slave trade. The given position links to the dominant Western ideology that the Caribbean is a paradise, as this is the main narrative portrayed in society, following the mainstream view that the palm tree represents a paradisical Caribbean.

When considering importance and whether the palm tree was centralised or marginalised, only a third of the shops placed the palm tree in a central position within their window signage, while the majority positioned it at the margin. Again, just over a third of the shops who used the palm tree had it central to their window signage suggesting importance, however of this third majority used the position of triptych, being central but high. Whilst a marginal position suggests less importance, half had the palm tree in their logo, another place of importance, which was often positioned to the left. This is an important consideration, despite the suggestions of the Visual Grammar Framework analysis. Sizing was split. Almost two thirds of the palm trees would be considered small however a large amount of these were in the restaurant or takeaways logo, therefore suggesting importance. The remaining half were split between being large or medium, a sizing which would naturally

suggest an element of importance, whether this be due to being a signifier of exoticness for profit, or in certain cases nostalgia.

There was almost an equal split between whether the palm tree was bold or faded. The palm tree is important, often appearing as a personal shot or in logos, the palm tree being bold further highlights its significance, as seen in Figure 5-10 below where they are not only bold but frequent. However, for others the fading may be due to the signage being old more than a lack of importance regarding the aesthetic.


*Figure 5-10: A shop with many bold palm trees*

Lastly, over two-thirds of the shops included the palm tree in the framing of other words or modes in the signage, there were no dividers, such as lines or buffers that would suggest it was not linked to the other pieces of information. The fact that many of the palm trees were linked with other information suggests its importance within the branding of the Caribbean cuisine, it is necessary in reflecting what the cuisine is about. It is linked to the whole portrayal of how a Caribbean restaurant should portray itself, it is part of the narrative.

Regarding colour choices for the palm tree, 40% of shops used a single colour and this was split almost equally between black, green (these signs involved the palm tree leaves only), and red, while the remainder used a combination of brown and green. The trees that were a single colour, such as black, red or green, had colours that have a strong link to the Caribbean as discussed in section 3.4.2, 'The 'Successful' crossover of Caribbean Music'. The remainder of shops used the realistic brown and green colours for the palm tree, green for the leaves and brown for the bark. Majority of the palm trees were of a cartoon like nature which again suggests the absence of realism, playing to the idea of paradise and leaving the rest to the interpretation of the imagination. This again links to the thoughts of Barthes idea of the myth which was discussed in the representational section of this chapter. The dominant ideal of the Caribbean is fun and paradisical, almost unreal, having the image like this matches the idea that it is an exotic far away land that can only be imagined.

### 5.1.4 Concluding Thoughts

In conclusion, this section has examined how the symbol of the palm tree is employed to resonate with a global audience, particularly within the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency, addressing the question: how do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways advertise to a superdiverse community in the Ladywood constituency? By evoking associations with the Caribbean, palm trees serve as a powerful aesthetic tool in advertising, effectively appealing to the idealisms of this diverse demographic. Through the lenses of the representational, interactive, and compositional meaning of the Visual Grammar Framework there has been an exploration of how this imagery contributes to creating a sense of paradise, drawing on its deep-rooted connections to the Caribbean region and its history.

It is clear from this chapter that the palm tree is of significance to the portrayal of the Caribbean for the 60% of shops that used the symbols. Its large personal appearance, its use in logos and its inclusion with framing highlights this fact. Whilst it acts as an identifier for the Caribbean in the superdiverse society of the Ladywood constituency. For many it will mean different things. For some the postcolonial meaning will take precedence of tourism and paradise. Whilst this does commoditise the Caribbean through selling it as a paradise or form of exoticism it is one of its main identifiers. If the shops weren't to use it, what else would they use.

Despite the postcolonial history as described by Poluha (2018), the use of palm trees through theming could signify nostalgia (Bruner, 2001). For those from the Caribbean it will remind them of home. For those whose origin isn't the Caribbean, but also isn't British, the palm tree may remind them of home too, the Caribbean isn't the only place with palm trees and sandy beaches. The narrative, the story of home, is still in front of them. The palm trees genericness can signify the Caribbean but can easily signify somewhere far with a warmer climate to remind others of home also.

It must be acknowledged that only 60% of the shops used the palm tree image, meaning that there may be another identifier when it comes to the Caribbean cuisine being advertised through signage. One of these factors was touched upon in this chapter and will be analysed further in the next section, colour. The incorporation of the colours linked to Jamaica, which controversially represent the Caribbean at times may play a more dominant factor to the Caribbean aesthetic when advertising the cuisine to the superdiverse community in the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham.

Whilst the palm tree is largely commodified, it is an easy signifier, furthermore it may not necessarily be a bad thing, it is effectively giving back to the community who were stole from as discussed in section 3.4.1, 'The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise'. Colonial narrators and capitalist tourism corporations created the story, and the Caribbean community are now utilising the symbol for their own financial gain. As can be seen in this research the Caribbean restaurant and takeaway businesses are now controlling the narrative in the superdiverse areas they live in, providing food to a superdiverse community that has many different people, a form of decolonialism by providing to an alternative superdiverse audience.

## 5.2 Shop Names, Subheadings and Colour

Building on the previous section, which delved into the aesthetic significance of the palm tree as a key symbol of Caribbean identity, particularly in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency of Birmingham, this section raises the question of what other identifiers might hold prominence. While the palm tree undoubtedly serves as a visual marker of the Caribbean, it is essential to explore whether elements such as colour and naming conventions might play equally important roles in

constructing and reinforcing the Caribbean brand. In this section, we will consider how these elements contribute to the overall Caribbean aesthetic, examining the roles they play in shaping perceptions and advertising to a superdiverse community.

In the context of this research, every shop observed had its own distinct name. Despite the fact that a shop's name is often taken for granted, it is, in fact, of considerable importance, particularly within the linguistic landscape, a term used to describe the visible and textual environment of public spaces (Torkington, 2009). According to Shohamy (2019), the study of linguistic landscapes has often been neglected in mainstream academic research, yet these landscapes can offer profound insights into cultural values and societal identity. A shop name is more than just a label; it can be a vital indicator of what the shop sells, while also providing a reflection of personal and community identity.

This section will utilise the Visual Grammar Framework as a tool for analysis, examining the representational, interactive, and compositional meanings found within shop names and subheadings. Through this lens, we will investigate how these names serve to communicate with and attract a superdiverse community, highlighting their role not just as practical labels, but as signifiers that contribute to the Caribbean branding of the restaurants and takeaways within the Ladywood constituency.

### 5.2.1 Representational Meanings

In terms of whether the shop name and subheading represent a narrative or conceptual nature, they would be conceptual as they do not have any actors within the signage. Names and subheadings are used as a symbolic gesture on the signs of the Caribbean takeaways and restaurants. As discussed in section 3.3.5, 'Restaurant and Takeaway Names', names on shops can be symbolic through being emotive, with shop owners often focusing on the connotational meanings. There were three main patterns of representation in relation to the naming of the restaurants and takeaways involved in this research, a familial name, a location, or a descriptor. An example of each one can be seen in Figure 5-11 and will be discussed below. It should be made aware that just under 10% of the shops could fit into two categories, and they have been included in the percentage of both categories.

Approximately 90% of the shop names were accompanied by subheadings, almost all of which were directly underneath the heading, as displayed in Figure 5-12 below, for this reason they will be grouped together for certain meanings. The subheadings will be discussed separately in representational meaning due to many portraying a furthering of information to complement the shop name, however, in relation to the compositional and interactive meanings they will fall under the umbrella of the shop name.


*Figure 5-11: A shop displaying a subheading*

Approximately 35% of the shops used a name, familial name, or nickname in relation to their shop name, additionally one shop chose to use their nickname in the subheading. Proper names transmit cultural values (Kayaoglu and Koroglu, 2013). They represent the individuality of a person but also their belonging as a member of society (Akinnaso, 1981). This is discussed further in section 3.3.5, 'Restaurant and Takeaway Names'. This would suggest two meanings related to the context of the name in a superdiverse environment. The first would suggest that the Caribbean food that they are selling is related to the identity of the owner, it is a part of their identity, but that they are also comfortable and proud to show their personal self in the superdiverse community. This is especially true of those that choose to use a nickname. Nicknames originated from the Anglo-Saxons, acting as an additional name or alias (Bechar-Israeli, 1995). A nickname is a name that is often given by family or friends (Awedoba and Acheampong, 2017). Knowing that nicknames are often given by family and friends shows a familiarity, or closeness with the area, or an ease with the area knowing them on a personal level.

It is important to remember in relation to the identity of the person and the cooking of the cuisine that the people in this study may not have a Caribbean background as interviews did not take place, and the cooking of the Caribbean food could be appropriation, a topic discussed in 3.4.2.2, 'Has Caribbean music really crossed over?', or appreciation, or someone who would be classed as a second or third generation Caribbean descendant and would now be black British. This does not dispute that they have ties to the area however hence the ease of using a personal name.

Shohamy and Gorter (2008) also add that proper names influence emotions. Within a superdiverse community like Ladywood, it suggests an element of friendliness, with the shops giving out a piece of information which is quite personal. This relates to Neal et al. (2013) who spoke of conviviality and everyday multiculturalism, where there are welcoming behaviours and those with different cultural views can live together. It suggests an area where shop owners are comfortable, and comfortable with people knowing them. This is especially true when approximately half of the shops that used a name seemed to display a nickname, or familial name such as grandad or aunt, these names are saved for closer circles, they are a sign of informality.

This sense of conviviality strongly aligns with the autoethnographic findings I encountered during my research. Despite not being a local and it being evident that I stood out from the community, many

restaurant owners were notably willing to assist me. While some were understandably cautious, they were still open to conversation and eager to offer guidance, often directing me towards other shops or points of interest.

The naming of these businesses, often imbued with emotional significance and a sense of familiarity, suggests a deeper sense of community cohesion. It reflects an environment where individuals are not only familiar with one another but may even be regarded as friends or acquaintances. There appears to be a strong attachment to the Ladywood constituency itself, whether through familial ties, work connections, or memories from childhood. This sense of connection fosters a spirit of locality, where neighbourly behaviour and a willingness to engage are prevalent.

This atmosphere of pragmatism, where helpfulness and kindness take precedence over ideological differences, was particularly evident during my interactions. Despite the clear distinctions between myself and the locals, something explored in more depth within 4.9, 'Thematic Analysis of Autoethnography', there was a practical desire to assist with my research. This demonstrates how in superdiverse communities like Ladywood everyday interactions are shaped more by a shared sense of humanity and cooperation than by cultural or social divides.

Secondly, just under 20% of shops referenced a place in their name, some were specific areas or places in Jamaica, for example the restaurant 'The Devon House', is named after a house in Jamaica that belonged to the first black Jamaican millionaire George Stiebel. The Portland Lagoon refers to the Blue Lagoon near San Antonio Jamaica. Two further places referenced the Caribbean region directly, these were 'Caribbean Flavaz' and 'Caribbean Cooking Studio Takeaway'. This could relate to Hussein et al. (2015) who explained that owners often name their shops after what they sell. In this case they are selling food but more importantly the Caribbean. One further shop 'West Midlands Jerk Centre' referenced to the point where they were, the West Midlands. This name acknowledges the importance of where they are whilst providing Caribbean food, more specifically the jerk. It is an important example of the blend between the old creole and the new, acknowledging a vital part of the cuisine, jerk, but also where they are today, the West Midlands. The importance of the old creole and the new is discussed in Chapter 7, 'Visual Grammar Framework – The Appeal of the Old and New Creole' where location may be of importance to the Caribbean food itself as it may result in further creolisation, however this section is only examining the name specifically.

Thirdly just over 45% of the names that shops used were a descriptor of flavour, flavour itself or had food in their shop name. Kartika and Saun (2013) describe descriptive text as forms of writing used to create a vivid impression, where the reader can imagine what has been described. Examples of these names included 'Good Overall Delight', 'Full a Flava' or 'Tru Spice'. Actively promoting how good their shops products were. Ruzaitė (2008) gave shop signs two primary functions: to inform and promote. The restaurants involved in the study were using their shop names to promote their produce. The descriptions act as promotions, especially for those in a superdiverse community who may not be familiar with the cuisine or may fear trying it, reasons of which were discussed in 3.5.1, 'Reasonings for the Unsuccessfulness'. Naming the shop with a positive description works as a reassurance to those who may not be familiar with the cuisine, acting as a reassurance that what they find will be good. Ruzaite (2008) also explained that another function of the shop sign is to inform. To look at this simply, the shops are informing that they provide appetising food.

*Figure 5-12: Examples of the three naming patterns; place, familial name and descriptor*

Approximately 10% of shops used the patois dialect, Caribbean English in their shop name, as seen in the last shop on the right in Figure 5-12. The small number of shops using the dialect may be advertising on the idea of authenticity, advertising to those from the Caribbean region who reside or pass through the superdiverse Ladywood constituency or those who grew up in a Caribbean household where patois was spoken, and traditional Caribbean meals were eaten.

The shops may need to communicate beyond those of a Caribbean heritage however, which explains why the other 90% do not use it. Patois is visible in popular culture, Hernandez-Ramdwar's students believed that all people from the Caribbean spoke strong patois thank to the media (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2005). However, for those who are not familiar with pop culture they may struggle to understand it or may not understand it at all. Additionally, the shops which do not use patois could be owned by those who are of Caribbean descent or born in the UK but do not use the dialect.

In relation to subheadings almost 90% of the shops had them. They were often short sentences, which Yamada et al. (2021) explained is a feature of subheadings. Additionally, they explained the functions of the shop further. According to Jang and Kim (2023) this is one of the features of a subheading. Just over a quarter of the shops did not use the term Caribbean or Jamaican in the subheading as it was often already referred to in the title. Approximately three quarters of the subheadings stated what they were selling often mentioning that the cuisine was Caribbean or Jamaican, followed by the pattern of if the establishment was a restaurant or takeaway. This may explain why the region was not mentioned in many of the headings, because it was secondary in the subheadings. Showing that familial relation and description of the food, was considered more essential than explaining the nationality or place of the cuisine.

Just over a quarter of the shops which had a subheading stated that they offer Caribbean and English food, Jamaican and English Food or fusion cuisine, one shop included this in their title also. This shows a mix of British and Caribbean culture which Cook and Harrison (2003) noted, explaining that when many of Caribbean descent are in the supermarket, they put both Caribbean and English food products in their shopping trolleys. Additionally, it shows recognition of the host country also, acknowledging that there is more than one community in the area. Again, this links to the topic of a new creole existing in the Ladywood constituency which incorporates different communities and nationalities, further discussed in Chapter 7 'Visual Grammar Framework – The Appeal of the Old and New Creole'.

It can also be said that the name is there for analytical reasons. It's not just to symbolise what is being sold but it is also there to be read and scrutinised. Hence why descriptors may be used. When people may be unfamiliar with the food, they may be looking for words of reassurance, such as

something descriptive or a food they recognise. This can work the other way. For people familiar with the cuisine, they may be ensuring the cuisine is going to live up to their expectations by studying the wording, hence the occasional appearance of patois. However, if they see the word fusion, it may put them off.

### 5.2.2 Interactive Meanings

Approximately 80% of the shops had the shop name as a mid-range shot, when a subheading occurred it was a distanced shot, whilst the subheading provided additional information as discussed in the previous section it was not the main focus of where attention was needed. Whilst the additional information from a subheading is helpful, it is not where the main focus should be. Only two shops had the name as small and impersonable, and the remainder used personal shots. The prominence of the mid shot is due to the shop name being empirical to what the shop is selling. It cannot be too close or too distanced as it would make it difficult to read. If a potential customer is passing the shop briefly in a moving vehicle the name needs to be easily identifiable, they may only catch the name but can then google at home later. This means the shop has still retained a potential customer. This is especially important if the shop name is someone's name as it may not explicitly show what they are selling, but being eligible means the customer can at least do their own research. The name is the identifier and the key selling point. A distanced shot or close-up shot of the shop name would be difficult to distinguish.

Whilst it needs to be distinguishable enough on an objective level, it also needs to be able to appeal on an emotional level, as discussed in the representative meaning. The name on the sign is more than just words, they act as a social meaning for the reader (Shang and Guo, 2017). Additionally, the linguistic features of signage need to persuade customers (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996). Making this feature readable ensures it captures the reader's attention for that persuasion to take place.

In relation to whether the shop name was frontal or oblique, all shops apart from two had the shop name as frontal. The remaining two used both oblique and frontal positions. The reason for one shop using oblique and frontal is most likely due to the front door being indented into the building, therefore an oblique sign was needed to face the way of street and foot traffic to attract potential customers. Frontal was the preferred position for all the other shops as they need the public to see what their shop is advertising and selling. Without this information people would not know what the store is providing and therefore may not want to enter the premises or investigate.

All the shops used image power instead of viewer power as displayed in Figure 5-14 below. However, 10% used equality alongside image power and approximately another 10% also used viewer power alongside image power, this can be seen in Figure 5-13 below. When another position was used the text was often smaller suggesting that image power still had priority. The 20% that used repetition of the name in different places suggests there is an importance of the name catching the customers attention. Having the name high commands the attention of potential customers. This gives additional powers to the words that are already using persuasive language as discussed above. As the shop names and subheading were not of a human feature with a demanding inclination, this would mean they were offering a service, which is true, they are offering produce.


*Figure 5-13: A shop using the positions of both image power and viewer power with the shop name*

In relation to the position of the name being portrayed as ideal which is a high position, or real, which is a low position, all shops had the name in an ideal position. Whilst 10% used both a real and ideal position. When using a place name, the idea of the Caribbean often insinuates paradise as discussed in the literature view under section 3.4.1, 'The Global and UK Perception of the Caribbean: Palm Trees and Paradise'. Like the palm tree symbol, just the words Jamaica or Caribbean on their own signify a dreamlike paradise. Wilkes (2016) states how the notion of the Caribbean as paradise is used for wedding abroad and tourism, as a form of romanticism. Therefore, positioning the name in an ideal position represents the Caribbean's idealistic nature. When a familial name is used it is giving the idea of a conviviality, an area that acts on pragmatism instead of ideological beliefs, an ideal belief of togetherness. Using descriptive names that suggest a delightful tasting cuisine also suggests an ideal nature.


*Figure 5-14: A shop using image power*

### 5.2.3 Compositional Meanings

Regarding left meaning the information is given and right signifying new information, just over 80% of the signage had the symbol central, not in either of those positions. After this there was an almost equal split between the shops which had the name on the left and the shops that had the name on the right. This would suggest that the importance of centrality overrode the necessity of displaying whether the information was given or new as explained below.

The shops that had the name central were using the triptych manner, which is common in Western culture as a positioning of importance. Whilst it was not the nucleus of the shop display it was central at the top. The name is central to the brands image and is an important identifier. For those where the shop name is linked to a personal name it is part of a personal identity. For those who have named the shop after a region, that is central to the brands identity. For those who have used descriptors in their names, that is the most important aspect of bringing customers into the shop. The shop name is the core part of the identity. It sets the scene, which then leads to the branding and everything surrounding.

Again, approximately 80% of the shops had the signage bold suggesting that it must be noticed as seen in Figure 5-15. This again relates to the discovery of the shop. 90% of the headings were large, also signifying importance. The name is the way the shop is identified therefore it needs to attract as much attention as possible. Again, if people in the community cannot read the name, then the sign is inaccessible to potential customers. The correct sizing is helpful in relation to accessibility and potential customers, a mid-shot of the name with large sizing is best. Whilst a small number of signs were faded, just under 20%, it was probably not due to lack of importance but more due to the age of the sign or insufficient finances to change the sign at that time.


*Figure 5-15: A shop using bold colouring in their signage*

Almost 70% of shops had the name in framing alongside other words or modes in the signage, there were no dividers, such as lines or buffers that would suggest it was not linked to the other pieces of information. This suggests that the name is an important aspect of the shop that would deem it to be essential to the branding, it is part of the story of what the shop sells. Having a duplication of the name, which some shops did as mentioned in 5.2.2, 'Interactive Meanings', increased the connection of elements to the name, ensuring the brand continuation happened.

Colouring of the text and signage followed three predominant themes, a beach theme, a Jamaican colour scheme or the use of Rastafarianism colours. Just over 50% used the colours of the Jamaican flag, whilst another 20% used the Rastafarian colours. Just under 10% used the colour theming of a beach, and when the beach colours were used solely it was accompanied by palm trees, another

representation of the Caribbean which was discussed earlier in this chapter. The other approximate 20% did not use colours typically associated with the Caribbean, however one did use a blue of a tropical hue, which also plays into the tropical Caribbean schema.

The remainder of the shops that did not use the colour schemes associated with the Caribbean, apart from one, had a hybrid of foods, with the subheadings describing them as a fusion, selling English and Caribbean food or had no subheading at all. This could suggest an acknowledgement that the food they were providing was no longer solely Caribbean and could not be represented by the colours that would be associated with the region. A discussion of the hybridity, or further creolisation, of the Caribbean cuisine can be found in section 3.1.3, 'The Caribbean Diet Today in the Caribbean and UK'.

70% of shops used colours associated with Jamaica. Whether this be the red, gold and green associated with Rastafarianism, or the Jamaican flag colours of black, gold and green as seen in the images below. The meaning of these colours are discussed in section 3.4.2, 'The 'successful' crossover of Caribbean Music'. The Rastafarian colours can be seen in Figure 5-16 and the Jamaican flag colours can be seen in Figure 5-17. Almost 60% of the shops in the 70% of shops that used colours associated with Jamaica, whether that be the country's flag or Rastafarianism, used the term 'Caribbean' in the name or subheading. Additionally, one shop had Caribbean and English in their name but still used the Jamaican colours on their shop signage. The popular use of using colours associated with Jamaica when describing the Caribbean could be for two reasons, the first is a possible reflection of the pan-Caribbean aspect, as discussed throughout Chapter 3, 'Decolonial Deconstruction of a Caribbean Crossover'. The Caribbean often gets clumped with Jamaica, however, with Jamaica being the most well-known island in the Caribbean globally, it may be easier to use these colours to advertise to a superdiverse community. It would be more obvious than a country such as Antigua and Barbuda's flag. Secondly, the Jamaican community is the largest Caribbean community in Birmingham as explained in Chapter 2, 'Superdiversity: The New Multiculturalism'. Both reasons would explain the use of the Jamaican flag representing Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency.


*Figure 5-16: Examples of Rastafarian colouring used on signage*


*Figure 5-17: Example of Jamaican colouring used on signage*

### 5.2.4 Concluding Thoughts

The aim of this section was to explore the significance and role of colour in the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways signage within the superdiverse Ladywood constituency of Birmingham, addressing the question: how do Caribbean shops advertise to a superdiverse community in the Ladywood constituency? Additionally, the naming conventions of local shops were analysed to answer the question also. Every establishment included in this research had a distinct name, which this section explored using the Visual Grammar Framework to assess the representational, interactive, and compositional meanings of the shop names and subheadings. The focus was on how these elements contribute to advertising and attracting a superdiverse community.

A shop's name is a crucial identifier, often occupying a prominent position within the visual layout, marked by its large size, triptych placement, and high visibility within the framing of the storefront. The name anchors the brand, and through this research, three primary naming patterns emerged: personal names, place names, and food-related descriptors.

The use of personal names suggests a deep connection to the local area, regardless of its superdiversity. It conveys a sense of identity and emotional resonance, reflecting the importance of conviviality and everyday multiculturalism. This evokes a sense of familiarity and belonging, highlighting the human instinct for kindness and connection, where multiple communities coexist, aware of and known to one another.

When a shop name is related to cuisine, whether it be a specific dish or a descriptive term for the food, it acts as an invitation to the superdiverse community, reassuring potential customers of the quality of the products and encouraging them to try something new. As discussed in Chapter 3, ‘Decolonial Deconstruction of a Caribbean Crossover’, some members of the community may not be familiar with certain Caribbean dishes, and these descriptive names help bridge that gap, making the unfamiliar more approachable. When a shop name references a location, it often evokes the idyllic and aspirational image of the Caribbean, long perceived as a paradisical region. This taps into the global perception of the Caribbean, familiar to the superdiverse community.

Interestingly, over half of the shops that used colours associated with Jamaica used the word 'Caribbean' in their names or subheadings in relation to the cuisine. This reflects not only the dominance of Jamaican culture in Birmingham but also the global recognition of Jamaica as a symbol of the wider Caribbean. To successfully market to a superdiverse community, these businesses lean into the familiar, using recognisable colours and imagery, even if slightly stereotypical, because these elements are the most effective in communicating the essence of the region to a global audience. Without these iconic colours, it would be challenging for the shops to convey the identity of the Caribbean.

## 5.3 Geographic Location of the Palm Trees, Names, Subheadings and Colouring in the Ladywood Constituency

In the superdiverse Ladywood constituency of Birmingham, the Caribbean identity is expressed in various ways across different wards, through both visual elements and naming conventions. This section explores the aesthetic symbols that contribute to the representation of the Caribbean brand in these distinct wards, which includes the city centre located in Ladywood and wards such as Aston, Lozells, Edgbaston, Newtown, and Soho. By examining the presence of recognisable modes such as palm trees, Jamaican flag colours, and shop names, this analysis sheds light on how businesses connect with a superdiverse audience, balancing local community ties with broader global identifiers.

The study highlights the versatility of these symbols, particularly the palm tree and the colours associated with Jamaica, which serve as powerful visual cues in both tourist-like and localised areas. It also considers how some businesses in more affluent areas, such as the Jewellery Quarter and Edgbaston, adopt a more restrained approach, distancing themselves from stereotypical Caribbean imagery to appeal to a different demographic. In contrast, inner-city areas with a stronger sense of community tend to use familial or place-based names, reflecting deeper ties to the area's history of Caribbean migration and settlement.

By analysing the distribution of colours, names, and palm tree symbols across the Ladywood constituency, this section uncovers how businesses strategically engage with their surroundings, conveying a sense of identity, conviviality, and commercial appeal within the Ladywood constituency's superdiverse landscape.

While the palm tree symbol had a high presence in the Ladywood ward, which includes the city centre, it was also found in other wards within the Ladywood constituency, such as Aston, Lozells, Edgbaston, Newtown, and Soho. This suggests the symbol serves as a consistent identifier throughout the constituency. One shop in Aston, for instance, used a tropical blue theme, maintaining the paradisiacal aesthetic in a different way. The palm tree's usage across both inner-city and city-centre areas demonstrates its versatility in appealing to diverse audiences within these distinct environments.

The use of the Jamaican flag colours was prominent not only in the city centre but also in inner-city areas like Lozells and outer areas such as Soho, indicating that these colours also serve as a recognisable signifier, regardless of whether the location is considered more tourist-like or local. Although the Rastafarian colours were used less frequently, they still appeared in both the city centre and wards such as Aston, Bordesley Green & Highgate, Edgbaston, and Soho. This supports the 'global identifier' theory discussed in section 3.4.2, 'The 'Successful' Crossover of Caribbean

Music'. Beach and sunset colours were mainly used in Newtown, though these colours were only found on a small number of shops. Whilst the spread of the Jamaican flag and Rastafarian colours was present across different areas, their usage was notably higher in the city centre, but this was a ward that had a higher number of Caribbean restaurants and takeaways.

The shops that did not use the traditional tropical or Jamaican colours were found in Edgbaston, the Jewellery Quarter, and the city centre. These shops may be following a strategy similar to Grace, as discussed in section 3.5.5, 'The Story of Grace', avoiding stereotypical Caribbean imagery, such as vibrant colours and palm trees, which could be perceived as gimmicky or tacky. By opting for a more restrained approach, these businesses aim to be taken more seriously, especially in affluent areas where the potential for higher earnings exists, such as the city centre.

The use of descriptive names related to food or cuisine was most common in the Ladywood ward, which includes the city centre. This is logical, as the area attracts a diverse range of people from various backgrounds, making it important to clearly communicate that what is being sold is desirable. While this trend was also seen in inner-city areas like Lozells, shops there were more likely to use familial or place-based names. Almost all the shops in the Ladywood ward used descriptive names, while Lozells featured a mix of naming conventions. Across the entire constituency, familial or nicknames were generally well-distributed, though less frequent in Ladywood and absent in the Jewellery Quarter. This suggests that the sense of community, or conviviality, was stronger in areas outside the city centre remit, where many Caribbean migrants initially settled, as discussed in section 2.5, 'Caribbean Post-War Migration'. These communities would have developed a sense of familiarity and pragmatic conviviality over time. Place-based names were also fairly evenly distributed, though missing from one or two wards.

Whilst the colours relating to Jamaica were spread quite equally amongst the wards, it was clear when the familiar colouring was not used it was a feature that was predominantly found in the wards of, and linked to, the city centre, such as the Jewellery Quarter and Edgbaston. This suggests there is a seriousness that these shops want to portray. However, there was a larger number of shops in the city centre that did use the colours associated with Jamaica. As discussed in 3.3.2, 'Diversity Dividend', diversity sells, and advertising that you are a part of that diversity is beneficial to profitability, it is symbolic capital of increasing diversity which is desirable to the creative classes. The very limited use of names in the city centre supports the idea of conviviality, where names predominantly feature in areas that consist of communities. It could be seen as symbolic capital of belonging to the area and used as a form of capital. This does not mean that there were no names in the city centre, there may be an element of pride of having a business and putting your name to it.

# 6 Chapter 6: Visual Grammar Framework - Reaching New Communities

Throughout this chapter, the role of delivery symbols on signage will be explored, focusing on how their usage enables Caribbean businesses to extend their reach, particularly within the superdiverse Ladywood constituency. The presence of delivery symbols on shopfronts not only signals a practical service but also contributes to the process of market making, a business strategy aimed at establishing legitimacy and broadening appeal to a wider audience, both within the local community and beyond. By incorporating these symbols, Caribbean shops are not merely advertising convenience but positioning themselves as accessible and modern enterprises, striving to attract a broader demographic.

This chapter addresses the key question: How do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood constituency? Specifically, it investigates how delivery services function as a primary means of attracting new and diverse audiences, including individuals who may not typically engage with Caribbean cuisine. Through the lens of the Visual Grammar Framework, the chapter will examine the representational, interactive, and compositional meanings associated with delivery symbols and assess how these elements contribute to the overall branding and marketing strategies of Caribbean restaurants and takeaways.

A refresher of the Visual Grammar Framework can be found at the start of Chapter 5, 'Visual Grammar Framework – Aesthetics and Advertising within Superdiversity', where its application is discussed in detail. By examining these visual strategies, the chapter seeks to reveal how Caribbean restaurant and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency successfully appeal to the area's superdiverse population and create new engagement opportunities through the integration of delivery services.

Furthermore, this section will delve into the geographical distribution of delivery symbols, drawing attention to the notable absence of these symbols in central areas of the constituency, particularly within the Ladywood ward and the Jewellery Quarter. It will then contrast this with Caribbean restaurants and takeaways located in more residential or suburban parts of the constituency, where delivery services are often essential for reaching a broader, more geographically dispersed customer base. By examining these patterns, this section aims to provide a deeper understanding of how geography influences the use of delivery services by Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the different parts of Birmingham's superdiverse Ladywood constituency.

## 6.1 Delivering to Superdiversity through Delivery Services

A substantial proportion of the eateries examined in this research, nearly 75%, provided a delivery service, emphasising its growing importance in the modern food industry. Just Eat proved to be the most widely used platform, though other services such as UberEATS, FOODHUB, and Deliveroo were also commonly utilised. Amongst the businesses offering delivery, roughly a third prominently displayed multiple symbols on their shopfronts, either to strengthen their association with a specific delivery provider or to highlight their partnership with several different services.

This section will examine, through the lens of the Visual Grammar Framework, how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in Birmingham's Ladywood constituency advertise their delivery services,

and the impact this has on their ability to engage a superdiverse audience. By analysing the visual marketing strategies of these businesses, particularly how they communicate their delivery options, this section illuminates the broader approaches adopted to appeal to an increasingly digital and convenience-driven consumer base.

In the competitive food service market, aligning with recognised delivery platforms enhances a restaurant's credibility, while also signalling inclusivity and accessibility. They signal that these establishments are not only aware of but also actively participating in the digital shift towards food delivery culture, thereby widening their reach.

In summary, the advertising of delivery services plays a crucial role in how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in Ladywood connect with a superdiverse audience. By adopting multi-platform delivery options and prominently displaying these affiliations, these businesses signal their adaptability and willingness to cater to a modern, tech-savvy consumer base. Through the Visual Grammar Framework, this analysis will delve into how these visual cues function not just as practical information but as strategic tools that position these eateries within the broader landscape of Birmingham's rapidly evolving food industry.

### 6.1.1 Representational Meanings

All the logos for the delivery services are conceptual, they were of a standardised format provided by the delivery companies with no actors present in the logos. The images are symbolic, representing the delivery services the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways provide. To the superdiverse public of Ladywood, these symbols are of big name, commercial brands that are recognised. For example, Just Eat started in Denmark in 2001 and as of 2012 had 11 offices globally in locations such as Canada, India and Italy, with its head office now in the UK, delivering 100,000 meals a day to the country (Chopra, 2012). Additionally, during COVID-19 many restaurants were closed, so they either had to close and furlough staff or move to deliveries. Online delivery services offered discounts to frontline workers, whilst others ran online competitions (Jia et al., 2021). The symbols of the delivery services are an easy identifier to those from many different backgrounds, when someone walks past a Just Eat or Deliveroo symbol, no matter their gender, nationality, or religion, they know what that delivery service does.

Relying on large corporate entities to deliver food from Caribbean takeaways and eateries lends an added sense of legitimacy. While these companies may not be inherently familiar with Caribbean cuisine, they are recognised and trusted by consumers for their delivery services. As highlighted in the previous paragraph, globally renowned delivery platforms gained significant traction during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Today, trying new and diverse foods has become a form of cultural capital, as noted by Warde (2018), with popular culture increasingly seen as more influential than traditional high culture. As mentioned in Section 3.3.2, 'Diversity Dividend', diversity itself has become a selling point, regarded as a marker of intellect and sophistication. Delivery services like Just Eat provide an avenue for broader access to Caribbean cuisine, appealing to a market that may not have previously explored this type of food but are now open to the cultural experience. Such platforms play a pivotal role in expanding awareness and fostering curiosity among those unfamiliar with these dishes.

For businesses, the strategy of market-making goes beyond simply offering a product or service; it involves actively shaping consumer perceptions and creating demand where it might not have existed before. By partnering with well-known delivery platforms, Caribbean takeaways and eateries

can tap into a much larger audience, positioning themselves in a way that appeals to modern consumers who are increasingly adventurous and open to trying new cultural experiences. This is particularly important in today's market, where consumers place a premium on diversity.

Such businesses are not just providing food; they are offering a gateway to a broader cultural narrative. The exposure gained through large delivery services allows them to appeal to customers who may have never encountered Caribbean cuisine otherwise. It also enables these eateries to transcend their local base and reach new demographics, from cultural connoisseurs to curious families, thereby broadening their consumer base.

Moreover, aligning with global delivery platforms enables Caribbean food businesses to participate in a wider conversation about culture, diversity, and innovation. This positions them as key players in a dynamic food scene of Birmingham. By leveraging the trust and reach of established delivery services, these businesses can bolster their legitimacy and appeal to an ever-expanding audience. In this way, market-making is not just about selling food, it is about creating a brand identity that resonates with a superdiverse society, where food is a medium for control, cultural exchange and appreciation. Furthermore, Eversham (2015), reporting for 'Big Hospitality', noted that Caribbean cuisine was among the most sought-after by consumers. Delivery services allow them to try it.

Online food delivery services, however, provide a crucial opportunity for people to explore such cuisines without the apprehension of making a misstep. Wade (2007) highlights how the complexity or unfamiliarity of Caribbean dishes can sometimes deter potential customers, but delivery platforms help to overcome these barriers by offering a convenient, low-risk way to experience diverse flavours. These services grant access to a wider range of culinary options, allowing customers to indulge in cultural diversity in a more comfortable, accessible manner, one that can also prove profitable for businesses tapping into this expanding market.

Delivery services enable many who may struggle to access the Caribbean takeaways and restaurants in the Ladywood constituency, delivery services are symbolic of accessibility, amplifying legitimacy and professionalism. The Ladywood constituency has numerous languages, or for some in the constituency English may not be their first language, or they may not speak it at all. For example, in the Ladywood constituency 18.2% of households had no people over the age of 16 that had English as a main language (Office for National Statistics, 2023). With a delivery service, language can be changed, Uber has instructions of how to do this on their official blog (Uber,2016). Those with a disability may not be able to access a restaurant or takeaway, a delivery service allows access to their door, and this was particularly vital during COVID-19. The accommodation of a delivery service allows for a greater customer base.

Additionally, the restaurants are echoing the patterns of Cook and Harrison (2003) who explained that Grace advertised their products to the Caribbean diaspora globally instead of prioritising their sales within the Caribbean islands. The Caribbean restaurants and takeaways are doing this also. Whilst Ladywood has the second largest Caribbean population by percentage, and the largest number of Caribbean individuals in one constituency, the Caribbean community is still spread around the city of Birmingham as seen in the census data below provided in Table 6-1.

| Geography | **All people** | **Black Caribbean or Black British** | **Percentage of Constituency** |
|---|---|---|---|

| Constituencies (BCC) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham, Edgbaston | 100,173 | 3,617 | 3.61% |
| Birmingham, Erdington | 104,885 | 6,762 | 6.45% |
| Birmingham, Hall Green | 121,916 | 2,816 | 2.31% |
| Birmingham, Hodge Hill | 132,351 | 2,823 | 2.13% |
| Birmingham, Ladywood | 144,091 | 10,178 | 7.06% |
| Birmingham, Northfield | 105,955 | 2,775 | 2.62% |
| Birmingham, Perry Barr | 112,408 | 8,977 | 7.99% |
| Birmingham, Selly Oak | 109,573 | 2,677 | 2.44% |
| Sutton Coldfield | 96,661 | 1,410 | 1.46% |
| Birmingham, Yardley | 116,938 | 2,688 | 2.30% |

*Table 6-1: Populations of Caribbean Communities in Birmingham Constituencies (Office for National Statistics, 2023)*

The restaurants understand the superdiverse audience of Birmingham. They know that the Caribbean community is not located to just one constituency of Birmingham. The next two largest percentage of Caribbean individuals are in the constituencies next door, Perry Barr and Erdington as seen in the map below in Figure 6-1. For those who have a Caribbean background or heritage but do not live in the Ladywood constituency, to try these restaurants or takeaways or if they desire a taste of home an online delivery system is needed.


*Figure 6-1 Birmingham Constituencies (Birmingham Public Health Intelligence Team, 2019)*

### 6.1.2 Interactive Meanings

In relation to whether the delivery service logo was in a view that was considered close-up, mid-

range or distanced, there was a mixture of mid-shot and distanced, with a clear preference for the mid-shot. The mid-shot logos were often placed higher suggesting that it was more a visual tool of trying to get people's attention. The smaller impersonal stickers were used more at eye-level. The fact that no shots were personal shows a lack of relation and intimacy between the delivery service and Caribbean branding. It is an additional piece of information not central to the branding of the shop. However, the symbol needs to be seen which a mid-range shot allows. As discussed in the conceptual section above the logo is known to a superdiverse sphere, it needs to be identifiable so that the public know they can use this service, alongside providing a badge of legitimacy.


*Figure 6-2 A shop with the delivery symbol frontal*


*Figure 6-3 A shop with the image detached*

Half the shops that had used the delivery symbol had it in a frontal position as seen in Figure 6-2. After this there was an almost equal split between having the image in a frontal and detached position with more than one symbol being used, or a singular delivery symbol image in a detached position as seen in Figure 6-3. All the shops that used the detached positioning, had the symbol in a higher position.

The shops that used the stickers or signs in a frontal view would only be greeting shop customers, focusing on those that walk in, hoping to retain a customer base or reassuring passers-by that the shop not only delivers, but it delivers using a legitimate company if they do not wish to enter or are unsure of the cuisine. The inner city acts as an in-between to outer affluent suburban areas and the city centre which has small pockets of affluency, both are potential customer bases. To get from the city centre, which would be considered Ladywood to Sutton Coldfield and the surrounding areas you

would have to cut through certain sections of the Ladywood constituency as seen below in Figure 6-4 which shows the journey from the city centre to Sutton Coldfield on Google Maps. Therefore, the use of detached signs which often faced the walking patterns of the pavements, or the direction of traffic, could attract affluent individuals passing through the in-between area.

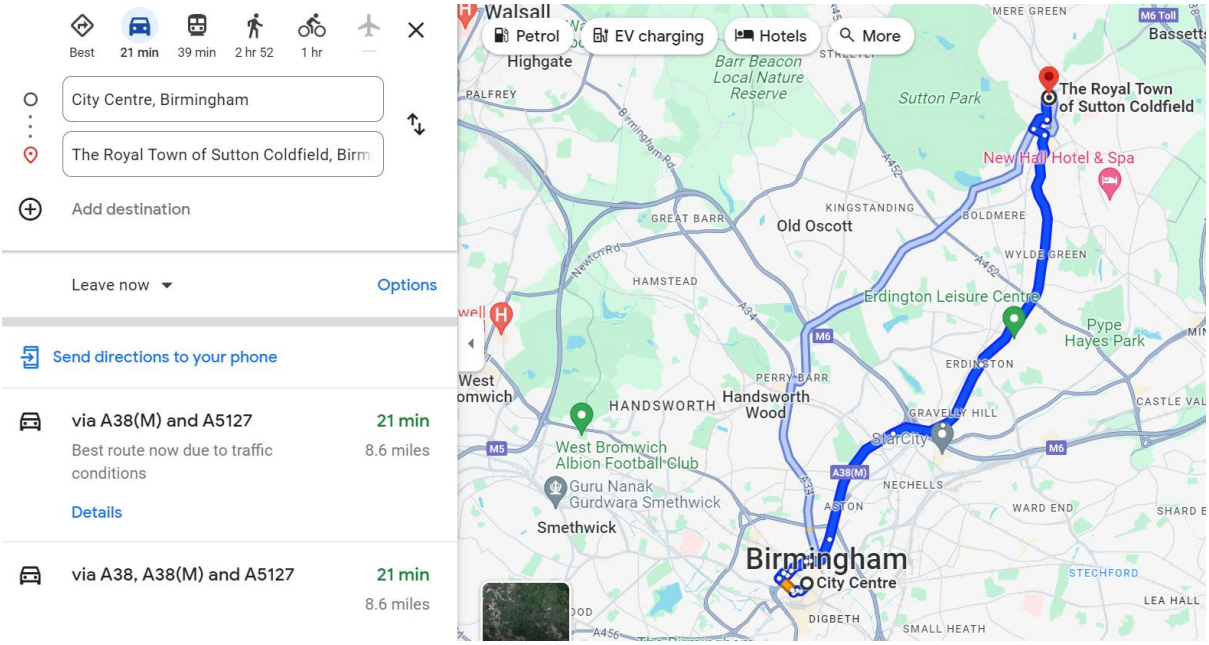



*Figure 6-4 Journey from city centre to Sutton Coldfield (Google Maps, 2021)*

Image power was the preferred choice for the positioning of delivery symbols with approximately 50% using this position, as illustrated in Figure 6-6, where the symbols are prominently placed at a higher level facing the road, naturally drawing the attention of passers-by. In this context, image power occupies the upper level, equality is positioned at eye level, and viewer power sits lower. After this there was an equal distribution between businesses opting for the equality position, shown in Figure 6-5, and those combining both image power and equality by using more than one delivery symbol. The two exceptions being one shop which employed viewer power alone, while another combined both viewer power and image power.

The prominence of image power reflects the importance of visibility in this context, as for many customers, delivery services may be the preferred way to access food without the need to visit the area directly. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, many Caribbean restaurants are located in areas perceived and described by the media as unsafe as discussed in 2.4.4, 'Tensions within the Inner-City', and as a result, some members of the public may feel hesitant to visit in person. The strategic use of delivery imagery, therefore, plays a key role in making the food more accessible to a wider audience.


*Figure 6-5 A shop using image power and equality*

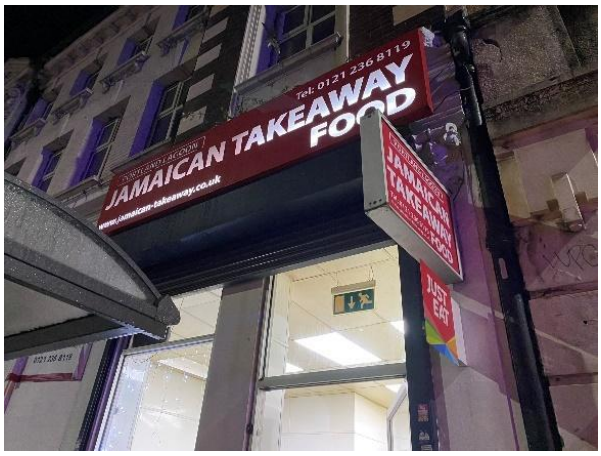



*Figure 6-6 A shop solely using image power*

The delivery option provides a convenient alternative for enjoying the food. The presence of multinational delivery services highlights their broad reach, making it easier for people from different backgrounds to access local cuisine. Positioned prominently, the delivery service sign uses visual impact to capture the attention of passers-by, even from a distance.

At eye level, the delivery logo not only informs customers entering the shop about the service but also creates a sense of inclusivity. It acknowledges the local community, those who frequent the area and understand its challenges and successes. This positioning reflects an appreciation for both the local patrons, who may want to occasionally use delivery, and those choosing the convenience of delivery, bridging a connection between the two groups.

The ideal, a high position, in this case above eye level was favoured more than real, with approximately 50% of shops choosing the ideal position. This was then followed by approximately 30% of shops using both the ideal and real position with the remainder using real. The shops that used a detached positioning always had the delivery symbol very high. When in the vicinity of the door, the delivery symbol was still high but only just above eye-level. When there were two symbols it was often the detached symbol being high alongside the sticker being positioned at approximately eye-level. The ideal position matches the idealness of a takeaway service, quick, easy, and simple. In

the modern day, people no longer have the time to cook and are working more often (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Delivery services are an idealised quick way to provide the essential needs of food.

When deciding if the symbols were offering or demanding a service, it was clear they were offering. There was no aspect of human demand in the images, and the shops are essentially offering a service by providing delivery. The bold colouring of the delivery symbols captured attention. Many who see these signs are passing through the ward for work or educational purposes but do not stop there. This means not only are they reaching the superdiverse area of the Ladywood constituency they are in, but also the general population of Birmingham, a superdiverse city, again extending their audience reach. The signs are making them aware this may be the one way they can get to try a desired food which is predominantly in one constituency and offering a solution.

### 6.1.3 Compositional Meanings

There was a similarly varied distribution of delivery symbols positioned on the left, right, or both, with only two shops having the symbol placed exactly in the centre. When the symbol was detached, it was often equally positioned on either the left or right, in the extremities of either direction. When front-facing, they were on the left or right but were very close to the centre. It appeared that the detachment or involvement positioning influenced the positioning of left and right, rather than being driven by the meanings behind ‘given’ and 'new'. Delivery services provide direct access to sales, which explains why they are more prominently positioned in consumers’ visual field, rather than on the meaning of positioning in this case.

Majority of the shops had the delivery information in separate framing from the other modes as seen in Figure 6-7 below. There were some shops that used the delivery symbols twice, this was sometimes two different delivery services, or the same one, it was varied. When this was done one would be put in a separate frame and the other in a frame with other additional information. When it was framed with other information, it was often lower and placed alongside images of pictures of the food sold, or information deemed as afterthoughts such as card payments or food advertisements which had a disconnect from the Caribbean branding.


*Figure 6-7 Delivery information in separate framing*

The separateness symbolises that whilst delivery information is considered as important and is needed to communicate with the superdiverse audience that they can order online, it is not part of

the Caribbean aesthetic. Aestheticism may seem to be more core to the brand with food delivery being related to practicality.

All brands used bold colours in their signage as seen in Figure 6-8 below. Branding colours of the delivery partners were colours that were eye-catching; Just Eat used bright orange and white, or red on their older logos whilst Uber Eats used bright green and black, and Deliveroo was a bright turquoise blue. Kauppinen-Räisänen (2014) explains that bright colours can involuntarily cause a change of attention via a sensory effect. This would therefore attract the attention of a passersby.


*Figure 6-8 An example of the bold colouring of the delivery symbols*

The delivery services use standardised images and colours, regardless of the restaurant using them. It is beneficial for them to be bright and attractive; if people use their service, they earn approximately 11-12% commission off the restaurant's sale (Chopra, 2012). The restaurants also need the symbol to be bold to attract the audiences that are not in the area, for those that use the detached view, they need passers-by to notice in an instant, especially if they are passing in a car which would be a fleeting moment. This would be even more important during COVID-19 where delivery services were the only option for many restaurants as it was there only way to sell as customers could no longer enter shops as discussed in section 4.3, 'COVID-19'.

The delivery partners' colours or branding were not changed by any of the restaurants or takeaways, this makes sense as it would not be helpful or beneficial. They are globally recognised companies known to all in a superdiverse community. Regardless of the restaurant or takeaways colour schemes, if they change the colour of the delivery services logo people may not recognise it and they would then potentially lose new sales. This is especially important when people are only looking at the delivery sign for a few seconds passing by, if they do not recognise the symbol instantly, then the moment is gone, and the potential sale is lost.

The delivery symbols relationship to centrality was often interlinked with sizing. When the symbol was small it was more central as seen in image 6-9 below, when it was in the margins it was larger. Despite not being of a large size the key aim was to get a customer's attention by compromising size with location on the signage. It may not be the most important mode, but it was considered important enough to realise if it was marginal, it should be larger to garner more attention.


*Figure 6-9 An example of the bold colouring of the delivery symbols*

### 6.1.4 Concluding Thoughts

Due to their prominent high positioning and thoughtful balance between centrality and scale, delivery services play a significant role for Caribbean restaurants and takeaways. However, their distinct framing suggests that these services are not what define or sell Caribbean cuisine. Instead, they function as a practical business tool. While building a website has become simpler in modern times, maintaining it remains a laborious task. In addition, food deliveries are often costly, contributing to the precariousness of the gig economy. Paying delivery workers can be expensive, which is why outsourcing to established platforms like Just Eat can prove more affordable. These services handle logistical tasks and benefit from global popularity, effectively marketing the business without requiring direct advertising.

In superdiverse communities, the symbolic capital of delivery services lies in the accessibility they offer to those who may not live in the immediate area or who face language barriers. By breaking down socio-economic boundaries, these services allow Caribbean restaurants and takeaways to reach new audiences, expanding their customer base to include those outside the local community.

Moreover, this section highlights how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in Birmingham recognise the need for delivery services to connect with the dispersed Caribbean diaspora. Much like the company Grace, which acknowledged the global Caribbean community, these restaurants understand that while the Caribbean population may have historically been centralised in Birmingham, it has now spread throughout the city. To reach these communities, providing delivery options is essential, ensuring that both new customers and those already familiar with the cuisine can access it with ease. The symbolic capital of delivery systems, therefore, extends beyond mere convenience, acting as a bridge between tradition, accessibility, and modern consumer habits.

Delivery systems not only cater to a superdiverse audience but also appeal to those seeking to enhance their cultural capital through the exploration of diverse cuisines. They cater to a broader trend of consumers seeking convenience and diversity, a key factor in market-making. The appeal of trying new foods to enhance one's cultural capital drives demand for Caribbean cuisine among a superdiverse audience. This audience might not be located near traditional Caribbean hubs but can access the cuisine through delivery platforms, thus expanding the market for these restaurants. By

doing so, delivery services don't just meet existing demand, they help create it, allowing Caribbean restaurants and takeaways to engage with an emerging market eager for culturally diverse dining experiences.

In summary, delivery services are not only a business tool but also a powerful mechanism for shaping and expanding markets. Delivery services contribute to market-making by increasing accessibility, creating new customer bases, and facilitating the cultural exchange that fuels demand for diverse cuisines. Through their symbolic capital and practical functions, these services allow Caribbean restaurants to expand their markets, catering to both the Caribbean diaspora and a growing audience seeking to enhance their cultural capital through food.

## 6.2 Geographic Location of the Delivery Symbols in the Ladywood Constituency

In the context of geography, the placement and visibility of delivery symbols on restaurant signage can reveal much about a business's target audience, location, and the symbolic capital attached to delivery services. Geography plays a key role in shaping the relationship between Caribbean takeaways and restaurants and their customers, influencing how businesses employ delivery services to appeal to varying markets.

The symbolic capital associated with delivery logos varies depending on a business's location and target demographic. For businesses in areas with significant foot traffic or ample seating capacity, such as the Ladywood ward, encompassing the city centre or the Jewellery Quarter, the absence of delivery logos were primarily found in these areas, suggesting a focus on in-house dining. Only one restaurant outside these areas, without a delivery logo, emphasised dine-in experiences. These establishments may view the prestige and atmosphere of in-person dining as more valuable than the convenience of delivery, appealing to customers who prefer a traditional restaurant setting. In such cases, delivery services may not hold as much symbolic capital, as the core offering revolves around the in-person experience.

Additionally, two takeaways located outside the city centre, though close to it in neighbouring wards, did not display delivery symbols, further suggesting a reliance on footfall. However, it is worth noting that while delivery symbols were absent from their signage, one of these takeaways did offer Uber Eats when searched online, and the other had its own delivery service via its website. This suggests that while some businesses offer delivery, they may still prioritise local foot traffic, using delivery as a secondary service. For these businesses, delivery logos may not significantly impact their brand identity, as their primary focus remains on local customers. Another shop in Soho also had its own delivery website revealing why there was no delivery symbol. There was only one shop in Lozells, which sold sizeable products, that did not offer delivery at all, even upon further searching online.

In contrast, smaller shops or those offering more affordable items, like patties, may find delivery less economically feasible due to low profit margins. This was the case for one shop in Soho, where the symbolic value of delivery logos was minimal and therefore absent, as their business model was not geared towards delivery profitability.

In conclusion, the use of delivery symbols on Caribbean restaurant and takeaway signage reflects a complex relationship between geography, business strategy, and target audience. In areas with high foot traffic or larger dining spaces, such as the city centre, Jewellery Quarter, or nearby neighbourhoods, restaurants often prioritise the prestige of in-house dining as a core part of their

brand identity. Conversely, smaller establishments with tighter profit margins may downplay delivery due to economic constraints. In areas outside of the city centre and Jewellery Quarter, however, delivery logos take on greater significance, symbolising accessibility, responsibility and inclusivity. They use the delivery symbols to market-make, showing a reliable and recognisable delivery service. Ultimately, the presence or absence of delivery symbols on Caribbean restaurant and takeaway signage is shaped by both the physical and socio-economic geography of the business's location.

# 7 Chapter 7: Visual Grammar Framework - The Appeal of the Old and New Creole

Throughout this chapter, the key modes that reflect both the traditional and evolving creole identity, as presented by Caribbean takeaways and restaurants, will be examined. The chapter will address the central question: 'How do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood constituency?' with a particular focus on two key sub-questions: ‘Does the Caribbean cuisine use its creole identity to help advertise to different nationalities in a superdiverse area?’ and ‘Has the Caribbean cuisine further creolised since being in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency, and does this help to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency also?’

The first mode discussed will be food imagery. Two distinct categories of food imagery will be analysed: the first reflects traditional Caribbean dishes, rooted in the region’s complex history of colonisation, indentured servitude, and slavery, which has shaped its diverse cuisine, referred to here as the ‘old creole’. These traditional images can appeal to various communities within the superdiverse constituency, given the overlapping of cultures within the Caribbean. The second category introduces the ‘new creole’, highlighting a further creolisation of Caribbean cuisine since its arrival in the UK, and more specifically, in the Ladywood constituency. This represents an additional layer of creolisation that continues to adapt and resonate within the local context.

The chapter will also explore the inclusion of halal wording, presented in Arabic, English, or both. The presence of halal food produce is not traditionally associated with the Caribbean region, though there are Muslim populations in certain Caribbean countries, such as Trinidad and Tobago. The presence of halal wording within the Ladywood constituency serves as evidence of the ongoing creolisation of Caribbean cuisine, adapting to the cultural and religious diversity of the local population.

The representational, interactive, and compositional meanings of these modes will be analysed via the Visual Grammar Framework. A detailed overview of the Visual Grammar Framework can be found in Chapter 5, ‘Visual Grammar Framework – Aesthetics and Advertising within Superdiversity.’. Following this, the geographical locations of these modes within the Ladywood constituency will be discussed, exploring how their placement may be tailored to target different communities within the area. This analysis aims to shed light on the strategic use of signage in attracting and engaging the superdiverse populations that define the Ladywood constituency.

The chapter’s focus on the evolving creole identity within Caribbean takeaways and restaurants in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency serves as an entry point to further the concept of superdiversity from a minority perspective. By examining how Caribbean businesses adapt to the local superdiverse demographic, the chapter challenges certain assumptions within the concept of superdiversity, particularly those that can obscure the power dynamics and inequalities between different groups.

Superdiversity seeks to capture the increasing complexity of contemporary urban populations, where migration patterns create not just ethnic diversity but a range of intersecting variables, including religion, language, legal status, and economic opportunities. While the concept acknowledges this complexity it can flatten important differences between groups and overlook the historical legacies of power, marginalisation, and inequality that persist even within superdiverse societies as discussed in Chapter 2, ‘Superdiversity: The New Multiculturalism’.

This chapter's emphasis on the 'old creole' and 'new creole' identities helps to focus on how Caribbean minorities navigate the challenges of superdiversity. Rather than seeing superdiversity as a level playing field where all groups have equal influence and visibility, the chapter highlights how the Caribbean community has evolved its identity in response to shifting cultural and religious dynamics in Ladywood. The distinction between the traditional 'old creole' cuisine and the newer adaptations, such as the inclusion of halal produce, and addition of British and American cuisine demonstrates that Caribbean restaurants and takeaways have an ability to adapt in ways that respond to the different groups within the area.

Moreover, by focusing on the minority Caribbean perspective, the chapter focuses on the historical and cultural specificities that underpin the identities of minority groups, which some say superdiversity does not highlight enough. The 'old creole' identity, which reflects the Caribbean's complex history of colonisation, slavery, and indentured labour, is significant because it connects the Caribbean diaspora to a broader global history of migration, exploitation, and adaption. In a superdiverse context, where multiple cultures coexist, there is a risk that this specific historical identity could be overlooked or diluted in favour of a more homogenised, superdiverse narrative. The chapter emphasises that, even as Caribbean restaurants and takeaways adapt to serve a wider audience, their historical narratives are still relevant.

This chapter raises important questions about the economic dimensions of superdiversity. While superdiversity is often framed as a celebration of cultural coexistence, it is also driven by economic imperatives. The chapter acknowledges this by pointing out that the inclusion of halal produce opens new customer bases for Caribbean restaurants and takeaways, which may otherwise struggle to compete in a highly diverse and competitive environment, it could be an example of the diversity dividend. The economic logic behind this adaptation suggests that superdiversity, far from being a purely social or cultural phenomenon, is deeply entwined with market forces and the need for minority businesses to remain competitive by appealing to the other consumer groups within their local areas.

The chapter provides a deeper exploration of superdiversity by foregrounding the experiences of the Caribbean minority in Ladywood. It highlights the ways in which Caribbean businesses adapt to the shifting demographic landscape. Through its focus on the evolving creole identity, the chapter challenges the assumption that superdiversity automatically leads to equal representation or cohesion among minority groups. Instead, it shows that economic considerations and historical legacies continue to shape the experiences of minority communities within superdiverse areas, offering a more nuanced understanding of how superdiversity operates in practice.

## 7.1 Food Images

In the previous chapter, the focus was on delivery service imagery, illustrating how these services extend their reach to diverse communities, including the creative classes, individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds, and those with accessibility needs, while also ensuring they cater to the city's Caribbean diaspora. Similarly, food images play a crucial role in attracting both new and familiar audiences however in this case it is through similarities and further creolisation, a theme that will be explored in this chapter through an analysis of their representational, interactive, and compositional meanings using the Visual Grammar Framework. This analysis will culminate in a

discussion of how food imagery is used to appeal to a superdiverse community through the lens of the old and new Creole.

In this research, 60% of the shops featured images of food on their shopfront signage, showcasing their offerings. Some of these images appeared to be stock photos, whilst some looked to be provided by larger companies, such as Ben & Jerry's, and others seemed to have been taken by the shops themselves. However, due to the inability to conduct interviews as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is not possible to make definitive assumptions. Notably, there was an equal division between shops that exclusively used images of traditional Caribbean cuisine and those that featured a broader range of food, including Ben & Jerry's ice cream, full English breakfasts, and chips.

This analysis will explore these choices, considering how the visual presentation of food serves to attract a superdiverse customer base. Through this, the chapter will examine how the concept of the old and new creole is utilised to navigate tradition and the need for wider appeal in a superdiverse setting.

### 7.1.1 Representational Meanings

The food images were used conceptually, symbolic of the foods being sold in the restaurants. However, the symbolism was extensive, half the food images were what would be deemed as 'authentic', as explained in section 3.1.2, 'The Caribbean Menu'. The other half had a hybridity of foods. As discussed in section 3.3.4, 'Restaurant and Takeaway Authenticity', authenticity can be an objective viewpoint as described by Clemes et al. (2013) who argues that authenticity relates to décor, food preparations and ingredients that are traditional. However, it should be remembered that 'authentic' Caribbean cuisine has similarities with other cuisines and may be appealing to others in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency. The Caribbean food company, Grace, understood this, playing on the colonial British empire to its strengths, noticing that many of the Caribbean products crossed over with other ethnic minority food groups (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Sweet potato and plantain can be found in African and South American diets whilst coconut milk can be found in Thai. Wilk and Barbosa (2012) explain that cultures often overlap, and this is discussed throughout Chapter 3, 'Decolonial Deconstruction of a Caribbean Crossover'. This traditional aspect of the Caribbean could be referred to as the old creole, a creole of food that was built through colonialism and advertises to those who have foods similar through those colonial situations.

The other half of the restaurants and takeaways had a mix of what would be considered traditional Caribbean cuisine and newer cuisines not traditionally associated with the Caribbean, in this thesis this is called the new creole. Where the influence of the Caribbean cuisine migrating to Britain has caused further change. To further complicate the matters there were adverts involved on a small number of shops that had American and Dutch products. These changes are not surprising; it has been discussed in this thesis that the Caribbean diet in the UK has changed, in section 3.1.3, 'The Caribbean Diet Today in the Caribbean and UK'. Selling purely Caribbean food may hinder the sales to the Caribbean community as this is now not the only part of their diets. Sharma et al. (1996) found that the diets between Caribbean migrants and their UK-born children differed, with the latter having a larger intake of fats. Additionally, Donin (2010) also added that whilst traditional foods were still important to first generation Caribbean migrants it was less so than African migrants, due to a longer time in the country for many from or descended from the Caribbean. The Caribbean diet has become more Westernised with confectionary, processed meats and sweetened beverages becoming additions to the cuisine in the UK (Goff, 2015). Cook and Harrison (2003) expand on this further with the Jamaican food company Grace. Grace found providing for the first generation easy,

but the second generation were difficult as their identities had changed. Many of the first generation of the Caribbean had returned home and migration from the Caribbean had reduced meaning limited exposure to the cuisine, this meant Caribbean meals were only cooked by elders in the UK on special occasions, and the long meal preparations could not be done in busier modern times (Cook and Harrison, 2003). The Caribbean community were proud of their identity, but mealtimes were not how this was shown (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Grace had to adapt to the new generation, as do the contemporary Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham.

A further show of the expansion of the cuisine in the UK was the fact that some shops contained adverts for foods they sold in the shops that were not Caribbean, primarily Ben and Jerrys, an American ice cream manufacturer. There was also a juice drink, 'I am super juice' that is a Dutch company which sources the ingredients of its juices from Asia. These are both circled in Figure 7-1 below. This adds to the globalised mix of the Caribbean cuisine in the UK, with restaurants adjusting their selling styles to provide to their superdiverse audience.

The creolisation with British cuisine allows the host country to not only access their cuisine but to try the Caribbean cuisine also once inside the shop. There may be a fear of the unknown but if there is something familiar to a customer it may lead to further exploration. This does not mean that all are afraid of the cuisine, as discussed in section 3.3.2 'Diversity Dividend', diversity sells, appealing to those such as the creative classes. However, the familiar British cuisine may still allow or encourage those who are wary to try new experiences.

*Figure 7-1 Adverts for Ben and Jerry's and 'I am Super Juice' circled in red*

Finally, the images could also be described as analytical as well as symbolic. For those familiar to the traditional cuisine, they are analysing the images to see if the products advertised are as what they remembered, the old creole. For those influenced by the new creole such as the UK-born descendants of Caribbean migrants, they may be looking for a meal that has both British and Caribbean elements. Finally, for those who are unfamiliar to the cuisine, they may be looking for something known, which can be provided by the old creole through similarities provided by colonisation or the new creole which may feature something familiar to the mainstream.

### 7.1.2 Interactive Meanings

Impersonal long shots were favoured more than close or mid-shots on the shop signage surveyed with half of the shops using this positioning. After the position of the long shot, the close shot and mid-shot were than split equally. The long shots and mid-shots were focused on the whole dish as seen in Figure 7-2 below, rather than more intimate images focusing on one area, getting into the personal space of the food. The images were generally distanced. There was no sensitivity or closeness that was meant for the viewer to feel or see. This is unlike Caribbean music, which is very intertwined with UK culture, through Caribbean culture there has been 'Drum and Bass' (Hall, 2009) and 'Two-Tone' (Stambuli, 2007). Caribbean food has had a separateness from British culture as discussed in section 3.5.3, 'YouGov Results'. The separateness of the food from the Caribbean branding, despite the foods historical global relations shows that there are more known elements to the Caribbean that could entice a superdiverse British community than the food itself.


*Figure 7-2 Whole images of Caribbean food without intimacy*

Almost all the food images found on the shops were in a position of involvement as opposed to detached. This could be related to the capitalistic element of superdiversity. The audience, regardless of who they are, need to know what they are buying. If they cannot see the product, or if it is not clear, then they may not be tempted to buy it. Additionally, this may be particularly the case if they are not familiar with the cuisine as suggested by critics such as Lyn (2007) who argued that the public may find Caribbean food confusing, due to terms such as 'rice and peas', which is rice and kidney beans, or off putting, with meats such as goat. If the images are detached, people will not be able to see what the food on offer consists of and therefore may not be willing to explore.

In relation to whether the food images were placed in a position of power; viewer power being lower, mid-level meaning equality and image power being higher; viewer power was more prominent with 50% of shops choosing this position as seen in Figure 7-3. There was then a fairly equal split between equality and image power with the exception of two shops using both image and viewer power. Regardless of the food being Caribbean or any other cuisine, it is a product, and the viewer has the power to purchase it. UK cities generally have a wide range of restaurants with competitive pricing (Warde, 2018). Additionally eating out is one of the most popular leisurely activities (Ibrahim, 2015). This means that the public have a choice of where they want to eat.


*Figure 7-3 A shop with food in the position of viewer power*

The food must lure people in, the audience of the area is extremely diverse, there will be those who are familiar with the food and want it to match their meaning of authenticity or reflect nostalgic moments of their home countries. For those who are unfamiliar with the product, it must look tasty, delicious, appealing to the pallet. Regardless of who the audience is in the superdiverse community, it must appeal on different types of levels, and the viewer has the power.

All food images were in a position of offer, there is no human demanding action from the images. Through advertising to the community, the images are showing what can be provided by the restaurant or takeaways. A mixture of a cuisine that is old creole and new creole, that has something that will appeal to everyone.

The lower real position was used ever so slightly more than the higher ideal position, promoting the idea that the food being presented to the audience has a potential to serve all in the community. For example, the old creole consists of curry goat or curry mutton. This looks fairly like an Indian curry as seen in Figure 7-4. An Indian curry that both the British and South Asian public recognises consisting of pieces of meat and sauce (Buettner, 2008). Rice and peas is also part of the old creole. The dish is recognised globally even if it may not be under the guise of rice and peas but rice with beans or legumes, in places such as Puerto Rico (Mintz, 2010). These shops are showing the realness of the Caribbean, through its authenticity, which is a creole of a cuisine that has similarities with other ethnic minority groups in a superdiverse area.

Whilst the real position shows the realism of an old creole that was brought to the UK from the Caribbean in the Windrush era which has similarities with the cuisine of other ethnic minorities in the superdiverse area it is based in, the other side of the realism shows the reality of the new creole. Caribbean cuisine today in the UK has been identified as mixing with British culture, selling products such as Ben and Jerry's. Cook and Harrison (2003) allude to this, explaining that for many from a Caribbean background putting tomato ketchup in the same basket as ackee and saltfish is a normal occurrence. Additionally, as stated above by Sharma (1996), Donin (2010) and Goff (2015), the Caribbean diet has integrated with the British diet.

On the other hand, the higher position shows an idealistic view of a food that is versatile and can accommodate to many, for both the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways that sell the old creole and new creole. It gives an idealised view of a food that could join communities. However, the lack of a significant pattern concerning the food images being at the top or bottom does highlight that

position may not be of significance for many of the shops and restaurants, especially when combined with the distanced shots.


*Figure 7-4 Pictured on the shop is a traditional Caribbean curry which aesthetically is like some Indian curries.*

### 7.1.3 Compositional Meanings

Very few shops had the food images solely on the left, the left would signify the information was given, already known. The food images were primarily on the right signifying that the information was new. A smaller group of restaurants and takeaways had the information positioned on both the left and right, suggesting that the information was both new and given to the diverse audience as seen in Figure 7-5.

The positioning on the right makes sense. As discussed in the literature review, Caribbean food is generally deemed as unfamiliar by the UK public. For example, a YouGov survey did not even list Caribbean food in their polling of the UK's favourite food (Ibbeston, 2021). Cook and Harrison (2003) reported that sales of Caribbean food diminished in the early 2000s, therefore the food images would be new information to the public. In relation to the Caribbean community whilst there may be familiarity with some foods of the cuisine the diets between native Caribbeans and first-generation Caribbean migrants in the United Kingdom have changed (Goff et al., 2015). Cook and Harrison (2003) describe it as a watered-down exposure, Caribbean meals are now only cooked on special occasions by elder relatives or the meals are just distant memories, Grace had to adapt to this new black British identity (Cook and Harrison, 2003). Caribbean restaurants and takeaways may be providing new information after having similarities with Grace with providing to a new black British identity in the Ladywood constituency. Some foods may be now unfamiliar with only popular dishes being recognised and are now informing of a wider menu, or they may be informing of the new creole that is being served.


*Figure 7-5 Food images that are on both the left and right of the displays.*

A large amount of the images were featured outside the margins as seen in Figure 7-6 below highlighted by the red circle, very few were central to the shop display. This would signify that whilst food was considered as important enough to include in the signage, it was not as important as the other modes such as the name or delivery service symbols when advertising to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency. This may be because food images are seen as additional information. Whilst they provide a descriptor of what is available, they are not essential to advertising the Caribbean branding or aesthetic.


*Figure 7-6 Food images in the margins*

Majority of the food images were in separate framing, presented as their own piece of information, not connected with anything else to create a story of what the restaurant or takeaway was advertising. Although they are selling food, it is not part of the main branding when it comes to advertising the superdiverse community, unlike the palm tree and the Rastafarian or Jamaican colours, the food that is being sold is not what the region is famous for in the UK. As covered in section 3.4.2, 'The 'successful' crossover of Caribbean Music', the supposed colours of the Caribbean are known globally through reggae, its liberation routes and Rastafarianism, and the palm tree is known universally through touristic symbolism. However, the food due to its relations with slavery

and the lower classes, was less promoted through a Western ideology, because colonialists rarely consumed it. The food of the Caribbean is one of the lesser-known products of the Caribbean and may explain why it only appears on 60% of the shop signage.

The colours of the food images were real life representations of what the colours of the food should be. As a cuisine not deemed familiar, changing the colour scheme of a food that is not the most familiar would not help in the selling of the product. Therefore, leaving a clear representation of what the food should be means it is easier to understand for all those in a superdiverse environment who are not sure of what the cuisine might entail.

Whilst food images appear, they are not bold and are often faded as seen in image 7-7 below, suggesting a lesser importance and that they are not the main selling point within the Caribbean brand. Additionally, having faded food images means they do not grab the attention of consumers compared to other modes. Further signifying that either the image of food is not considered important enough to revitalise or other modes take more priority when trying to attract the customers' attention.


*Figure 7-7 Food images appearing on a shop that were not bold in colouring.*

Despite the food images being in varying positions of unimportance such as distanced shots and faded colouring, the sizing of the food images were mainly medium or large. These two sizing's accounting for two thirds of the images. Despite it being deemed as not important through the analysis there does seem to be an awareness from the restaurants and takeaways that the food images need to be seen for sheer practicality. If the images were small people would not be able to see what was being offered and would therefore be impractical.

### 7.1.4 Concluding Thoughts

This section highlights that whilst there were pictures of the food served in the restaurants and takeaways on the shop signage it only featured on 60% of the Caribbean eateries. Additionally, it has been shown that the images of the food were not in positions of power or importance, suggesting that it is not a vital piece of advertising when trying to attract the superdiverse audience of the Ladywood constituency. The food is acting as new information, not something naturally associated with the Caribbean and is not the main attracting factor like palm trees or the colour schemes that are familiar to the region. The food images were often placed in marginal positions with faded colouring.

However, the food images showed the importance of the old creole which advertised the cuisines 'traditional' elements which have many commonalities with other cultures through the Caribbeans complex history of slavery, colonialism and indentured servitude which have all contributed to the culinary pot of the Caribbean. It also shows the development of the new creole which has developed since the Windrush era, the creole that the Grace company recognised also without describing it as such, who had to adapt to UK born Caribbean community who shopped beyond the traditional Caribbean cuisine. The new creole also allows those unfamiliar with the 'traditional' elements of the cuisine to still be included in the experience.

In terms of decolonisation, the food images that show the old creole acts as a subtle form of resistance and pride. Emphasising the realness and authenticity of Caribbean culinary traditions, which have been shaped by the region's complex history of slavery, indentured labour, and colonial conquests. The culinary traditions, often described as creole, embody the blending of African, Indian, Chinese, and European influences, reflecting the historical power dynamics of the Caribbean. This layered creolisation process goes beyond merely celebrating diversity, it shows the control of identity.

This focus on creolisation brings out a power dimension that is often underplayed in discussions of superdiversity. Superdiversity tends to celebrate the coexistence of multiple cultures in a single space, but it can sometimes overlook the historical power relations that underpin this diversity. In the case of Caribbean food in the Ladywood constituency, the creole dimension highlights how these food traditions are not static; they have evolved, especially within the context of the post-Windrush generation. The new creole has adapted to meet the needs of UK-born Caribbean communities, who often shop beyond the traditional boundaries of Caribbean cuisine. This evolution, reflected in the food imagery, is an assertion of cultural agency.

In sum, the use of food images in this chapter is a form of cultural resistance that challenges colonial representations by foregrounding the real and evolving nature of Caribbean food. Through creolisation, these images bring to light the power dynamics at play, both in the historical context of the Caribbean and in the contemporary, superdiverse setting of Ladywood. Both the old creole and new creole are beneficial in a superdiverse area such as the Ladywood constituency where there are multiple tastebuds to satisfy increasing the ability to serve a complex demographic. The next section explores the new creolisation further in aspect to religion, especially when the religion is not familiar to the Caribbean region and how this is advertised to a superdiverse community.

## 7.2 Halal Wording

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2 'Superdiversity: The New Multiculturalism', religion plays a significant role in superdiversity, deeply shaping many people's identities and self-perception (Stringer, 2014). The research revealed that nearly 70% of participating shops displayed the word 'halal' in Arabic, English, or both on their signage, despite Islam not being a dominant religion in the Caribbean region. This demonstrates the ongoing creolisation of Caribbean cuisine within the superdiverse Ladywood constituency, where the needs of neighbouring communities, particularly Muslim customers, are incorporated into the culinary offering. Much like the evolution of food imagery, which reflects a newer creolisation by blending elements of British and American cuisine with the traditional Caribbean, the inclusion of halal elements shows how Caribbean food has adapted to the local demographic.

This section will delve into the representational, interactional, and compositional meanings of the 'halal' wording on the Caribbean restaurant and takeaway signage using the Visual Grammar

Framework, demonstrating how Caribbean cuisine has further creolised within the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency.

The co-existence of Caribbean and Muslim communities in the Ladywood constituency, both of whom settled in the UK after post-World War II labour shortages, is explored in section 2.1.3, 'United Kingdom: Policies and Post-War Migration', providing a complex backdrop for this analysis. The relationship, whilst multifaceted, is reflected in the subtle ways Caribbean cuisine adapts to include elements of Muslim dietary requirements. This blending of cultural practices, illustrated through signage and food offerings, enriches the understanding of superdiversity, highlighting not only the shared history but also the ways in which cultural identities evolve and interact within a superdiverse Ladywood constituency context. In analysing this relationship, a deeper insight is gained into how superdiversity operates. It reveals the practical and symbolic ways in which minority communities not only coexist but influence one another, reshaping cultural identities and traditions within a superdiverse landscape.

### 7.2.1 Representational Meanings

The halal wording as seen below in Figure 7-8 was used conceptually, as pictured on the shop signage below. It was used as a symbolic gesture on the signs of the Caribbean takeaways and restaurants, representing the notion that halal produce was used and served in the establishments.


*Figure 7-8 Conceptual symbolic use of the halal wording*

The halal wording, as seen in the picture above, acknowledges that the Muslim faith is present within the area, 30% of the city of Birmingham identifies with the religion, compared to the national average of 6.5% (Office for National Statistics, 2023). Additionally, all the Ladywood constituency wards have a higher than national average Muslim population, with 8 out of the 10 wards in the Ladywood constituency exceeding the Birmingham average, this was seen in Table 2-2 in section 2.3, 'Religion, Superdiversity and Food: Islam Globally, in the UK, and Birmingham'. This means that religion must be considered by the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency when catering for the superdiverse public. The prevalence of the halal wording shows interaction between the Muslim and Caribbean communities in the Ladywood constituency due to the superdiversity of the area.

The phenomenon of superdiversity can be considered further when it is known that the Caribbean is a predominantly Christian region; Christianity is the largest religious group in the Caribbean and Latin America (Pew Research Centre, 2015); furthermore, the Caribbean is one of the few regions where the Muslim religion is not growing quickly (Hackett and Lipka, 2018). Islam is not common in the Caribbean, with just over 100,000 following the religion, and three quarters of that amount reside in the country of Trinidad and Tobago (Chitwood, 2017). The emphasis of the unfamiliarity of Islam in the Caribbean region highlights the importance of the relationship in the UK. Whilst not non-existent in the region it is not a significant presence. Since being in the Ladywood constituency, the halal element of the religion has been incorporated into the cuisine, showing further creolisation.

The appearance of the halal wording on the restaurants and takeaways symbolises that they are adapting to their superdiverse environments and the superdiverse communities surrounding them in the Ladywood constituency. It is not just about further creolisation; however, it opens up potential for a new customer base expanding the chance of positive economic increases. Halal produce is even more vital to the market when it is known that one of the most vital Islamic followings is to consume halal meat (Sack, 2001).

### 7.2.2 Interactive Meanings

Of the shops that used the halal wording, 60% had it as a long and impersonal shot, as seen in Figure 7-9 highlighted by a red circle, it is almost out of view in the top right corner, but only unmissable due to its boldness. The remaining shops used a medium shot, and no close-up shots were used. The absence of the close personal shot suggests a lack of a personal relationship between the halal wording, or more specifically Islam, and the Caribbean community. Like the Caribbean region, in the Ladywood constituency, there is not a historical relation with Islam, it is not a part of what the meaning of the Caribbean is. However, there is an acknowledgment of the religion in the Ladywood constituency and the need for the inclusion of halal produce, however it is not part of the main message that the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways are conveying.

*Figure 7-9 Impersonal shot of the halal wording circled in the above image*

An impersonal meaning implies that whilst the shops want to attract customers of a Muslim background, it is not for personal or sentimental reasons. Suggesting that providing halal produce may have economic value and be a practicality. It is known that the halal food market is extremely lucrative and profitable, the Muslim Council (2014) estimated that the UK halal market had the value of £3 billion. There is a sizeable income to be made. For example, Lozells has a Muslim population of 73.2% (Office for National Statistics, 2023), if the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways were not to sell halal produce in the ward, it would be difficult for them to serve food to the customers who live in the area and therefore make a profit.

For many Muslims, although not all, consuming food that is halal is a strict rule and therefore influences their choices in food consumption, meaning that many restaurants and takeaways need to adapt if they are to target this market which is a large part of the Ladywood constituency demographics. Caribbean restaurants and takeaways acknowledge that they need to serve halal food, or their audience would be largely limited.

In relation to whether the halal wording was frontal, which signals involvement or detached, which would be portrayed through an oblique position, all the shops had the halal wording in a frontal position as shown in Figure 7-10 below.


*Figure 7-10 Halal wording in the frontal position*

Although Caribbean cuisine is not typically associated with the Islamic faith, as discussed above, a large amount of the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways surveyed do provide halal food. Having the symbol frontal facing ensures that this notifies any Muslim customers that may walk past that the food on offer is halal. If the symbol was in a detached view, it would be harder to see and therefore potential Muslim customers may not approach the restaurant or takeaway due to the food potentially being unsuitable to eat due to their religious beliefs.

Jamal (1998) explains that due to different global food patterns, alongside the factor of migration an endless combination of identities could be produced and developed. Additionally, when ethnicities migrate to other countries, they may mix different food groups (Jamal, 1996). This means that whilst ethnicity is important in moulding identity, it is not concrete, it is fluid. If we apply this to religion, in this case Islam, which often moves with migration, people will not ignore the importance of halal foods, however they may adapt to incorporate other foods that fit within the rules of what is halal.

This means that for those that identify as Muslim and follow a halal diet, they can experience Caribbean food without compromising their faith.

The power of the images were split primarily between equality, which is approximately eye level and image power which is a high positioning and shown in Figure 7-11. Only three shops used the low position of viewer power.


*Figure 7-11 Halal wording in the position of image power*

The higher position suggests the power of the halal wording, which holds high importance to the followers of Islam, many of which live in the wards of the Ladywood constituency. The positioning of the shops using the halal wording at a mid-level suggesting equality, a balance between the two communities who have had tensions in the past as discussed in section 2.3.4, 'Tensions within the Inner-city'. The shops that use the equality positioning are suggesting that whilst they are accommodating for the Muslim community, one community group does not have more importance than the other.

In relation to the position of the halal wording being portrayed as ideal or real there was almost an equal split for the preference of the symbol being in either position, however the ideal position had one extra shop. Seen in Figure 7-12 is a shop with the halal wording in the real position.


*Figure 7-12: A shop with the halal wording being in the real position*

As discussed in section 4.5, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Multimodal Discourse Analysis', this part of the analysis was difficult as there is no central position in relation to real or ideal. This is where I would have put some of the shops using the halal wording if the position existed and is evidenced by the number of shops that put the halal wording in a position of equality when discussing image power. To solve this situation, I decided to base the real or ideal decision on whether the symbols were above or below my eye level, therefore this part of the analysis is quite subjective.

Both positionings can explain the relationship between the Muslim and Caribbean community. The low level of reality suggests the reality of the Muslim population being present in the area. Whilst in the Caribbean the presence of Islam is very small, the Ladywood constituency has a prevalent Muslim community. The high ideal position may not be related to the Caribbean cuisine as such but more the idea of peace between two communities. It is what many individuals in the Ladywood constituency would like; all religions and cultures being cohesive, being able to provide for one another in a superdiverse community. This links to the theory of conviviality, everyday multiculturalism as discussed by Neal et al. (2013). Cultures may want to welcome different communities who they interact with in everyday life and can manage cultural differences in a pragmatic way which leads to cohesiveness.

### 7.2.3 Compositional Meanings

There was an equal mix of the halal wording being on the left meaning the information is given; as well as on the right, signifying new information is being presented. The images in Figure 7-13 shows the halal image being presented on the left and Figure 7-14 shows the halal wording being shown on the right side of the premises. Both images highlight where the halal wording is, with it being circled in red.


*Figure 7-13: The halal wording being positioned on the left in the given position*


*Figure 7-14: A shop with the food images on the right signifying given information*

For the shops that positioned the halal wording on the left, it could be considered that given the areas demographics, it should be assumed that halal food would be served, therefore it is known information, not new. However, for others it would be assumed that Caribbean food would not be associated with Islam given the significantly small numbers of Muslims in the Caribbean region, therefore the food being halal would be new information. This suggests differing levels of how intertwined the Islamic faith and the Caribbean community are in the Ladywood constituency compared to the region itself. However, the inclusion of the symbol alone acknowledges the importance of the religion in the area, how associated it is with Caribbean cuisine is shown in the difference of the positionings, again representing the complex relationship of the two communities in the Ladywood constituency. All use of the halal wording would be in a position of offer as they had no human demanding characteristics, additionally it fits with the fact that the shops are offering halal produce to the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency.

Over two thirds of the shops had the halal wording in the margin as shown in image 7-15 below where the halal wording is on the edge of the shop signage, portraying that it is not the most important aspect. Additionally, the smallness of the wording across majority of the shops accentuates the fact that the halal wording is not the main priority of the restaurants and takeaways. When insinuating unimportance, this is not suggesting it does not have any relevance, but instead it is not as important as compared to other modes that are more central to the signage. Whilst the halal wording is on the sign, it is not the most important message the customer is supposed to see, it is secondary.


*Figure 7-15: Image of the halal wording being in a marginal position*

When looking at the halal wording on all the signage and imagery, despite whatever colour it may be, the symbol or wording was almost always bold despite the size as seen below in Figure 7-16.


*Figure 7-16: A shop with a bold halal wording*

Like the frontal position, the boldening of the halal wording suggests that it should be noticed and that they want to inform that they serve halal produce, as it is not a typical cuisine that would be expected to cater to Muslims. It needs to be clear that the food produced does provide for the needs of Muslims, many of whom live in the area.

Almost 70% of the shops and restaurants had the halal wording in separate framing from other information within the signage as displayed in Figure 7-17 below. This suggests the halal wording is separate from Caribbean culture and is a secondary piece of information that does not participate in the meaning of the Caribbean cuisine. Whilst it is an important part of advertising to a superdiverse community it is not part of the Caribbean aesthetic. Majority of the colours of the halal wording, almost always matches the colour scheme of the shop. This would suggest that the Caribbean identity is key to what the shops wish to display fitting the halal wording with the brand. It also highlights the importance of colour in representing the Caribbean.


*Figure 7-17: Halal wording in separate framing*

### 7.2.4 Concluding Thoughts

This section highlights the positioning of the halal wording, reflecting not only the adaptation of Caribbean businesses for Muslim customers but also the subtle negotiations of identity and power that take place in superdiverse environments. The marginal or framed positioning of halal wording suggests that while the businesses are accommodating new cultural practices, they are also preserving a sense of Caribbean branding. This positioning underscores the idea that superdiversity is not a static or harmonious coexistence of cultures, but rather a dynamic process of adaptation and negotiation.

The positioning of the halal wording on Caribbean takeaways and restaurants in the Ladywood constituency should not be viewed as a straightforward reflection of segregation or social fragmentation between different groups. Instead, it highlights a more intricate process of cultural adaptation, where Caribbean food has become increasingly creolised in response to the superdiversity of the local community. This creolisation is part of a broader trend of evolving cultural identities within the area, as businesses seek to remain relevant and legitimate to a wider audience.

The marginal placement of the halal wording may initially suggest a form of separateness or distinction from the Caribbean brand. However, this positioning reflects a careful balance between cultural preservation and inclusion. The Caribbean food establishments are proud of their cultural roots and, by keeping the halal signage separate and colour of the wording aligned to the branding, they signal that they remain authentically Caribbean. At the same time, the inclusion of halal produce demonstrates a practical response to the local demographic, especially given the significant Muslim population in Ladywood. By offering halal options, these restaurants acknowledge the reality of superdiversity and aim to cater to a wider array of customers without diluting their core cultural identity.

This act of accommodation reflects a pragmatic form of everyday multiculturalism, where communities seek to coexist. The introduction of halal food into Caribbean cuisine is not just an economic strategy but also a social one, acknowledging that the various cultural groups within the

Ladywood constituency form part of a shared neighbourhood. The separate but clear presentation of halal options allows Muslim customers to feel included while allowing the Caribbean community to express their distinctiveness. Thus, the positioning of these images is less about maintaining boundaries and more about fostering inclusivity without losing identity.

Moreover, the positioning of the halal wording within the signage suggests a certain fluidity in the relationship between the two communities. The lack of a fixed, dominant placement, whether on the left, right, top, or bottom, speaks to the ongoing negotiation of space and identity. There is no definitive statement of integration or separation, but rather an open, evolving relationship where the symbols of both communities can coexist in a manner that respects their differences while facilitating social cohesion.

This approach to culinary adaptation also reveals a deeper dimension of superdiversity that is sometimes overlooked: the differential impact of various groups within a superdiverse setting. While the inclusion of halal food clearly caters to the Muslim community, it is a response to the specific local demographic rather than a blanket adaptation to all religious or cultural groups. The restaurants in Ladywood have adapted to the needs of the significant local groups. This suggests that the creolisation of Caribbean food in the Ladywood constituency is shaped not only by the presence of multiple cultures but also by the relative influence of certain groups within the local context. It raises the question of whether these adaptations would extend to other religious requirements if the demographic makeup of the area were different.

Additionally, while economic considerations certainly play a role, opening Caribbean restaurants to a new customer base by offering halal food, the adaptation goes beyond profit. The incorporation of halal produce reflects an acknowledgement of the community's superdiverse reality. The Ladywood constituency is a place where multiple cultures and identities coexist, and the restaurants' willingness to cater to these diverse groups is a testament to their role in fostering social inclusion. Economic gain may be a motivating factor, but the adaptation also speaks to a broader desire for social harmony and the everyday integration of different cultural practices.

In conclusion, the positioning of the halal wording on Caribbean takeaways and restaurants in the Ladywood constituency reveals the navigation and complexities of superdiversity that results in further creolisation. The inclusion of halal produce signifies the ongoing creolisation of Caribbean cuisine, as it adapts to the local context while maintaining a strong sense of cultural identity. The positioning of halal signage may appear separate, but this reflects a nuanced balance between maintaining authenticity and embracing the diversity of the local community. Ultimately, these adaptations are a form of everyday multiculturalism, where cultural sensitivity, economic pragmatism, and social cohesion intersect, allowing the restaurants to serve a wider audience while celebrating their Caribbean origin.

## 7.3 Geographic Location of the Food Images and Halal Wording in the Ladywood Constituency

In analysing the branding strategies of shops across different areas of the Ladywood constituency, it becomes clear that location plays a pivotal role in determining how businesses present themselves, particularly in relation to Caribbean food imagery and the halal wording. This is especially evident in key wards such as Edgbaston, the Jewellery Quarter, and the city centre which is a part of the Ladywood ward. These areas, known for their affluence and diverse customer base, showcase a distinct divergence in marketing tactics when compared to outer lying neighbourhoods. The

following discussion delves into the geographical locations of the visual cues adopted by the restaurants and takeaways, focusing on the use of food imagery and the halal wording.

A notable observation is that the shops that did not use food imagery were primarily found in Edgbaston, the Jewellery Quarter, and the city centre, which is part of the Ladywood ward, like the analysis found of which shops did not use colours associated with the Caribbean. This aligns with the approach seen in businesses like Grace, as discussed in section 3.5.5, 'The Story of Grace.' By choosing a more subdued design, these businesses are likely seeking to appeal to a more discerning clientele, positioning themselves as serious establishments.

However, it is also important to note that a large number of shops in these areas, especially the city centre, did utilise Caribbean food images. Interestingly, the majority of these images were based on the 'new creole' style of Caribbean cuisine, with nearly three-quarters of shops employing this style in this area. This suggests that these businesses are targeting a broader, younger, and more cosmopolitan market. In contrast, the 'older creole' style of food imagery was more prevalent in areas outside the city centre, where more traditional Caribbean communities still reside. This indicates that these shops may be catering to an audience that reflect the demographic makeup of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

A clear geographic pattern can be observed in the use of the halal wording across Birmingham. Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the city centre, Edgbaston, and the Jewellery Quarter were notably less likely to display halal certification, with two-thirds of businesses who omitted the halal wording from their signage belonging to these areas. This likely reflects the lower Muslim population in these wards, as discussed in section 2.3, 'Religion, Superdiversity and Food: Islam Globally, in the UK and Birmingham'. The absence of the halal wording in these areas suggests that branding decisions are strongly influenced by the demographic makeup of the neighbourhood. In contrast, areas with a higher Muslim population are more likely to feature the halal wording, as it is essential for attracting and retaining business from this key customer base.

However, it is important to note that, while these shops did not display halal certification on their signage, half of those that omitted the symbol did, in fact, offer halal food. This was evident through their social media platforms, websites, or responses on TripAdvisor. The decision not to include the halal wording in their physical branding suggests that, although they cater to halal dietary requirements, it is not considered central to their Caribbean-themed branding strategy.

In conclusion, the branding strategies of shops in different areas of Birmingham offer insight into how businesses tailor their marketing to suit their local clientele. In wealthier areas like the city centre, Edgbaston, and the Jewellery Quarter, shops seem to avoid overt Caribbean imagery, favouring a more sophisticated approach, however those that did use imagery in these areas incorporated elements of the 'new creole' to appeal to a younger market. The use of the halal wording is similarly guided by local demographics, reinforcing the idea that economic considerations are central to these branding choices. These patterns suggest that businesses are keenly aware of their audience and adjust their visual and cultural messaging accordingly.

# 8 Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the thesis, and the research encapsulated within it. It delves into the intricate interplay of various modes within Caribbean restaurant and takeaway signage, crafting a nuanced multimodal message tailored for the superdiverse constituency of Ladywood. The discussion unfolds across three sections: Aesthetics and Advertising, Reaching New Communities, and the Old Creole and New Creole. There was also an inclusion of an analysis of the geographical location of each mode, asking how location may affect advertising withing the Ladywood constituency.

Within these sections, the chapter explores key findings derived from the autoethnography, unveiling insights such as participant wariness, the significance of conviviality, and the important recognition of minorities in research. This is alongside a statement of positionality in relation to the research. The narrative navigates through a rich sample of researcher experiences and observations.

Following the exploration of findings, the chapter transitions seamlessly into a reflection on the limitations found in the study. This examination adds depth to the research, acknowledging the boundaries that naturally accompany such investigations.

As the chapter unfolds, it concludes by charting the course for future research endeavours. It offers a glimpse into the possibilities that lie beyond the current study, suggesting promising avenues for exploration. This forward-looking perspective paves the way for the continuous evolution of knowledge in this dynamic field which crosses through linguistics and geography.

## 8.1 Summary of Findings: Visual Grammar Framework Analysis, Geographical Location and Autoethnographic Findings

This section outlines the scope of the thesis and the research it undertakes. The study explores the intricate interplay of visual elements in Caribbean restaurant and takeaway signage, highlighting how these elements work together to convey a nuanced multimodal message. This message is carefully crafted to resonate with the superdiverse constituency of Ladywood, where multiple ethnicities, languages, and cultural backgrounds intersect. By analysing these signs, the research aims to uncover how Caribbean food establishments advertise to the superdiverse community using their signage.

Following these sections, the research also examines the geographical distribution of different modes of advertising and asks how location influences the messaging used by Caribbean food businesses in Ladywood. This part of the study considers how the urban landscape and demographic patterns affect the visual strategies employed by these establishments. By focusing on the connection between place and marketing, the thesis seeks to offer deeper insights into how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways adapt their branding to fit the diverse social fabric of their surroundings, contributing to a broader understanding of food, signage and superdiverse interaction.

### 8.1.1 Visual Grammar Framework Analysis

It would be clear to say that the aesthetics and name of the shop are the most important detail within the signage. Every shop had a name, and for majority of the shops the name was the largest mode in a high and central (triptych) position. Furthermore, the representation of the Caribbean through colour or palm trees seemed to be central to the branding.

The significance of a business name, particularly in the context of a superdiverse community, lies in its role as a crucial identifier. This identifier, with its large sizing, triptych location, and high positioning within the framing, underscores its essentiality in the broader landscape. The name serves as a central anchor for the brand, and three distinct naming patterns emerge as crucial elements: personal names, places, and food or food descriptions.

When adopting a personal name, it goes beyond mere identification; it signifies an individual's comfort in the area, irrespective of its superdiversity. This personal touch reveals a deep connection, appealing to emotions and emphasising the importance of conviviality and everyday multiculturalism. Such a choice acknowledges the kindness inherent in human nature and promotes a sense of community where diverse groups feel comfortable coexisting and understanding each other.

Alternatively, the use of cuisine-related names introduces another layer of meaning. Whether it refers to the actual food or uses descriptors, such a name communicates to a superdiverse community that the products are of high quality and encourages exploration. For those unfamiliar with the cuisine, descriptive terms serve as an invitation, breaking down barriers and fostering a willingness to try something new. This strategy encourages those who require additional information to venture into new culinary experiences.

The adoption of a place name takes on a different dimension, suggesting that the business is not just selling a product but an entire experience. In this case, the dream of the Caribbean, often perceived as paradisical, becomes a focal point. This approach taps into the global reputation of the Caribbean, with a nuanced acknowledgment of the dominance of Jamaican culture, particularly in a city like Birmingham.

An interesting observation arises in the use of colours, where shops employing the term ‘Caribbean’ in their name or subheading may still choose colours associated with Jamaica. This choice not only represents the cultural influence of Jamaica in Birmingham but also acknowledges the UK recognition that, when speaking of the Caribbean, Jamaica tends to take precedence.

The palm tree plays a role in shaping the portrayal of the Caribbean, particularly evident in the 60% of shops that incorporate this symbol. Its notable presence, whether in logos, or within framing, serves as a key identifier for the Caribbean within the superdiverse society of the Ladywood constituency. However, the interpretation of the palm tree varies among individuals, in this thesis its postcolonial connotations take precedence.

Hernandez-Ramdwar's (2005) insight reveals a common international perception of the Caribbean as a place defined by sandy beaches and palm trees, a narrative perpetuated globally through films, as noted by Poluha (2018). While this portrayal may commodify the Caribbean by selling a paradisiacal image and exoticism, it remains a central identifier. The question arises: if not the palm tree, what alternative symbol could effectively represent the Caribbean?

Beyond its postcolonial implications, the palm tree holds the potential for nostalgia, particularly for those from the Caribbean who see it as a reminder of home. Interestingly, even for individuals whose origins are outside the Caribbean but originate from a place that consists of palm trees, this symbol

can evoke a sense of home and familiarity also. It becomes a visual narrative, a representation of the idealised story of home.

Ultimately, in advertising to a superdiverse community, the businesses must draw upon what is familiar to the residents. This may involve incorporating slightly stereotypical elements, such as well-known colours or palm trees, to effectively communicate the essence of the region's cuisine and culture to the superdiverse audience.

Whilst both the palm tree and colours associated with the Caribbean may be subject to commodification, the research suggests that they serve as convenient and effective signifiers. Importantly, it may not inherently be negative, as it symbolises a form of reclamation. Previously, colonial narrators and capitalist tourism corporations shaped the narrative with postcolonial idealisms, but now the Caribbean community is utilising this symbol for their own financial gain and business success, representing a shift in agency and ownership, providing a decolonial aspect where the modes are being used to provide for all instead of one dominant group.

Delivery services hold an important role for Caribbean restaurants and takeaways, evident from their prominent placement and careful balance of size and positioning. However, the distinct framing of these services indicates that they are not central to the identity or appeal of Caribbean cuisine. Instead, they serve as a practical business necessity. While creating a website has become easier in recent years, maintaining it is still a demanding task. Furthermore, food deliveries can be expensive to manage, adding to the challenges posed by the unstable nature of the gig economy.

In communities with superdiversity, delivery services hold significant value due to the accessibility they provide for individuals who live further away or face language challenges. By transcending socio-economic barriers, these services enable Caribbean restaurants and takeaways to connect with a wider range of customers, extending their reach beyond the immediate local area.

Importantly, the use of online delivery services recognises the dispersed nature of the Caribbean diaspora in Birmingham. The realisation that the community is no longer centralised prompts businesses, to cater to the diverse locations across the city, like the company Grace who sold their food products to the Caribbean diaspora globally. This acknowledgment reflects an understanding that superdiversity goes beyond race, ethnicity, and nationality. It involves recognising the intricacies of intersectionality and place within diverse communities and adapting business strategies to cater to the varied needs and preferences that arise from this complex interplay of factors.

Delivery services also attract consumers interested in expanding their cultural capital by exploring different cuisines. They tap into a growing trend of customers seeking variety, playing a crucial role in shaping the market. The desire to experience new foods as a way of enriching cultural knowledge and capital fuels the demand for Caribbean cuisine among a diverse demographic. Even those who don’t live near traditional Caribbean areas can access these dishes through delivery platforms, effectively broadening the market for these restaurants. In this way, delivery services not only fulfil existing demand but actively cultivate it, allowing Caribbean eateries to connect with a new audience eager for culturally diverse dining experiences.

The presence of images showcasing the food served in the restaurants and takeaways is observed in 60% of the shops. Notably, these food images do not hold positions of power or prominence, suggesting that they play a secondary role in advertising to the diverse audience of the Ladywood constituency. Unlike elements such as palm trees or familiar colour schemes, food images are not perceived as crucial attractors. Instead, they serve more as sources of new information, introducing the cuisine rather than being the primary selling point. These images are often placed in marginal

positions with faded colouring. This highlights the usefulness of a multimodal approach, that it undermines taken-for-granted ideas of shop signage, it suggests that the symbolic or connotative seems to be more important than the informational or denotive.

The food images highlighted a presence of an ‘old creole’, advertising the cuisine's traditional elements rooted in the complex history of slavery, colonial conquests, and contributions from indentured servants, where many minorities in the UK can find commonalities due to cuisines overlapping. Then there is the ‘new creole’ which has evolved since the Windrush era. Recognised by companies like Grace, this adaptation addresses the preferences of the UK-born Caribbean community that extends beyond traditional Caribbean cuisine, with British and American influences. Importantly, the new creole allows even those unfamiliar with the 'traditional' elements to feel included in the culinary experience.

The relationship between the Caribbean community and the South Asian community in Birmingham has been complex, marked by efforts to create social cohesion despite historical complications. The equal mixture of halal wording being positioned on the left or right, top and bottom, indicates the intricacies of the two communities' dynamics. However, whilst the small size, separate framing, and marginal positioning of the halal wording suggest it to be secondary from the Caribbean brand, its bold appearance and large amount of inclusion throughout the shops suggests a further creolisation of the Caribbean cuisine in the Ladywood constituency.

Caribbean takeaways and restaurants acknowledge the presence of diverse cultures in the neighbourhood, accommodating their needs as a form of everyday multiculturalism. The economic profitability of superdiversity is also highlighted, emphasising that the inclusion of halal produce opens Caribbean restaurants and takeaways to a broader customer base, and neglecting the Muslim community could hinder economic prosperity.

While each sign is unique, a clear pattern emerges across Caribbean restaurant and takeaway signage. The name of the establishment typically takes prominence, often large and centrally positioned, with a preference for familial names or descriptive terms. This is followed by the use of Caribbean symbolism, such as palm trees or colours associated with the region, reinforcing cultural identity. Next, the inclusion of halal wording, although smaller and often placed in the margins but bold, remains essential for the customer base. Delivery symbols are then featured, whilst their positioning suggests a tool of practicality, they highlight the importance of reaching the Caribbean diaspora, creative classes, and ensuring accessibility.

Food imagery tends to be less prominent, often appearing marginal and muted in colour. However, it highlighted a divide in the images. There were appearances of a traditional ‘old creole’ cuisine and a more contemporary ‘new creole’, incorporating British and American influences. This duality reflects the evolution of Caribbean food in a superdiverse context.

### 8.1.2 Geographical Location of Symbols

The branding strategies employed by Caribbean businesses across Birmingham’s Ladywood constituency reveal a strong connection between location, audience, and superdiversity. The restaurants and takeaways that tended to avoid stereotypical Caribbean imagery, opting for more restrained designs were in affluent areas such as the city centre, Edgbaston, and the Jewellery Quarter appealing to a discerning clientele. However, there are businesses in the city centre that did not employ this strategy, it was just noticeable that the ones that did primarily featured in these

three wards. In contrast, businesses in areas like Lozells, used palm trees, Jamaican colours, and familial names. Familial names reflect the deeper ties to their community.

The use of food imagery also varies across wards. Again, businesses in the city centre, Edgbaston and Jewellery Quarter wards adopted the modern 'new creole' style to attract a younger, broader market, while traditional 'older creole' imagery prevailed in outer suburban areas.

Halal certification follows similar patterns, with shops in areas like the city centre and Edgbaston less likely to display the halal wording due to lower Muslim populations. Interestingly, while many omit halal signage, the internet revealed they still offer halal options, suggesting it's not central to their Caribbean branding but remains important for catering to diverse customer needs.

Chapter 7 'Visual Grammar Framework – The Appeal of the Old and New Creole' also raises questions about the influential impact of specific superdiverse groups, echoing Beckford's (2003) suggestion that superdiversity tends to count different groups without considering their impact or contributions. While the incorporation of halal food is evident within the Caribbean community in the Ladywood constituency, it is representative of one religious group. There is a lack of evidence of signage for other religions, except for the colours associated with the Rastafarian religion, which has direct links to the Jamaican community. This indicates that restaurants adapt to the demographics of the area. It poses an interesting consideration of whether similar adaptations would be made if Caribbean restaurants were in an area with a high Jewish or Hindu population.

Delivery services also play a significant role in branding strategies. In high-footfall areas like the city centre, businesses tend to emphasise dine-in experiences, using delivery as a secondary service. In contrast, in outer suburban areas, delivery becomes a key symbol of accessibility and inclusivity, allowing businesses to reach a broader audience, reaching the creative classes, unfamiliar and Caribbean diaspora. The presence or absence of delivery symbols reflects the economic and social geography of the area, with businesses tailoring their offerings based on location and target demographic.

Overall, these branding decisions that the Caribbean restaurants and takeaways choose highlight how businesses in the Ladywood constituency balance local cultural ties with broader audience expectations in the city of Birmingham, adapting their visual and service strategies to fit both geographic and socio-economic contexts.

### 8.1.3 Autoethnographic Findings

Several key findings were found from the auto-ethnography findings. Firstly, was the hesitancy and suspicion expressed by participants, understandable in a community that has experienced significant prejudice. The constant disbelief and suspicion faced by black Caribbean individuals from the establishment creates a reluctance to participate or contribute when their voices are rarely listened to or believed. The convivial approach, entering the conversation by buying produce, helped break down barriers and fostered ease in communication. The relatively non-sensitive nature of the research and its positive representation of the community contributed to participants being more open once the aims were clearly explained.

The need for more black researchers became evident. Seeing researchers who share their identity, whether locally or ethnically, could build trust within the community. It is not that the community is unwilling to participate; rather, there is a lack of trust in the researchers. Through positionality the realisation about the challenges of removing bias as a researcher was significant. Overcoming biases allowed for a broader collection of data and exposed personal biases, highlighting the importance of

self-awareness in research. The role of smell in human geography research also emerged as an interesting aspect, invoking childhood memories and histories.

Within the Ladywood constituency, evidence of conviviality among diverse communities exists, despite their differences. The willingness of the community to help with my research by suggesting other restaurants or takeaways or guiding me to the correct person within shops when I seemed unsure, nervous or simply different further supports the research. Recommendations from various sources within the community also underscore the wealth of knowledge within the Caribbean community in the Ladywood constituency.

While this piece of autoethnography may not contribute substantially to the research itself, it provides emotionally rich data. Emotions, though not quantitative, offer depth to the understanding of suspicion, wariness, hesitancy, kindness, and interest experienced during the research process.

## 8.2 Contributions

This section outlines the key contributions of this research, both conceptually, empirically and methodologically. It extends current understandings of key concepts such as creole, superdiversity, decolonialism, and postcolonialism, while also highlighting the role that linguistics has played in broadening discussions of superdiversity and Geography and builds empirically on the work of Cook and Harrison (2003).

Firstly, the empirical contributions build upon and advance the work of academics such as Cook and Harrison (2003), particularly in understanding the place of Caribbean food in a superdiverse setting. This research sheds new light on how Caribbean cuisine operates within superdiverse communities today, highlighting shifts in its role, representation, and adaptation in response to changing socio-cultural contexts. The insights gained provide an updated perspective on how Caribbean takeaways and restaurants navigate superdiverse settings, particularly in Birmingham's Ladywood constituency.

Methodologically, this study bridges the fields of linguistics and Geography, showcasing how linguistic tools such as Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) Visual Grammar Framework can be effectively employed to explore geographic and cultural themes. By integrating these disciplines, the research provides a more nuanced understanding of place, identity, and community within superdiverse environments.

Conceptually, the study brings together creole and superdiversity, offering a new lens to examine superdiversity from the perspective of minority communities. It adopts an 'inside looking out' approach, enriching the understanding of how superdiverse spaces are experienced by those within them. Additionally, the research underscores the importance of place and the intersections of age, gender, legal status, and other factors, contributing fresh insights to ongoing discussions of creolisation and its relevance in contemporary multicultural settings.

In sum, this research not only deepens the understanding of Caribbean cultural practices within superdiverse contexts but also advances interdisciplinary approaches, offering valuable insights into how minority communities shape and navigate complex superdiverse environments.

### 8.2.1 Conceptual Contribution: Creole and Superdiversity

This thesis brings to the forefront the term 'creole' within the context of the Caribbean, extending its application to the field of superdiversity. While superdiversity is a relatively recent term in the UK, the Caribbean has long experienced change through the lens of creole, shaped by historical factors such as slavery, colonisation, and indentured servitude. The study also explores how a cuisine already

characterised as creole undergoes further creolisation or transformation when transplanted to a different country in the context of superdiversity. This research transcends a narrow focus on ethnicity by emphasising the importance of both creole and superdiversity, delving into how Caribbean cuisine becomes further creolised through influences of superdiversity such as age, place, and religion. Within the Ladywood constituency of Birmingham, diverse cultures intertwine, giving rise to a new and dynamic identity.

The Caribbean islands, marked by centuries of forced and voluntary global migrations, represent a variety of cultures. The food, language, and culture of the region undergo further creolisation when exposed to superdiversity outside its original context. Examining superdiversity from this perspective provides a more globalised view while maintaining a focus on the UK. It entails an inside-out approach, looking at superdiversity not just in terms of the sheer number of people but understanding their placements and interactions within a specific locale from a minority perspective.

At a community level, food consumption facilitates a sense of belonging. This study has explored how Caribbean cuisine has contributed to the coexistence of different communities. It has looked at the incorporation of halal food, the similarities of cuisines that can bond communities together, and crossing class boundaries. This becomes particularly relevant as discussions on social cohesion gain prominence, urging different groups to interact following the backlash against multiculturalism. This study looks at how Caribbean food is advertised to a superdiverse community, building relationships with different intersections of society and reflects this using the Visual Grammar Framework.

### 8.2.2 Empirical Contribution: Growing from Grace (Cook and Harrison, 2003)

This thesis builds on the theory of Cook and Harrison (2003), who explored the perceived 'failure' of Caribbean food to enter the UK mainstream. They argued that although the Jamaican brand 'Grace' might not seem conventionally successful, it navigates alternative boundaries. Grace redefined what success means through historical, cultural, and geographical lenses that extend beyond Europe and America, thus rejecting the notion that success is solely defined by entry into the mainstream Eurocentric market, such as appearing on supermarket shelves.

Caribbean cuisine continues to be seen as outside the mainstream. For example, a YouGov poll conducted in December 2022 asked the British public to name their favourite takeaway, with Chinese, Indian, and fish and chips topping the list. Caribbean food was not even listed as an option (Ibbeston, 2021). However, this thesis does not argue that Caribbean food is the nation's favourite cuisine or look to measure its success. Rather, it builds on Cook and Harrison's (2003) findings of Grace successfully serving a Caribbean diaspora and global ethnic minority market in the UK, leading to this thesis examining how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways could be serving an alternative superdiverse audience in the Ladywood constituency.

The research acknowledges that Caribbean restaurants and takeaways actively market to a superdiverse audience, with its creole cuisine overlapping with other nationalities, as evidenced in their food imagery, with a growth of a 'new creole' which incorporates British and American influence. Both of these factors were acknowledged by Cook and Harrison (2003) when researching Grace, however it could be seen that this research has distinguished it by referring to it as the 'old creole' and 'new creole'. While Cook and Harrison (2003) observed that Grace was hesitant to use overt Caribbean branding, this research finds that the use of such symbolism is often geographically dependent with Caribbean restaurants and takeaways. A significant number of shops continue to display Caribbean symbols, such as colours or images associated with the region, like palm trees. Moreover, just as Cook and Harrison (2003) explained that the Caribbean diaspora is global, Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency also recognise that the Caribbean community is spread over the city. Additionally, they employ delivery systems that cater to

a wider, more diverse audience. They now serve not only the dispersed Caribbean community in Birmingham but also the creative classes, with an increased focus on accessibility, particularly after the COVID-19 pandemic, which necessitated global lockdowns.

The evolving role of Caribbean cuisine within this superdiverse landscape over the past two decades requires further analysis, especially regarding religious considerations. The prominence of halal wording on many restaurants and takeaways in the area reflects how religious dietary requirements are important to consider and how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways have incorporated this element. This research highlights the importance of religion in food consumption and superdiverse settings.

In conclusion, while Caribbean food may not have gained mainstream popularity in the UK, it occupies a unique space within superdiverse communities. Its presence in superdiverse areas, such as the Ladywood constituency, highlights the importance of considering cultural, geographical, and religious factors when examining the role of Caribbean cuisine in modern British society. Understanding this complexity reveals how food transcends conventional boundaries to meet the needs of evolving communities.

### 8.2.3 Methodological Contribution: Multimodal Discourse Analysis and Visual Grammar Framework

Multimodal discourse analysis, typically a linguistic method, is not commonly employed in the field of Geography. It is often utilised to analyse billboards, film posters, and magazines. It's use for the analysis of shop signage, especially a large amount of shop signage is rare and needed to understand the urban landscape. This thesis utilises the Visual Grammar Framework to investigate how Caribbean restaurants and takeaway shop signage in the Ladywood constituency advertises to a superdiverse community. The introduction of this methodology to the field of Geography brings a fresh perspective to the study of landscapes. Analysing relationships through the signage gives a deeper meaning to the topic of superdiversity, sizing and positioning has allowed an insight of what is seen as necessary to advertise to the superdiverse community of Ladywood from a Caribbean restaurant or takeaway perspective. The Visual Grammar Framework adds an interesting contribution to the superdiversity literature, around the materiality or visual practice base of superdiversity, superdiversity happens through practices such as food signage, rather than just through proportions of population or shared lives. Additionally bringing Geography to linguistics has introduced the necessity of considering large data sets (large for Multimodal Discourse Analysis) and how this highlights the importance of using Multimodal Discourse Analysis in a partially quantitative way to count the different modes.

While the use of this method was always the intention, its efficiency became more pronounced during the COVID-19 period, allowing for less interaction and reducing the risk of disease transmission. Additionally, its less invasive nature proved advantageous in researching participants who may be wary of researchers, increasing the likelihood of participant engagement. Exploring the signage through the Visual Grammar Framework has to an extent answered the question of how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways are advertising to the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency through their signage.

### 8.2.4 Contributions to the Research Questions

This thesis demonstrates how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways in the Ladywood constituency use their signage to attract a superdiverse audience through a combination of methodological, conceptual, and empirical contributions. Methodologically, the research employs the Visual Grammar Framework, typically applied in linguistic fields; to answer the research question 'How do Caribbean restaurants and takeaways use their signage to attract the superdiverse Ladywood

constituency?'. By introducing this approach to the field of Geography, the study offers a fresh perspective on how visual elements such as colours, symbols, and imagery are used to appeal to the superdiverse community of the Ladywood constituency. This method provides a deeper understanding of the material aspects of superdiversity, revealing how signage serves as a vital tool in attracting a superdiverse customer base.

Empirically, the study builds on Cook and Harrison' (2003) research. The research shows that Caribbean restaurants in the Ladywood constituency prominently display Caribbean symbols to signal their cultural identity however do have visual elements that meet the preferences of a wider audience, whether that be for religion, through halal wording, or the evidence of a new creole which blends British and Caribbean food which appeals to a younger generation, or the unfamiliar thus answering the question 'Has the Caribbean creole further creolised since being in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency, and does this help to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency also?'. Additionally, the Caribbean cuisine's creole identity plays a role in how it can market to different nationalities in superdiverse areas such as the Ladywood constituency where overlapping culinary cultures can be found, answering the question 'Does the Caribbean cuisine use its creole identity to help advertise to different nationalities in a superdiverse area?'.

Conceptually, the thesis expands the understanding of creolisation by linking it to superdiversity helping to understand the questions 'Does the Caribbean cuisine use its creole identity to help advertise to different nationalities in a superdiverse area?' and 'Has the Caribbean cuisine further creolised since being in the superdiverse Ladywood constituency and does this help to advertise to the superdiverse Ladywood constituency also?'. It argues that creole identity, which emerged from the blending of cultures in the Caribbean, naturally aligns with the superdiverse environment of the UK. This connection allows Caribbean cuisine to appeal to a variety of nationalities, with its creole nature making it adaptable to diverse cultural preferences. The study highlights how Caribbean restaurants in Ladywood incorporate influences from other cuisines, such as the inclusion of halal options alongside British and American food products, to appeal to a broader audience, demonstrating that the creole identity of Caribbean cuisine has further creolised in the Ladywood constituency.

In summary, the thesis provides significant methodological, conceptual, and empirical contributions to the understanding of the research questions. The use of the Visual Grammar Framework, combined with the building on the research of Cook and Harrison (2003) and the exploration of creole identity and creolisation in a superdiverse context, offers new insights into how Caribbean restaurants and takeaways market themselves and expand their appeal to superdiverse communities in the Ladywood constituency.

## 8.3 Limitations

This research, while offering valuable insights into how Caribbean shops contribute to a superdiverse community in Birmingham, carries several limitations that should be explicitly acknowledged. Firstly, the research was constrained by the COVID-19 pandemic, which prevented the use of interviews with shop owners. This limitation restricted the ability to ask deeper question, such as why the signage was branded in certain ways, which would have provided a richer understanding of the motivations behind certain design choices and the managers' perspectives on engaging with a superdiverse community. The lack of these personal narratives leaves gaps in the research, as interviews could have shed light on the decision-making processes and business strategies in more detailed ways.

Secondly, this study represents a snapshot in time and is contextually specific. The use of various methods, while necessary, means it is not possible to make direct comparisons with earlier works. This temporal limitation suggests that the results of this research should be viewed with caution when considered alongside previous studies, as evolving community dynamics and the shifting nature of superdiversity in Birmingham may affect the findings.

While the study is highly contextual, focused specifically on the Ladywood constituency, this should not be seen purely as a limitation. In fact, the place-specific nature of the research is a strength. Superdiversity and creolisation manifest differently across various geographical settings, and detailed, localised studies are crucial for understanding how these processes unfold in specific contexts. The uniqueness of this study contributes to a broader understanding of how Caribbean businesses engage with their surroundings in an increasingly superdiverse landscape, offering a detailed view that may not be easily generalised but is still immensely valuable.

In conclusion, the limitations of this research, namely the absence of interviews due to the pandemic, its time-specific nature, and the challenges of comparing it directly with earlier studies should be recognised. However, the contextual focus provides a unique strength, highlighting the need for further studies on how superdiversity and cultural identity are negotiated in different geographical localised areas. Future research would benefit from incorporating interviews to provide a more comprehensive exploration of these dynamics.

## 8.4 Further Research

Future research will aim to build on the depth of this existing study by incorporating interviews with Caribbean restaurant and takeaway owners to explore how they are actively responding to superdiversity in their customer base. Rather than prioritising entirely new studies, the focus will be on deepening the understanding of how Caribbean businesses adapt to and engage with the diverse communities they serve. Additionally, ethnographic methods, including participant observation in takeaways and restaurants, could be employed to examine customer behaviour and consumption preferences, providing valuable insights into how different cultural groups interact with and experience these businesses.

A promising avenue for further exploration lies in the rise of pop-up food courts. These temporary culinary spaces have gained considerable popularity across a range of urban environments, offering an intriguing platform to examine their potential role in fostering superdiversity. By hosting a wide variety of cultures, ethnicities, and identities within a single, shared space, they present a unique opportunity to observe cultural coexistence in action. However, it is important to ask are these spaces genuinely contributing to the deep integration of superdiversity or are they merely performing a superficial display of it for commercial or aesthetic purposes.

However, if I was to go slightly out of scope I would investigate indentured servitude in the Caribbean, more specifically Irish indentured servitude on the island of Montserrat, looking at how that shaped the islands history, including the islands celebration of St. Patrick's Day as a national public holiday.

In summary however, my most likely extended research would first aim to build on the depth of this existing study as mentioned above. Then if permitted, I would explore the role of pop-up food courts, exploring if they support superdiversity or an aesthetic commodity. Finishing on an exploration of historical Irish indentured servitude in Montserrat.

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