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Reading *Death in Paradise*: Revisiting Polysemy in Televisual Pleasure

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Summary:

This study examines an episode of *Death in Paradise*, a BBC television crime drama series in an attempt to find out how televisual pleasure and gender and racial representations are constructed in *Death in Paradise*.

This study pays a particular attention to the textual features of the programme and employs narrative analysis to account for format, generic convention, style and storytelling in one episode which acts as prototype for discussion of the whole programme. Scene description analysis was put to good effect in the breaking down of the text scene-by-scene.

The analysis showed the text as resisting to be confined within a set of defined guidelines as pertains to generic expectations. Ideologically, the episode proves to be both conformist and contradictory, while genre-wise it both promiscuous and familiar. The programme is also largely progressive in representation of women and Black people.

As to what constitute the source of pleasure, the episode mirrors the whole programme and is a classic polysemic text which is open to multiple readings.

Key words: pleasure, representation, television crime drama, narrative analysis

Other information

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Why Death in Paradise?

Television drama programmes hailed for narrative complexity, stunning visuals and all forms of post-modern sophistications have been subject to immense scholarly interest in recent times. *Death in Paradise* which is the subject of this study, however, is devoid of sophistications television crime drama has come to be associated with whether it is in terms of narrative complexity or revolutionary forensics. Still, how is it possible that a crime drama series which is so formulaic, simple to follow and devoid of grittiness, which has so much characterised the British crime television gain so much prominence among television viewers.

Writing for the British daily *The Guardian* in an article *Death in Paradise: how on earth does it get so many viewers?* published on February 11th 2013, Michael Hogan is equally mystified. In the article, Hogan is adamant that there is the element of “meteorological escapism” at play in *Death in Paradise* since the series is aired during winter in the United Kingdom which naturally would play with the idea of ‘escaping’ to a warmer climate. Nonetheless, stopping at the unique location which makes it possible televise stunning scenery and likening a series into its sixth season to holiday brochure, is simply not enough to explain why millions in the British Isles and even beyond tune in.

While the Thursday night series goes about its business without much fuss, Shaun Kitchener of the British daily *Sunday Express* noted in an article published on February 24th 2016 titled *Death In Paradise confirmed for series six as giant ratings continue* that the series was third-highest rated drama in the United Kingdom in 2015. Having been screened in 237 territories, Kitchener adds that the series was the fourth-widest selling British export around the world. The last episode of the fifth series which aired on 26 February 2016 on BBC One left from where it had all started — viewers yearning for more.

It is not surprising, however, for a television crime drama series to enjoy huge popularity, and as Turnbull (2010) confirms, the genre is one of the most enduring and successful of television's entertainment genres. In scrutinising the programme, the major question posed is not 'why' viewers watch *Death in Paradise*, but 'what' makes them watch the programme. Therefore, this study calls for a close reading of the text with an aim to find out the construction and packaging of text which makes it pleasurable to watch, and how gender and racial representation are constructed in the series. Representation has emerged as contentious issue in British television with crime drama now taking a new dimension. Recently, crime drama series such as the BBC detective series *Luther* (2010-2015) and the mini-series *Undercover* (2016) also by the BBC have showcased Black actors in leading roles.

1.2 Pleasure and the Text

The starting point in this study begins with the examining of the concept 'pleasure' since it is through this term that people would often, use to describe their fondness of something. Fiske (1987), states that the word 'pleasure' is crucial to understanding of popularity, and hence the pleasure viewers get from watching a programme very much explains their intentions. The question of pleasure has always proved problematic to television and cultural studies. Jim Bee's afterthought essay *First Citizen of the Semiotic Democracy* on John Fiske's influential book *Television Culture*, brings this issue to the fore. Fiske's approach to pleasure according to Bee (1989) is theoretically confused and politically disabling. Fiske's argument, contrary to the popular argument that television helps maintain the subjugation of the subordinate through hegemony, claims that popular television empowers the subordinate, produces a 'semiotic democracy', and threatens the dominant (Bee, 1989:98). However, as it has been argued on multiple occasions, the virtue of the text being open to multiple readings at the level of ideological interpretation does not mean that it offers a challenge to hegemony. Fiske argues that each form of pleasure involves resistance and empowerment for the subordinate (Bee, 1989:99); but at the same time pleasure can be hegemonic.

The debate why certain programmes were popular with certain demographics already culminated to a number of notable studies in the past decades notably the 1980s and early

1990s. Most of the interest during this period was reserved for programmes considered feminine and the genre of soap opera in particular. Brunson (1981), Ang (1985) and Morley (1986) are among the earliest studies to examine textual readings with real audiences (Fiske, 1987). This period marked the shift from focus from 'serious' television such as documentary and news to popular entertainment (Fiske 1987). Besides narrative structure and pleasure, the question of representation of race and gender and a host of other social and cultural issues in television drama, have been addressed for instance in Geraghty (1991) and in the case of crime drama television, in D'Acci (1994) and Brunson (2010).

There is little shortage of contemporary television studies across different areas of interest, and the television crime drama series in specific. Geraghty (2003) for instance, examines television dramas looking into the question of why it is that evaluation of television in cultural studies has proven to be difficult. Jermyn (2003), Thornham (2003), Mizejewski (2004), Cavender (2007), and Brunson (2013) for instance, examine the positioning and representation of women in crime television drama. Allen (2007) discusses a host of issues from the point of narrative and storytelling, aesthetics to style and form as pertains to the popular procedural forensics crime drama television series *Crime Scene Investigation: CSI*. The works of Brunson (2010) which focus on American cop show *Law & Order* (1990-2010) and Turnbull (2014) are more recent attempts to map out core issues in television crime drama series, with former solely focusing on the programme while the latter focuses on the genre.

It is still very early to write the epitaph on the death of television as it still very much part of our culture today. In the revised foreword of *Reading Television* written in 2003, John Hartley emphatically states in terms of the cultural function, television is still very much like what it was in 1978. On March 3, 2016 while watching a commentary on BBC programme *Newsnight* about the impending face-off between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, I could not help but not notice the symbolism of the overriding *House of Cards* sound track in the BBC narration.

But again, television is no longer what it is used to be: a set where family members would gather to watch their favourite programmes. Technological advancements, courtesy of the internet affordances such as streaming services and torrents, have completely transformed our idea of what television is, and without a doubt, it extends beyond the tube as we know it.

Stressing the changing world, Kellner & Share (2007) underline the importance of expanding the notion of literacy to include different forms of mass communication and popular culture. Media literacy helps people to discriminate and evaluate content, to critically dissect media forms, to investigate media effect and uses, to use media intelligently, and to construct alternative media (Kellner & Share, 2007).

Due to technological advancement as manifested in the emergence of electronic mediated communications (EMCs) and online communities, educators and researchers alike have been forced to ponder along the lines of approach and methods. Questions have been raised whether the existing parameters on approaches and methods fit the ever-changing world dictated by technology and digitalisation. It has long been acknowledged that technology and digitalisation are changing education and the way we communicate faster than we can adopt (Buckingham, 2007) thus underscoring the need for educators to rise to the challenges posed by the digital age revolution. This phenomenon is further compounded by the significance of the internet, online communities and communications in our lives today.

For media educators and media researchers as pertains to this study, television has more to do with the content and less with technological advancement, which has redefined its existence and relevance as one of the most popular pastime in history. For media educators, whose enquiries often would be met with straightforward answers that it is because the programme is "entertaining" or because a favourite star is in the cast, it is important to go beyond the guilty pleasures of why we watch a programme. While we go about enjoying a programme Ang (1985) rightfully reminds us that often textual structure in explaining the attraction of a programme is ignored (Ang, 1985:29). Part of media education therefore calls for the application of critical knowledge to understand that media messages and television programmes for this matter, are careful constructs with embedded meanings which can be

interpreted in many ways. Behind the television's unique language there is also a lot of creative work which goes behind the background. Decoding these messages and deconstructing the creative work is therefore supposed to both enlightening and educative.

Overall, the goal for this study is to examine the textual properties of *Death in Paradise* to determine what makes it pleasurable to watch. Besides the question of pleasure, the study examines how gender and racial representations are constructed in the programme. In as much as this study is about television crime drama, it makes no attempt to tackle the question of representation of crime in the programme.

1.3 Structure of the Research

The theoretical underpinning of the study, which is discussed in the second chapter of this study, is situated in critical media theory which addresses pleasure, ideology, postcolonialism and postfeminism. The theoretic framework of this study is divided into four major parts: pleasure, ideology and television, postcolonialism and postfeminism. This chapter begins with conceptual debate surrounding pleasure with specific reference to its applicability to the text and television. The ideological critique is concerned with the evolution of understanding ideological profile of television narratives. The discussion attempts to show how the concept of ideological function of television, developed from earlier Marxism understanding of base and superstructure alignment of the society where all human relations, are determined by materialism. This study, however, demarcates a point of departure in classical Marxism preoccupation with the economic base, and introduces critical positions of subjectivity namely hegemony and interpellation, which further helps to show how dominion is achieved not through coercion but via legitimised consent. Furthermore, the latter part of this theory helps to explain how individuals are already subjectified by the virtue of their own very existence. In addition, this subchapter is concerned with pleasure itself and examines relationship between pleasure and ideology as well as with psychoanalysis. The first part of this chapter closes with the different positions adopted by television which is characterised by the urge to strike a chord of 'balance' between perpetuating the popular ideology, as well as incorporating position which espouse plural ideologies.

Due to the insurmountable area covered under postcolonialism, this section only picks constituents of the whole which are relevant to the context of the study. The question of geography, dependency syndrome and going native are discussed under postcolonialism. This section also attempts to justify why theories of postcolonialism were given prominence over those of globalisation. The final part of this chapter assumes the view of a more contemporary brand of feminism drawing from the school of thought which underscores the importance of acknowledging subjectivity in understanding representation. Here is argued that discursive formations in general do not happen in a vacuum, that is, the context within which they are enacted is crucial. Since feminism has never been static, this sections explores the focus that has shifted from the woman being objectified, to being sexually dominant and assertive.

The third chapter maps the context within which the study is situated. Drawing from the works of Pines (1992), Malik (2002), Caldwell (1995), and Turnbull (2014), this chapter explores the representation of race in British television, women in crime television, and style in television. The fourth chapter discusses and justifies the suitability of Narrative analysis as the approach for conducting this study. From the perspective of a media text it allows for both a typological and rhetoric reading of the text (Altman,2008); but also, narratology was deemed the most suitable approach to account for the relations between text and meanings, considering the means of interpretation, the context within which the narrative occurs. The fifth chapter is both the analysis and interpretation of the analysis. Here the text is discussed in terms of format, storyline, melodrama and generic promiscuity taking into account the codes of construction and categorisation. Chapter six, which is the final chapter of the study, presents the conclusion of the interpretation of the analysis, limitations encountered and prospect for future research.

2 THEORETIC FRAMEWORK

2.1 The Concept of Pleasure

The Oxford Learner's dictionary defines pleasure as a state of feeling or being happy or being satisfied. Nonetheless, pleasure is somewhat a hazy subject and a hard to pin down concept, which is ill defined and becomes even more confusing considering synonyms associated with the term in literature (Barbara and Klaus, 2000). Based on the vast empirical contribution in the area of pleasure, Barbara and Klaus (2000) stress the absence of a systematic approach to the concept.

Without a hint of doubt, the 1973 classic *The Pleasure of the Text* by French critic and theorist Roland Barthes is the most prominent text referred to when it comes to the concept of pleasure. Over the years, this reference became not only the preserve of literary studies, but has also been widely applied in critical studies of film and television. In Barthes (1975), understanding two concepts: *plaisir* which translates to pleasure and *jouissance* whose equivalent in the English language connotes to orgasmic pleasure, or bliss, is crucial. Barthes states that the subject of pleasure in the text that comes from culture and does not break with it, is linked to a comfortable practice of reading (Barthes, 1975:13). Here Barthes refers to a text which is not disruptive, and from an ideological viewpoint, a text which is hegemonic and thus in conformity with the dominant ideology.

Furthermore, Barthes argues that the pleasure of the text does not prefer one ideology to another and that the pleasure of the text is not certain. Here Barthes retrospectively attempts to explain further the complicated nature of bliss or *jouissance* the text of bliss unsettles the reader's historical, cultural, psychological assumptions, the consistency of his tastes, values, memories, and brings to a crisis his relation with language (Barthes, 1975:13).

In discussing the hugely popular 1980s prime time soap opera *Dallas*, Ang (1985) underscores the importance of not only viewing a programme as an audience, but also as a reader of a text with knowledge of its conventions and codes. Therefore, structure of the text plays an important role in stimulating viewers (Ang, 1985:28). In this case, Ang (1985) put Roland Barthes approach of pleasure into perspective, meaning that pleasure is not to be found in the text itself, but in its conjuncture with the reader (Fiske, 1987:226).

The two levels of understanding of how pleasure in a text is interpreted, is perhaps better explained by cultural theorist Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model. Even though Hall's (1980) model is not limited to pleasure alone, it shows how meanings can be interpreted and understood. Hall (1980) explains that a person decoding a message can either, assume a dominant/preferred position, take a negotiated stance, or operate using the oppositional code.

No study on pleasure would be complete without borrowing from Laura Mulvey's Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. Mulvey's (1975) influential piece which draws heavily on psychoanalysis points to films embodiment of scopophilia (pleasure in looking) to create voyeuristic and fetish desires. Mulvey introduces the popular catch phrase of to-be-looked-at-ness to describe the passive female as an object of the active male gaze. This to-be-looked-at-ness not only creates an object of desire, but also has an ideological element to it through reinforcing of patriarchal order. Yet, for all that has been debated that Mulvey's approach to voyeurism cannot be applied to television, since cinema offers a unique condition of viewing and isolation brought about by darkness in the auditorium and pattern of lights; the same cannot be said of television in terms of creation of the woman as Mulvey puts it: "an indispensable element of spectacle" (Mulvey, 1975:19).

2.2 Ideology and Television

Ideological functioning of the television as the concept of ideology itself, yields a myriad of positions, which in respect to television studies can be attributed not to the intrinsic “vagueness” of the term, but because of both the complex nature of television texts and television as a medium. Nevertheless, scholars in the field of media, communication and cultural studies — despite resisting to be trapped in unifying ideology — have in their own unique ways succeeded in elucidating not only the existence of ideological functions in mediated texts, but also how these functions are constructed, enacted, disseminated, normalised and maintained.

In so far, where the definition of ideology is concerned, there is no single universally accepted rendition of the term. However, in media and cultural studies, it is unequivocally agreed that certain practices and tenets — from the onset of production of media texts to distribution — indeed do employ carefully orchestrated ideological functions and constructs. Similarly, scholars across different disciplines have never fully reconciled their position on ideology. Mostly, for these scholars, ideology is concerned with belief system and ideas of a particular society. According to David Croteau, ideology is a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world (Croteau, 2014:153). However, in critical ideological inquiry, the tendency to confine ideology to only the beliefs and ideas which characterise a society is both simplistic and insufficient due to its reductionist nature.

For Stuart Hall’s rather structuralist approach in his essay *The Problem of Ideology-Marxism without Guarantees*, the concept of ideology is multifaceted and is concerned with the mental frameworks – the language, concepts, categories, imagery of thought and system of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works (Hall, 1996:26). Hall’s approach towards ideology is perhaps more broad in the sense that it takes into account not only the belief systems of a society, but also how they work in relation to a wider system of choreographed representations which convey shared meanings. One aspect which, however,

cuts across ideological criticism in entirety attest to the fact that cultural artefacts which are intrinsically informed by ideology are produced, enacted and understood within a specific historical and social context (Barker 2005, Fiske 1990, White 1992).

Beyond false consciousness

The genesis of ideology criticism crops from classical Marxism perspective which conceptualises ideology in the sphere of materialism or economic terms within a context of a highly class-based society. In classical Marxism, economic, social and political relationship in the society are defined by a system in which the minority *bourgeoisie* (the ruling class) controls the means of production and by virtue of this control exercise dominion over the majority *proletariat* (labourers). This ideology (belief system, ideas, practices, knowledge etc.) which is the product of the elite thus becomes the ideology of the labourers under the umbrella of what the classical Marxists refer to as *false consciousness*. In the case of *false consciousness*, the majority adopt the ideology perpetuated by the ruling class and perceive them as “natural” (Croteau 2014, White, 1992)

Crucially, the interrogation here does not argue that false consciousness is absolute, in fact it has never cease to be alive. The big question is how does it manifest in respect to, for instance, mass media messages? One commonly used example is how patriarchy has for years been portrayed vis-à-vis matriarchy in the media. Fourie (2007) points out that women are presented in the media as passive and subservient, and that they accept this position as ‘natural’. Fourie goes a step further and argues that presumably since the mass media are usually owned by politically and economically powerful minority groups in a society, the mass media purposefully communicate false information and create false consciousness in order to support their owners (Fourie,2007:315).

¹ Ideological criticism is concerned with critique of the dominant ideology, power relation dynamics and the opposition towards this dominant ideology. However, Ideological criticism does not endeavour to delineate a specific message in a text.

However, the framing of ideology within the scope of false consciousness is limited. Firstly, it does not account for the phenomenon in which the society readily accept norms and ideals which are at odds with its interest. Most importantly when it comes to the television arena, this would mean that television superimposes a limited range of beliefs and values — which is not the case (White,1992). With these limitations taken into account, conceptualisation of ideology therefore calls for a detailed and deeper interrogation.

The art of manufacturing consent

To elucidate how ideology functions in society and precisely in television, the inquest has tended to refer to critical theories of subjectivity developed by Italian Marxist theoretician Antonio Gramsci and French-Algerian Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser. Gramsci introduced the term hegemony to explain that the supremacy of a social class is manifested through not only domination or coercion but also through intellectual and moral leadership — with the nature of predominance informed not by force, but rather by consent (Adamson 1980, Femia,1981).For Gramsci, social control besides influencing behaviour and choice externally, through rewards and punishments, also affects them internally, by moulding personal convictions into a replica of prevailing norms (Femia, 1981:24).According to Gramsci, “whereas ‘domination’ is realized, essentially, through the coercive machinery of the state, ‘intellectual and moral leadership’ is objectified in, and mainly exercised through, ‘civil society, the ensemble of educational, religious and associational institutions” (Femia,1981:24);in other words a concerted effort to legitimise dominion through consent.

In Gramsci’s view, hegemonic consent was derived from a “deeply held view that superior position of the ruling group is legitimate” owing to the historic prestige enjoyed by the group and that “those who are consenting must somehow be truly convinced that the interests of the dominant group are those of society at large, that the hegemonic group stands for a proper social order in which all men are justly looked after” (Femia, 1981:42).As John Fiske succinctly puts it, one of the key hegemonic strategies is the construction of ‘common sense’(Fiske, 1982:176).Gramsci surpassed classical Marxism for not only did cultural hegemony call attention to the wide variety of cultural manifestations in which ideology appears, but also revived the idealistic concern with culture and then superseded it by

analysing the complex interconnections between culture and politics which the idealists had suppressed (Adamson, 1980:176).

Furthermore, what makes hegemonic understanding of ideology an upgrade to the classic Marxists approach and perhaps more relevant today but not necessarily superior is that the concept of hegemony ought to be construed not as static but a continuous process (Adamson, 1980). It is understood that hegemonic systems never go away but keep reinventing themselves when the consent fails or is challenged. Considering the case of television, it can be argued that since the television programmes express a range of positions and ideas, the medium thus acts as a forum of negotiating hegemony despite the fact dominant interests will prevail most of the times and may even restrict the range of competing voices aired (White, 1992).

Still on subjectivity, a far reaching conceptual analysis of ideology came from Louis Althusser in his ground breaking work *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* famously wrote that ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as subjects through the functioning of the category of the subject (Althusser, 2014:90). Through the operation of interpellation, Althusser meant that ideology functions in which individuals are recruited and transformed as subjects (Althusser, 2014). To clarify how social subjectivity is conferred and how subsequently the subjects have internalised this subjectivity, Althusser gave an example of a situation in which a police officer shouts 'Hey, you, there!'. By the virtue of the individual turning to acknowledge the hail indicates that he/she has become a subject (Althusser, 2014).

Turning to media and cultural studies, Althusser's concept of interpellation is crucial since it defined ideology in terms of both systems of representations, individual relations' and social formation (White, 1992). On this account, a mass art form like television provides a crucial arena for ideological analysis precisely because it represents the intersection of economic-industrial interests, an elaborate textual system, and a leisure-entertainment activity (White, 1992:170).

The ideological narrative

The premise of ideology function of television first and foremost acknowledge that programmes are not merely intended to entertain the audience; and that they are not only devoid of enacting and superimposing certain ideologies, but also that these programmes are almost exclusively produced with the sole intention of making profit. For producers and broadcasters, programme ratings more than anything else are the most important measure of how well the programme as a commodity is sellable; and as soon the ratings start to fall, many programmes — however sophisticated or brilliant they may appear to be — are axed and their commissioning for renewal are altogether suspended.

On one hand, it is argued that ideological function and its relations in the case of television are not entirely casual compositions, if anything, the texts are careful orchestrated and systematic. Consequently, there is need to conform to the values which the majority identify or as White (1992) puts it, the medium does not often encompass extreme positions and places a strong emphasis on balance thereby refraining from offending moderate positions. At the same time, the interpretations of modern texts in as much they are believed to represent the dominant views, are open for divergent views and are more often than not contradictory. The ideological discourse, thus, courtesy of a closer enquiry reveals that “contradictions—and confirmations—between juxtaposed segments of television flow are not necessarily systematic in the sense of being wilfully or consciously planned by programmers or sponsors” (White, 1992:186).

It cannot also be said the programmes are devoid of engaging social issues such as class, race and gender by only presenting the dominant portrayal of an equal and harmonious society. Popular US sitcom *All in the Family* which went on air in the early 1970s, for instance, is often lauded by critics for being ahead of its time particularly for tackling racial and gender prejudice — even though this acknowledgement undeservedly was bestowed much later. It goes without saying that *All in the Family* success in portraying the aforementioned social struggles was heralded much later as Gerry Myers of the Huffington Post explains².

² In a Huffington Post blog published on July 28, 2014: *‘All in the Family’: The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same*, Myers explains that the programme dealt with contemporary cultural issues like no other. The programme tackled at that time taboo and controversial issues like racism, abortion gay rights and abortions. Fifty years later, these issues remain controversial as ever.

2.3 Postcolonialism, 'then and now'

This study draws heavily on postcolonial theories despite television studies shortcoming in extensively shedding light on representations which fall under the precincts of postcolonial discourses. The development of postcolonial studies, according to Cere, 2011 has so far has tended to privilege the analysis of literature, and to a lesser extent film³.

Postcolonialism as both a term and concept is understood and interpreted in many ways. Joanne Sharp in the *Geographies of Postcolonialism* explains that the term carries a historical and geographical connotation when a hyphen is used in the term, and thus in this context it refers to the period after independence from colonial powers (Sharp, 2009). On the other hand, written without a hyphen the term espouse a critical approach seeking to challenge the values and meanings which colonialism was founded upon; and, it is an analysis and critique of the ways in which western knowledge systems have come to dominant (Sharp, 2009:5). Chris Baker in *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* states that postcolonial theory explores the discursive condition of postcoloniality, that is, the way colonial relations and their aftermath have been constituted through being spoken about (Baker, 2005:274).

Decentralising postcolonialism

Stuart Hall in his essay *When Was 'The Post-Colonial'? Thinking At The Limit* vividly addresses a number of issues which apparently characterised Postcolonialism as an arena

3

Cere (2011) offers two reasons for lack of Postcolonial theory in media studies. Firstly, Postcolonial theory has tended to focus on representation of 'other' colonized cultures. On the other hand, media studies have always been media studies has always been concerned with issues of representation, stereotyping, identity formation and ideological workings of popular media cultures. Its emphasis has been primarily on the new and the now and it has paid little attention to the historical and to the intersection of the metropolitan with the colonial and postcolonial (Cere, 2011:3).

shrouded in ambiguities. Referring to the works of a host of scholars, Hall (1996) raised contentious issues which marred Postcolonialism from the question of relevance, universalisation of the term itself, duplicity, temporality/periodisation and even credibility. Crucially, and not dwell on the apparent “ambiguities” raised in the essay, more profound is Hall’s contribution postcolonialism. Hall (1996), points out that the difference between the colonising and colonised cultures remain profound, however, have never operated purely on a binary way and no longer do so. Hall (1996) in reference to the relation between colonisers and colonised explains that it is important to move beyond marking it in a ‘then’ and ‘now’ fashion and “re-read the binaries as forms of transculturation, of cultural translation, destined to trouble the here/there cultural binaries for ever”. Theoretical value (of postcolonialism) therefore lies precisely in its refusal of this ‘here’ and ‘there’, ‘then’ and ‘now’, ‘home’ and ‘abroad’ perspective (Hall, 1996:247).

The imagined ‘Other’

The question of geography is very important in Postcolonialism (Sharp, 2009) but not only in terms of the physical space but also in the sense of imagined geographies—the symbolic non-spatial geographies. This imagined perception otherwise known in postcolonial circles as *Orientalism* is extremely important to media studies for its introduction of the process of ‘othering’ in textual and discourse analysis (Cere, 2011:8). Edward Said who coined the concept of Orientalism in his essay *Imaginative Geography and its Representations* in regard to imaginary Western construction of the ‘Other’ points out that: “this practice of designating in one’s mind a familiar space which is “ours” and an unfamiliar space beyond “ours” which is “theirs” is a way of making geographical distinctions that can be entirely arbitrary” (Said, 1978:54). Said’s symbolic gesture of “imagined geographies” was instrumental in disclosing how unfounded beliefs, thoughts, attitudes and perceptions communities and territories came to the fore pointing out that for outsiders “all kinds of suppositions, associations, and fictions appear to crowd the unfamiliar space outside one’s own territory” (Said, 1978:54).

Otherness is crucial in the construction and interpretation of binarism, it gives us a platform as a point of reference for negotiating the discourse and the regimes of difference. Binary oppositions are crucial for all classification, because one must establish a clear difference between things in order to classify them (Hall, 1997:236). Subsequent chapters of this thesis explore what Hall (1997) refers to as 'Spectacle of Other' work in relation to racial

representation and stereotyping. In the context of this study, the question of geography is closely linked with the subject of cultural tourism and exoticism. Cultural tourism in the sense of postcolonialism refers to the ways in which culture is used to promote tourism in the former colonial countries. Exoticism, on the other hand, refers to something introduced from abroad which oozes connotations of a stimulating or exciting difference, something with which the domestic could be (safely) spiced (Ashcroft et al., 2007:87). This study's context of the Caribbean as a place and the generalised perceptions and attitudes formed towards the people of Caribbean and the "Caribbean culture" as otherwise a concocted reality at least in the postcolonial sense attest to this fact.

The dependency syndrome

One debate which has over the years dominated postcolonial discourse is the dependency theory which debunks assumptions that former colonies needed or need support from the West to fast track their path towards development. However, this theory discounts this notion of reliance as a normal stage of development, and instead argues that underdevelopment is as a consequence of the global structure of domination, rather than an early stage in a process of development (Ashcroft et al., 2007). To underscore the "real" meaning of autonomy for third world countries, most of which were under colonial rule, Tomlinson (1991) cites previous work of Herbert Schiller which appeared in the 1979 collection *National Sovereignty and International Communication*, and stated that "third world countries do not have the control of their economic (and even, arguably, of their political) development in the way that the term "national development" implies". Ashcroft debunks the myth that dependency is normal by arguing that proponents of this stance have failed to account for the rise of, for example, the Asian Tigers which in a relatively short span of time have attained rapid development and are currently enjoying economic success.

Going Native

The final part of the discussion on postcolonial debate introduces the concept of *going native*, a concept which ironically carries a double connotation of the *same* which are understood in their complete sense of opposite meanings. Firstly, the term is used to refer to the fear harboured by colonisers of being absorbed into native life and customs whose variants such

as ‘going Fantee’ (West Africa) and ‘going troppo’ (Australian) suggest that both the associations with other races and even the mere climate of colonies in hot areas can lead to moral and even physical degeneracy (Ashcroft et al.,2007:106).The second meaning of the term as opposed to fear entails embrace or adoption of the local customs by foreigners from the West which see the foreigners participate in ceremonies, enjoyment of the local food, dress and entertainment (Ashcroft et al.,2007).Going native is particularly gaining popularity among the expatriate communities working abroad who in an attempt to blend into the foreign communities engage themselves in local habits and customs. At the same time, they may refrain from getting too much absorbed into the local ways in order to preserve their own identities and ways.

The apparent lack of postcolonial representations in television can be attributed to a number of reasons; however, two main factors stand out. First and foremost, television besides film is one of the most dominant medium when it comes to matters representations, and conveying postcolonial slant solely depends on the context. Secondly, certain aspects of representations override others and there is always the risk of duplication; and thus, the lack of fixation is also due to the fact that in practice postcolonialism covers a multitude of critical discourses. Globalisation, ecofeminism, class, exoticism, neo-liberalism, hegemony, eurocentrism and race are just but only a fraction of discourses which interests Postcolonialism. For television critical enquiries, this does not call for re-enactment of everything; however, the enquiry ought to disentangle postcolonial representations from the dominant overriding themes and thus adopt a post-colonial slant provided the context is applicable.

2.4 Postfeminism

Feminism as a theory, movement and ideology, has historically undergone transformation throughout the so called three waves of its existence. As a concept or ideology, it has been understood along different lines with earlier feminists fixated on the struggle for equality with the masculine gender and in essence fathomed the “cause” along the bifurcation of the sexes and biology of gender. Bell Hooks, for instance, revisits her earlier definition of

feminism clearly stating that for her, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression (Hooks, 2000:1). For Hooks (2000), feminism has nothing to do with being anti-male and that through the way people have been socialised “females can be just as sexist as males”. Male domination, patriarchy as an agent for sexism, power relations and class feature predominantly in Hooks (2000) depiction of feminism and what it embodies.

Despite the challenges of conceiving feminism as definite, it can, however, be tacitly agreed to concern itself with issues such as gender equality, a movement to end women oppression and anti-sexism. On the contrary, post feminism — which is the focus of this chapter — cannot be conjured as straightforward both conceptually and thematically. Commonly, post feminism has been referred to as a *shift* from the inadequacies of the second wave feminism and has often been hailed as both a departure and an upgrade to the essentialist understanding of feminism. However, as noted by Gill (2007), even “after nearly two decades of argument about postfeminism, there is still no agreement as to what it is, and the term is used variously and contradictorily to signal a theoretical position, a type of feminism after the second wave, or a regressive political stance”.

Nevertheless, despite the different approaches towards feminism and the historical context within which the feminism as movement and as an ideology evolved, on general terms feminism asserts that sex is a fundamental and irreducible axis of social organization which to date has subordinated women to men (Barker, 2005:280). Thus, feminism is centrally concerned with sex as an organising principle of social life and one that is thoroughly saturated with power relations (Barker, 2005:280).

Feminism as a discursive formation

The shift which came to personify the departure of first and second wave feminism ushered a new post structuralist interpretation of feminism — which Barker (2005) terms as concerned with the cultural construction of subjectivity — was first introduced by French philosopher Michel Foucault. In Foucault’s argument of anti-essentialist discursive formation of the

gender, to be a man or a woman is not the outcome of biological determinism or universal cognitive structures and cultural patterns (Barker, 2005:290). Rather, people are “gendered through the power of regulated and regulatory discourses” (Barker, 2005:290). Judith Butler who borrowed heavily from Foucault’s discursive construct of subjectivity in a very Foucauldian fashion, concedes that “the qualifications for being a subject must first be met before representation can be extended” (Butler, 1990:2). Butler cites Foucault who argues that institutions such as the judiciary produce the subjects they come to subsequently represent through mechanisms such as limitation, prohibition, regulation and control. Subjugation is thus enacted since the subjects are formed, defined and reproduced by the political structures Butler (1990). Therefore, the underlined meaning here is that it is imperative to first and foremost understand how discourse of gender is engineered and specifically how the discourse of gender subjectivity is constructed.

This discursive creation of gender is a condition which renowned French philosopher Michel Foucault terms as problematic Butler (1990), that is, the feminist subject turns out to be discursively constituted by the very political system that is supposed to facilitate its emancipation. Foucault, however, went further beyond the role of discourse in enacting and maintain subjugation, for he argued that: wherever discursive power operates, so also does resistance become possible, not least through the production of 'reverse discourses' (Barker, 2005:291). To clarify his point, Foucault used the example of how medics and clerics ushered homosexuality into discourse in order to condemn it, but as it turn out the very discursive production of a homosexual subject position allowed homosexuals to be heard and to claim rights Barker (2005).

Objectification of women

Rosalind Gill in *Postfeminist Media Culture: Elements of a Sensibility* introduces the concept of “sensibility” to elaborate the diverse but interrelated themes which best conceptualise the postfeminism not least in the perspective of cultural studies. This notion of sensibility according to Gill (2007) is characterised by, among other things, the idea that femininity is a bodily property, the shift from objectification to subjectification, an emphasis upon self-surveillance, monitoring and self-discipline, a focus on individualism, choice and empowerment, sexualisation of culture and consumerism. Considering the interpretation of

femininity as bodily property rather than from the traditional social structural and psychological perspectives where caring, nurturing or motherhood are central to femininity, the media of today presents “sexy body” as women’s key if not sole source of identity Gill (2007).

This study’s approach to feminism does not attempt to negate the concept of image of *women’s perspective* which has been central in representation studies, but the aim is to integrate both the aforementioned concept with the more contemporary version of politics of representation in which confident, sexual assertive women dominate, irony is ubiquitous, and men’s bodies are presented as erotic spectacles almost as much as women’s (Gill, 2007:74). This phenomenon is compatible with neoliberal idea constructed around “self” which emphasises on the desirability women’s freedom to express themselves sexually, as ‘sex-objects’ if they like (and invariably, they like, since this image is glamorized in an uncritical fashion) (Press, 2011: 118). Terms such as plural, diverse, and multifaceted have often been used to describe study of feminism. Themes covered under postfeminism have at times even been dismissed as anti-feminist, but nonetheless, they have come to represent the shift which has come to represent the current brand of feminism.

3 FOCUS OF THE STUDY

3.1 Introducing the context

This chapter revisits previous studies in television and focuses on three distinct aspects: representation of Blacks in British television, women in crime drama, and style television. The mapping of this study's context is first and foremost motivated by the need to understand the current representation of Black people in British television and its evolution. Secondly, and most importantly, the fact that the cast in *Death in Paradise* is overwhelmingly Black or of mixed race, calls for the need to examine the question of representation in a deeper sense. For this reason, revisiting studies of how Black people have come to be represented in a historical and progressive fashion seems a logical way of accounting for the current representation of Black people in *Death in Paradise*.

To contextualise the representation of Black people in British television, I posit that their presence did not merely happen in a vacuum. First it is crucial to point out that Blacks are not native to the British Isles and their coming and subsequent representation in the television was itself a landmark event. Secondly, it has been acknowledged elsewhere already that initial presence of Blacks in British television was marred by a lack opportunity as defined by underrepresentation and misrepresentation. Thirdly, since representation is not static, Blacks clamour for change led to demand for proper or alternative representation, and this as previous studies shows was a catalyst for change. Lastly, representation mirrors the society; there is a fine line between beliefs, attitudes or even perceptions and the representation in the small screen. Hence, this historical approach of attempting to account for representation cannot be simply ignored.

Death in Paradise does not feature a female cast playing the leading role, however, a central figure who plays the sidekick happens to be a woman. On this section discussing 'women in crime television' I turn to two classical texts *Cagney and Lacey* and *Charlie's Angels* as the two prime series which have continued to set the benchmark for women representation in crime television. Examining these two series, it becomes obvious that women play a very specific role in crime television. Turning to psychoanalysis I look at how have women been represented in crime television and the various roles they play. Even as women are cast to play in leading roles, it remains a curious case as they are still subject of contradictions in the way they are represented. It is also worth noting that the topic of women in crime television is

such a vast area that merits its own independent examination; and what makes it more interesting is that women do not exist in isolation since their representation is not within themselves but a subject of comparison with other women as well as with the opposite sex.

Television combines various elements intentionally and unintentionally to make it pleasing to the eye and the ear, and one such element of interest to this study is the concept of style. In this sub chapter I consider the overlying themes of aesthetic interest which have dominated television studies. The discussion in this section centres on conceptual debates on artistic elements of television and its cinematic relations. On television crime drama, the similarity between British crime dramas and their opposite across the other side of the Atlantic have more in common even though British crime dramas are renowned for unique features such as grittiness and a penchant for the exotic.

Critical studies ought not to neglect moments which are crucial for developing a comprehensive analysis. I therefore treat three areas: Blacks in British television, women in crime drama and style as the subject matter of this study which forms the basis for the analysis.

3.2 Black People in British Television

Not many events in the history of the British television can rival the day British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) launched the inaugural regular high-definition televised broadcasts from the Alexandra Palace on 2 November 1936 (Pines, 1992; Bourne, 2001; Malik 2002). This landmark has also been linked forever to the history of Black people in British television as it was during maiden live transmission that African-American piano and tap dance double-act, Buck and Bubbles made an appearance in a variety show (Barry, 1988; Pines, 2001; Bourne 1998; Malik 2002). The coloured duo of 'Buck and Bubbles' was described by Radio Times as 'versatile comedians who dance, play the piano sing and cross chat' (Barry, 1988; Bourne 2001).

Even before the regular television broadcasts, Black people appeared on British television. The first Black person to appear before a television camera was the African-American film star and cabaret entertainer Nina Mae McKinney (Bourne, 2001:59). Bourne (2001) reveals that African-American film star and cabaret entertainer Nina Mae McKinney made the historic appearance in John Logie Baird's experimental television studio in London on 17 February 1933. Another iconic Black entertainer the French-American singer and dancer Josephine Baker also took part in Logie's experimental television broadcasts from his London studio in October 1933 (Malik, 2002:3).

The question of representation is central to this study for no other reason other than to grasp how meanings are constructed, portrayed and conveyed. Following the trail of previous studies, the question of cultural identity, context and progression in relation to ethnicity and identity cannot be overlooked since it forms the basis of the cultural context of this study. A significant part of this study on representation of race and racial relations in British television has focused on tracing the historical roots of how Black people have been represented since the onset of television broadcasts in Britain (Pines, 1992; Bourne, 2001; Malik, 2002). Pines (1992)⁴, a chronology comprised of 28 interviews of actors, actresses and programme-makers from 1930s to 1990s is perhaps the most detailed work when it comes to the history of involvement of early involvement of Black people in British television.

In a similar fashion, Bourne (2001) extensively recounts the history of Blacks in British film and television. The book traces the casting of early Black actors and actresses by BBC and

⁴ Throughout the interviews, Pines (1992) looks at the take of early Black performers in British television starting with American performer and actress Elizabeth Welch to notable pioneers such as Trinidad-born Pearl Conner who together with her husband Edric Connor founded the first agency representing Black performers. The insight from this ground breaking project not only looks at the perspective of the performers themselves and pioneers like Pearl Connor but also notable white British personalities such John Elliot who wrote the 1956 BBC drama-documentary *A man from the Sun* which focussed on the lives of Caribbean settlers in post-war Britain as well as John Hopkins who wrote the 1965 BBC television play *Fables* which depicted Britain as an imaginary apartheid state in which the racial roles are reversed.

ITV in the first thirty years of British television from 1932-1961. Remarkably, both Pines (1992) and Bourne (2001) highlight the major challenges which faced Black actors and actresses which could be summarised as: perceived lack of ability of Black actors (that they are not good enough), being often cast in Uncle Tom roles (playing stereotyped parts), absence of Black cast in quality programmes (underrepresentation), lack of financial support for Black performers and lack of recognition, among other challenges.

Another hindrance which faced the Black acting fraternity as reflected in previous works was related to the position of Black writers and directors in the industry; as Jamaican film maker Lloyd Reckord notes in Pines (1992), Black directors were discouraged to venture into television because unlike film, television required a “different intelligence”, among other reasons. The subsequent statement by Rudolph Walker who played Bill Reynolds in the 1972 ITV sitcom *Love Thy Neighbour*, a programme about a white family adjusting to a Black immigrant couple who have moved in the neighbourhood epitomises the feeling in the television industry at that time: Here we are in the 1990s, and still the big problem is that they will only use a Black actor in roles that are specifically written for 'a Black character' (Pines, 1992:8).

Stereotyping

Cultural theorist and critic Stuart Hall is arguably the foremost commentator in representation studies in the British cultural studies circles. His work is significant in this study not least in what he terms as the ideological function of producing unquestionable “truths” prominently articulated in the 1981 essay *The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist ideologies and the Media*. In this influential essay, Hall (1981) emphasises the centrality of the work of institutions such as the media in providing the frame of reference of how the world works via construction of positions of identification for their subjects. In this context, Hall (1981) address the question of racism in their “overt” and “inferential” but equally important how stereotyping (in their ambivalent meanings) is naturalised⁵.

⁵ Hall (1981) identifies three character variants, the “slave-figure”, “native” and the “entertainer” which have come to be naturalised in the representation of Black people in popular culture. Similarly, Angela Barry in the 1988 compelling essay *Black Mythologies: The Representation of Black People on British Television* for

The stereotyping of Black actors and actresses in British television has been a focal point in racial representation discourses. The debates surrounding Black presence in television has over a period spanning two centuries assumed different perspectives starting with the underrating question of whether Black people could even act or whether they were only fit to play certain parts. Trinidad-born actor Rudolph Walker who acted in the ITV sitcom *Love Thy Neighbour* (1972-76) and in the reversed role BBC play *Fables* specifically highlight the problems of casting Black actors in Black and White in Colour: “Dyer (1988), for instance, through analysis of three films: *Jezebel* (1938), *Simba* (1955) and the *Night of the Living Dead* (1969) addresses the symbolism of whiteness vis-à-vis Blackness. The binarism (white versus Black) in Dyer (1988) is thus cited as both source of narrative pleasures and contest of white domination. However, Dyer (1988) explains that three films share a perspective that associates whiteness with order, rationality, rigidity, qualities brought out by the contrast with Black disorder, irrationality and looseness.

Improvement for the better

To a certain degree, previous studies in the representation of Black people in British television highlight the developments and improvement which was witnessed in the television industry during that period. One area which this progress was manifested was in the type of roles Black actors were cast. One such example was in the 1966 BBC television series *Rainbow City* in which a Black actor played a leading role. In *Rainbow City*, Errol John played John Steele, a lawyer married with a white wife living in a racially mixed city (Pines, 1992). Similarly, productions such as *A Man in the Sun*, *Love Thy Neighbour*, *Fables as* and 1965 BBC sitcom *Till Death Do Us Apart* were hailed for addressing racism which had become problematic in the mother land and thus these productions were seen as a step towards the right direction.

instance, argues that portrayal of Black people in television has been supported the three myths: the entertainer, troublemaker and dependent.

Undoubtedly, Malik (2002) is yet the most comprehensive work in capturing progression which paved way for not only increased visibility of ethnic minorities in television but also increased respectability of Black actors and actresses from the perspective of the roles they were cast⁶. The works of Malik (2002) also gives a more contemporary review of representation of minorities in British television looking at more recent television programmes such as the 1999 BBC medical drama *Holby City* and the popular 2000 original Channel 4 satirical show *Da Ali G Show*, among other programmes. Malik's work brings to the fore more vividly the aspect of multicultural and diverse Britain as represented in television. Like Pines (1992) and Bourne (2001), Malik reviews the casting of Black performers in the early British television industry and their practices.

Nonetheless, Malik (2002) places a specific emphasis on the significant developments which happened from 1980s onwards in terms of Black presence in British television, and as well taking a specific interest in the representation of people from the sub-continent. As Malik (2002) states: we have seen signs of a greater ease of presence ascribed signs of Blackness, where Black characters more legitimately share the narrative space with their White counterparts and where there is a more obvious sense of 'Black-Britishness' (Malik, 2002:152).

However, such tokenism of progression in matters related to representation is dented by denying Black performers character development and deserved recognition especially in the period leading to the 1970s (Pines, 1992). This supposed decadence is, for instance, best explained by two unrelated events of historical importance in British Black television: the

⁶ A notable milestone which marked a turning point in point in Black media representation was the advent of Channel 4 in 1982 (Pines, 1992) and the enactment of the 1954 Television Act which out marked the arrival of the Independent Television (ITV) which effectively ended the monopoly of the BBC (Malik, 2002). This reform which saw the entry of Channel 4 in the industry was significant not only because it recognised and redressed the history of racial imagery, but crucially, it was the first time that a mainstream television channel instituted policies specifically aimed at creating new opportunities of access, among others, Black media practitioners (Pines, 1992:14).

banning of a kiss between an interracial couple and the failure to recognise the first ever Black actor to star in a leading soap opera. Jamaican-born actress Joan Hooley who starred in the 1964 ITV hospital soap opera *Emergency-Ward 10* as Louise Mahler was supposed to take part in a scene where she was supposed to kiss the white doctor she was in love with in a bedroom; however, the scene never materialised as had been planned after concerns were raised. The two lovers still kissed in what has come to be known as the 'First white and Black television kiss'. As Hooley recounts “Well, we never did get our kiss in the bedroom, instead we ended up kissing in the garden quite sedately” (Pines, 1992:100).

In 1990, the long running ITV soap opera *Coronation Street* celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, however, one notable absentee in the celebrations was Guyanese actor Thomas Baptiste — the first Black actor to star in the soap opera. Pines (1992), Bourne (2001) and Malik (2002) refer to Baptiste’s exclusion as a lack of acknowledgement of the role played by Black people in British television⁷.

Culture, identity and belonging

Studies exploring Black British identity, immigration, national belonging, inter-cultural productions between the hosts and the aliens, racial relations, class, racist ideologies and the issue of new settlers becoming problematic, among other issues have also been central in representation studies in Britain. Most of the work of Stuart Hall, Gilroy (1987) and the collection of essay in Owusu (2000) for instance, explore the aforementioned issues on a grand scale. Such debates are important in the studies of racial representation; and as emphasised by Gilroy (1987), ‘race’ cannot be adequately understood if it is falsely divorced or abstracted from other social relation’s (Gilroy, 1987:14).

No single major event widely captures the imagination of the becoming of multicultural Britain than the docking of *SS Empire Windrush* on 22 June 1948 (Malik, 2002) on the shores

⁷ Baptiste himself had this to say: “I was the first Black actor to break into a major television series. So, naturally, I was a bit miffed when I wasn't invited to the thirtieth anniversary celebrations they had in 1990 for the long-running soap. It was ad though I didn't exist; and, for me, it was also a corruption of history” (Pines, 1992:65).

of the British Isles, an event which even today is permanently linked with mass migration to Britain. The docking of *Empire Windrush* at the Tilbury docks carrying 492 workers from the Caribbean opened the doors for the settling of British subjects from the colonies. This event is also significant in terms of representation of Black people in British television; a point which Barry (1988) highlights by stating that large-scale Black immigration coincided historically with the post-war expansion of television (Barry, 1988:86).

The collection of essays in Owusu (2000) provides useful insight regarding the settlement of Black people in Britain as well as the evolution of multiculturalism in modern day Britain. Ben Carrington essay *Double Consciousness and the Black British Athlete* one of the essays in Owusu (2000) uses the example of the lives, careers and media personas of two of the most successful Black athletes of the 1990s, sprinter Linford Christie and boxer Frank Bruno, to reflect the condition of Black people in Britain in terms of both achievement and restricted opportunities available to them.

In Owusu (2000), Christie is presented as problematic to the British media by merely admitting in public the existence of racism, while on the other hand, Bruno works prodigiously to endorse a conservative conceptualization of the nation, supposedly at ease with itself and free from racial antagonism (Owusu, 2000:143). For this reason, Bruno who is the living example that success has nothing to do with racial prejudice is thus readily accepted into the British family, while the non-conformist and “over-defensive” Christie is left to endure a turbulent relationship with the British media— the same, Owusu (2000) argues, can be said of the general Black population in Britain.

Gilroy (1987) looks at culture as not formed purely on the basis of ethnic lines but as complex, dynamic and never ending process; he states non-European traditional elements, mediated by the histories of Afro-America and the Caribbean, have contributed to the formation of new and distinct Black cultures amidst the decadent peculiarities of the Welsh, Irish, Scots and English (Gilroy, 1987:156). Besides charting the anti-racist movements across the racial divide which pushed for Black liberalisation in Britain, Gilroy (1987) shows for

instance, how breaking the law is used as evidence of incompatibility of Blacks with the British identity.

The trajectory of Black people in British television has often dealt with the question of identity and what constitute Blackness. At the centre of this debate is not only what constitute Blackness but also the more pressing matter of belonging in the British sense. As Malik (2002) points out, that the term 'Britishness' is still essentially assumed to belong to the White English (Malik, 2001:1); whereas Gilroy (1987) in reference to an ongoing debate argues that Blacks born, nurtured and schooled in this country, are in significant measure British even as their presence redefines the term (Gilroy, 1987:154).

Different scholars in the past have approached the concept of 'Blackness' differently. Malik (2002) for example, states that 'Black' is used as a collective political working term to refer to those of African, Caribbean and South Asian descent (Malik, 2002:3). Crucially, Malik (2002) recognises the problem of generalising 'Blackness' and as such point to the complaint raised by some Asians who considered 'Black' an imposed identity which lacked specificity. Malik (2002) recounts that many of the Asians did not identify with the term 'Black', and more than that, only seemed necessary because of the ways in which 'Whiteness' functioned in British society (Malik, 2002:19). Other scholars have been forthright with the term 'Black' but at the same time have not ruled out stretching the possible contextual meaning of term. Barry (1988) chose to define 'Black' not as 'all who are not white', but as Afro-Caribbean.

The 1980s was an instrumental period which not only paved way for cultural renaissance and opened race debates, but also it was also during the latter part of this decade when many began to use the term 'Black and Asian', signalling a general break-up of the term 'Black' into more specific and 'pure' categorical ethnicities (Malik, 2002:20). Gilroy explains that the meaning of races has undergone a shift and that the political definition of black has moved towards more restricted alternative formulations which have confined the concept of Blackness to people of African descent (Gilroy, 1987:36).

Other notable study which is not limited to the context of Britain alone, but on a general level deals with Black representation in popular culture includes Hooks (1992). Bell Hooks in the collection of critical essays *Black Looks: Race and Representation* tackles issues such as loving Blackness and representations of Black female sexuality in what she terms a white supremacist capitalist patriarchal society. Hooks (1992) through her review of Black people portrayal in films, literature and popular culture argues that it has been acknowledged since the time of slavery that control over images is central to the maintenance of any system of racial

3.3 Women in crime television

Women have traditionally been key to television crime drama ever since the depiction of the female character was transposed from the crime novels to the small screen. The history and role of women in crime drama television is, however, one chequered with both progression and contradiction. Still women in television crime television, as Turnbull (2014) emphasises, are not merely there to appear as helpless victim or the untrustworthy femme fatale, but increasingly as a major player in the unfolding investigation (Turnbull, 2014:153).

Arguably, the much talked and written about series such the American police drama, *Police Woman* in 1974, became one of three series aired in that year to showcase a woman in a leading role Turnbull (2014). *Charlie's Angels*, another American crime drama featuring women in leading roles, paved way for the eminence of women in crime television. It is undoubtedly this crucial bit of history that prompts Snauffer (2006) to refer to the development of these two series as huge step forward for women in television (Snauffer, 2006:122).

One landmark crime television drama hailed as a departure from its contemporaries in terms of women representation is the 1980s American police procedural *Cagney and Lacey*. This is because the series was the first dramatic program in TV history to star two women in the leading roles (D'Acci, 1994:5). D'Acci (1994) points out that not only were the two leading stars women, but also the fact that it generated representations of women in different light to what was the norm during that era. *Cagney and Lacey* were independent, assertive and dominant; and not only were they active agents of the narrative, they were also the subjects, but rarely the objects, of sexual (heterosexual) desire (D'Acci, 1994:5).

Cagney and Lacey was thus a sharp contrast to its predecessors such as *Charlie's Angels*, which despite its progressiveness, is still widely considered as a series which portrayed women body as spectacle revealing her as a sex and beauty object (D'Acci, 1994:16); and of conforming to the general conventions in the depiction of women as glamorous, heterosexual, and autonomous 'single girl' (Turnbull, 2014:159). *Charlie's Angels* thus in deconstructing the visual pleasure seems to conform to Mulvey (1975) who in expounding the 'pleasure in looking' argues that women in film are portrayed as the subject of masculine gaze who instead of being active agents who drive the narrative are there to be looked at. Mulvey (1975), points out that in their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact (Mulvey, 1975:19).

The fact that television crime drama is generally considered to be mainly a male genre has not deterred the representation of strong women in leading roles. For instance, in the case of British television, *Prime Suspect*, *Miss Marple*, *Happy Valley*, *The Fall*, *Broadchurch*, *Vera*, *C.A.T.S. Eyes* and as Turnbull (2014) adds *Juliet Bravo* and *Gentle Touch* have all featured women in the leading roles. Irrespective of women playing in leading roles, it is important to revisit such programmes so as to scrutinise how women have been depicted. Whether they have been portrayed as independent, courageous, sexual subjects or as D'Acci (1994) put it as domesticated, that is, as wives, mothers, heterosexual sex objects, subsidiaries of men, and as "vulnerable" and "sympathetic" characters (D'Acci, 1994:11).

3.4 Style in television drama

The question of style has until recently not featured prominently in television studies; and as it still gains momentum, it has become an arena of conceptual debate. It is only recently that television has come to be accepted as art; and even after gaining this invaluable acceptance, television has had to stand the philosophical test what Sarah Cardwell (2013) in *Television Aesthetics* refers to as the question of what criteria should be employed in criticism. On the question of style, the lack of scholarship in television as an aesthetic medium is raised by Cooke (2013) in *Style in British Television Drama* arguing that television scholars have often preferred sociological and cultural analyses with little attention paid on aesthetics.

The same is echoed by Sarah Cardwell who argues that approaches that focus on sociological, ideological and broader cultural matters, but which neglect stylistic analysis and reject aesthetic evaluation, have been historically dominant (Cardwell, 2013:23). The choice of the term aesthetic here is indeed operational, and since style aspects are aesthetic aspects then style satisfies an aesthetic interest. Therefore, in the context of this study as in many others, style inclines towards a focus on televisual excess and iconography.

In matters concerning style and aesthetics in television, aspects related to televisuality and all that it encompasses including technological development, narrative complexity and quality have dominated analyses of television programmes. This study, however, confines itself within the context of visual and narrative aspect of the text resisting the temptation of being drawn into the question quality, or the debate of what ought to be good or bad television. Televisuality is a term which became popular in television studies following Caldwell (1995) claim that television starting in the 1980s had shifted from being merely a “rhetoric” medium to become aesthetic based and become self-conscious of style. Previously overlooked, aspects of style deemed aesthetic such as the choice and use of camera shots, angles, lighting, location, costume, accents and colour of the set became increasingly important. For the part of the viewers, stylistic arrangement is important since pleasure comes in part from the scopic

power the viewer senses in the visual construction of narrative on the screen. (Caldwell, 1995:241).

Still on visual excess, it has become fashionable in television studies to often refer to a programme as being uniquely cinematic which begs the question what does the television have to do with cinema. This question is addressed by Brett Mills in his essay *What does it mean to call television 'cinematic'* in which he explains that cinematic can be seen to delineate programming that prioritizes the visual more than what is assumed to be typical for television, offering audiences both narrative meaning and pleasure in the imagery that appears on the screen (Mills, 2013:58). Undoubtedly, two television series the 1980 cop show *Miami Vice* and lately the colourful forensic police procedural *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* have become the preoccupation of scholarly critique when it comes to visual excess and on matters cinematic.

Generally, the lack of scholarly attention on the element of style in British television drama is even dire, and even more constrained in crime television. Style aside, even a British equivalent to Douglas Snauffer's (2006) *Crime Television* which traces the development of the genre on a general scale in the American context is peculiarly absent. A closer examination of the genealogical development of crime television indicates that in as much as there has been a cross fertilisation from both sides of the Atlantic, British crime dramas have traditionally been viewed as having taken a social-realist approach and 'gritty' visual style (Turnbull, 2014:17). Besides, as Turnbull (2014) explains, it is worth noting that British and American crime television dramas developed under the backdrop of different social and economic context which in essence makes them stylistically conspicuous albeit partly. Thus, this cross fertilisation has made it virtually impossible to examine style independently either side of the Atlantic. On the level of criticism, there is the risk of generalisation since even a single episode may deviate from the overall stylistic pattern making it difficult to pin a drama solely based on stylistic criterion.

Style is, however, not limited only to visual excess but also narrative excess which more often is explicit in narrative complexity. It has become a common place for series to be hailed in academic spheres and critical circles as being sophisticated in the narrative sense. It is what Jason Mittell (2006) in *Narrative Complexity in Contemporary Television* precisely refers to

when listing ‘unconventional’ HBO crime drama series such as *The Wire* and *The Soprano* as well as the political drama *The West Wing*, among others as an alternative to the conventional episodic and serial forms that have typified most of American television.

Steven Johnson (2005) in *Everything Bad is Good For You* charts the rise of televised intelligence characterised by multiple threads and complex subject matter in which the viewers are not just asked to remember but also to analyse. Here again, Johnson (2005) cites a long list which includes the usual suspects *The Wire* and *The Sopranos*, but surprisingly informs that the age of multiple threads began with the arrival of *Hill Street Blues* in 1981 (Johnson, 2005:65). For all that has been said in relation to the rise of television intelligence in terms of narrativity, *Hill Street Blues* was a cop show thus underlining the importance of crime television in this development. To emphasise the importance of this relatively novel narrative intelligence, Mittell (2006) states that the pleasures potentially offered by complex narratives are richer and more multifaceted than conventional programming. Overall, matter concerning style in authorship of television programmes for the last three decades has completely ceased to be peripheral, and hence, it is even more fitting to declare that now defines itself less by its inherent temporality and presentness than by pleasure, style, and commodity (Caldwell, 1995:30).

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Foundation of research design

From the onset, this study undertook a daunting task to examine the construction of pleasure in the narrative, and how gender and racial representation are constructed in the BBC crime drama *Death in Paradise*. This study therefore used an approach which could examine the aforementioned main issues in the text in a coordinated fashion accounting for both form and content. For this reason, this study called for an approach which could be used to analyse the text in terms of how plot and story is constructed and developed, account for the meanings in the text and discuss the specificity of the aesthetic/category of the text.

Narrative analysis was selected as the approach for conducting the study because from the perspective of a media text, it allows for both a typological and rhetoric reading of the text (Altman, 2008); but narratology was deemed the most suitable approach to account for the relations between text and meanings taking into account by means of interpretation the context within which the narrative occurs.

Porter et al (2002) best summarises the suitability of narrative analysis in conducting a textual study stating that examining the structure of television narratives paves way for the exploration of the principles components used to construct the text thus enables one to identify rules and patterns in a particular genre that help to create meaning. Television texts as had been detailed in chapter two are not neutral but convey a range of beliefs, values and positions (White, 1992). This statement is reinforced by Jane Stokes who similarly argues that narrative analysis is often used to unpack the ideological intent of a piece of work (Stokes, 2002:67).

4.2 Research question

This study aims to find out how televisual pleasure is constructed in *Death in Paradise* taking into account gender and racial representation in the advancement of pleasure. With respect to gender and race, the study focuses on the representation of women and Black people.

Due to its multifarious nature, different theorists have approached the concept from different viewpoints. Starting with Barthes (1975), pleasure can be found in the familiar but also in that which is unfamiliar. Pleasure for Mulvey (1975) for instance, is concerned with scopophilia or voyeuristic tendencies produced by the masculine look at the female. Pleasure is also subjective and is found in the interaction with the text. On the question of pleasure, there is need to be consistent on the objective. The goal of the study is not functionalist one whereby pleasure is often linked with satisfaction needs (Ang, 1985) but rather on the question of appeal; that is, work employed in the text to make it enjoyable to watch.

While media texts appear to be innocent at least on the superficial level, media scholars from a critical point of view are interested in understanding representation of power-relations, dominant ideology, gender, and race as well as class issues as embedded in the text. In a world which is increasingly becoming visual, our experience of the world and the attitudes and belief system which we subscribe to are arguably more than ever constructed through media portrayal of, among other things, certain groups, communities, places and practices.

4.3 Charting narratology

Sarah Kozloff states that every narrative can be split into two parts: the story, that is, “what happens to whom,” and the discourse, that is, “how the story is told.” (Kozloff, 1992:53). Kozloff, however, in discussing the specificity of television narratives includes a third element, that of the television schedule. In story, Kozloff (1992) is concerned with the composition of narrative elements while discourse is focussed on the process of narration. Scheduling of television programmes for its part is argued to affect how narratives of programmes are structured and category of the text (genre).

Charting narratology is a challenging endeavour not least in the sense that that different discipline subscribes to different naratological disciplines (Bal, 2004) but also due to the complexities of the various traditions which have contributed to the development of narrative theory. Still, conducting narrative analysis calls for the understanding of the fundamentals of the narrative theory whose development has been borrowed from formalists, structuralist and post-structuralist traditions.

Narrative scholars have often refrained from defining narrative theory, nonetheless, Mieke Bal defines narrative as a range of approaches to texts that can be considered, partially or wholly, as narrative (Bal, 2004:7). Narrative theory as Bal (2004) explains is a tool box which in terms of literary criticism is more than just an aesthetic theory which for instance, can tackle issues related to genre; whereas in semiotics, it goes beyond semantic, syntactic and pragmatic theory. It is for these multiple usefulness which this study finds appealing.

The roots of contemporary interpretation of narratives begins with Aristotelian understanding of narrative structure where for each narrative there is a beginning, middle and an end; as well as an emphasis on the unity of a well-constructed and memorable plot where character even though deemed important is only secondary to plot (Kozloff, 1992; Huisman, 2006). Aristotle whilst discussing Greek tragedy drama in *Poetics* identified plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle and song as the six constituents of a tragedy (Huisman, 2006). Narrative theorists typified by Russian formalists such as folklorist Vladimir Propp were, however, were motivated to move from the 'humanist' understanding of narrative (Huisman, 2006) to a formalist interpretation of the attributes of a text.

As Huisman elaborates, the formalists wanted to identify what formally made a text a literary text (Huisman, 2006:31). Propp in his study of Russian fairy tales in the 1928 much acclaimed work, the *Morphology of Folktale* isolated 31 functions in fairy tales' narrative events. The centrality of the character for Propp is crucial since functions in the narratives must be advanced by these very characters and thus unlike in the humanist approach where the narrative focus on character as an individual, Propp's syntactic analysis (each tale assumes an abstract nature) makes the character a formal necessity of the plot (Huisman, 2006:31). In Propp's analysis, even though different tales feature different characters, all characters it is assumed fall into one of seven types of *dramatic personae* (Kozloff, 1992:56). These spheres of actions assumed by characters in the story: hero, villain, donor, dispatcher, false hero, dispatcher, helper, princess and her father, has for instance, been successful applied in the formalist sense in the analysis of character types in various popular media narratives.

Whereas the formalists focused on the individual elements of the text excluding outside interferences, structuralist brought to the fore the relationship between the text and the rules which govern the structure of the text. Thus, in structuralism, each element within a cultural system derives its meaning from its relationship to every other element in the system: there are no independent meanings (Seiter, 1992:24). The aforementioned lack of subjectivity in hindsight has been conceded as the major shortcoming in structuralism. Huisman (2006) expands on this point by explaining that formalists, like Propp, wanted to identify formal

indications of ‘literariness’ in the literary text, but they were not concerned with thematic interpretation, the more traditional aesthetic goal of literary criticism, for they considered it too ‘subjective’ (Huisman, 2006:34).

Still on structuralism, French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss is credited with introducing the idea of binary opposition to the reading of texts. Understanding how opposing forces work along the binarism of for instance, hero who embodies good and villain who embodies evil, feminism versus masculinity, Black versus white, among other forms of binary opposites have been influential in analysis of media narratives as it has been applied in thematic interpretation of the narratives (Huisman, 2006) as well provided the basis for ideological inquiry (Lacey, 2000). Narratives, as has widely acknowledged are characterised by binary opposites, a point which Nick Lacey leaves for minimal contestation when he posits that narratives are often about conflict between opposing forces (Lacey,2000:89). Still on the structural analysis of the narrative, Bulgarian-French structuralist Tsvetan Todorov in a neo Aristotelian fashion described five stages in which every narrative structure follows:

1. A state of equilibrium at the outset
2. A disruption of the equilibrium by some action
3. A recognition that there has been a disruption
4. An attempt to repair the disruption
5. A reinstatement of the initial equilibrium

(Altman, 2008:6)

Todorov’s approach of equilibrium to disequilibrium to again the reinstatement of a new equilibrium on a superficial level can for instance, be applied successfully to a police/detective crime (Lacey, 2000). The serene situation at the beginning of the drama is the considered the equilibrium, the murder or offence committed is equivalent to the disruption of the equilibrium and the solving of the crime is the reinstatement of the equilibrium.

French philosopher Roland Barthes in his in 1970 ground-breaking work *S/Z* in which he identified enigma, action, semic, symbolical and cultural as the five codes which create meaning in a text (Lacey, 2000) is widely attributed as a departure from structuralism towards post-structuralism analysis of narratives (Huisman, 2006:40). Whilst in *S/Z* Barthes brought to the fore the idea of how codes are used to decipher meaning, his subsequent work the *Pleasure of Text* published in 1973 introduced the concept of 'writerly' and 'readerly' texts, the former which codes are bare and easy to interpret the latter which requires the active reading of the text by the 'consumer' of the text (Lacey, 2000) is considered a departure from structuralism. In *Pleasure of the Text*, it is evident that Barthes finally acknowledges the need to move beyond the shackles of structuralism due to recognition of openness of the text. Barthes himself writes: "what I enjoy narrative is not directly its content or even its structure, but rather the abrasions I impose upon the fine surface; I read on, I skip, I look up, I dip in again (Barthes, 1975:11-12).

There is little doubt that narratology even today is still under the influence of structuralism methodology (Bal, 2004:34). Some scholars like Rimmon-Kenan have gone further to declare that narratology is mainly a formalist-structuralist discipline (Bal, 2004:43). Several factors have been attributed to the importance of structuralism attached to narratology not least to the success of the structuralist tradition in literary studies which consequently has deterred researchers from taking risks (Bal, 2004); but also, due to the fact that structuralism is deemed useful when it comes to gaining insights and making generalisations and making comparisons (Huisman, 2006:38). Most importantly, the influence and success in film and television studies cannot be overlooked.

Criticism has often been levelled for instance, on Propp and Todorov approaches on the structure of narrative as being somewhat simplistic or formulaic. Consequently, a host of scholars of narratology have tended to turn to the work of French theorist Gérard Genette whose work has been hailed by subsequent narrative theorist such as Bal (2004) as having a profound influence in the development of narratology. Huisman (2006) citing the foreword by Jonathan Guller in Genette 1980 commends the work as the most thorough attempt we have to identify, name and illustrate the basic constituents and techniques of narrative (Huisman, 2006:40).

Genette's explores a host of narrative constituents under three separate banners: Tense, Mood and Voice (Huisman, 2006). Tense is concerned with sequence, frequency and temporal relations between the story time and plot time (discourse time) (Bal, 2004; Huisman, 2006). A detailed relationship based on the temporal relationship between story time and discourse time which discusses ellipsis, scene, stretch, pause as summarised by Seymour Chatman is outlined in Kozloff (1992). Under mood Genette discusses the category of perspective in point of view and distance which revisits diegesis (telling) and mimesis (showing) (Bal, 2004). The category of voice addresses the question of who speaks and narrative within a narrative (Bal, 2004).

Peculiarity of television narratives

Television is a complex medium at many levels not least at the textual level. John Fiske in *Television Culture* names television flow, intertextuality and readers and process of reading as the three foci involved in television studies (Fiske, 1987). Conducting textual analysis therefore calls for special emphasis in understanding the characteristics of television programmes.

Fiske (1987) introduced the concept of polysemy to explain that television productions do not restrict itself to a single voice but offers multiple meaning which could be experienced differently by social situated readers. Fiske argues that polysemic nature of television is the equivalent of social difference and diversity (Fiske, 1987:14) which is only relevant if viewers occupy different positions in the society. From the ideological perspective, polysemy is a technique to make a programme as appealing as possible to a wide range of audience (Butler, 2002).

Butler (2002) besides polysemy describes segmentation and interruption as two markers which distinguishes the flow in television narratives. Segmentation of narration has long been identified as key marker of difference between television and film narrative (Kozloff, 1992). According to Kozloff, Television narratives are unique in the fact that all texts are embedded

within the metadiscourse of the station's schedule (Kozloff, 1992:69). With segmentation to consider, television narratives are therefore designed in a way to allow for the disruption of the narrative flow. Since television is as an industry regulated by economic factors, the narrative has to be structured in a way to accommodate the space for broadcasting advertisement (Butler, 2002). *Death in Paradise*, which is the subject of analysis in this study, is aired by national broadcaster BBC which does not interrupt programmes to broadcast advertisements. However, this does not mean that BBC television programmes are not segmented.

As a national broadcaster, the BBC does not interrupt programmes, from the economic perspective, BBC productions may be sold to other television networks which depend on advertisements to generate revenue thus the necessity to structure productions in a segmented fashion. The many mini climaxes in this series can still serve the purpose of segmented acts which if for instance, if syndicated in another network can be utilised for insertion of advertisements. In television narrative analysis, the segment is crucial point of analysis since it is used to demarcate progression thus advancing the storyline (Huisman, 2006).

Television programmes allows disruption of the flow because the narratives are loosely knit which alludes to the creation of unity despite discontinuity (Huisman, 2006). This explains why normally television viewers would be engaged in other chores besides watching television. The continuous nature of television narratives and character development for instance in series and serials achieve through adoption of open-ended format as cited by Porter et al (2002) and Huisman (2006) is also marked as a unique characteristic of television narratives.

4.4 Semiotics of narratives

To account for how meaning is produced in the text, this enquiry elected to use semiotics — the study of how signs are used to communicate meaning and the rules that govern their use (Seiter, 1992:23). Narrative and semiotics are closely linked together, and has been pointed out in the introduction of this chapter, narratology in terms of semiotics is also concerned

with semantics and syntactics, (Bal, 2004). Semiotics looks at how elements in a text are arranged and combined to produce meanings; however, it does not pinpoint what exactly the meaning is (Seiter, 1992).

In the analysis of media texts, semiotics has proved to be a popular tool since it can be applied to all kind of texts (Selby & Cowdery, 1995); and in television studies, semiotic analysis attempts to reveal layers of encoded meanings are structured into television programmes (Fiske, 1987). Seiter (1992) argues that semiotics has particularly been influential in television studies since television is a 'messy' thing. Semiotics thus recognises role of combination in all verbal and visual sign production—including aesthetic production (Seiter, 1992:33).

Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure conceptualised that a sign is composed of two parts: the signifier and the signified (Seiter, 1992). The signifier is the material or physical thing while the signified is the concept represented (Seiter, 1992). It is, however, imperative to note that the relationship between signifier and signified is one which is purely negotiated on arbitrary terms meaning that there is no natural connection between the two (Seiter, 1992). As Seiter (1992) explains, since relationship between the 'material thing' and 'meaning' is on conventional terms, a word which in this case are signifier derives its meaning from that fact that it different from other words in the language system.

American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce unlike Saussure added a third element, that of interpretant, in deciphering a sign (Fiske, 1982). For Peirce, even in defining a sign, one is compelled to use another sign (interpretant) to translate the sign (Seiter, 1992). Peirce stressed the role played by convention in signification, that there had to be a formal or informal agreement on how the signs work (Fiske, 1982). In television, the concept of convention plays a pivotal role be it in the identification of the genre or with the characters. Peirce identified three categories of signs, that is, signs were either iconic, indexical or symbolic (Fiske, 1982). An icon, for instance, an image resembles or sounds like what they represent, while on the other hand, indexical signs for example, smoke for fire does not

resemble what they represent but are in some way connected with what they represent (Fiske, 1982).

In relations to indexical signs, semioticians pay special attention to metonyms which are figures of speech which refer to a particular attribute of a thing for the thing itself; and Synecdoche whereby the part is substituted for the whole (Selby & Cowdery, 1995:46). An example of metonym and Synecdoche could be a crown for a queen and wheel for a car respectively Selby & Cowdery (1995). As explained by Fiske (1982) Symbolic signs for instance, red rose for romance are rather unique because there is no semblance nor connection with what it represents but nonetheless, there is a shared consensus of what it stands for. Crucially, both Saussure and Peirce recognised that signs are cultural constructs that have taken on meaning through repeated, learned, collective use (Seiter, 1992:25).

In semiotics, it is important to consider the wider system which meaning is produced even though individual signs do convey meaning. Saussure recognised the significance of the relationship between the signs which he referred to as *parole* and other signs in the sign system which he termed *langue* (Fiske, 1982). Therefore, the way signs are arranged and combined in a system of signs to produce meaning becomes the focus semiotics. According to Fiske (1982) Saussure came up with paradigms and syntagms as the two ways in which signs are organised into codes. Simply put, what goes into the scene are paradigms, whereas the combination of paradigmatic signs together to form a sequence is the syntagm. For example, in television the type of shot, costume or a specific location are paradigms while the combination of these three together to form a sequence is the syntagm. The examination of the paradigmatic elements which are merged to form a syntagm is important for instance, in television since it enables to see how individual elements which goes to the set are employed to create meaning. The examination of paradigms also raise the question of what alternatives could have been used in place of the original sign and what could it have signified.

Barthes through the concepts of denotation and connotation introduced the two orders of signification (Fiske, 1982) which has been crucial in the study of semiotics. Denotation is therefore the first order of signification and the literal meaning of the sign. On the other hand,

denotation which Barthes termed as the second order of signification refers to the subjective meaning when sign meets the feelings or emotions of the users and the values of their culture (Fiske, 1982:86). As Fiske (1982) explains, connotations which are largely subjective, arbitrary and culture-specific alongside myths and symbolism are the three ways which signs works in second order of signification.

4.5 Selecting the subject of analysis

Television studies have for decades been dominated by empiricisms over critical approaches. Nonetheless, empirical studies come short when it comes to explaining television's meanings and how narrative and stylistic devices generate meanings (Butler, 2002:334). Textual analysis therefore is applied in this study because is a mean to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world (McKee, 2003:1). Conducting textual analysis involves making educated guesses and keeping in mind that no single representation can be true, accurate or that which reflects reality.

In narrative analysis as Jane Stokes explains, the subject of the analysis is the entire text focusing on the structure of narratives (Stokes, 2003). Selecting the unit of analysis in a television programme can be one of the most challenging part of undertaking the analysis. The big question a researcher asks oneself is not only what merits to be the unit of analysis from the vast amount of visual material but also the merit for deciding the specific unit to be analysed.

For a narratological approach this raises the question of what can be considered the basic unit of analysis: one episode, all episodes of a season, or all episodes of a series that have been broadcast? (Gymnich & Allrath,2005)

The process of selecting the unit of analysis first entailed viewing the first four seasons of *Death in Paradise*. Each season has eight episodes and the running time for each episode is

approximately 60 minutes; in practice this involved 1,680 minutes of viewing material up to the episode of analysis. Episode four of season four of this programme was selected for the purpose of analysis in this study. This episode titled *Until Death Do You Apart* was originally aired on 29 January 2015. The full transcript of the episode was retrieved from springfieldspringfield.com and was used for reviewing the dialogue between the characters. Researchers have their own biases, and the selection of a given unit of analysis can be done out of preference or can be selected randomly. Mckee (2003) reflects on this tricky question explaining that only when a researcher knows his/her questions is when one can decide on a suitable text to analyse. However, episode four of *Death in Paradise* was selected on the sole basis that it is in this episode that one fundamental story arc or narrative problematic which had been running in previous episode comes to a partial closure. The story arch involves two of the main characters Goodman and Camille who both have different agendas; Camille wanting to leave for France and Goodman desire to express his love for Camille.

To understand how the narrative in *Death in Paradise* is constructed and packaged, the inquiry called for closer look at the scene since in any television narrative, the scene is the basic building block (Kozloff, 1992) or the basic storytelling unit (Newman, 2006). By reading the script careful and watching the episode on the computer, I was able to create a scene-by-scene breakdown of the script. Each scene was carefully numbered according to a specific Act, timed and described.

The analysis focuses on the text from main perspectives:

1. Narrative- how the story unfolds.
2. Construction -codes of language which convey meaning.
3. Categorisation-conventions of genre.

5 ANALYSIS

5.1 Format in *Death in Paradise*

Death in Paradise is a British television crime drama series aired by BBC which has been running since 2011. The series revolves around the work and lives of a small team of police officers in the fictional Caribbean island of Saint Marie. In every episode, the team led by Detective Inspector Humphrey Goodman, the successor of the murdered Detective Inspector Richard Poole, investigate and solve a murder. In terms of format, *Death in Paradise* is classified as a series due to its episodic nature where each episode concludes with a closure at the end. In each episode, there is a different murder story presented which at the end must be resolved. However, as noted by Butler (2002), in some series, narrative threads imitate the format adopted by serials by continuing in subsequent episodes.

In terms of the narrative, a key marker which maintains viewers interest in a series is the concept of narrative problematic. As Butler explains, because fundamentally the series is a repeatable form, there must be some narrative kernel that recurs every week (Butler, 2002:25). In his later work, Butler (2010) points out that even though the series format offers a closure in each episode, it is the narrative problematic which sustains a viewer's interest by feeding fresh incidents into the core problem; thus in essence, the main problem is never resolved.

Taking into consideration the concept of narrative problematic, I argue that just as it was to be seen whether Crockett and Tubbs in *Miami Vice* would surrender to themselves to the world of vice (Butler, 2010), the case in this context is whether Humphrey would be able to cope in the Island, or whether he will ultimately fail to adopt, and return to the comfort zone of London where previously he was based. Besides the main narrative problematic, the series

sustains specific enigmas some of which are resolved after a couple of episodes and some which span over several episodes.

Plot structure

The series employs a structured plot (Selby & Cowdery, 1995) where the apparent structuralism of the narrative is evident. Television crime drama is noted for being notoriously formulaic (Turnbull, 2014), and the same is true for *Death in Paradise*. The formulaic nature of television narratives, however, does not apply to television crime drama solely and applies to other genres as well. However, as Thompson (2003) points, there are several constraints which limit television narratives. These constraints include: commercial need of the network, stricter censorship, huge amount programming time, the need for writers to keep track of contractual requirements of the cast, among others.

In *Death in Paradise*, each episode begins with a serene situation (equilibrium) which is shortly disrupted by a murder (disequilibrium) which gets reported to the local police station. The investigating team embark on a challenging task to find the perpetrator who is unknown to both the investigators and the viewers. Towards the end when all seems to be in vain, the lead investigator through intuition makes a stunning discovery which helps him to piece together the clues. The lead investigator finally summons all the suspects in one location usually the scene of the murder and recounts through flashback the series of events which eventually leads to the revelation of the identity and motive of the murderer (new equilibrium). The episode normally ends in a jubilant state with the team of the police officers enjoying themselves on a night out following the rigorous investigation process.

Plot to fit the schedule

Television programmes naturally have to adhere to scheduling needs of the television industry, and *Death in Paradise* like any other 60-minute television drama does indeed conform to the common format of four acts which allows the insertion of three commercial breaks in between the acts (Thompson, 2003). While conducting the analysis, the first step

was to approach the text from the perspective of the structure of the teleplay/script. This involved several hours of viewing the episode keenly and repeatedly to establish how the teleplay is structured in terms of the acts. From the micro analysis perspective of the text which this study is based on, the procedure entailed the breaking the episode into scenes or 'beats'.

A close analysis of the approximately 60-minute episode concluded that the text is divided into four acts besides the teaser which precedes the opening credit. Newman (2006) states that there are two reasons which makes acts a necessity in television narratives: the commercial function and the aesthetic function. Commercial function is thus necessitated by the need to insert commercial breaks in between the programme, and aesthetically the acts serve the purpose of ensuring steadily rising action and organising patterns of action by maintaining a sense of proportion and symmetry (Newman, 2006). However, *Death in Paradise* is broadcast by the BBC which does not interrupt programmes with commercial breaks thereby at least calling into question the commercial function of structuring the programme to adhere to this specific need. Citing American cable television network HBO Thompson (2003) maintains that programmes aired by networks which do not interrupt programmes with commercial breaks are nonetheless structured according to acts albeit with more flexibility. In a four-act structure, the commercials are inserted after roughly a quarter hour mark. Considering the functions of the separate acts, Newman (2006) explains that the acts serve different functions with the opening act being the set-up, the middle acts correspond to complication and development respectively while the fourth act is the resolution.

For the purpose of analysis, episode 4 of series 4 was selected. The episode is titled '*Until Death Do You Part*' which was originally aired on 29 January 2015. The episode was directed by David O'Neill and written by Rebecca Wojciechowski.

Synopsis of the episode

Four ladies, the bride (Jenny) and three bridesmaids (Sal, Betty and Ivy) arrive at the Caribbean Island of St. Marie for the bride's bachelorette party referred to as the "hen party"

in the episode. After a night out and a series of binge drinking, the bride excuses herself to go to bed as the rest of the bridesmaids stay behind to continue drinking.

The next day in the morning, alarm is raised at the Honoré Police Station that a woman has drowned at a local hotel — the Dolore Sands Hotel. Detective Inspector Humphrey Goodman who is the lead character in the series upon examining the body and the scene of the suspected crime rules out accident as the cause of the woman’s death, and confidently declares that the woman has been murdered. Meanwhile, Detective Sergeant Camille Bordey who is Humphrey’s female partner has to make a decision whether to stay in St. Marie or go to France to take up a new position as an undercover police.

The story time unfolds in three days, while the plot time (screen time) as indicated in the scene analysis tabular representation in Appendix pages is approximately 58 minutes.

Main characters in the episode:

1. Detective Inspector Humphrey Goodman
2. Detective Sergeant Camille Bordey
3. Officer Dwayne Myers
4. Detective Sergeant Florence Casell
5. Commissioner Selwyn Patterson
6. Catherine Bordey

Relationship between the main characters in the episode:

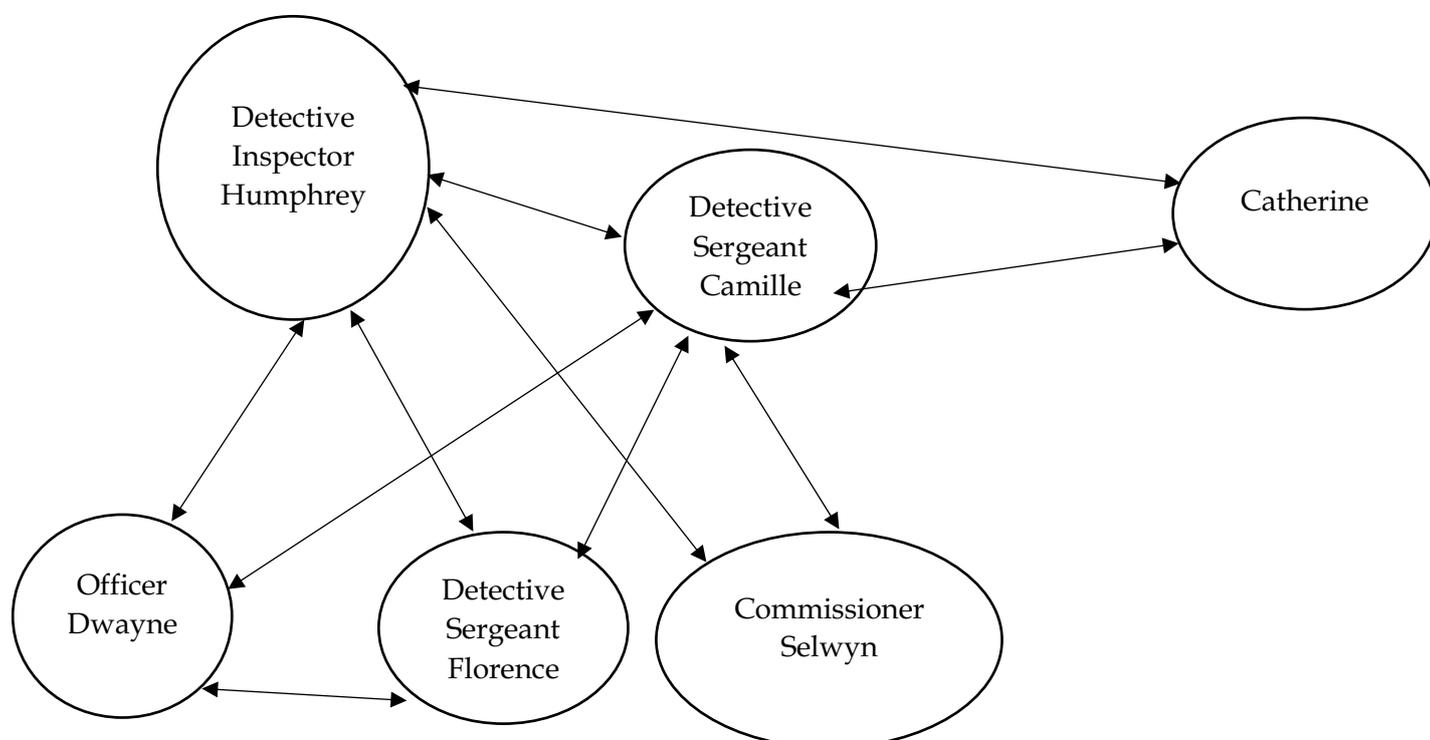


Figure 1 Relationship between main characters

Non-recurring characters in the episodes

The bridesmaids:

1. Sal Tyler
2. Elizabeth Foss (Betty)
3. Ivy Marcel

The victim:

1. Jenny

Other characters:

1. Simon Parke (the bridegroom-to-be)
2. Frank (the receptionist)

The first step in the process of analysis as mentioned earlier was to break down the text into scenes followed by categorising the scenes under four acts in a similar style of a teleplay manual. The teaser and Act I have a total number of 14 scenes which runs for 13 minutes and 28 seconds. Act II has total of 7 scenes and runs for 13 minutes and 51 seconds. Act III has 9 scenes and runs for 16 minutes and 19 seconds. Act IV has only 6 scenes and runs for 14 minutes and 21 seconds. A tabular representation of the act distribution, screen time, scene number and scene description is provided on the appendix pages.

The rationale for deciding the act break entailed a close observation keeping in mind the unique characteristic of segmentation in television narratives for clear cut markers such heightened tension, suspense or cliff-hanger in the narrative. As explained by Newman (2006), television acts have strongly punctuated endings, often with a clearly focused question. Since the only available transcript of the episode retrieved from Springfield!

Springfield! does not indicate act break, the process had to be done mechanically which in hindsight proved to be an enlightening procedure.

Furthermore, since the programme is aired BBC, establishing the act breaks was not an obvious exercise since the flexibility which Thompson (2003) refers does not extend the affordance of clear punctuated markers. Nonetheless, closer observation of the episode revealed a clear act structure. The act-break in Act I at 13:28 comes after the scene which sees Humphrey and Camille walk over to the receptionist Frank to inquire for key recording system. Instead Frank gives them CCTV footage for the past 24 hours. Immediately after handing over the footage to the detectives, Frank makes a call and utters the following words: "They've gone. It's fine. I did it". As Frank utters the words, non-diegetic sounds indicating heightened tension and suspense can be heard. The element of suspense is further elevated by the fact that as viewers we are not aware of the person whom Frank is speaking to on the other end and what he means by saying "I did it". Here it is clear that a valuable piece of information is withheld thus creating a sense of enigma and consequently capturing the interest of the viewer. These factors were taken in account considering the time which the scene ends at 13:28

Identifying the act-break leading to Act III was based on the premise of establishing a dead end in the investigation. The low point in the narrative comes after the detectives fail to establish how the suspects could have entered the victim's room without being seen. Following this complication, the act comes to at 27:20 close at as Camille and Humphrey meet at Catherine's restaurant late in the evening to discuss whether Camille had made up her mind to take up the job offer to France. The scene is cut to a new day indicating the beginning of Act III which continues the rigorous of the investigation.

The final act-break at 43:40 comes after Humphrey makes an astounding discovery regarding the cork from the wine bottle discovered in the victim's room. Trusting his instincts that he may have possibly found the last piece of the jigsaw, Humphrey's discovery advances the narrative towards a resolution kick starting the final act. Similar to the scene preceding the

first act-break, the scene is accompanied by non-diegetic sound creating a sense of urgency and tension.

5.2 Multi-strand storylines

The episode of analysis has three narrative strands which for the purpose of analysis have been labelled A story, B story and C story. The three strands are neatly interwoven together in the episode to form a coherent and flowing narrative which eventually leads to closure or partial closure. While conducting analysis, it is important to note that television characters are unique in the sense that they have history thus character development and other events may be linked to other episodes.

Description of A story

This narrative strand revolves around the events surrounding the investigation of the murder of Jenny, a young bride-to-be who was tragically murdered inside her hotel room. The narrative of episode is structured to fit within the confines of the main plot of the episode, and therefore, the events and incidents surrounding Jenny's murder and characters' action are responsible for progression of the story to the point of resolution. A story is independent of B and C stories, whereas B and C stories in the narrative sense are dependent of A story. Another marker which distinguishes A story from B and C stories is the level of characters' involvement in the stories. Due to prominence of A story in the episode's narrative structure, there are considerably many characters involved in A story compared two other narrative strands.

Below is a diagrammatic representation of character relationships in A story

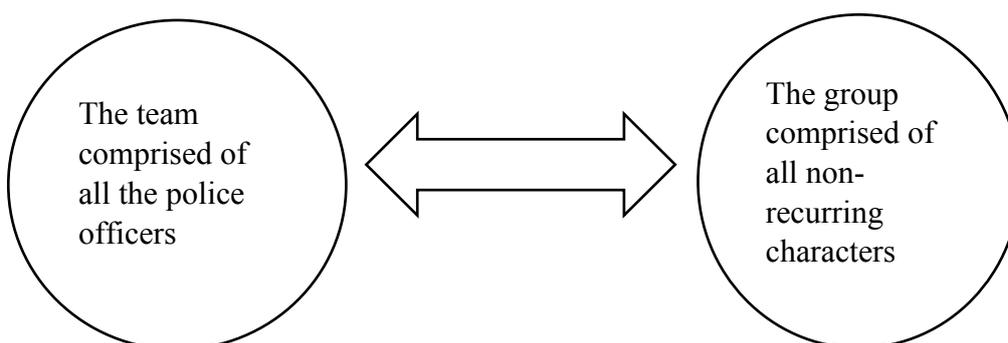


Figure 2 Character relationship in A story

Description of B story

B story which bears the hallmark of serial story telling involves four main characters in the story: Humphrey, Camille, Catherine and the Commissioner Selwyn. Within this plotline, there are two separate story arcs which have been running from the previous episodes — an aspect of seriality which the show explores. The first story arc whose resolution has been postponed from the previous episode is about a job offer in Paris which Camille has been offered. In the previous episode, we learn that Camille was undecided whether to take the job or not. This story arch involves four characters: Camille, Humphrey, Catherine and the Commissioner. The second story arch in this narrative strand involves only Humphrey and his sidekick Camille. In the previous episodes, it became apparent that Humphrey harboured strong feelings for Camille, and were it not for Camille shocking Humphrey with the news of the Paris job offer, he would have long told Camille how he felt. In the fashion of melodrama, the element of cliffhanger has been used in these two-story arcs to postpone resolution. Below is the diagrammatic representations of character relationships in the two story arcs.

Arc 1 (The Paris job offer)

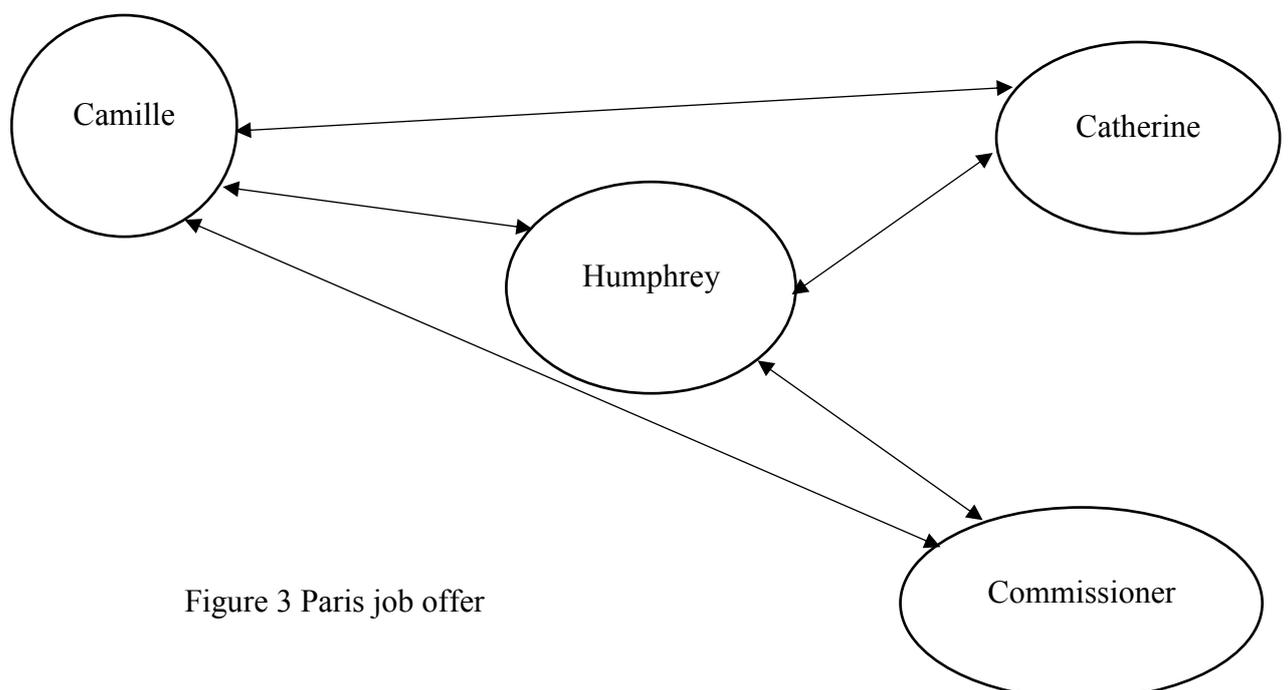


Figure 3 Paris job offer

Arc 2 (Humphrey love for Camille)

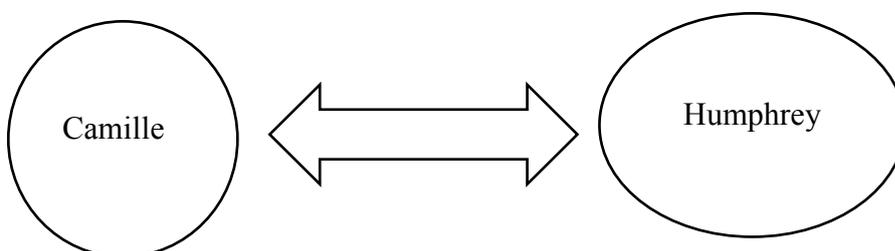


Figure 4 Humphrey love for Camille

Description of C story

This narrative strand is mainly concerned with character development between Florence (who at this point is still a relatively new character in the programme) and Dwayne. In the previous three series, Dwayne and Officer Fidel Best who later became a Detective Sergeant were partnered together and had an interesting relationship despite their differences in approach and mannerism. The relationship between the two was often characterised by the friendly banter which always initiated by Dwayne. However, due to the need to further his career, Fidel leaves the Island to further his career. Fidel's character is thus written off at the last episode of series 3. As Fidel's replacement, Florence makes her debut in the first episode of series 4. From this scene, it is evident that Florence and Dwayne are starting to establish a rapport similar to one which Dwayne had with Fidel, albeit a different kind of relationship.

Below is a diagrammatic representation of character relationship in C story

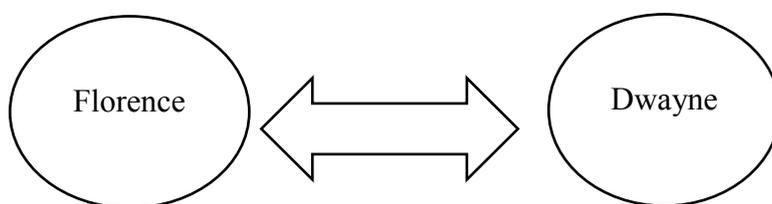


Figure 5 Characters relationship in C story

The narrative strands are, however, structured in a crafty way to ensure the unity of narrative in the way the separate strands are interwoven in the episode. The following dialogue

retrieved from Act III, scene 4 (33:42-35:44) shows how the three narratives are interwoven to fit in the same plot.

FLORENCE: So, Dwayne, what happened with you and Gloria? Did you manage to get her phone number?

DWAYNE: I don't know what you mean, Sarge.

OK, look, I really don't want to be indiscreet.

But let's just say, I might be putting a call into the bureau de change before the end of the day.

FLORENCE: Very impressive, Officer Myers.

FLORENCE: Sarge. Sir.

CAMILLE: Yes?

FLORENCE: We chased Jenny's phone records, like you said. You should see them. They make for interesting reading, because two voicemail messages were left on her mobile from a hotel landline, before midnight on the night of the murder.

HUMPHREY: Just before midnight?

FLORENCE: I know. Just before the candles were lit and she was killed.

CAMILLE: Have you accessed her voicemail?

FLORENCE: They have been deleted.

But, according to the record, she accessed and deleted them at 7.

15am the following morning.

HUMPHREY: Wait, wait, wait. She accessed her voicemails after she was dead?

DWAYNE: Ah, but Florence came up with the idea of dusting the screen of Jenny's phone to see who else had used it.

HUMPHREY: And have you got a match yet?

DWAYEN: I'm working on it now.

PHONE RINGS: Honoré Police Station?

CAMILLE: Yes, this is Camille Bordey. Oh. Um yeah, all right.

Thank you for letting me know.

HUMPHREY: Is everything OK?

CAMILLE: Yes. Well, it seems that the job in Paris is no longer on the table.

HUMPHREY: Oh. Did they say why?

CAMILLE: Just that they are looking for someone already living in Paris.

HUMPHREY: Are you disappointed?

CAMILLE: Yes. But if it's not meant to be. c'est la vi

From this scene, which begins with Story C, it is evident that character development between Dwayne and Florence is at play. Character development in crime television drama series until the 1980s was a relatively new concept (Turnbull, 2014).

However, when Camille and Humphrey enter the police station, the conversation immediately shifts story to the investigation of the murder (main Story A), and finally Story B unfolds when Camille receives the call informing her about the withdrawal of the Paris Job offer. The scene also serves different functions; while Dwayne reveals his plans (Story C), Camille on the other hand, is faced with an obstacle (Story B). From the perspective of the investigation (Story A), an important discovery has been clarified. The reaction in three narrative strands, however, work in tandem to advance the story towards a resolution.

5.3 Melodrama: introducing a female story

The use of a three-strand narrative in this programme is testimony of adoption of seriality in television crime drama which introduces another dimension to the programme — the aspect of melodrama in a cop show. The aspect of seriality is crime series where apart from character development was concerned with increased emotional engagement, character identification and contradiction of positions was first introduced in the 1970s cop show *Police Story* (Turnbull, 2007). The accolade is nonetheless more often attributed to the 1980s-cop series *Hill Street Blues* since it was this show which marked a connection and break with the past in terms of style and format (Turnbull, 2007). Ien Ang offers a vivid analysis on audience fascination complimented by detailed textual analysis of the 1980s-prime time soap opera *Dallas* refers to melodrama as a cultural genre whose main effect is the stirring up of the emotions (Ang, 1985:61). Already the first part of analysis has revealed a storyline which resist closure or at least comes to a partial closure — a melodramatic element which is a staple in soap operas.

This sequence analysis is interested in the aspect of melodrama which Jane Feuer (1984) in *Melodrama, Serial Form and Television Today* relates to in terms of narrative and visual pleasure. In the article, Feuer examines melodramatic effects employed in prime-time serials such as *Dallas*, *Dynasty*, *Falcon Crest*, *Knots Landing*, among other series and points to their overriding similarities with day time soaps. Before analysing the melodramatic effect in this sequence, delving into the characterisation of Camille is crucial to the understanding of how the programme situate women as central to the narrative in a detective series as well as their role in creating the whole melodramatic effect.

Camille is a young attractive Black/mixed race woman who was raised by a single mother Catherine who runs a local joint in St. Marie. Camille's father, Marlon Croft, whose only appearance is in season 3, episode 5, deserted her mother and Camille when she was only six. Presumably, this could why Camille prefers to remain single and her apparent distrust for men — although from Season 2, episode 1, through Camille's mother attempt to set her up on blind dates, we learn that she had been previously engaged in a heterosexual relationship.

Camille is also extremely close to her mother who is the only person she frequently bonds with to share her feelings. In return, Catherine (Camille's mother) who is of a mixed race is a tender and loving mother who is protective of Camille. Camille is also a hard worker, determined and ambitious young woman. This persona of hers is clearly brought out by her desire to relocate to Paris for no other reason other than to further her career. Camille's brisk walk, strong voice and steely demeanour is betrayed by her 'chic' and 'girly' appearance. She is fond of wearing brightly coloured shorts which she often substitutes with pastel coloured tight fitting pants complimented with sleeveless tops and stiletto heels (see image 1). This observation concurs with Mulvey (1975) observation that women have functioned as erotic object for the spectator.

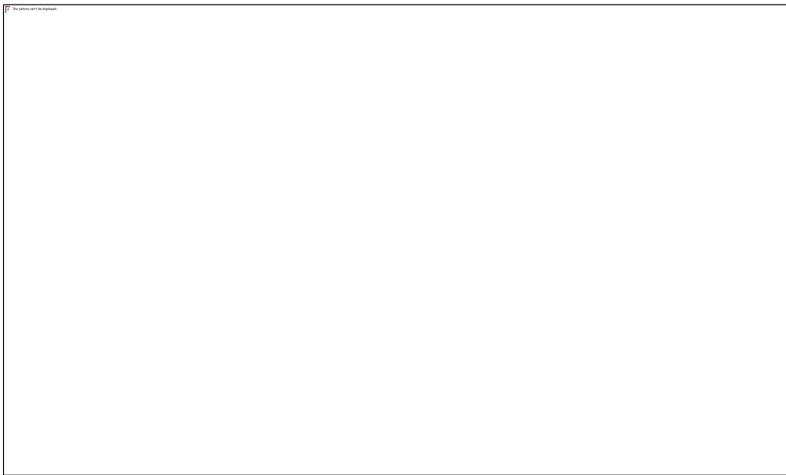


Image 1 long shot of Camille

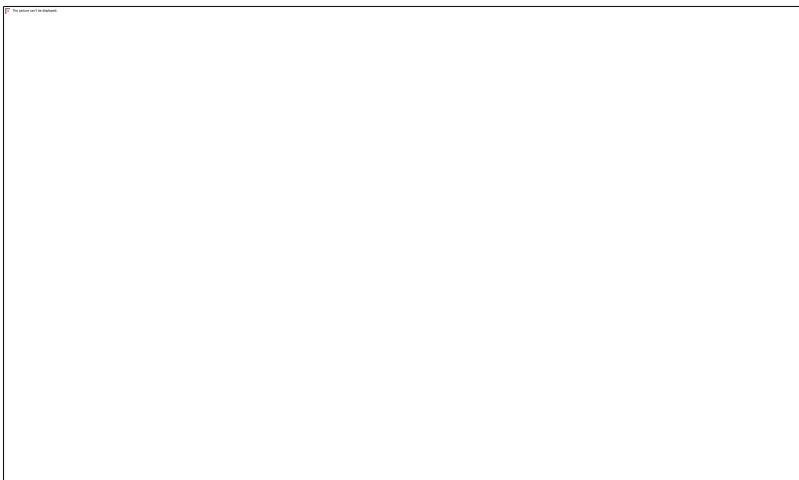


Image 2 Camille, Catherine and Florence at the harbour

There is also a softer side to Camille as Act II, scene 7; 25:15-27:20 and Act IV, scene 6; 54:56-58:02 reveals. In the first instance, Camille reveals her soft spot for Humphrey by delicately tending to the wound sustained by Humphrey when he fell from the hotel's balcony. In the second instance, it becomes clear that Camille harbours feeling for Humphrey or at least is concerned about his welfare when as she was departing for Paris, she asks Florence to promise her that she will "look after Humphrey". It is, however, unfortunate that we do not get to witness how character development between Camille and Florence turns out, whether they will be close or indifferent to each other. What becomes evident, however, is that Florence takes Camille's place and for the first time we even see Florence dressing as Camille (see image 2) dropping the baggy police uniform for the more "revealing" outfit. The stereotypical presentation of Camille and her mother as tender as well as Florence being told to assume the mantle of being the "caring one" could be argued as attempt to place women in their familial domesticated roles.

The next sequence of analysis (Act IV, scene 4; 51:19-54:35) attempts to bring out the concept of melodrama in the episode. The focus of analysis in the following dialogue is a scene from story B which mainly concerns Humphrey and Camille.

HUMPHREY: Can we talk?

CAMILLE: Of course. What's going on?

HUMPHREY: I think it's time I was honest with you, at least, as honest as I can be, which may well not be very honest at all in the grand scheme of things. Er but I'd never forgive myself if I didn't do what was right.

CAMILLE: OK, you know, sometimes, as much as I think I understand English, I I'm not sure I do.

HUMPHREY: Your job in Paris

CAMILLE: Yes?

HUMPHREY: It was me that got them to withdraw their offer.

CAMILLE: What?

HUMPHREY: They needed me to agree to release you. I refused.

CAMILLE: Why?

HUMPHREY: I didn't want to lose you. But I I knew deep in my heart you wanted to go. When you first told me about it, I saw it in your eyes. You were excited.

CAMILLE: And you still stopped me going? Yes.

HUMPHREY: I'm sorry. I've behaved selfishly. You see, you've become very important to me, Camille, much more than you'd ever know. But if you care about someone, you you have to let them be the person they are, not the person you want them to be, otherwise what's the point? So, I called the Commissioner. He called Paris, and, well, the point is, you're flying from Guadeloupe in the morning. The ferry leaves first thing. You you see, my father always told me that you can't help making a mistake, but if you try and make it right, people will forgive your stupidity.

CAMILLE: I could kill you.

HUMPHREY: Yes, well, if it helps, I could throw myself in the sea.

CAMILLE: Don't tempt me. She tuts. Mamanand.the team.You.

HUMPHREY: Don't worry. I'll muddle through.

This scene from the melodramatic perspective is crucial in terms of emotional engagement, ideological problematic as reflected in personal life struggles and contradictions. It also concerned with the question of hierarchy and patriarchy in a society in which the key figure is a woman (Camille). In this scene Humphrey's finally reveals that he was the one who had long prevented Camille's transfer to Paris. Prior to Humphrey's revelation, we learn courtesy

of the narrative technique of dramatic irony that Humphrey and Commissioner Selwyn in Act III, scene 2; 27:21-31:00 held the keys to Camille's fate. In tandem with traditional patriarchal society, the scene may be read as the control and power men yield in the society and specifically dominion men have over women. To capture Camille's astonishment and the mixed emotional intensity, a series of close-up shots (see image 3) are used in the scene. As Ang explains, Dallas was often shown in close-up which in itself is a melodramatic technique which produces an enlargement of the tragic structure of feeling (Ang, 1985:73).

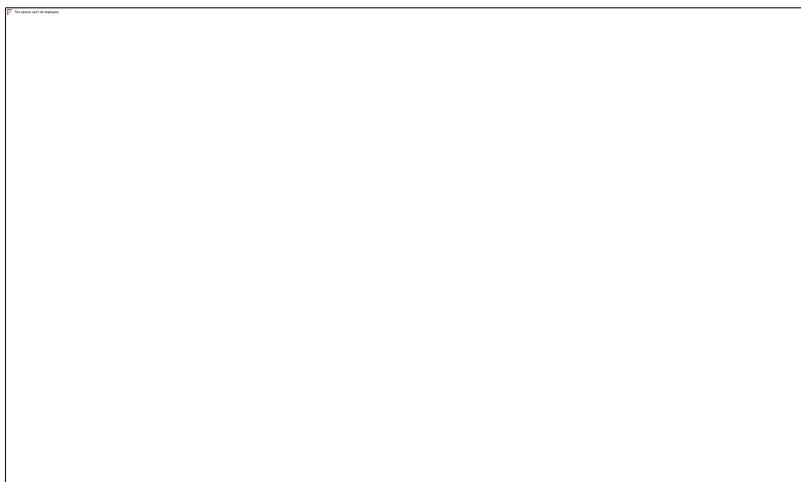


Image 3 Close-up of Camille

Citing Chuck Kleinhans, Feuer (1984) points out that melodrama locate problems in the family, a place where they can't be solved. Staying true to this statement Humphrey confides of his struggle of not wanting to "lose" Camille due to her importance in his life, the liberal notion of wanting people to be "what they want to be and not you want them to be" and the moral lesson from his father of "rectifying the wrong". For Camille, in a typical melodramatic fashion it is indeed a happy ending but one which comes at a cost. The joy of going to Paris cannot the mask the fact she will be leaving behind her loving mother and Humphrey and the team who are like family to her.

5.4 Generic promiscuity: an ideological technique to appeal across the divide

Turnbull (2014) in an attempt to tackle the question of genre in crime television warns against oversimplifying the underlying question. In discussing genre in crime drama,

Turnbull (2014) argues that the parameter within which to ascribe a text to a specific genre can be approached from different and sometimes competing angles. Emphasising the just elaborated “diversity”, Turnbull concludes that television crime drama is a multifarious genre that continues to oscillate between competing impulses and demands (Turnbull, 2014:8).

Within the broader genre of crime television drama, *Death in Paradise* as a sub-genre in terms of the nature of the work in which the team of police officers are involved in conforms to the conventions of a detective-led drama. Examining the typology and structure of narrative is another way of categorising *Death in Paradise*. According to Selby & Cowdery (1995), the narrative within the police series assume either a centred biography or a de-centred one. In centred biography, the narrative focuses on a central character or characters often not more than three. In terms of narrative type, *Death in Paradise* in this specific episode focuses on the lead character (Humphrey), a sidekick character (Camille) and two other characters (Florence and Dwayne) and thus conforms to the design of centred biography. In addition to the four characters, the programme features two other recurring characters (Commissioner Selwyn and Catherine) but the narrative focuses less on them. In the same token, *Death in Paradise* is a police procedural as the detective wonder about collecting and examining evidence at the scene of the crime, conducting background checks of the suspects and interviewing suspects and witnesses.

Still on narrative type, the Russian formalist Tzvetan Todorov claimed that there are two narratives in every detective story: one which delineates the progress of investigation and one which crime has already happened (Turnbull, 2014). *Death in Paradise* belong to the latter where the crime has already happened. Unlike in police procedurals where the perpetrator is presented beforehand, *Death in Paradise* again a sub-genre therefore in terms of plot style can be considered to be a ‘Whodunit’, a genre in which the identity of a perpetrator is revealed not until the end.

Perhaps no other person best epitomises the narrative style employed in *Death in Paradise* than actor Kris Marshall who plays lead character DI Humphrey Goodman. In a January 2016 Interview with BT TV’s Frances Taylor, Marshall explains that the success of show (*Death in*

Paradise) is partly attributed to its similarity to cop shows of the 1970s and 1980s. The statement by Marshall could have been interpreted in many ways had he not mentioned shows such as *Columbo*, *The Rockford Files*, *Murder She Wrote*, *Poirot* and *Marple*. Here it becomes apparent that Marshall refers to the return of the traditional detective drama characterised by ratiocination — a narrative technique integral to the distinct style adopted in *Death in Paradise* which brings out the best out of the main character.

Thus, before embarking on the specifics of ratiocination, it is essential to first present the character profile of DI Humphrey Goodman — the main character in the series. For a start, Humphrey is a white middle-aged expatriate from England whose eccentric and awkward mannerism slightly overshadows the magnitude of the responsibility bestowed upon him. He is a little bit patronising perhaps emanating from the difficult relationship he has with his father (a successful lawyer who disapproves of his son's work as police officer and wants him back to London); nonetheless, Humphrey is a kind and loving man. Unlike his briefcase-carrying predecessor Richard Poole who always wore a matching suit and a tie, Humphrey is the opposite of the uptight Poole, is shabbily dressed and unkempt. Initially, Humphrey can even be seen trying Hawaiian shirts in order to blend with the locals but discarded the colourful shirts for his preferred creased pants and his mismatching oversized coats. Again, unlike his predecessor he is trying the best to make himself comfortable in St. Marie despite his troublesome past and the future which is full of uncertainties.

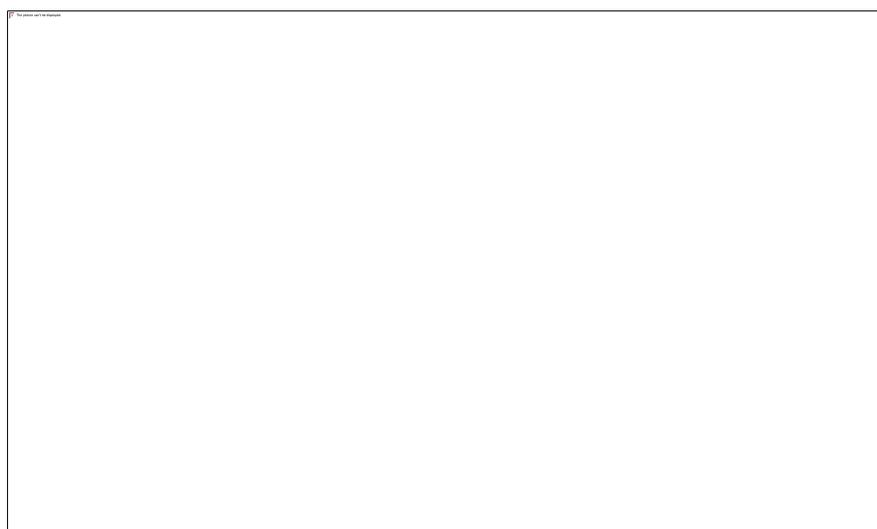


Image 4 Humphrey engaged in ratiocination

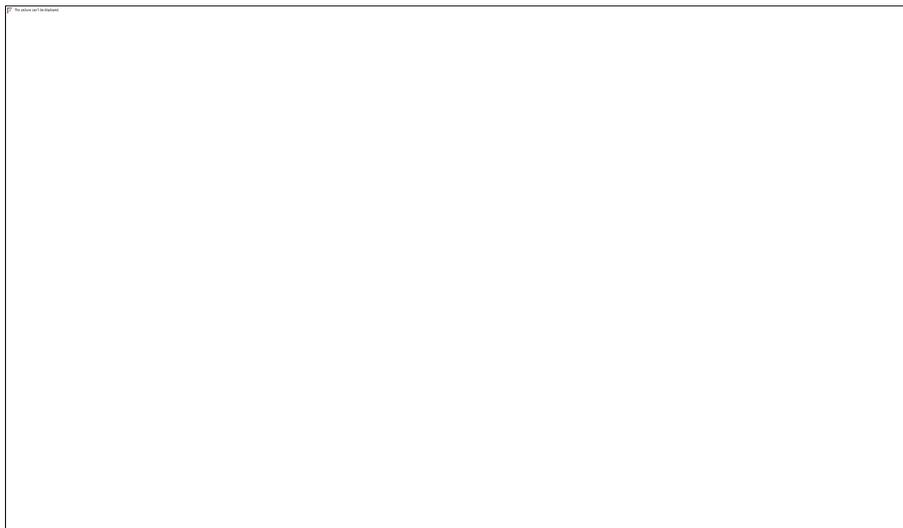


Image 5 Flashback scene

Humphrey is also vulnerable and somewhat traumatised which seemingly is as a result of a broken marriage. He is nevertheless a man on the mend owing to the fact he is in love with his co-worker Camille and even turned down the chance to get back with his wife Sally (series 3, episode 8) for the sole reason to be with Camille. Above all, Humphrey is a carefully constructed stereotype of quintessential Englishness. Overall, despite the multi-racial set up of the cast in *Death in Paradise*, and the fact that five of the six main cast (Camille, Florence, Catherine, Dwayne and Commissioner Selwyn) in this episode are non-Whites, the programme does not challenge the belief that crime drama is a masculine genre since the leading role is played by White middle-aged male.

Besides being funny, what cannot be taken away from Humphrey is the fact that he is extremely intelligent and very good in piecing together clues in what appears to be a lost cause in solving a murder crime. The character of Humphrey follows a long list of crime detectives such as *Sherlock Holmes* and *Columbo* who rely on intuition hence ratiocination (see image 4). Turnbull defines ratiocination as process involving a combination of close observation and deductive reasoning in the process of solving the crime (Turnbull, 2014:25). However, in as much as Humphrey relies on intuition, his deduction is soundly backed by forensic examination which helps to confirm a crucial piece of evidence whose absence would otherwise render the process of ratiocination futile. The use of forensic evidence, I suggest, is not intended to swing the debate about genre specificity in *Death in Paradise*

instead, it shows how both ratiocination and empiricism can be used to enrich a text. In this episode for instance, had the forensic team not called the Honoré Police Station to inform the officers that the white crystals found at the scene of the murder happened to be table salt (Act III Scene 7, 38:24- 41:02), the identity of the murderer would probably never had been uncovered.

As an ardent follower of *Death in Paradise*, my interest initially laid on finding who the culprit was at the end of the episode. However, after watching few episodes of the first series, I realised I missing a very interesting aspect of the show, that is, being engaged in active process of discovering for myself the murderer by trying to figure out the clues. The pleasure for the viewer in this type of narrative as in the case of *Death in Paradise* as well as other ratiocinated detective narratives lies in going into the journey in solving the crime together with the detectives (Turnbull, 2014).

As in the case of *Death in Paradise*, Humphrey and his team not only reveal who commits the murder but also how the murder is committed and the motive behind the act itself. From a stylistic perspective, the deductive process which helps to unlock the jigsaw which is articulated via ratiocination is brought to the fore through the narrative device of flashback. Even though the intention of this analysis is not to gauge *Death in Paradise* in light of film noir, the use of flashback which is in itself a cinematic technique is heavily favoured by film noir (Butler, 2010). As one may notice, in many textual analyses of television, it is common to come across the word “cinematic” when relating to a certain stylistic effect or technique. Similarly, it is a term that I use in this analysis to describe programming that prioritizes the visual more than what is assumed to be typical for television, in the process offering audiences both narrative meaning and pleasure in the imagery that appears on the screen (Mills, 2013:58).

The use of flashback technique in the programme is used not only to sum up the crucial events in the narrative, but interestingly, it tells a story of its own usually a moral dilemma which prompts the murder act. For instance, in this episode, we learn through Humphrey’s deduction process (Act IV, scene 1; 43:41-50:54), that Betty murdered Jenny (the victim) as a

revenge act since first and foremost Jenny and Simon (Betty's former lover and bridegroom to be) "stabbed her on the back" by lying when they started to see each other (Act I, scene 1; 00:00-01:07), and secondly because Betty sister died the same month she broke up with Simon in car accident on her way to comfort Betty. Furthermore, Humphrey's enlighten us through his deductive prowess that lives of the suspects courtesy of what Charlotte Brunson (2012) would term "female" storyline is marred by everyday challenges perhaps reflecting "the predicament of our time". For instance, Sal (the victim's best friend) who is in a serious financial problem lies about her profession by posing as a barrister instead of revealing her true profession which is that of a secretary. On the other hand, Ivy (bridegroom's sister) who leads a stable married life cheats on her husband and tries to conceal her tracks.

Visually, the flashback is also markedly distinguished from the rest of the narrative. *Death in Paradise* emulates the popular American crime television series, CSI: Crime Scene Investigation. The difference in *Death in Paradise* in use of flashback is that there are no twists in misleading the viewer as in CSI, instead, what is presented is the actual reconstruction of the events as they happened is presented. As Turnbull explains, flashbacks (see image 5) are frequently shot in a contrasting filter, or at an off-kilter and disorienting angle and accompanied by distorted sound, in order to visually and aurally distinguish them from present to suggest the haziness of memory (Turnbull, 2007:31).

5.5 Hybridity, Comedy and Stereotyped roles

To further explore the specificity of genre in the programme, this study shifted to the examination of the approximately 30-seconds opening credits sequence which comes after the teaser. A closer look at the opening credits sequence revealed that it serves not only to introduce the main characters and the title of the programme '*Death in Paradise*', but also yields very important information regarding the generic expectation of the programme. It is from this sequence that it becomes apparent that the programme as a sub-genre may be categorised as a detective-led drama, police procedural or even crime comedy. Furthermore, the opening credit introduces the location, style and mood adopted, however, these aspects are subject of examination in detail in subsequent sequences.

The opening credit montage which is comprised of clips from the programme itself begins with an establishment shot of a low lying small aircraft flying over the ocean overlooking an expansive tropical setting immediately setting up an exotic tone. The succeeding clip reveal medium close-up shots of Humphrey, Camille, Dwayne in corresponding order. After being presented with Dwayne in police uniform, an indication that programme is a cop show, the montage dissolves to show only a pair of dark hands drumming, presumably to give the programme an exotic and Caribbean feel. The next clip of the opening credit montage shows a high-angle shot of Florence followed by a dissolved split screen effect to indicate temporal relations between an establishment shot of Dwayne, Florence and Camille seated on a rocky beach enjoying a drink and on the other side Humphrey surfing thus establishing a relaxed and easy going nature of the show. The subsequent clip of the montage shows a determined Camille chasing after someone. Besides Camille's resolute demeanour, this clip also gives away the notion that the programme has an element of action in it.

The next clip of the opening credit where an officially dressed Humphrey is seen walking unperturbed into the ocean getting soaked in the process is what this sequence of analysis is particularly interested in from the perspective of genre hybridity. The clips not only serve to portray aspects of Humphrey eccentric behaviour but also gives an insight into the programme as a comedy crime drama, a point which will be examined in detail in the next sequence of analysis. The next clip introduces Catherine in her restaurant followed by the most prominent prop in the programme — an extreme close-up shot of the yellow police Land Rover — focusing on word 'POLICE' which is inscribed on the Land Rover thereby establishing what the programme is about. This is followed by a split-screen effect of one clip of Humphrey relaxing on a hammock in front of his house on one side while the clip on the right introduces Commissioner Selwyn.

The next two clips introduce two of the programme's most important locations — the beach and the Honoré Police station. The latter clip, however, also introduces the team working together under the watch of Commissioner Selwyn in full police ceremonial regalia. The opening credit sequence close with the image of a postal card adorned with two pine trees

encircled at the top right corner of the car with the title of the programme “*Death in Paradise*” written at the centre of the stamp. Below the pine trees the word “Caribbean” is framed to indicate the location of the programme, while the word “St. Marie” is written below the title of the programme.

It is also worth noting that opening sequence montage was edited in sepia tone which according gives the video an antiquated look. The opening sequence montage is also accompanied by the signature tune “You’re Wondering Now’ from the 1960s Jamaican ska band, “The Skalites”. The use of a ska song as the signature tune gives the programme not only an authentic Caribbean feel further enhancing the aforementioned attempt to create both an exotic theme and nostalgia.

To examine further how the programme is situated as crime comedy, the next sequence of analysis shifts to the opening scene of Act I which straight away sets the comical tone of the programme. The scene begins with a monologue of Humphrey in the Honoré police station rehearsing his lines on how he is going to convince Camille that she should stay and not take the Paris job offer. Unaware that Florence and Dwayne were lurking behind, Humphrey quickly changes his lines upon discovering their presence.

The dialogue below illustrates the comical effect:

HUMPHREY: I completely understand that this is a wonderful opportunity for you. But the simple truth is I I mean, we.

. we just can't manage without you. Either of you. We can't cope.

That is, Camille and I ...can't cope. Without you. Two.

FLORENCE: Oh, thank you, sir.

HUMPHREY: Yes, you're welcome.

Upon seeing Florence and Dwayne, Humphrey hilariously address the duo by telling them that he (Humphrey) and Camille cannot cope without them. This statement draws a muted but a sarcastic exchange of glance between Florence and Dwayne as if to acknowledge that they

know it is “he who cannot cope without Camille”. The comic relief ends with Dwayne extending a gesture toward Florence indicating that Humphrey is out of his mind (see image 6).



Image 6 Dwayne and Florence poking fun at Humphrey



Image 7 Humphrey falling from the balcony

The element of character comedy as especially manifested by Humphrey such as when he falls from the balcony (see image 7) or his amusing run to and from Catherine’s restaurant (Act III scene 8, 41:03- 42:35) is only the source of comic relief. Dwayne’s witty remarks and banters in as much as they portray his laid-back character also serve to convey the cheerful nature of the programme.

In the first scene of Act I (13:29-18-03) when the detectives are conducting background checks on the suspects, Dwayne tones down the seriousness of the task at hand by making a cheeky remark on the older sister of the groom Ivy Marcel. The excerpt of the dialogue in reference to Ivy serves as an example of Dwayne's witty remarks:

DWAYNE: Every hen party has one. She's usually related to the groom, wears terrible clothes, doesn't know anybody and hates hen parties.

CAMILLE: Dwayne, how do you know so much about hen dos?

DWAYNE: A great magician never reveals his secrets

5.6 Visual excess in Postcolonial Caribbean

Crime dramas like other prime time programmes are noted for taking a distinct approach to the style they adopt. On one side are the documentary style gritty dramas characterised by realism such as the *Hill Street Blues* and *The Wire*. While on other side of the spectrum there are those which opts for stylistic excess/ or the reassurance of the formulaic (Turnbull, 2014:9) for instance, the 1980s-detective drama *Miami Vice*. *Miami Vice*, for instance, is notoriously hailed for its unique visual style (Snauffer, 2006:137) and for “excessive stylishness” (Caldwell, 1995; Turnbull, 2007). *Death in Paradise* like *Miami Vice* cannot be ignored from the perspective of visual style. In this study, the concept of Televisuality — which John Caldwell (1995) introduced to explain the shift how television 1980s moved from merely being rhetoric to become more visually sophisticated — is arguably advanced by the programmes unique location. It is worth to note that geography is one of the factors which contributed to the demise of zero- degree televisual style which television had briefly flirted with during the first half of the 1970s (Caldwell 1995).

Naming the 1970s American sitcoms *All in the Family*, *Maude* and *The Jeffersons*, Caldwell explains that this period is often hailed by critics as the second golden age of television when serious issues and quality writing and acting were again allowed on television (Caldwell, 1995:57). Coming back to the question of geography, the late 1970s and early 1980s American drama productions as Caldwell (1995) points out started to experiment with regions such as San Francisco, Dallas and Boston which unlike Los Angeles had not be overused. In the same context, special mention goes to the 1979 mini-series *The Roots* whose exotic locations helped break geographic constraints of formulaic 1970s studio telefilm style (Caldwell, 1995:59).

As Turnbull (2014) points out, a perceived distinction in British police procedurals is marked by portrayal of place which sets apart those programmes set up in North of the United Kingdom to those in the South. What sets *Death in Paradise* in the British crime drama scenario is the complete departure from the North-South /rural-urban divide to a new exotic locale — the eye-catching sunny beaches of the Caribbean.

The opening scene of the teaser which runs for approximately one minute and seven seconds is the focus of the next segment of analysis. From a narrative point of view, the function of the teaser is to capture the attention of the viewer by setting the major enigma of the narrative, in this case, the identity of the person who committed the murder. However, a closer look at the teaser tells a story of its own. This opening of scene is comprised of six shots arranged in the order of their presentation as shown in the sequence of images below:



Image 8 Establishment shot of beach-side resort



Image 9 Aerial shot of beach-side resort



Image 10 Young people enjoying the ocean



Image 11 Full shot of a wild bird



Image 12 (a) Panning shot of surfers



Image 12 (b) Panning shot of bridesmaids outdoors



Image 13 Close-up of the victim

The scene begins with a slow take of an aerial shot (image 8 and 9) which moves into space showcasing an expansive beautiful tropical landscape adorned evidentially with state of the art beach side resorts. The shot is cut and succeeded by a pan of jovial young people rushing to swim (image 10) followed by still shot of a wild bird (image 11). The subsequent shot is a pan which moves from two young men running to embark on surfing leading (image 12a) to the four bridesmaids having an online video conversation with bridegroom (image 12b). This scene is accompanied with a smooth fusion of instrumental ska (non-diegetic sound) to further compliment the already established settled and peaceful environment.

It is interesting to note that the first two clips (image 8 and 9) are aerial shots which traditionally are not only used establish a location but more specifically an exotic location. The angles of the clips in *image 12a* and *12b* are also shot in wide angle lens which gives an image an illusion of great depth (Butler, 2002:118). The rationale of the of using wide angle shots with a deep focus serves two purposes: the wide angle allows for the inclusion of the background into focus; and from a cinematic point of view the deep focus allows seamless interaction of foreground and the background (Butler, 2002). The use of wide angle lens in deep focus as one would note becomes a signature in *Death in Paradise* allowing viewers not to miss the dramatic effect as espoused by the characters, but at the same time it retains a special emphasis on the background whether it's a beautiful sunset, an antique building or the sunny beaches of St. Marie.

Since these shots are all filmed outdoors (as in most cases during filming of the programme), the natural light act as the key, fill and backlight with end result intended to yield a high key low contrast factor which not only suggest youth, energy and happiness (Holland, 2000:72) but also signifies normalcy, stasis and equilibrium (Butler, 2002:245). Image 9 shows another element of lighting which is not concerned with the source but with the quality of the light. Since the scene is filmed outdoors there is every chance that intensity from excessive beam may be too much to create the desired effect which is in this case is the need to create a relaxed atmosphere. For this reason, the middle-close-up image of Sal (image 13) indicates that the light has been diffused to become soft. The choice of light quality is also important when it comes to characterisation. As Butler (2002), points out that soft light is used to make actors younger and vulnerable (the supposed intention in this case) while diffused light (hard light) is used to bring out an actor's toughness and invulnerability.

But as the second part of analysis in this sequence reveals, the aspects of lighting in the episode without the temptation to overanalyse, reveals another function of lighting which is specifically aimed at creating dramatic effect.



Image 14 One of the suspects on the phone



Image 15 Bridesmaids dancing

While the scene is well illuminated, the casting of shadow on one side of Ivy's face (image 14) is line with low-key high contrast lighting albeit in a subtle way. This poor imitation of *chiaroscuro* effect even though is hardly part of the visual style in *Death in Paradise*, it intention nonetheless becomes apparent only in retrospect. Having watched the episode in full we learn that Ivy at this moment was receiving a call from his husband whom he later cheated on with Frank the receptionist that same night. Even though it is not revealed to the viewers that moment in time, the frown and exasperation on Ivy's face at end of the call all but suggests deception. Low key lighting therefore in this scene creates the desired effect which Butler (2002) attributes to represent deviance or even social rapture.

From lighting, the focus of analysis shifts to another important element of style — the sound. Even the most thorough of analysis often overlook the element of sound as part of a given programme's style as the emphasis is most cases is focused solely on the visual style. The importance of music in *Death in Paradise* is integral part of the whole series which cannot be ignored if the intention is to examine what Turnbull (2007) refers to as the “hook”, that is, what draws the viewer towards a particular show. Image 15 which is from the same scene as image 14 shows the bridesmaids and other revellers dancing to a live band performance of salsa. This sequence of analysis thus offers an opportunity to discuss how music is used throughout the episode.

Already the opening credit introduced the aspect of ska music as the programme's signature tune and the instrumental Ska at the first scene of the teaser was instrumental in setting the mood as well providing a smooth transition to the next scene. However, the element of music does not end here as the clever insertion of music tracks in Act II Scene 7 (25:15-27:20) and Act IV Scene 5 (54:36-54:55) would suggest. Both tracks starting with the original 1971 'Chery, Oh Baby' by Eric Donaldson in Act II and the 1967 'Baby I Love You' by Carl Dawkins in Act IV are used to a good effect to compliment and enrich the narrative. The programme consistently tries to establish a relaxed and buoyant mood while at the same time strives to maintain originality; and what other way would this episode best achieve this effect than the use of 'soul reggae' by Donaldson's and Dawkins'.

The songs are not only 'soul reggae' tracks but classic songs dating several decades back which begs the question why use classic songs when there are more contemporary 'soul reggae' which could have been used instead. Arguably, there is an element of nostalgia here aimed at reflecting a certain period of history — the golden years of 1960s and 1970s marred by activism and social unrest but most importantly from the perspective of this analysis the attitude of free spirit, joy of life and profess of love born out of the counterculture movements of this period. On another level, the insertion of reggae or ska tracks could reflect cultural knowledge from the part of the reader and thus it could be implicitly regarded as a form of intertextuality.

From a narrative point of view, music is used to compliment the story in both instances. First, the music inserted in Act II and Act IV are non-diegetic, meaning the source of sound (music) comes from outside the world of the characters. Thus, viewers can hear the music but not the characters (Butler, 2002). It is also interesting to note that the insertion of the two tracks happens only in Story B — the second narrative strand which chiefly involves Humphrey and Camille. At this point, it is clear that Humphrey loves Camille (even though he never mentions it to Camille but openly told Fidel in Season 3, episode 8), however, is not crystal clear if the feeling is mutual. Nonetheless, every sign point towards Camille falling for Humphrey with only the latter's reassurance missing. His love for Camille and its reciprocity is left for all to see when the two kiss as Camille departs for Paris (see image 16). For the

characters themselves, the music serves no purpose, but for the viewers, it is evident that the intention of the music is to set a romantic mood.



Image 16 Camille and Humphrey kissing

The teaser is often connoted with capturing the attention of the viewer, however, as the analysis has shown, the teaser serves many purposes. Firstly, it introduces the main characters and the two most important locations, that is, the beaches of Saint Marie and Honoré Police Station. Most importantly, however, the teaser not only establishes the style of the programme, but sets the overriding tone in the whole series; establishing in the course the easy going, fun and lively tone which the programme attempts to set. What *Death in Paradise* lacks in action packed sequences, thriller and chilling accounts it compensates with spectacle, joy of life and rhythm.

The analysis enabled to focus on aspects of text which in hindsight prevented a too generalised discussion. By using narrative as a tool to analyse the narration, categorisation of the text and the codes of construction, I was able to discuss how pleasure is constructed in the programme. Narrative analysis allowed a step-by-step deconstruction of the text starting with the general issues such as the format to more specific issues such aesthetics along the way accounting for how pleasure is constructed. Narrative analysis also enabled to analyse representation in relation to other three aspects of the text and not in isolation.

6 DISCUSSION

The analysis presented in the previous chapter succeeded not in examining the text alone but also attempted to interpret the text. The analysis was guided by three aspects of narrative: narration, codes of construction (television language) and categorisation (genre) of the text. By using these three aspects of text, I was able to deconstruct the text, at the same time maintain the focus on the research question. In the exercise of analysing a text, it is easy to fall in the trap of being too implicit, thus there is a need to be more clear. The objective of

this discussion is to connect the theories with the analysis and interpret the findings. This summary, therefore, endeavours to put everything that has been discussed, into perspective.

It is, however, important to take note that theoretical connections in the analysis part are not confined within a single area of discussion but oscillate between the areas discussed⁸. For instance, pleasure can be found in narration of the story, in the unique codes used to convey cultural information and in the way the programme is situated in a particular genre. On the other hand, the question of representation of women and Black people is more explicit in narration, however, construction codes can be applied in representation matters as well. It is, however, worth to note that representation is not discussed in isolation but in relation to narration, codes of construction and genre.

On pleasure and how it is espoused in narration, *Death in Paradise* uses a simple and accessible plot structure, which does not require much effort to follow. The programme follows a repetitive pattern for all episodes, has a clear closure at the end of each episode. The programme also postpones resolution in its sub-plots to sustain viewers' interest, and engages the viewer in the journey to find the culprit along the way heightening the tension using suspense. To further character development and identification, the programme uses multiple storylines that give focus to different subjects and characters.

In discussing the structure of series, Umberto Eco in *The Limits of Interpretation (Advances in Semiotics)* discusses the pleasure of repetition, what he terms as the happiness to discover our own ability to guess what will happen (Eco, 1994:86). *Death in Paradise* is notoriously formulaic in its plot arrangement, and as the analysis has shown it has a clear beginning, middle and end. The programme employs classical narrative cause and effect relationship leading to a closure of the main story. Along the way, there is the pleasure of piecing together the clues alongside the detective. For the conformist, the pleasure lies with openness of the

⁸ A theoretic (re)construction can therefore never fully comprehend pleasure, because theory makes it something substantial and presumes it to be permanent and static (Ang, 1985:85).

text; and as Ang (1985), explains that accessibility and fitting into the current taste of what is pleasurable is important. At the end of the episode, viewers are assured that the culprit will be apprehended and brought to justice. In a world full of uncertainty, there is definitely pleasure in reassurance and restoration of normalcy; and for this reason, *Death in Paradise* is a classic text, which relies on the familiar as a source of pleasure.

Narration brings the best out of representation. Gender and racial stereotyping, materialism, naturalisation of positions, power relations, patriarchy as well the manifestation of ideological contradictions since the text is open for multiple readings and interpretations are brought to the fore under this discussion. These examples, which have ideological functions have been discussed in the analysis chapter while some are discussed in detail here. For instance, the representation of Camille as a motherly and heterosexual as well as single and career driven can be interpreted in two ways. In the first example (motherly and heterosexual) Camille representation conform to hegemonic ideas of naturalising women as domesticated and subordinated. The second representation (single and career-driven) offer opposition to patriarchy and symbolises women liberation. Gender appropriation is also at play for other female cast in the programme: Florence and Catherine. Immediately Camille departs for France, we see Florence take her place as comforter and companion of Humphrey.

Still on narration, the representation of Black people is discussed in relation to composition of the cast, roles played by the cast and interracial relations. The programme challenges the popular belief that television is dominated by White men since the cast is overwhelmingly Black or of mixed race. The lead role is, however, played by middle-aged White man while Dwayne is cast in a very stereotypical role. This observation resonates with the observation of Hooks (2000) that television as an industry is controlled by Whites and is patriarchal. But again, the same White man (Humphrey) is in genuinely in love with the Black/mixed race girl (Camille), and not because of lust or because other stereotypical traits ascribed to non-White women, but because he believes 'he cannot do without her' (04:51-05:31). It is no doubt that this programme by having an overwhelmingly diverse cast cuts across many boundaries, and thus a source of pleasure for many. Since many people considered the minority would identify with the cast, the progressive in this respect especially at a time when the racial debate is so rife in the entertainment industry.

Power and race relation is also reflected in the dialogue between Commissioner Selwyn and Humphrey. In as much as it is Commissioner Selwyn, a Black man who oversees the running police affairs in the Island, it is Detective Inspector Humphrey, a White man, who the Island cannot do without. Even though Humphrey presence in the Island is purely on merit and that his talents are unquestionable, this raises the question of whether natives can perform at the same level as expatriates. This is the same scenario in for instance, postcolonial Africa where overreliance in Western expertise is still the case today.

It is impossible not to experience a tingle whenever Dwayne start speaking in his peculiar accent. A sizeable chunk of this study has traced the historical root of multicultural Britain and social context within which multiculturalism developed and filtered to the small screen. *Death in Paradise* is unique in the sense that its main cast is comprised of a White man and the rest as Black or of mixed race. This is not a small fete and as Danny John-Jules who plays Dwayne in the series reveals in interview with the British publication *Mirror Online* published on February 11,2014 that there were fears that the series would not make it to television since the “bosses were nervous about having so many Black people on prime-time TV”. Multiculturalism has posited itself as a topical issue in today's world. In some circles, multiculturalism has been welcomed and encouraged while in other cases it has been dismissed and met with staunch opposition. An example of displacement of multiculturalism in British television was heralded by the popularity of Australian soap operas such as *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* in the 1980s. The tendency to air White exclusive programmes became fashionable because it a society which existed in Britain before the coming of people from Africa and Caribbean (Malik 2002).

Postcolonial discourse is not only reflected in race relations but also in the relations between Britain and her overseas territory St. Marie. We learn that St. Marie is mainly a tourist destination for the tourists from Britain, hence a specific value is bestowed upon the Island. The victim together with her entourage, like other supporting casts in other episodes are all tourists. The tourists' relation with the Island in terms of the colonial discourse is reminiscent of the past colonial setting where settlers' life was characterised by luxury and decadence.

Television like film is notorious for constructing its viewers. The narrative in *Death in Paradise* hardly mentions the history of the Island nor its people leaving its overwhelmingly British audience to recreate their own imagination of the past British colonial history. The programme is, however, too intelligently constructed to denote fear of the 'other' in terms of racial and sexual relations.

The construction of the text is very instrumental in the discussion of pleasure. The unique language used in construction of media texts is crucial in the creation of pleasure. The Postcolonial exotic setting complimented by visual and audio excess pitting modern versus the antique for instance, are brought to the fore through carefully deconstruction of the codes. Materialism and consumerism mirroring a capitalist society are also communicated through the showcase of this unique setting and the blatant display of St. Marie as a tourist destination.

The element of style is crucial in communicating visual pleasure in the programme. In terms of episode of analysis and the programme in general is more like *Miami Vice* in terms of the spellbound scenery and colour coding but without elements of film noir and decadence of society which characterised the American cop show. The visual pleasure communicated is not only vital in communicating the tone or mood of the programme as the analysis has shown, but also mirrors the culture of consumerism. The sprawling sunny beaches, exclusive holiday resorts, pastel colours, relaxed atmosphere, vibrant night life and focus on background as portrayed in the opening sequence of the programme justifies this observation. The programme aided by its exotic location and lack of grittiness which characterised most of British crime television drama succeeds not only in creating the perfect Thursday night escapism but also seems to commodify everything on display. From the perspective of intermediation, any episode of the programme to some extent is akin to a holiday and lifestyle magazine than what you would expected of the traditional British police series.

The codes of construction also play in the hands of psychoanalytic interpretation where the work of camera focuses on women as subject of gaze. Contemporary television dramas are

prominent for their eroticised sex scenes, and fast-paced action for crime drama television is a staple. There is, however, a conspicuous absence of both in *Death in Paradise*. In fact, looking at all the previous episodes including the episode of analysis, there is no single sex scene. But still, there is an element of objectification where the beautiful female body is displayed as a spectacle.

The construction of Camille and Florence as spectacles is also helped by another code of construction in the name of costume design. The choice of revealing and seductive costume for these two strong characters much to the dismay of feminists seem to reinforce the patriarchal order. Florence who previously is seen in full police uniform suddenly appears in revealing attire (54:56-58:02) reminiscent of Camille serves as another example of objectification. Scantly dressed and leggy Camille (and later Florence) creates a voyeuristic masculine spectator. The technical aspects of productions also crucial in the creation of this masculine gaze. The use of close-ups and extreme close-ups when for, instance, in scenes showcasing Camille. Therefore, this study argues that ethnicity and gender positioning are integral aspect of televisual ideological function which contributes to televisual pleasure.

In categorisation, the programme has shown its refusal to be contained within a given genre and it flirting with melodrama. In allowing generic diversity and accommodating melodramatic effect, *Death in Paradise* attempts to appeal to as many people as possible and strive to engage the reader emotionally. The programme also employs a narrative strategy popularised by soap opera by postponing resolution. The preceding discussion has shown that this feeding of new narrative problematic in the story is not something new in a cop show after it was made mainstream in *Hill Street Blues*. In the episode of analysis, even though C story comes to a closure as Camille departs from France, a new narrative problematic emerges as Humphrey and Florence build a new relationship.

Even though, the forging of a new relationship between the two police officers is not portrayed in the episode of analysis, subsequent episodes show the development of a new story between Humphrey and Florence. This constant feeding of new narrative problematic that mimics seriality is an important ingredient of realism which according to Ang, gives the

impression that that characters' life go on during our absence (Ang, 1985:52). Similarly, the analysis has shown how the programme plays with generic boundaries to heighten the entertainment value; and also how it has incorporated melodrama to 'hook' the female audience.

Even though women and Black people to a varying degree are cast in stereotypical roles, *Death in Paradise* challenges the norm in British television. Even though it is not the ideal representation, it can be argued that the representation of women and Black people is positive, and in this respect the manner which they are representation act as a catalyst to the advancement of pleasure. This success in casting diversity is an achievement in British television and paints a true colour of today's multicultural Britain.

Overall and most important *Death in Paradise* as a text is a testament of what Fiske (1987) refers to 'semiotic democracy' where the pleasure is produced from making meanings of representations which could be interpreted in many ways. It is other words, a polysemic text which endeavours to be everything and nothing in particular. *Death in Paradise*, therefore, is a contemporary text whose source of pleasure is not defined or determined by a single element. The strength of the programme is that it is not constrained by boundaries and plays with variations to the fullest whether it in terms of style, narrative structure and story-telling, characterisation and casting, generic specifications and representation.

Limitations of the study

The biggest challenge faced during the course of this study emanated from the use of narrative analysis as the main tool for conducting the enquiry. Kozloff (1992) warns that narrative theory is unapologetic formalist, that it is only interested in describing the texts formal parameters. Therefore, it is up to the individual practitioner to use the insights gained about narrative structure to analyse a text's content or ideology (Kozloff, 1992:52). Due to lack of a unified method and rules to work with, I experienced great difficulties in my attempt to formulate a framework which to govern and direct the discussion and analysis of the issues pertinent to the research questions. The beauty of using narrative analysis, however, is that gives a researcher the freedom of being innovative.

Secondly, it is extremely difficult to have a comprehensive analysis on certain issues, such as, for instance, the question of race or even style based on a single episode. This is due to the fact that besides employing different authorial ownership, a series might evolve along the way yielding opposite or conflicting readings. In retrospect, it is also fulfilling to examine so much from so little.

Thirdly, according to Kozloff (1992), due to the formalist nature of narrative analysis, there is lack of room to explore in detail how the text is influenced by organisations such as the broadcasting industry; and also how the text impacts the audience. The lack of the industry perspective and audience analysis are two major dents whose examination would have contributed to a more complete study. However, this study as mentioned in the introduction is mainly focused on the text, and therefore, the lack of examination of the broadcasting and audience offers an opportunity to conduct further research on the text. On a generally level, the study was also hindered by lack of access to invaluable resources such as the British Film Institute which could have enriched the study.

Future research

Naturally it would be interesting to go one step further and conduct an audience analysis of the same programme. It would be gratifying to get insight from the audience on why they watch *Death in Paradise* and why they find it pleasurable. The pre-requisite for conducting a study on audience, however, would require creating a research environment which enables access to the audience. This would be more a complex, challenging and time consuming process. On the other hand, such an undertaking will definitely be more engaging and interesting, and in return would shed light on overlooked aspects of the programme at the textual level.

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APPENDIX I: SCENE DESCRIPTION ANALYSIS

SCREEN TIME	SCENE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
00:00-01:07	scene 1	The bride and three bridesmaid discussing at the beach having a video chat with Simon (the bridegroom)
01:08-01:58	Scene 2	The four women dancing and drinking at an outdoor disco. Live band music playing
01:59-02:16	scene 3	Four women enjoying the sight of sunset in front of the beach. The bride having another video call with the husband to be (Simon).
02:17-03:00	scene 4	The four women continue their drinking spree in the morning on a breakfast table in an outdoor restaurant/bar.
03:01-03:18	scene 5	The bride prepares to take a shower on a bathtub. Drops the towel and lowers herself on the bathtub.
03:20-03:23	scene 6	Long shot of the beach.
03:24-03:35	scene 7	The three bridesmaid trying to reach the bride over the phone at the hotel lobby. They seem nervous.
03:36-04.20	Scene 8	Frank the receptionist accompanied by one of the bridesmaid (Sal) go to check

on the bride (Jenny). Sal discovers the body and let off a massive wail.

End of Teaser

OPENING CREDITS 04:21-04:50

ACT I

SCREEN TIME	SCENE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
04:51-05:31	1	Monologue by Goodman in the Honoré police station office.
05:32-05:51	2	Camille and Goodman having a chat outside the police station yard. Dwayne interrupts by telling them a woman has drowned at the Dolore Sands Hotel.
05:52-06:37	3	Camille driving Goodman to the hotel. Inside the Landover they are having a chat about Camille's career plan.
06:38-07:34	4	The police officers conducting forensic examination at the scene/inside Jenny's bathroom room.
07:35-10:03	5	The forensics continue into the bedroom of the bride to be.

10:04-12:34	6	Goodman and Camille walk to the beach side resort where the three bridesmaids are relaxing at an outdoor restaurant. They conduct preliminary interrogation.
12:35-13:28	7	Camille and Goodman walk over to the receptionist Frank to inquire for key recording system.

ACT BREAK (COMMERCIAL BREAK)

ACT II

SCREEN TIME	SCENE	DESCRIPTION
13:29-18-03	1	The detectives at the police station are examining the CCTV footage of the hotel and conducting background check up of the possible suspects.
18:04-20:01	2	Camille and Goodman arrive to greet Simon (the bridegroom to be) at the local harbour.
20:02-20:45	3	Florence and Dwayne are inside the police station trying to find more leads.

20:46-22:09	4	Camille and Goodman interrogate Betty (one of the bridesmaid) at the hotel's seaside restaurant.
22:10-23:13	5	Florence and Dwayne searching the victim's room.
23:14-25:14	6	Goodman, Camille and Florence on adjacent balconies of the hotel trying to find out how someone could enter and leave the hotel without being seen.
25:15-27:20	7	Its night at Catherine's restaurant. Camille is tending to the wound Humphrey sustained when he jumped from the balcony. Non-diegetic sound-'Chery oh baby' by Eric Donaldson

ACT BREAK: COMMERCIAL BREAK

ACT III

SCREEN TIME	SCENE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
27:21-31:00	1	All the four detectives are inside the police station. Camille informs Goodman that she has decided to go to

		Paris. Commissioner Patterson walks in.
31:01-31:09	2	Camille drives Humphrey to go and interrogate Sal.
31:10-33:41	3	Sal is being interrogated by the detectives at the hotel's top-floor restaurant overlooking the ocean.
33:42-35:44	4	Dwayne and Florence having a small talk inside the police station. Three narrative strands interwoven.
35:45-37:05	5	Frank being interrogated by Camille and Humphrey at hotel's beach-side guest lounge.
37:06-38:23	6	Ivy who is sun bathing at raised platform besides the ocean is being interrogated by Camille and Humphrey.
38:24- 41:02	7	The officers are in the police station further examining the evidence from crime scene.
41:03- 42:35	8	Humphrey running to Catherine's restaurant. Has a small discussion with Catherine and suddenly run's back to the police station.
42:36-43:40	9	Humphrey victoriously makes announcement about the cork

from the wine bottle.

ACT BREAK: COMMERCIAL BREAK

ACT IV

SCREEN TIME	SCENE	DESCRIPTION
43:41-50:54	1	All the police officers and the suspects are gathered at the hotel's top floor restaurant. Identity of the culprit to be revealed.
50:55-50:57	2	Sunset on the beach.
50:58-51:18	3	Florence and Dwayne outside on a yard having a small chat about Dwayne's plan with Gloria (bank teller).
51:19-54:35	4	Camille and Humphrey having a private chat at Catherine's restaurant.
54:36-54:55	5	Humphrey dressing up for Camille's sending off. Non-diegetic sound. Song, 'Baby I Love You' - by Carl Dawkins.
54:56-58:02	6	Camille's sending off at the

local harbour.

CLOSING CREDITS