

Who Are We?

Voice, accent and identity in New Zealand television advertising

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Abstract

This thesis examines the extent to which accent has informed constructions of national identity within New Zealand television advertising. It considers how accents have been introduced to, and used within, television commercials over time. In analysing representations of nationality in a series of texts, it also discusses how audiences are interpellated as ‘ideal’ citizens or ‘real’ New Zealanders, and which groups of society this may include/exclude. The thesis identifies and discusses five discourses of national identity in the advertising texts chosen and concludes that while accent and voice have shifted over time, constructions and representations of New Zealand’s national identity have not experienced a shift to an equal extent.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Overview of the structure of the thesis

This thesis explores how accent in television advertising has informed constructions of New Zealand's national identity. It takes as a starting point an advertising industry assumption that New Zealand English was unrepresented in television advertising until 1990, with the launch of a campaign from BNZ called 'Who Are We'. Chapter 1 provides an introduction and background to the topic and this assumption, as well as outlining theoretical and methodological approaches. The theoretical approaches sections discusses identity, nationalism and performativity, while methodological approaches introduce and explain multimodal critical discourse analysis and sociolinguistic perspectives. Chapter 2 provides a history of accent in New Zealand television advertising and discusses both New Zealand English and two versions of Maori English as well as representations of corresponding cultural identities. From this research perspective, five advertising texts were chosen for critical discourse analysis. A background to each text and a description of its encounter is given in Chapter 3. From the texts, five discourses were then identified, which are discussed in Chapter 4: masculinity, modesty, innovation and pioneerism, landscape, and foreign endorsement. Chapter 5 provides a conclusion to the research, including models of New Zealand identity on offer, the transition of accent and scope for further research.

Accent and the identity truism

From the 1980s to the early 2000s, writers, media commentators and documentary makers have observed a shift within media texts from a model of speech and style that emulated the British to a gradual acceptance of New Zealand culture, identity and lifestyle (Aidney & Heckman; Bruce), pointing to advertising campaigns such as BNZ's 'Who Are We', Toyota's work with Barry Crump for its Hilux ute and Gregg's 'Different Faces' as examples to illustrate this shift. Former advertising creatives, such as Colenso Communications founder Roger MacDonnell and creative director Len Potts have also noted a change from the use of a British accent to a New Zealand English accent in advertising (MacDonnell, Roger. Personal interview. 20 April 2012; Potts, Len. Personal interview. 20 April 2012), as have those who worked behind the scenes in production, such as producer Wayne Sellwood and director Tony Williams (Sellwood,

Wayne. Personal interview. 4 May 2012; Williams, Tony. Personal interview. 5 May 2013). It has become something of a truism amongst ad men who shaped the industry from the 1960s onwards that until BNZ's 'Who Are We' campaign in 1990, New Zealand English was virtually unheard of during advertisements on New Zealand television screens, and that representations of national identity in television advertising were indistinguishable from the British model. This thesis begins its interrogation with this claim as a starting point. Five television advertising campaigns were chosen for analysis: BNZ 'Who Are We', Vodafone 'Do Your Thing Better', ASB 'Succeed On', Steinlager Pure 'David & Goliath' and Steinlager Pure 'Keep it Pure'. These texts were chosen after undertaking research on changing accents, presented in chapter two, for three reasons. Firstly, each employs a different accent – New Zealand English, Maori English 1, Maori English 2, Received Pronunciation (hereafter referred to as RP) and North American English (hereafter referred to as NAm) and can therefore be interrogated in terms of a shift in language usage, or the acceptability or normalisation of a particular accent. Secondly, each directly addresses the viewer; a technique critical discourse analysts argue is used for not only practical reasons but also ideological ones (Simpson and Mayr 90), and creates a high-demand situation for the viewer. Lastly, each contains discourses of national identity while it at the same time asserts claims over what it 'truly' means to be a Kiwi.

The analysis of these texts engages with Althusser's theory of interpellation to discuss how the viewer is hailed as a 'typical' citizen and what this citizenry might entail; uses aspects of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to identify discourses of national identity; considers the role of gender and class; and examines who is included or excluded when making assertions about who the 'real New Zealander' is according to the texts. It will also draw on a range of other texts, such as (but not limited to) Barry Crump's appearances for Toyota, Billy T James' endorsements for Mitre 10, the short animated film *Beached As*, ASB's Goldstein series, L&P 'World Famous', New Zealand films such as *Boy*, *Whale Rider* and *Once Were Warriors*, Toyota's 'Welcome to Our World' campaign, and the New Zealand Transport Agency's social marketing advertisements 'Legend' (also known as 'Ghost Chips') and 'Blazed As'. These texts will be used to contextualise the changing cultural media environment and to

question whether or not we might observe a deviation, over time, from a model of identity indistinguishable from the British.

The discussion will take into account the social, cultural and historical setting at the time of each text, ultimately with the aim of exploring how accent has informed constructions of New Zealand national identity.

Theoretical approaches

Advertising and ideology

Why choose advertising as a medium through which to view the historical, cultural and national shifts of a nation? Advertising is a major site of ideological influence, creating “structures of meaning” and working as a “transparent vehicle” for an underlying message (Williamson 17). It provides audiences with “aestheticized articulations of the core values of society” with modes of representation responding in kind as values shift or come under strain (Hogan 747). Marshall McLuhan afforded a similar cultural centrality to advertisements when he suggested that “The historians and archaeologists will one day discover that the ads of our times are the richest and most faithful daily reflections that any society ever made of its entire range of activities” (232).

The significance of advertising in the construction of national identity has been recognised by several authors in a New Zealand context. Jackson (14) writes that advertising is a “key site” for understanding national identity, which Lealand also asserts, albeit with a caution on what constitutes truth or reality within such texts:

Cultural artefacts such as television advertisements, the messages that impel a large segment of popular culture, are often in the vanguard for the search for a national identity. It does not matter that they fail to reflect the ‘reality’ of New Zealand life as they succeed by offering us attractive and humorous images of what we think we are; representations of the mythic richness of New Zealand life. (111)

Jackson goes further, arguing that the visual representation of nations provides key sites for understanding how national identities are being corporatised: “The dominant and contested images and narratives of the nation are likely to play a central role in the reproduction of

particular national mythologies that both empower and disempower particular groups and individuals.” (14) The notion that national identity might fail to reflect reality, or empower certain groups and individuals while ignoring others, is important within the context of this research, which looks at who is included/excluded within a particular construction of identity.

This thesis adopts Hogan’s argument that there is not a single fixed national identity but instead, “multiple competing and complimentary discourses of national belonging”, noting that national identities are not stable across “times, places and social context” but are contested and in flux (194). Hogan also notes that discourses of national identity are inclusionary and exclusionary, in that they provide audiences with stories of who we are and who we are not. Additionally, Schudson argues that “advertising is part of the establishment and reflection of a common symbolic culture” and that although advertisements do not have a monopoly on the symbolic marketplace, probably only professional sports surpasses advertising “as a source of visual and verbal clichés, aphorisms and proverbs” (1). Furthermore, Schudson argues that advertising operates as a form of capitalist realism that instead of representing society as it *is*, presents it as it *should be*, according to the logic of capitalism. This faux construction of society, and by extension, national identity, is key to challenging asserted discourses of what it means to be a ‘real’ New Zealander and viewing the role of advertising agencies within the construction and communication of ideology. The unstable nature of national identity, the notion of inclusion/exclusion within these discourses, and advertising as a major site of ideological influence are the key aspects to unpacking how accent in New Zealand television advertising has informed constructions of national identity.

Looking to advertising as a major site of ideological influence and analytical territory is familiar ground for critical discourse analysts. Advertising texts, which often construct and mobilise national identities in their attempt to sell a product, have often been used to read a nation’s culture and identity. Nichter et al looked at tobacco advertising in Indonesia and how tobacco companies used discourses of Indonesian identity to portray themselves as supporters of the nation and hence acquire loyal customers. The researchers discuss how the tobacco industry

reads, reproduces and works with culture as a means of selling cigarettes. For example, an advertisement for cigarette brand Country shows two young men with backpacks looking at a well-known volcano and its crater lake, with the copy "It's my pride, my country", implying that Country is a supporter of national parks. In a similar vein, MacGregor examines the famous Canadian television commercial for Molson beer, 'I Am Canadian', in which a man, 'Joe', gave examples of how he does not conform to stereotypes about the nation: "I'm not a lumberjack, or a fur trader ... I don't know Jimmy, Sally or Suzy from Canada." MacGregor discusses how the advertisement mobilises a sense of Canadianism to peddle beer, covering reactions from politicians and the media and concluding: "Consumers, beer drinkers, and advertisement viewers are socially and culturally situated individuals seeking to make sense of their lives, identities, and relationships. Ads such as [this] provided symbolic resources to be used for those purposes" (285). In a similar way, Morris examined contemporary Russian advertising for projections of national identity, noting that since the devaluation of the ruble after the economic crisis of 1998 Russian advertising had begun to use images and slogans playing on notions of the country's national identity. In particular, tobacco, alcohol, dairy and other comestibles were the categories most likely to appropriate national identity. Morris notes that such advertising does not necessarily posit or reflect a stable notion of national identity. These examples serve as a framework for the use of advertising texts as key sites for analysing how national identities can be both constructed and corporatised, and how the identity of the viewer can be drawn upon for a corporate end.

National identity as a discursive construction

This project accepts theoretical traditions that understand identities, including national identities, to be discursively constructed (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak), meaning that they are (re)produced by means of language and other semiotic systems. According to De Cillia et al, national identities manifest themselves through "reifying, figurative discourses" stemming from the likes of politicians, intellectuals and media people (153). These discourses are disseminated through systems such as education, communication, sport and the military. Although national identities are often portrayed as naturalised or inevitable, they are not fixed, but rather in flux

and always able to be negotiated: “National identities are not completely consistent, stable and immutable. They are, to the contrary, to be understood as dynamic, fragile, ‘vulnerable’ and often incoherent” (154). That is to say, for example, that while rugby and beer consumption are considered a key aspect of New Zealand identity, there is no reason why it should have to be so. The importance of these activities within constructions of New Zealand’s national identity does not stem from a place of inevitability but rather is brought about by a process of cultural negotiation and contestation.

The discursive construction of nations and national identities always runs alongside the construction of difference, distinctiveness and uniqueness (De Cillia et al; Hall and Du Gay; Martin). Identity becomes about the specific national in-group, but this must always be constructed in opposition to the out-group. National identity is as much about what citizens are not as it is about what citizens are. Difference and exclusion are vital to the construction of identity. In order for a group of citizens to be marked out as ‘belonging’, other groups must be marked out as ‘not belonging’. Identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference (Benhabib).

Nationalism

This thesis takes Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* as its starting point for a theoretical framework around nationalism. For Anderson, the nation is a mental construct: an “imagined political community”. It is “imagined” because members will never know all their fellow members, yet “in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6). The individual imagines the boundaries of the nation and his connection to people he has never seen but who he assumes to exist. For Anderson, this national imagining has been made possible through a variety of factors, notably the practice of print-capitalism, which assisted in the unification of fields of communication and enabled speakers of difference languages to become aware of one another through print. (The national imagining through print can be extended to a similar paradigm of a national imagining through advertising, across a variety of media platforms and outlets.) Anderson argues that print media in Creole states helped ‘New Worlders’ develop a consciousness about the existence of other nations, giving rise to a sense of us-versus-them.

Thus the nation of New Zealand may be seen as an imagined community in the sense that citizens feel a sense of belonging to a particular group, although they will never know most of their fellow members, yet an identity can be represented and communicated which citizens are supposed to buy into.

Anderson's 'imagined community' is not an all-encompassing theory, however. Niels Kayser Nielsen offers an alternative perspective in a paper discussing sport and nationalism in Scandinavia, critiquing Anderson for failing to recognise nationalism as a "lived idea" or an experience:

Norwegianness means picking berries on the mountain, eating cream porridge, and watching ski jumping contests. A national identity is acquired via sports, exercise, and outdoor life ... People ventured into nature not just to find themselves, but also to confirm themselves as citizens. (7)

Nielsen argues that national identity is not just a demonstration of a pre-existing entity: "Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish is not primarily something one is, it is something one becomes. National identity is not an identity, a culture that one enters, but rather an articulation process, a creation ... national identity is constantly on the way to itself; it is created again and again through action" (75). The notion of national identity is also explored, for example, by Naomi Stubbs in her book *Cultivating National Identity Through Performance*, in which she explores how American pleasure gardens were instrumental in providing a space where citizens could explore and perform their national identity. Pleasure gardens gave citizens the space and opportunity to "try on aspects of American identities, being at times able to play as though of a different social class, participate in national celebrations, and perform against a background of racial others" (5).

While this thesis is not concerned with actual subjects and their lived experiences of national identity, it does concern itself with representations of experience and how that is communicated as being a means for citizens to enact or 'perform' their national identity. This thesis therefore accepts New Zealand as one of Anderson's "imagined communities",

with national identities discursively constructed, often as the expression of experience, performance and consumption.

Methodological approaches

(Multimodal) critical discourse analysis

A brief overview of CDA

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a methodological approach geared towards interpretation and analysis of texts in order to reveal underlying ideology. Fairclough's *Language and Power* is widely accepted as the original work for the birth of CDA. The body of work by Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk is considered core CDA (Blommaert and Bulcaen). The approach is overtly political and seeks to highlight how public discourse may serve the interests of the powerful rather than those who are less privileged. Huckin gives a salient description: "The main purpose of CDA is to understand how people are manipulated by public discourse and thereby subjected to abuses of power" (5).

CDA also seeks to take a critical approach, described by Wodak and Meyer in *Methods for critical discourse analysis* as "having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a political stance explicitly, and a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research" (87). Bloor and Bloor describe the 'critical' in CDA as having objectives such as: "to investigate how ideologies can become frozen in language and find ways to break the ice" and "to investigate the role of speaker/writer purpose and authorial stance in the construction of discourse" (12).

It must be noted that the approach has encountered criticisms. Widdowson is one of the most vocal detractors of CDA, deconstructing Fairclough's work and arguing that the methodology is largely a matter of interpretation (*Discourse analysis; Reply to Fairclough*). CDA has been accused of being a subjective process and one that is circular. That is to say, critical discourse analysts tend to find what they expect to find, "whether absences or presences", and that the textual interpretations are politically motivated rather than linguistically motivated (Stubbs 2).

As Widdowson says:

One obvious reason for the plurality of discourses from a single text is, quite simply, because second person processors of text may not share much of the reality of the first

person producer of text, and so, to that extent, may be incapable of close convergence. They are likely to give prominence to what they recognise as familiar and disregard the rest. Or they may converge on the intended reference but not on the intended effect. (*Discourse analysis*, 169)

However, any account of social practice will always reflect the researcher's own partiality. CDA does not pretend to present truths, but instead recognises this inherent partiality, as this thesis also does.

Further criticisms are leveled at CDA for its propensity for selecting texts based on the researcher's interest, rather than on an unbiased basis. It selects the texts, and the features of the texts, that support its preferred interpretation (Widdowson, *Discourse analysis*, 169). Machin and Mayr note that CDA by its nature often involves the analysis of only a small number of texts – as few as one or two – and that texts are selected according to the interests of the analyst, “where perhaps they have observed ideology in operation, where they can then describe the linguistic and grammatical choices used by the author in order to persuasively communicate this ideology” (207). CDA then draws out features in the text “not normally obvious to the casual reader”, bringing buried or concealed ideology to a position of clarity and therefore to a place where they might be more easily challenged. Regardless, this self-selection of texts remains a chief concern for CDA as a methodology. This will always be a problematic aspect of CDA. In terms of this research, texts have been chosen based on criteria such as accent, direct address, and assertions about national identity, rather than any ideological markers immediately obvious to the researcher.

Widdowson first criticises CDA for its adoption of the term ‘discourse’:

We have a concept which is extremely fashionable and at the same time extremely uncertain: widespread but spread very thin. To be cynical again, we might say that discourse is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is: in vogue and vague. Ignorance and popular appeal have always been a heady and dangerous mix. (*Discourse analysis*, 158)

Of course, the world has changed since 1995, and along with it, the field of CDA. I would point

the reader unfamiliar with the term to the definitions given by Bloor and Bloor, while I would ascribe the popularity of the term to its usefulness.

Widdowson also criticises the failure of CDA to differentiate between analysis and interpretation, claiming that the “very persuasive effect” of CDA is “indicative of its limitation”, that it is interpretation, not analysis (*Discourse analysis*, 169). He defines interpretation as “a matter of converging on a particular meaning as having some kind of privileged validity” and analysis as “[seeking] to reveal those factors which lead to a divergence of possible meanings” (159). He argues that if CDA is an exercise in interpretation, it is invalid as analysis, making the term ‘critical discourse analysis’ a contradiction in terms. However, analysis – as textual analysis or linguistic analysis – can be undertaken first, with an interpretation to be made thereafter. There is no conflict in first undertaking an analysis of a particular text and then interpreting the meanings found therein. The result is the identification of discourses. Therefore, this research undertakes textual analysis on a set of texts, identified under specific criteria already outlined, then identifies discourses from those texts.

In spite of his many criticisms of CDA, even Widdowson, in his reply to Fairclough’s 1996 reply (*A reply to Henry Widdowson*), concedes some ground:

The discourse we are here enacting is a matter of individuals arguing against each other. I agree that people should be alerted to language abuse, and made aware of the ways in which it can be used to persuasive and manipulative effect. You do not have to subscribe to CDA to believe these things, and you do not have to be a critical linguist to have a social conscience. (52)

Finally, Huckin gives what is perhaps one of the most solid justifications for the use of CDA methodology:

A final distinguishing feature of applying CDA in the composition classroom is its attention to textual detail. Although most composition courses include sociopolitical or cultural readings, class discussion of these readings often neglects close textual examination. In my view, this is because many instructors lack the sort of analytic vocabulary that is

needed to make such an examination sociopolitically engaging. Critical discourse analysis, fortunately, offers instructors precisely such a vocabulary. (6)

As Huckin points out, vocabulary around CDA, such as modality and direct address, help to identify salient aspects of discourses and enable the researcher to discuss them.

The use of (M)CDA in this research

For the purposes of this research, I am using the practical model (as opposed to borrowing on theoretical discussions around CDA) for carrying out CDA outlined by Machin and Mayr, primarily because the text is more recent and up-to-date than many original texts on the methodology, and because it clearly sets out methods for analysis and interpretation. Bloor and Bloor specify a list of useful definitions. They define 'ideology', for example, as "a set of beliefs or attitudes shared by members of a particular social group" (10), and 'text' as "a product of discourse ... normally used to describe a linguistic record of a communicative event" (7). Their descriptions and definitions are accessible to any reader.

A multimodal approach

I have included 'multimodal' in my initial mention of critical discourse analysis simply to include the visual and aural dimensions that television advertising brings to this research. Critical discourse analysts have argued in favour of incorporating visual images into textual analysis to achieve a broader, multimodal view of discourse (Kress and Van Leeuwen; Machin; Van Leeuwen). Simpson and Mayr crucially note:

People rarely communicate monomodally, through language alone, but *multimodally*, through a combination of visual images, languages, sound and even body language. Just as with language, choices in visual communication can be equally ideological, can shape our world views and negotiate social and power relationships. (87)

Given the televisual nature of the texts used in this research, adopting a multimodal approach is essential in order to do the texts justice. Where I refer to CDA outside of the literature discussed above, the multimodal nature of this methodology should be assumed to be inherent

in the term for the purposes of this research.

Within the framework of this thesis, CDA will be used to unpack how discourses are positioning the audience and how texts are operating in the commercial, social, political and historical context.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF ACCENT

A sociolinguistic approach: accent and attitudes in New Zealand

This section focuses on attitudes towards accent, including how speakers employing a certain accent are perceived by others, and what the ‘prestige’ forms of English are and how such prestige forms have changed over time. It discusses a model for approaching Maori English accents and deals with the role of the cultural cringe in attitudes towards New Zealand English (NZE). An overview of accent within media text and advertising texts is provided, as well as an analysis around the ‘identity truism’ and the question of how and when NZE began to be used in New Zealand advertising texts.

Attitudes towards accent: external and internal

Writing on accent and attitude has, in places, focused on ‘external’ viewpoints of New Zealand English, that is to say, how subjects feel about others using NZE and how it affects perceptions of the speaker (particularly in terms of class and socio-economic standing). Bell and Kuiper write in *New Zealand English* that work in the field of linguistics on New Zealand English was “for a long period dominated by a pre-scriptivist approach, much of it aimed at showing where the local variety was at fault by reference to British English prestige norms” (15). Gordon and Abell give a thorough overview of historical and contemporary attitudes towards NZE and accent, noting that prevalent opinions about how English should be spoken in New Zealand have always existed – that there has never been a normalised use of NZE that was unremarkable and acceptable. Gordon and Abell’s research is largely based on historical news media and traces the development of attitude towards English in New Zealand, from a focus on the deviation from British English in the late 1800s to opinions on the distinctive Kiwi accent a century later. The authors give the example of school inspectors including mentions of the colonial ‘twang’ and ‘impure’ vowels in their reports as evidence of the inspectors’ pressure on teachers to conform to British English as much as possible.

Turning away from external and historical views of New Zealand English, Watts undertook the first study published on New Zealanders’ attitudes to accents, testing the reactions of 124 high

school students to a range of non-New Zealand accents, such as Japanese, Chinese and Dutch. Watts' study found the students rated RP and North American English (NAE) higher than the non-English speaking accents in traits such as education, social desirability and income. Watts found a split between RP and NAE preferences among the students that was linked to 'more academic' students and 'less academic' students (i.e. high-achievers and low-achievers within the school context), respectively.

Meanwhile, Bayard's work from 1990 to 2000 began to focus on New Zealanders' own attitudes towards how they speak (*God; Antipodean; Kiwitalk; The cultural*), beyond Bell and Kuiper's focus on how other speakers perceive NZE. Bayard uses the (now well-known) term 'cultural cringe' to explain why NZE was judged as less prestigious than Received Pronunciation (RP). In *The cultural cringe revisited* Bayard writes of his conclusions from a 1986 study of 86 university students, which asked the subjects to rate each voice on a scale of one to five for ten traits: acceptability, ambition, education level, intelligence, leadership ability, likeability, likely income, pleasantness, reliability, sense of humour and self-confidence. The study showed RP as a clear leader in power and charisma traits, leading also in 'pleasantness of accent', while NZE led only in 'acceptability'. However, the study also showed that the female voices used were downgraded slightly compared to the male voices: "Overall factor analysis of male and female trait means showed speaker gender to be by far the most important explanatory factor" (qtd. in Bell and Kuiper 308). Therefore, it is not merely accent that affects perceptions of the speaker, but also timbre and gender. Gordon and Abell report on a similar study involving high school students' attitudes towards three NZE accents and RP. The latter ranked higher for variables such as intelligence, income, education and ambition, while the NZE accents were associated with friendliness and sense of humour, so-called 'solidarity' variables.

Two major limitations of the body of research on attitudes to accent are the aforementioned effect of gender on attitudes, and the impossibility of finding one speaker able to authentically mimic a range of accents, so voice timbre and tone will always influence results.

The research indicates that speakers' accents (and, to a lesser extent, speakers' timbre and gender) determine listeners' attitudes towards them and perceptions of their characteristics and socio-economic standing. It follows that accent is a pivotal determining factor in constructing 'types' of characters in media texts. As advertising is highly stylised and heavily constructed, accent is a key site for the viewer to form conclusions about the subject and the validity of the advertising text's corporate claims.

The Maori voice

Attitudes towards Maori speakers have also been studied by sociolinguists, who claim that Maori English is associated with the working class and 'solidarity' traits, such as a sense of humour. Vaughan & Huygens note some debate over whether or not Maori English is in fact distinct from NZE. Those who (in the 1970s) denied a difference argued that it was more closely aligned with New Zealand working-class English, a speech variation based on socio-economic grounds rather than cultural grounds. Vaughan and Huygens studied 120 Pakeha university students, mostly from middle-class backgrounds, who listened to a different combination of speakers on tape, including British, Dutch, Maori and Pakeha. Speakers identified as Maori were rated lower on so-called 'status' variables: class, education, income and job status, but higher on so-called 'solidarity' traits, in particular, sense of humour. However, it is possible that judgments based on the identification of Maori accents were more reflective of (negative) stereotypes than they were of the features of the speech. Furthermore, the age of the research presents a limitation, while the authors note it is "just a start for further systematic language attitude research in New Zealand" (65), and suggest including bilingual Pacific Islanders, given their growing numbers, particularly in the Auckland area.

There is some debate over the existence of ME as a separate dialect set apart from NZE and how it might be defined. Benton, in considering whether or not ME could in fact be a myth, observes that it is possible that there are features not unique to ME but employed by ME speakers in ways different from those characterising the speech of other New Zealanders. He concludes that while the evidence for the existence of ME as a "distinct and stable (or at least autonomous)

variety of New Zealand English is at best tentative and ambiguous”, it would be surprising if the “largely English-speaking population comprising the identifiable and distinctive Maori subculture in New Zealand did not in some way manifest this identity and distinctiveness in the English speech of its members” (195). Holmes, in *Maori and Pakeha English*, notes that the term ‘Maori English’ was first popularised in educational literature from the 1960s and early 1970s, where it was “used disparagingly to describe the English of Maori children who were not succeeding in the Pakeha school system” (69). Here the term was used to express deficit, however Richards argued for ME to be recognised as a variety of English in its own right, as opposed to the conventional viewpoint of the time that it was a transitional phase experienced by Maori speakers learning English. New Zealanders who are native speakers of English may still fall into the ME camp, regardless of their status as mother-tongue speakers.

Richards outlines a model for NZE and ME that is helpful when analysing accent and representations within advertising. He proposed four varieties of English within New Zealand: Pakeha English 1, Pakeha English 2, Maori English 1 and Maori English 2. Pakeha English 1 is the prestige variety, close to RP, while Pakeha English 2 is a slightly lower socio-economic variety, differing mainly in pronunciation. Thus, for example, the tones of the satirical character Lyn of Tawa, who appeared in comedy sketches on television in the 1980s, among other media, could be thought of as an exaggerated and hyperbolic variety of Pakeha English 2. Maori English 1 (ME1) is characterised by its “purity of vowels”. It is “a ‘standard’ Maori pronunciation used, for example, by many Maori public figures, but is not identical with either of the Pakeha pronunciations” (131). The speech of Sir Howard Morrison in a sesqui-centennial commercial (discussed later) typifies this variety. Maori English 2 (ME2) is characterised by vocabulary, grammatical and pronunciation differences. Holmes interprets Richards’ model thus:

Very broadly speaking, Maori English 1 refers to the English of educated middle-class Maori New Zealanders, while Maori English 2 is used by the much larger group of Maori from lower socio-economic backgrounds ... these are obviously points on a continuum rather than clearly distinguishable varieties. (*Maori and Pakeha English* 70)

It could therefore be said that ME1 is a prestige form, while ME2 is the most frequently used 'standard' form, though there is some variation within ME1 and ME2. The comedic tones of Billy T James in the aforementioned Mitre 10 commercial serve as an example of an exaggerated, hyperbolic form of ME2, similar to the variety of Pakeha English 2 employed by Lyn of Tawa. For the purposes of this research, I am not so much concerned with debates around the existence of ME but rather observing the use of ME as an accent and, as such, helping to create a representation within a text. Therefore, I am appropriating Richards' model of a separation between ME1 and ME2 as a paradigm within which to analyse the manifestation of accent within commercial texts.

The changing 'cultural cringe'

Bayard observed that the conflict over the pros and cons of NZE compared with RP in the 1980s had become more "confused and complex", attributing this confusion to the increase of NAm accent programmes and news reporters on New Zealand television:

It is easy to see this debate as a conflict between the slowly waning prestige of RP and the rise of NAm on the one hand, and a more domestic struggle between Kiwi loyalty and the 'cultural cringe' on the other. However, very little is known to date about the views of non-letter writers [Bayard cites letters to the editor that warned against the country becoming Americanised] on the various accents. (*God help us* 68)

Bayard, in *The cultural cringe revisited*, later compared his 1986 survey results to a replicated survey in 1996-1997 to ascertain whether or not the 'cultural cringe' around RP was still present, noting a growing preference for American accents alongside British accents, but concluded that New Zealanders continued to be uneasy about their own voices and that the 'cultural cringe' he had observed still existed at the time of writing.

More contemporary research has been conducted by Bell (qtd. in "NZ accent Britain's favourite") to revisit to question of how the New Zealand accent is perceived in Britain. The research showed that the British rate New Zealand English as the most attractive and prestigious non-British form of English (variations included Australian, American English, 'Standard English',

Scottish and Irish). Bell made linguistic and social conclusions from the study:

On the linguistic side, the high rating for New Zealand English probably reflects the fact that it is relatively close to the prestige British accents. On the social side, it seems to represent generally positive British attitudes to New Zealand and New Zealanders (“Brits love the way we say ‘Fush N Chups’, n.pag).

Bell noted the irony inherent in the study, as New Zealanders continued to be negative about their own accent. He concluded: “It looks like the post-colonial cringe is now entirely out dated.” Media commentator David Cohen took exception to the study, calling it “no more than an online poll, which are always notoriously unscientific”, and noting that it failed to prove that its respondents were drawn exclusively from Britain. He also argued that “the poll in question is *more than four years old*” [emphasis Cohen’s] (n.pag).

Further research looking at NZE, AusE, NAm and RP using subjects from New Zealand, Australia and the US, showed that the New Zealand evaluations tended to downgrade their own accent compared with how they felt about American and, to some extent, RP voices (Bayard, et al). The authors concluded: “The American accent seems well on the way to equaling or even replacing RP as the prestige – or at least, preferred – variety, not only in New Zealand but in Australia and some non-English-speaking nations as well” (22). The body of research on attitudes towards accent would therefore seem to suggest a transition from an obligation to strict adherence to British English, to an acceptance of New Zealand English, but a rising preference for American English.

Media attitudes towards accent

Attitudes towards the use of New Zealand English spilled over from personal perspectives about ‘how we should speak’ into media broadcasts and advertising texts. It was accepted that RP was used in all ‘serious’ broadcasting from radio’s inception through to the 1960s, when television broadcasting began, and even into the 1970s (Hawkins). The use of a New Zealand accent by radio journalists was frowned upon, from its inception until as late as the 1990s (Callingham; Swarbrick). Bell (*Radio*) surveyed levels of prestige across New Zealand radio

stations by examining how closely they were aligned to the BBC ideal. His research model reflected the idea that British English and RP were the speech models to which citizens (and broadcasters) should adhere. Bell studied three linguistic variables: negative contraction, consonant cluster reduction, and intervocalic /t/ voicing, and compared them to the BBC “as a formal standard ... a reflection of the prestige of BBC English both worldwide and in the New Zealand speech community” (160). The BBC and its RP voice were positioned as the ideal for New Zealand to follow and imitate, leading Bell to coin the term ‘linguistic colonialism’ (*This isn’t*).

By the late 1980s, NZE was becoming more widely used on broadcast media, as described by Bell in 1988 in *The British base and the American connection in New Zealand media English*:

New Zealand dialect is now heard far more widely on the airwaves than ten years ago. The more recently recruited network radio and television newscasters are closer to normal New Zealand speech than were their RP-oriented predecessors. Some television program presenters use accents broad enough to draw letters of protest that such speech should be allowed on the air. (343)

At the same time, Bell observed that it was only the year before that a speaker with “a distinctively Maori accent [was] used on network news” for the first time, and that Maori who were regular broadcasters tended to use an accent “indistinguishable from white New Zealanders” (343). Bell drew these conclusions after studying determiner deletion (for example, omitting ‘a’ or ‘the’ before a descriptor such as ‘Spanish tennis star’) in broadcast media, noting an increasing preference for adopting the American norm. The impending Americanisation (in general, not restricted to broadcast media) is also noted in Bayard et al:

Since the early 1970s RP’s dominance and established inequality over NZE has been replaced – at least in the New Zealand media – by the dominance of the NAm model. From the dialect hegemony standpoint the New Zealand and Australian ‘cringes’ may not really represent a direct transference from an RP to an American prestige form of English. Rather they may reflect a bowing to the inexorable pressure of American global hegemony in all its guises. (41)

While the early preference for RP can be read as a prestige form of speech, the new preference for NAm can be read as the effects of hegemony through the proliferation of media texts, rather than as a prestige model per se.

The media self-referentially holds attitudes about acceptable and unacceptable forms of speech and accent. Columnist Jane Clifton ("Mincing words") taps into several aspects of the New Zealand cultural cringe over accent, noting her own fears that she was "a bit of a closet Anglophile snob to fret about our accent". Clifton posits that the morphing pronunciation of NZE has a psychological undertone:

I started noticing how we sound when we talk to small children and animals ... we adopt a more childlike mode of speech. Obviously, we want to sound unthreatening, and so we talk to them the way we think they would talk, if they could talk, as though they're vulnerable and less intelligent than we are. Which, brutally (well, hopefully), is true. When I'm talking to babies and pets, the net effect ... is that my New Zealand accent broadens. "Would you loik some mo-wah bus-kut?/Who's a noice widdow pussyket?/Come on liddow bee-yar [bear], leet's geet you in the car-car!" Yes, I'm talking nonsense. But I could equally be on the phone interviewing Helen Clark about her new job prospects: "Uht sounds loik you've got to geet a widdow mo-wah support-wat fo-wah your-wah Yoo Een campaign" (n.pag).

Clifton argues that – comprehension aside – the new New Zealand accent is nearly identical to this "infantilised" way of speech. The implication is that other countries might then find us "cute and endearing". Moreover, she observes that putting on a plummy accent is also a sin, "particularly if it doesn't sound as though one has come by one's plummy accent honestly": "The frequent, well-meaning suggestions that John Key take elocution lessons are unlikely to be taken up, as it would seem like putting on the dog." There is a double standard in Clifton's writing: although putting on an accent to achieve adherence to what is still somewhat considered 'correct' English in New Zealand (i.e. RP, particularly in broadcasting) is a 'sin', striving to adhere to Maori pronunciation is something to which citizens should aspire. Clifton argues that while Maori is not "pickled in aspic", it contains certain rules around vowels and stress that are

adhered to: “The Maori renaissance is something of which only a churl or racist could fail to be proud. We have saved a dying tongue” (n.pag).

While accent use in New Zealand broadcasting has opened up to NZE and Maori accents, the media continues to be self-conscious about how it speaks and sounds. Media training duo Brian Edwards and Judy Callingham have both penned opinion pieces on the subject (“On awful female voices”; “Heow Neow”). Edwards wrote a plea to television bosses, querying whether they watched their own news bulletins with the sound turned off. Edwards maintained he wasn’t talking about the use of Kiwi accents, arguing “we should embrace that aspect of our culture”, but rather a rise in nasal voices of young female reporters. Callingham posted on a social media platform about the issue, which was met with “a mixture of support and hostility”. Edwards theorised that the hostility came from the “misconception that anyone criticising the way women TV field reporters in this country speak today must be hankering for a return to the plummy BBC delivery that was a feature of public broadcasting in New Zealand until the 70s and possibly a little later”. Clifton’s writing, which preceded Edwards by three years, would seem to indicate that something of a hankering for a return to RP still exists, but brings with it unease and a sense of a lack of history or identity.

Callingham criticised nasal voices in broadcast media, laying the blame with contemporary local television offerings:

I blame it on *Shortland Street*! Once we learned to regard New Zild as an acceptable way of speaking, there was no stopping us. Our accent has become stronger and more differentiated by the year. Is this old-fashioned and fuddy-duddy? I don’t think so. We no longer have a perpetual grizzle of discontent about pronunciation in the Letters to the Editor pages, but every time someone writes about voices on radio or TV, those pages are flooded with responses. (“Heow Neow”)

While Callingham argues that she is not suggesting “for one moment that we should revert back to being mini-Brits” and that it’s not the accent but “what we’re doing to it”, the framing of the debate positions NZE as cringe-worthy and unacceptable. Native speakers (particularly those

in broadcasting) are in a bind: to speak NZE as they wish brings wrath, but to put on a faux “plummy” accent is a sin. Blaming the ‘New Zealandness’ of *Shortland Street* for the changing accent – the pervasion of NZE at the detriment of RP, or a ‘proper’ way of speaking – reveals an ideology that holds RP as the prestige/correct method of speech.

Accent within New Zealand advertising

Very little has been written about accent use within advertising in New Zealand, beside Bell’s *Styling the other to define the self*, in which he examines a series of New Zealand television advertisements by Air New Zealand that made an “overtly nationalistic appeal to the majority Pakeha group” (523). The advertisements presented four different renditions of the song Pokarekare Ana, performed by singers with Maori, Irish, Pakeha and African-American pronunciation. While Bell is more concerned with viewing the interpretation and analysis of the advertisements within audience design framework, he makes several observations that are of importance to this thesis.

Bell considers the use of Irish and African American versions of a Maori song significant because it taps into foreign validation. He likens the advertisement to a 1990s campaign by Steinlager that used the line “they’re drinking our beer here” to advertise the beer’s acceptance by foreign drinkers:

In these far-flung destinations (to which you can travel with Air NZ), you will find people in everyday places of social gathering singing a New Zealand song which has purportedly made its way into the standard musical repertoire. Although the Irish and African American groups are outsiders, their presentation in the advertisement is as benign others. New Zealanders can be pleased to have these people adopt – and adapt – their song. (534)

That New Zealanders are pleased to have others appropriate or enjoy – or even notice – their culture indicates citizens’ desire for approval or validation from a foreign entity in order to accept itself. Important, also, is Bell’s observation of a trend that emerged in the 1990s for a “particular class of television advertisements” with an approach that was “nationalistic, clearly associating

their product with stereotypical New Zealand cultural and social values and characteristics” (527). Because so little has been written about the use of accent in New Zealand advertising, particularly using an approach that looks at the transition of accent over time, this thesis aims to fill the gap by delivering a critical discourse analysis of representations of national identity as constructed through advertising in promotional culture.

RP and the British influence

It has been suggested by those who worked in the industry that New Zealand advertising in its earliest days took its cue from the British model and saw the use of RP in advertising as something to which they should aspire (MacDonnell, Roger. Personal interview. 20 April 2012; Potts, Len. Personal interview. 20 April 2012; Sellwood, Wayne. Personal interview. 4 May 2012; Williams, Tony. Personal interview. 5 May 2013). Those working in advertising were encouraged to adopt a British accent, even if they would not normally speak that way, and to emulate the style and art direction of advertising in the UK. Writers and documentary makers have also observed this adherence to the British model, though in doing so they accept unquestioningly that New Zealand identity has a particular set of characteristics that seem inevitable. Rather than acknowledging that national identities are negotiable, unfixed and in flux, these cultural observers write of ‘the way we were’, or list certain aspects of New Zealandness that ‘just are’.

Aidney & Heckman, two writers for *Kate* magazine, argue that advertising had played a pivotal role in constructing an emerging New Zealand identity, in *The man who created NZ culture*:

New Zealanders exhibit a natural instinct for storytelling that leaves the rest of the world awestruck. To us, it’s no big deal. We’re just doing that thing we do. Yet it wasn’t so long ago that we were still subjects of Her Majesty’s stiff upper lip. Those BBC accents we so eagerly adopted meant that the voices that spoke our local stories were not recognisably our own. Over time, we relaxed into our accents and learned not to recoil at the sound of them. And so emerged a nation. Through the 80s and 90s, advertising campaigns played a significant role in that burgeoning identity (n.pag).

In a documentary on the history of advertising (Bruce, *You're Soaking*), presenter Philip Alpers claimed that it was the "creative minds" of the industry who "helped us to discover what the Kiwi way of life *really* was":

When it began in 1960, New Zealand television tried very hard to model itself on the BBC, and producers, directors and announcers all did their level best to look and sound British. Television commercials downplayed the Kiwi accent in favour of the preferred English style. In fact, reflecting the Kiwi way of life was the last thing on the minds of the ad men. They were just struggling to get words and pictures together for the brand-new medium of television.

Again, Alpers assumes that there is a fixed, set New Zealand identity in asserting that there is a 'real' Kiwi way of life.

Advertising creative Len Potts (qtd. in Bruce, *You're Soaking*) notes that it wasn't until his own 1990 campaign for BNZ (Dixon, *Who Are*) that he felt "comfortable" with television advertising for the first time:

Suddenly it was talking about and showing people in New Zealand, suddenly we'd found that we actually had an accent that we could use. We were making giant strides in reflecting ourselves. Ads, in New Zealand, looked like they were made in New Zealand, by New Zealanders.

Jock Phillips writes in his text on masculinity and the New Zealand identity *A Man's Country* that advertisements "eventually" began to reflect the country's search for a national identity – though he does not specify a time frame for this awakening – beginning with icons of nature such as the kiwi and tui, progressing on to linking beer consumption and the country's skill in playing rugby with ideas of New Zealandness, and shifting away from the British model: "However, early television commercials often used overseas models. The voice-overs sounded 'proper English' and sometimes the English associations were used to sell goods. For example, New Zealand-made raincoats were labelled 'Burberry of London by Skellerup'." (153)

The transition of accent in New Zealand television advertising

Indeed, early advertising employed RP as its most prevalent form of English, no matter the origin of the product. A 1961 advertisement for the New Zealand Post Office Savings Bank (“Post Office Savings Bank”), a New Zealand-owned organisation, depicts a man holding up a bank teller played by New Zealand actor Peter Harcourt. Both are unfailingly polite to each other and speak with impeccable British accents, conforming absolutely to the ideal model of RP. It is overly British to the point of being almost comical. The would-be robber concludes the advertisement by telling the viewer, “I didn’t get away with it, but it just goes to show that you always get excellent service from the Post Office Savings Bank” and adding on the superbly British proclamation, “By Jove, yes!” (The expression “By Jove” is, in fact, so resolutely British that a comedy travelogue series, *Britain By Jove*, ran in the 1960s.) Another example of the use of RP in spite of a company’s New Zealand heritage is “Fly South” by Peach Wemyss Astor, the agency of what was then the National Airways Corporation (NAC). It shows an older and younger couple flying to the South Island for a holiday, with lyrics and a voiceover exhorting viewers to consider “letting themselves go” and “fly South for a change”.

Many advertisements opted quite openly for the RP model, to the point of normalisation of the accent. Director Tony Williams produced a commercial for Fruit Distributors (“Nothing peels faster”), agency Peach Wemyss Astor made an advertisement locally for Betty Crocker (“Fruit Roll”), and agency Charles Haines produced a commercial for Dettol (“Dettol”), all of which use RP. One of the three employs a subtle yet still noticeable alveolar trill (a rolled ‘r’, achieved by use of the tongue against the roof of the mouth just behind the teeth, and a marker of RP). These are just a few of the numerous examples available of the use of RP in early television advertising. Even when New Zealand broke away from using the pound in favour of a more American style of currency with the dollar, a British accent was employed in the advertising campaign that was created to remind consumers of the change. A 1967 commercial, ‘Mr Dollar’ (Walker) showed an animated rolled-up dollar note whose voice was RP par excellence – even to the point of using a highly exaggerated alveolar trill.

However, by the late 1960s, advertising was hinting at biculturality. In 1969, the National Bank's advertising agency Catts Patterson began a series of animated commercials featuring Henry, who "got his life together" with the help of the bank and even married the bank teller into the bargain ("Henry marries teller"). While the client was a New Zealand-owned entity, the advertisement's voiceover again uses RP, although the text was notable for its use of a Maori person, which stood out as unusual for the time.

The 1970s, with the advent of colour television and hence colour advertising, began to show signs of making a shift away from RP and the creatively limited model of jingles, animation and voiceovers, with the gradual introduction of NZE. However, the last vestiges of the 1960s were still present and NZE was far from the norm. For example, an advertisement for Guardsman jackets ("They always take it") uses RP in its three-way dialogue depicting a shop scene and a commercial for Timex Watches with a similar use of RP shows Australian barefoot skiing champion Gary Barton testing a watch by waterskiing with it strapped around his foot ("Timex Watches"). The use of an Australian frontperson mixed with an RP voiceover for an advertisement aimed at a New Zealand audience made for a confused marketing tactic, given the penchant of directors at the time to opt purely for RP.

However, the canon of 1970s advertising that is considered 'iconic' (as its advertising texts have been preserved by the Film Archive and released online) gradually began to hint at an acceptance of a New Zealand identity and accent. New Zealand actor Bruce Allpress sings of his love for the great New Zealand pie in an obviously Kiwi accent in 1977 ("The great New Zealand pie") while a collection of neighbours speak to each other in standard (non-exaggerated) NZE in a commercial for fruit drink Raro ("Raro instant breakfast drink"). It is worth noting that a brief voiceover at the end endorsing the Raro product is nevertheless spoken in RP, indicating the need for an authoritative voice to offset the use of NZE and sell the product. Still, the New Zealand image and an emerging self-awareness can be seen coming to the forefront through texts from this era. Even the NAC, which in 1964 had been determinedly British in its voice, had by 1974 made a shift. An advertisement encouraging viewers to take

a holiday (“Second holiday”) employed a voiceover that, while not entirely NZE in its accent, was certainly not RP, either. 1970s pop singer Craig Scott sings of the pressing need to see the country (see Appendix K for lyrics), accompanied by images of young people marching down a beach. Although it can be tricky to determine accent in lyrics as opposed to spoken words, it would have been clear to viewers that Scott, being relatively well-known at the time, was a New Zealander. As with the Raro text, the ending voiceover, which states “New Zealand is yours. Go there. Now”, is spoken in RP. The use of the RP end voiceover would seem to indicate that while it is acceptable to portray a New Zealand image or for agents within a text to depict NZE, this form of English was still not considered authoritative enough at the time to deliver the instructive end endorsement. Few advertisements trusted NZE to adequately sell the product, relying instead on the more conventional RP to convey the message to the consumer.

Beyond accent and voice, a visual representation of New Zealand was emerging within advertising texts, with images of the landscape and iconic locations becoming more frequent than ever before. Songwriter Lindsay Marks penned a piece for Suzuki, which New Zealand band Split Enz performed for a commercial (“Let Suzuki blow your mind”) with the words “Get it together and let Suzuki blow your mind”. It was filmed around the North Island’s Central Plateau, with the easily recognisable Mount Ngauruhoe shown in one shot. It is indicative of this shift towards an acceptance of New Zealandness, here both in accent – the tones of Split Enz cannot be mistaken for any British band – and visually.

A shift towards biculturalism could also be observed, though it could not necessarily be argued that overt or salient representations of Maori were at this stage being seen, beyond the occasional nod. Still, in one advertisement (“Fishermen”) Gregg’s Coffee notably features one clear shot of a Maori man. Its 1970 advertisement ‘Different Faces’ is notable for its acknowledgement of New Zealand’s multicultural status as well as its portrayal of not just Maori but also other ethnicities. The text’s lyrics praise New Zealand’s multicultural nature and attempt boutique multiculturalism:

Different faces/many races living in the sun/good times to remember where all may live
as one/living in a time when things are changing everyday/living in a place where each
is free to go his way/take time out to look about you as you go your way/look at things
that make life what it is today.

The lyrics also invoke a post-modernist society with overtones of tolerance for another, building an image of individualism.

However, while some representations of Maori were emerging, depictions of Maori did not always represent a politically progressive perspective. An advertisement for Beehive matches shows a Pakeha man (although he could be American, given his denim, waistcoat and hat) coming ashore to meet a bare-chested Maori man in a grass skirt. The Maori man welcomes him in by waving his arm enthusiastically and the pair sit down to strike matches together. The lyrics to the scene “Folks made friends and kept out the cold/with a Beehive match or three” imply friendship through collective consumption. The product on offer makes not only a product promise (fire) but also a cultural or social promise (racial harmony). The Maori character’s wide-mouthed and goofy demeanour implies stupidity, though the scene is quite brief and soon moves on to other scenarios, such as collections of Pakeha people punting on a river and enjoying a picnic. The end voiceover, “Buy the big economy pack. Strike a light, New Zealand” employs an exaggerated form of NZE (similar to that used by Bruce Allpress in the ‘Great New Zealand Pie’ commercial). Particularly noticeable is the strained, deepened and elongated vowel in <strike> and <light>, a marker of NZE.

We can see through these examples that television advertising texts from the 1960s and 1970s show an undeniable shift away from the use of the aspirational British model towards a gradual acceptance of New Zealand accent and images. While in the earliest days of television advertising it was indeed the ‘norm’ to imitate the BBC through the use of the highest form of RP – sometimes to the point of a hyperbolic form of the prestige accent – the use of NZE had embarked upon the journey to normalisation by the late 1970s.

However, commercial broadcasting texts from this era provide us with little fodder in terms of how New Zealand society, culture and history is represented through advertising. Aside from the increasing use of NZE, the gradual introduction of images of Maori people and the awakening of an awareness about New Zealand's multicultural nature, representations of national identity and appeals to the viewer around their citizenry are limited. Ideas around what constituted New Zealand identity indeed existed (as argued by Jock Phillips in *A Man's Country*) but they seem to have failed to make their way into the canon of early advertising.

New Zealand English

This section considers the normalisation of NZE in advertising texts from the 1980s onwards and outlines early representations of New Zealand identity in such texts. It then moves to a discussion of the use of Maori English in advertising texts, and how this emerged, and corresponding representations of Maori. The role of the sesqui-centennial in 1990 in provoking an awakening of New Zealand identity is considered, including advertising texts that drew on the event and linked it to national identity.

A gradual normalisation of NZE

By the 1980s, recognisable New Zealand personalities were starting to be featured in television advertising texts, such as singer Sir Howard Morrison and musician Ray Woolf, both of whom began appearing in a series of commercials for BIC pens in 1977. In the late 1980s All Black Buck Shelford appeared in a commercial to promote charity event Red Nose Day ("Red Nose Day"), using NZE as he normally would, rather than affecting an RP mode of speech. Comedian and entertainer Billy T James appeared in a serious advertisement for TVNZ's charity event Telethon ("Telethon") in 1989, while a montage of the All Blacks constituted an advertisement for Steinlager for the 1987 Rugby World Cup challenge ("Stand by Me"). The Steinlager advertisement featured the same style of end voiceover seen in earlier examples, such as the NAC, Raro and tourism commercials, however here the voice is deep, gravely, masculine and employs NZE. By this stage, to have an RP voice endorsing the All Blacks as they took on the world in the Rugby World Cup would have been incongruent – to cheer on the New Zealand national rugby team by employing a foreign nation's mode of speech would have been jarring

for the viewer. It is perhaps this sort of conundrum that assisted in the awakening of the need for NZE over RP and the existence of a New Zealand identity that was available for appropriation by advertising. With New Zealand being recognised on the world stage – even if only for rugby and prime agricultural exports – the national identity needed to shake off the vestiges of its British heritage. It is as if New Zealand marketers finally began to believe that NZE could indeed be trusted to sell a product. NZE became, if not the voice of authority, certainly a voice that did not turn consumers off.

Advertising material from the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Board also began to use NZE. An advertisement from 1984 by advertising agency Colenso Communications (the same agency that would in 1990 produce the BNZ ‘Who Are We’ campaign) showed a young man traveling in New York, Paris and “Somewhere in Africa” being questioned by natives of the various locations about well-known landmarks in New Zealand (“Don’t leave home til you’ve seen the country”). Each asks him if he knows where, for example, Milford Sound is, to which he replies, “I dunno, I’ve never been there”. However, the end voiceover, which imparts “a word of advice to all New Zealanders” that they shouldn’t leave town until they’ve seen the country, still uses an RP voiceover. The well-known 1985 launch advertisement ‘Fluffy the Cat’ for Ansett Airlines (Hayward, “Fluffy the cat”), in which a man’s problem of finding stowaway Fluffy in the car boot as he has arrived at the airport is solved by helpful airline employees, also uses RP for the end voiceover in spite of the NZE voices of the employees heard throughout the text. Perhaps the most curious example of a combination of a New Zealand persona or identity with an RP end voiceover is a 1985 advertisement for Mitre 10 featuring Billy T James (“Duck shelter”). Here, he appears as his comedic personality, informing the viewer that the hardware store had helped him out with all his needs to build a duck shelter. His accent is Maori rather than NZE, and as such will be discussed in more detail in the next section, but the end voiceover is again a deep, masculine version of RP. The prevalence of adherence to RP for an end voiceover would suggest that progress towards full acceptance of NZE had only come so far in the 1980s. (There are, however, exceptions, such as one commercial for Harpic toilet cleaner that featured a toilet speaking in RP, while the end voiceover was NZE (“Loo talk”). Could NZE be trusted, finally, to sell a toilet cleaning product?)

RP aside, Mitre 10 made good use of New Zealanders in its 1980s advertising, building on the advertisement with Billy T James by in 1985 also launching commercials featuring All Blacks coach Alex ‘Grizz’ Wylie in one and television personality Gary McCormick with comedian Ginette McDonald as her comedic personality Lyn of Tawa as a couple in another. Wylie is shown alongside British actor Windsor Davies, whose RP stands out in contrast to Wylie’s unapologetic use of NZE. The script has Davies pretending to be Polish after Wylie inquires if he’s Welsh. The additional end voiceover is – notably, as it is an exception – NZE. McCormick clearly plays himself in the text (he is addressed as Gary by McDonald), while McDonald is signified as her character Lyn of Tawa. McCormick’s form NZE is unremarkable, while McDonald’s is hypberbolic, a key aspect of her role as Lyn of Tawa, a character known for her “stereotypical lower-middle-class accent and grating vowels”, which worked to satirise New Zealand’s suburban lifestyle and values (Maclean, “Wellington places”). Here, for example, McDonald’s vowels are exaggerated, deepened, elongated and twisted. Through the hyperbolic nature of McDonald’s use of NZE, a parody is created that fits with the satirical take-down of New Zealand working-class lifestyle and culture. Here, however, it is not NZE that is being satirised, but the exaggerated use of the form is merely an integral part of the Lyn of Tawa character.

The greatest progress towards normalisation of NZE can be seen in the Fernleaf Family and Barry Crump (Toyota) advertisements of the 1980s. From the mid-1980s Kiwi bushman Barry Crump appeared as himself for Toyota’s new Hi-Lux utes. The collaboration came about not as an initiative on the part of the advertising agency, but from Crump himself, who had no money for a Hi-Lux but wanted to see if Toyota would give him one in return for an endorsement (Phillips, *Sell!*). Crump’s style of New Zealandness, in the form of the raw, tough, stoic country man, taps into notions of New Zealand identity – particularly the ultra-masculine aspect – later seen through advertising texts. While later versions of this stereotype – such as the Speight’s Southern Man – were highly stylised, with each detail carefully chosen, Crump’s version is largely unreconstructed, authentic and lacking self-consciousness. Crump, of course, employs NZE in the commercials, as does his sidekick or foil, Scotty (played by actor Lloyd Scott).

Several years after Crump's Toyota advertisements, the Fernleaf Family series launched. The series was a soap opera-style of texts that drew wrath from the New Zealand population for its commercial appropriation of what was then a delicate topic: the breakdown of a marriage, and hence a family unit. The launch commercial (Tamahori, "Fernleaf family") was directed by Lee Tamahori of *Once Were Warriors* fame and features a young girl caught in the middle after her parents have separated. It was a significant departure from the way New Zealand families had been portrayed in television advertising, which had previously been built on a 1950s American stereotype of the acquiescent, dutiful housewife, bread-winning family man and well-behaved, smiling, shiny children. Realistic, if not quite gritty, each advertisement in the series featured NZE spoken by all participants and made no apology for its New Zealandness.

New Zealand's 1990 sesqui-centennial

New Zealand's sesqui-centennial in 1990 co-incided with advertising texts that included representations of Maori, exhortations of unity and messages of multiculturalism. It is an awakening of a national identity and can be no mistake that NZE became normalised at this point, given the media coverage of the sesqui-centennial. Although those who worked in advertising in the 1980s and 1990s often claim that no self-awareness existed of New Zealand as a country apart from its British parent prior to BNZ 'Who Are We' in 1990, an advertisement leading up to the 1990 sesqui-centennial in 1989 made an appeal to viewers to recognise their status as citizens ("Sesqui Year 1990"). Created for the 1990 Commission, it showed sweeping shots of New Zealand landscapes – in a very similar style to BNZ 'Who Are We' – and children scrambling over the countryside and finally assembling holding candles. A range of ethnicities is shown and Sir Howard Morrison does the voiceover in ME1:

For the first time in New Zealand's history, we have a real opportunity to unite New Zealand's past, present and future. To reflect on our past and look forward to our plans for New Zealand. For the country our children will inherit. New Zealand, 1990. It's our country. Our year.

The text's script frames New Zealand as a new country with a limited history but one set apart from any British roots. Another advertisement from the 1990 Commission depicted a Maori boy running down to a beach to play with a Pakeha boy (Tamahori, "The Treaty"). Directed

by Lee Tamahori, it was voiced over by Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, then the Maori Queen, in ME1. Her accent is markedly different from the cheeky chuckling ME2 tones of Billy T James in his Mitre 10 advertisement just five years before. Indeed, the 1990 advertisement had serious undertones and a socio-political message, promoting unity and suggesting it was time for the Treaty of Waitangi to be taken seriously, which stands in contrast to Mitre 10's commercial message. The Treaty was, the ad said, "a pact that had been signed with good and true intent" and Dame Te Atairangikaahu believed time had come for the founding document "to be set free" and for it to become "once again" a symbol of unity, trust and understanding. The text acknowledges not just a bicultural society but in fact a multicultural one, observing that since the Treaty was signed, people of "every race, colour and creed" had come to New Zealand and that the document had implications for "all the many peoples of Aotearoa".

The collision of the sesqui-centennial with representations of Maori, exhortations of unity and messages of multiculturalism, and the overt representations of New Zealandness the following year in 'Who Are We', is surely no co-incidence. This awakening of national identity, however, cannot be seen to have been 'provoked' by 'Who Are We'. Equally, the claim that the BNZ texts were the first to employ NZE and be unashamedly New Zealand in their style is clearly false, as representations of New Zealandness and the use of NZE are seen in advertising texts throughout the 1980s. (This 'claim to fame' is then perhaps more of a line on an ad man's personal resume than a studied and objective judgment.)

Emerging representations of New Zealand identity

The sesqui-centennial and texts such as BNZ 'Who Are We' seem to have opened up the floodgates to representations of New Zealandness in television advertising and the British model was no longer something advertising agencies aspired to emulate. Rather, Britishness and RP was being passed over in favour of obvious depictions of Kiwiana and messages of national identity. The deregulation of the 1980s under Rogernomics had also opened up a whole new commercial marketplace and advertising agencies were flying high on big budgets for marketing campaigns for both local and international clients. Advertising strategists took their

cues from Len Potts and BNZ 'Who Are We', and for the first time, viewers began to witness the construction of New Zealand identity, icons and culture in order to sell product.

Wattie's Tomato Sauce, long a mainstay of the Kiwi barbecue, directly informed viewers in an early 1990s advertisement that true New Zealandness would come as a result of product consumption: "You'll never be a Kiwi til you love our Wattie's sauce," the advertisement's lyrics claimed ("You'll never be a Kiwi"). The script, delivered entirely via a catchy jingle-style song, invokes a variety of New Zealand icons, such as jandals, the haka, one-day cricket, a Red Nose and beer consumption. Ultimately it holds back endorsements of New Zealandness from the viewer, who is interpellated either as a deficient or model citizen, depending on their tomato sauce consumption habits. The idea that national identity could hinge upon the consumption of a condiment is plainly absurd, but set within the context of an overabundance of product shots, it becomes framed as common sense. The singer employs NZE while at the same time the lyrics acknowledge it almost to the point of poking fun at it: "You can talk out through your nose and say, 'How ya going mate?'" However, by this point, NZE is accepted as the 'normal' model of speaking, at least as it is portrayed through advertising texts.

Kiwiana and New Zealand cultural icons are used in McDonald's 1991 launch advertisement for the Kiwiburger (Flaws, "Kiwiburger"), which depicts a quick montage (Figure 1) of all the things "Kiwis love", such as "walking tracks", the All Blacks, marching girls, gumboots, Buzzy Bees, hokey-pokey, "Maori haka" and many more. Interspersed with this montage of Kiwi icons are items that suit the advertiser's purpose, from the more subtle – mustard, tomato sauce – to the obvious – McDonald's and Ronald McDonald. A Kiwiburger is gradually constructed, ingredient by ingredient, against the backdrop of various culturally or socially significant backdrops (Figure 2). The advertisement is essentially designed to demonstrate an understanding of what constitutes New Zealandness, and Kiwi culture, by a foreign corporation in the newly deregulated environment. Post-1990, with NZE normalised and representations of New Zealand identity used throughout television advertising, agencies and marketers began to use Maori accents and representations in a similar way.



Figure 1. McDonald's Kiwiburger: cultural icons.



Figure 2. McDonald's Kiwiburger.

The introduction of Maori voices to television advertising

We have seen that the use of NZE gradually became acceptable in television advertising after 1990, shifting away from the British model of RP and taking on a national identity in advertising texts. Given that New Zealand is home to many ethnicities, how can shifting accents within television advertising be viewed with this in consideration?

Both Maori and multicultural representations began to appear within television advertising from as early as the 1960s, with ‘Henry marries teller’ in 1969 featuring a Maori face and Gregg’s Coffee ‘Different Faces’ acknowledging and celebrating the country’s multicultural nature in 1970. New Zealand Maori personalities such as Sir Howard Morrison and Billy T James also featured in television advertising. However, the mere existence of a non-Pakeha face only goes so far in indicating progress towards multicultural recognition. ME1 was heard within television advertising in Sir Howard Morrison’s voiceover for the sesqui-centennial commercial and Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu’s voiceover for the Treaty advertisement. Both accents are carefully enunciated and redolent of the “English of educated middle-class Maori New Zealanders” (Richards 145). Both texts are very careful representations of Maori image, culture and accent, perhaps due to the socio-political nature of both messages, coming from the 1990 Commission, rather than a commercial entity, which would have more diplomatic leeway to employ humour, parody and stereotypes. There is particular meaning in such texts – such as unity of the nation and reflection on the past and future – whereas more commercial messages tend to appropriate Maori culture and accent as humour, as personality, or a combination of both. Billy T James’ advertisement for Mitre 10 in 1985 is one of the earliest examples, if not *the* earliest, of ME2. James’ comedic routine of poking fun at himself and Maori culture informs this text, which shows him building a duck shooting shelter with the help of Mitre 10, only to discover he has built it directly in an airplane flight path. He employs expressions such as “chur”, “hot feeds”, “fulla” and “eh”, which are linguistic facets of ME2. Additionally, he wears a T-shirt with the word ‘Choice’ on it, another ME2 expression. Here, he is indistinguishable from his comedic personality, which often relied on an exaggerated form of ME2 as well as self-mockery partly covered by the diplomatic immunity of being Maori himself. This form

of ME2 (seen, for example, in his incarnation as a ‘newsreader’ on *Tē News*) was not ‘normal’ or standard for Billy T James, who was often seen speaking a version of ME that was closer to ME1 than ME2 (for example, when doing stand-up comedy). He is an example of how the continuum from ME1 to ME2 can work within a solitary speaker and hence how exaggeration or hyberbole within ME2 can work to achieve a parody.

Emerging Maori representations

Maori representations across media, film and viral texts can be seen to influence representations within advertising. Taika Waititi’s feature film *Boy* and his short film *Two Cars, One Night* both employ forms of ME2, exaggerated or otherwise, in their drive for humour. The latter, for example, features ME2 expressions similar to those used by Billy T James, such as “eh, bro” and “choice as”, as well as aspects of pronunciation that are part of ME2: <Shut up> becomes contracted, shifting from [ʃʌt ʌp] to [ʃʌdʌp] and <give us a [look]> is likewise contracted to become [gɪzʌ]. A salient example of a Maori stereotype within a contemporary text is ‘Jeff da Maori’ from animated series *Bro ’Town* (Mitchell). Jeff stands out from his Polynesian peers and is characterised by obvious stereotypes informed by texts such as film *Once Were Warriors* and literature by Witi Ihimaera. His catchphrase “Not even, ow!” is an example of ME2 being employed to create a parody. However, a recent and influential text in the rise of accent as parody is *Beached As* (Green), an animated YouTube clip showing a beached whale that talks about being “beached as” and “heaps beached”. It is a curious blend of NZE2 and ME2, as it employs NZE2 in accent but borrows expressions from ME2. The confused blend is unsurprising, given the creators are Australian and hence not necessarily familiar with New Zealand culture and vernacular, however, this blend is also evidence of linguistic hybridity and the wider absorption of such expressions within NZE. The clip’s popularity led to the whale’s adventures being expanded for two series of short clips on Australia’s ABC (Green, *Beached Az*).

A derogatory reading of Maori representations can be taken from some advertising texts, such as the Beehive ad previously discussed, where a Maori man in traditional dress ‘makes friends’ over a campfire with a Pakeha man (Figure 3). The Maori character’s movements,

demeanour and facial expression lend him an air of stupidity. Billy T James' Mitre 10 advertisement, while not derogatory, derives humour from the Maori stereotypes (through accent, dress and script) deployed throughout – for example, his t-shirt which reads 'Choice', or his use of words such as 'feeds' rather than 'food' or 'meals'. On a more contemporary level, 'Do Your



Figure 3. Beehive advertisement.

Thing Better' exhibits how ME2 can be utilised for the same effect. However, some of the humour present in this text relies on audiences' prior knowledge of James Rolleston's role in *Boy*, as his persona and accent are partly reprised in this new text. Viewers familiar with *Boy* will note the reference, while those unfamiliar would assume his character in 'Do Your Thing Better' to be an offbeat ME2 representation. Two other contemporary texts are key in viewing how accent informs representations of Maori within the discourse of national identity: 'Legend' (Ayson) and 'Blazed As' (Waititi).

'Legend', created by advertising agency Clemenger BBDO for the New Zealand Transport Authority, depicts a young Maori boy wondering through his internal monologue if he should speak up to stop his friend, George, from driving drunk. After running through several scenarios ("I might look dumb in front of Monique" and "If he dies, I'll have to live with his family") he concludes the biggest risk is his friend dying and then haunting him and then not being able to "grab" his "ghost chips". He utters the line, "I've been internalising a really complicated situation in my head" and the situation is resolved when George agrees to crash there for the night. The advertisement quickly became a pop culture phenomenon and its new vocabulary ("ghost chips", "internalising a complicated situation") entered the vernacular. According to an NZTA spokesperson, it was intended to target young Maori drivers and needed to be funny, in order for the message to have some traction – viewers would not engage with the ad

without humour – and also to give the young target audience a way to tell someone that they were too drunk to drive (Fahy, “Everyone’s favourite Boy”). The text is undeniably couched in ME2 and invokes this as a large part of its humour. The use of terms such as “spoon” and “spacehead”, while not exclusively the domain of ME2, also go a long way to establishing a Maori representation within the text. The use of ME2 is exaggerated, for example, turning <bro> from [brou] to [bru], <no> from [nou] to [nu] and <head> from [hed] to [hid].

Meanwhile, ‘Blazed As’ is a slightly newer text, also from the NZTA and intended to “resonate with” the Maori community (Fahy, “NZTA and Taika Waititi”). Directed by Taika Waititi, it takes its stylistic cues from his short film *Two Cars, One Night* in depicting three children in a car outside a house, where they are waiting for their fathers to finish doing drugs. The text’s fundamental social marketing message is: ‘Don’t drive stoned’. The boys speak in exaggerated ME2 accents, on the far end of the ME1-ME2 continuum, and here ME2 is unarguably employed as a means of provoking humour. Expressions used in the text, such as “skux”, “mean as” and “blazing” are employed to highlight ME2 and while some of the humour certainly stems from the children’s imitations of their drug-affected fathers, the use of ME2 takes the forefront here. The text has been labeled offensive (Deane, “Crash investigator claims stoned car driver ad stigmatises Maori”), but ultimately it works to achieve humour through playing on accent. Through the children imitating their fathers, a character (parental) parody is created. Through the use of an exaggerated form of ME2, a parody of Maori accent and culture is also created.

In spite of these examples, there has been room within television advertising for a ‘serious’, non-parody construction of Maori culture, accent and representations, albeit more than a decade ago. In 1999, Air New Zealand launched a television advertisement featuring a young Maori girl transported to various locations all over the world (“The world’s warmest welcome”). Clad in a simple white dress and clutching a stick with ribbons in the aqua and blue colours of the airline’s brand, she is shown first on a pristine New Zealand beach (Figure 4), then intercut with images of New Zealand icons, such as places, flora and fauna, as she makes her way around the world. A New Zealand landscape gradually changes to become an Australian one

and Aboriginal and Asian children are also featured in the ad. The music, *Po Karekare Ana*, combined with a shot of the young girl doing a hongi with a young boy and a cultural dance scene denote Maori culture and construct a representation that is serious, focused on customs and culture, and leaves no room for mocking, humour or parody. The text concludes with a shot of a Maori face overlaid on a beach scene (Figure 5). Overall, the text's construction of national identity relies on purity of landscape, Maori icons and the idea of taking New Zealand to the world.



Figure 4. 'The World's Warmest Welcome' (1).

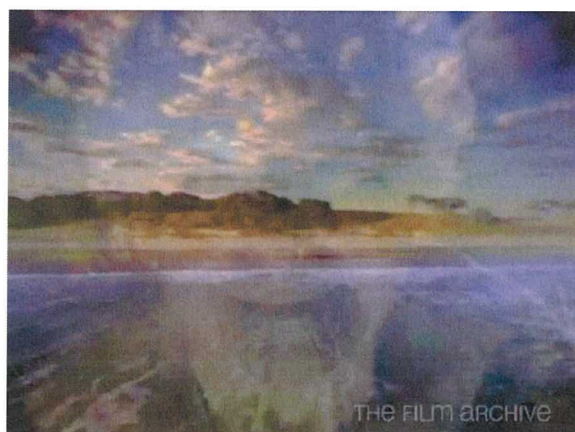


Figure 5. 'The World's Warmest Welcome' (2).

Another image of Maoridom within television advertising worth considering is 'Resistance', a 2000 commercial created to promote an exhibition called *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*, which ran at Wellington's City Gallery for six months from August 2000. *Parihaka*, located in Taranaki, was known in the late 1800s for being both the biggest Maori village in the country and the centre of a campaign of non-violent resistance to European occupation of confiscated land. The text shows the words 'PARIHAKA', made from wood, which are repeatedly razed by a malevolent Union Jack (Figures 6 and 7). Each time the Union Jack wreaks havoc on the letters, they rise up again once more. The text is devoid of a script and the audio is grating, featuring a girl's screams. Its representation of Maori is hence an ironically combative one, given the stand-off between the Union Jack and 'PARIHAKA'. However, as with 'The World's Warmest Welcome', it is a representation that takes Maori seriously.

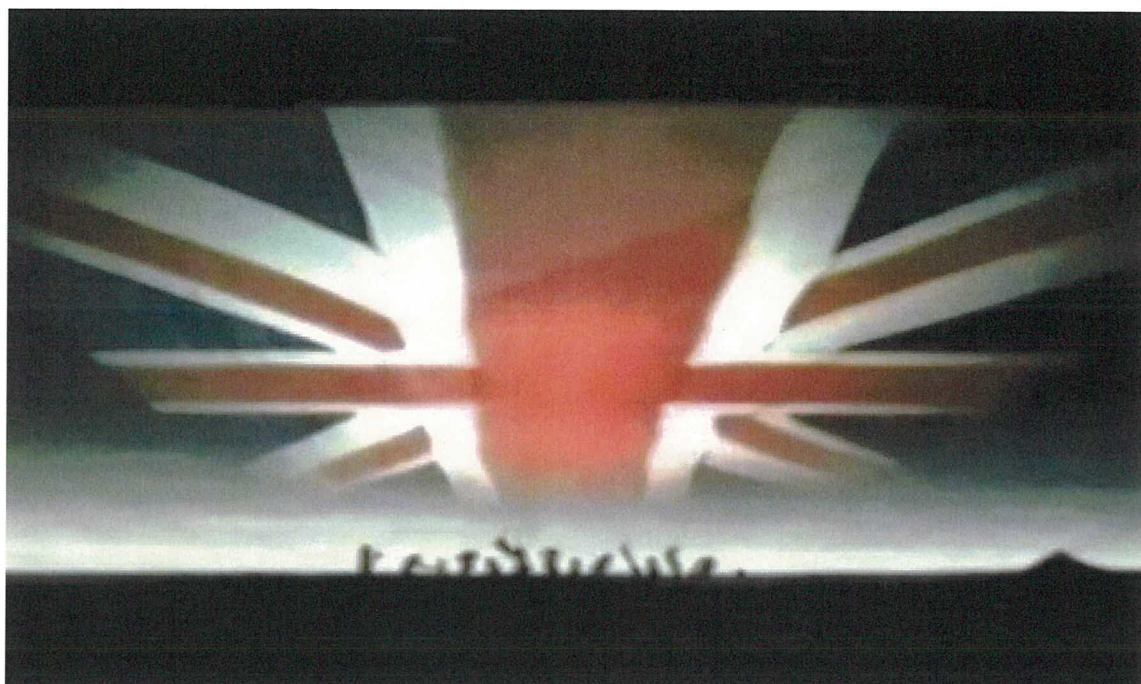


Figure 6. 'PARIHAKA' (1).



Figure 7. 'PARIHAKA' (2).

CHAPTER 3: ENCOUNTERING THE TEXTS

This section explores the background and context for the texts chosen, including marketing direction, industry context and prior research. It aims to provide the reader with an understanding of why each text was produced by the company, what direction the advertising agency decided to take and what the final creative product entailed. The texts used in this research were chosen after considering the existing advertising material outlined in Chapter 2 for several reasons. Firstly, the texts employ a range of different accents, including NZE, ME2, RP, NAm and ME1, all of which are discussed in a sociolinguistic perspective in Chapter 1. They also directly address the viewer, both through the script and also visually, creating a high-demand situation for their audience and establishing the text as a voice of discursive authority. Finally, each contains assertions about and representations of New Zealand identity.

BNZ ‘Who Are We’

Background

In 1990, the Bank of New Zealand wanted to produce a new advertising campaign to construct its New Zealand roots. The company’s advertising agency, Colenso Communications, undertook qualitative research about what it meant to be a New Zealander. According to then-creative director Len Potts, at the outset of the campaign, the agency believed they “didn’t really know an awful lot about what a New Zealander was” (qtd. in Bruce). They conducted focus groups with “thousands of people”, which indicated that being a New Zealander was “more about the physical side of New Zealand, rather than any perceived cultural side or intellectual side”. What made New Zealanders feel like New Zealanders was the tangible aspect: rivers, beaches, baches, boats and mountains “dominated the way we thought about our country”. The resulting campaign, a series of commercials known as ‘Nostalgia’ or ‘Who Are We’, were intended to be a direct reflection of that, according to Potts, whose perspective on the research is influenced by his commercial perspective.

Potts wrote the scripts for the advertisements himself and tried to find talent to read the voiceovers for the finished product, which he said turned out to be even harder than writing them. “We still,

in this country, tend to follow the English way of speaking if we can, or if not, some apeish copy of the American way of speaking ... none of [them] sounded like New Zealand voices [New Zealand English] and, in desperation, I put down some tracks myself, which the bank agreed were far more the way *they* had thought they would be” (qtd. in Bruce). Potts attributes the shift from Britishness to New Zealandness in advertising to more than just creative directors within advertising agencies writing Kiwi ads. He points to directors such as Geoff Dixon and Tony Williams, who were “aching to tell New Zealand stories” (i.e. films and advertisements with content that originated from New Zealand rather than abroad) but weren’t getting the support or the scripts to do so: “Colenso decided that that was going to be their point of difference, so we actually helped to start both them off in their careers – and, for that matter, [*Once Were Warriors* director] Lee Tamahori.” (Potts, Len. Personal interview, 20 April 2012.) While the support for film scripts coming out of New Zealand might not have been there, discourses of New Zealand identity clearly were.

Text

The campaign consisted of five 60-second television commercials, each of which largely followed a set creative formula: the same acoustic guitar track, a single long take of places or objects either slow panning or as a fly-over, and a direct address to the viewer in Potts’ gravelly voiceover. Each execution ended with the same line: “Who are you? You’re a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank”, shown in tandem with a rippling New Zealand flag and the words “Bank of New Zealand”.

The first creative execution, ‘Beach’, features a single long take flyover of Onetahuti Beach in the Abel Tasman National Park in the top end of the South Island. Onetahuti is popular with travelers as it is renowned for its white sands and clear water, typifying purity and cleanliness. Usually busy with trampers, kayakers and water taxis coming and going during the tourist season, it is nevertheless shown here completely empty.

The voiceover directly addresses the viewer: “Sometimes you think you’re the only person in

the world who has walked these sands. The only one to watch the waves chase themselves along the shore. *This* is where you belong – the never-ending edge of Aotearoa. Year after year, you must come back. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank.” With the idea of each viewer being the “only” person who has touched this particular place, the script plays on ideas of unlimited space for citizens, evoking an image of New Zealand as a place of empty landscapes. The use of the Maori term Aotearoa rather than the Pakeha New Zealand helps to push away from the country’s British and European roots, turning instead back towards its multicultural heritage. The viewer is interpellated as a citizen of New Zealand who has left the country but cannot deny the tug of home, with the emphasis “*This* is where you belong” creating a binary distinction for the audience: you are either here or abroad, constantly feeling the need to come back to get your ‘fix’ of home and its abundance of nature. Finally, as in each advertisement, the text ends with the question “Who are you?”, answering for the audience, “You are a New Zealander”, and positioning BNZ as the ‘logical’ choice of bank for ‘real New Zealanders’.

The second creative execution, ‘Bach’, features a single take shot that simultaneously pans and zooms to focus on a rustic bach (Figure 8) in a forest setting. Flax appears in one corner of the shot, with steam rising, perhaps indicative of geothermal areas or a fire smouldering. It is set at sunset, with clouds in the sky on as the sun goes down. The bach is basic, indicating it has been in place for some time, rather than a new import, communicating a sense of history. The ocean is visible towards the end of the shot, pulling in another icon of place identified in Colenso’s research: the beach. A door is ajar, welcoming the viewer in, and chairs are set out on the deck invitingly.

Again, the voiceover directly addresses the viewer: “It’s nothing very flash, you said. Just a bach. 1953. You grew up here. Summer holidays. Learned to play Scrabble. And to fish. And now, you bring *your* kids. And they read the old Biggles books. And laugh. And learn to fish. And it’s still nothing flash. Just a bach. Who are you? You’re a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank.”

The text interpellates the viewer as a middle-class (having enough income to be able to afford a holiday home), middle-aged (presumably, 'you' grew up here in 1953), and a family person. The viewer being addressed is also likely to be male, given the references to learning to fish and reading the Biggles books, which were geared towards male readers and seldom featured women, save as conquests. The notion of modesty is invoked ("It's nothing very flash. Just a bach") as is the New Zealand landscape and the rural idyll. The idea of family heritage and generations is also invoked ("And now, you bring *your* kids"), playing also on the idea of the asset as inheritance, passed down from father to son.

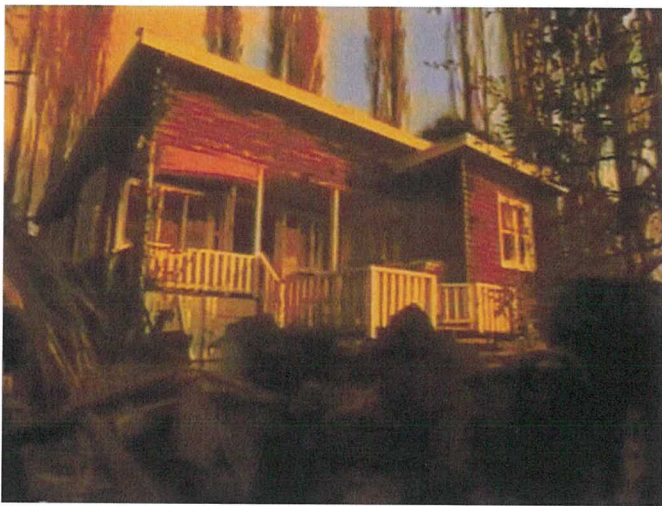


Figure 8. Rustic bach, BNZ 'Who Are We'.

The third execution, 'Carving', slowly zooms in to a Maori carving and out again. Initially it is seen almost in outline, at the end of a dock with early morning or late evening light playing on the reflections in the water, then up close so that the intricate detail can be viewed (Figure 9). The first approach on zooming in comes at the face of the carving head-on, as if to meet it as an equal or a curious observer. However, upon zooming out, rather than taking the same path back, the camera tracks down slightly, making the face loom larger and more imposing as the trees in the background suddenly grow shorter with the foreground/background contrast. It is almost as if the camera leaves the carving on its knees, bowing down to the totem. The voiceover addresses the viewer once again: "You've seen it a hundred times before. And yet these days, it seems to mean more. Perhaps you're becoming aware of a sense of ... belonging ... of culture."

Who else has passed this way? You think about *that* a lot more these days. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank."

The viewer is interpellated as a Pakeha – presumably a Maori person would be always-already aware of their own culture, rather than unaware and in the process of awakening. The viewer is also interpellated as slightly ignorant, as they have seen the carving "a hundred times before" but are only just now becoming aware of it. However, the idea of becoming aware of a sense of belonging and culture was a first step towards acknowledging the multicultural nature of New Zealand, which the identity truism would say was hitherto ignored.

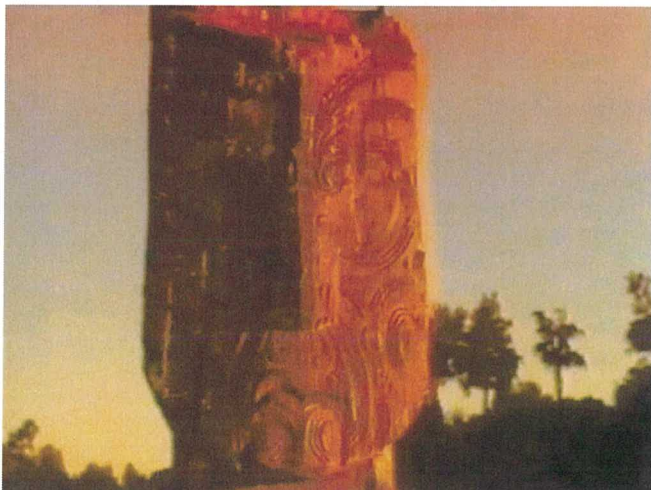


Figure 9. Long shot and close up of Maori carving.

In the fourth execution, 'Boat', the camera pans around the side of a boathouse and up over a small sailing boat sitting in a dry dock. The scene includes the muddy water of an estuary, the boathouse covered in knotted ropes, and the late afternoon sun coming down. The voiceover addresses the viewer: "*This* is always the best time. All the hard work of winter. All the scraping, and the painting. And the old becoming new again. And now she's ready. And so are you. And you wait for the summer that's out there, hiding somewhere. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank." The viewer is interpellated as someone interested in boating and affluent enough to own one, hence middle-class.

The fifth execution, 'Rugby', begins with a winter scene at a rugby ground. A tree is stripped of leaves, save for a few orange stragglers from autumn, fog has rolled in and the grass is long and wet. The camera pans to reveal the bleachers, although the whole scene is devoid of human activity, and finally the gate to the grounds, with the words 'Hokianga Arch of Remembrance' and '1914-1918'. The monument is located at Kohukohu in Northland and was dedicated in 1927 and contains the names of those who fell in World War I. The voiceover addresses the viewer: "You used to think it was probably the biggest rugby ground in the world, the under-eights and you. Too small to run the length so you used to play from one side to the other. Every Saturday morning. Every winter. Now you sit in the stand and there's a little fulla who looks a lot like you doing all the running around. Every Saturday morning. Every winter. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? We are your bank." The text interpellates the viewer as a father, through the use of rugby (primarily a man's sport) and the idea of "a little fulla who looks a lot like you". It speaks of family commitment, traditions and generations taking after the previous one, much in the same way as the 'Bach' execution. Through the use of the war memorial, it also chimes in with notions of history, tradition and stoicism through war.

A sixth execution also exists, 'Winter beach', using the same script as 'Beach' but featuring a west coast black sand landscape rather than the white sands of the Abel Tasman, and employing the same flyover technique in its cinematic approach.

Vodafone 'Do Your Thing Better'

Background

In August 2012, telecommunications company Vodafone launched a new campaign via its agency DraftFCB that featured James Rolleston, the young star of New Zealand film *Boy*. Called 'Do Your Thing Better' and directed by Adam Stevens, it was intended to play up notions of New Zealandness in its appeal to consumers, with Rolleston chosen for his representation of "many qualities Kiwis hold dear", such as determination, optimism, creativity and "above all, a love of doing" (Vodafone, par. 2). At the time of the advertisement's release, Vodafone faced a challenge in needing to differentiate itself from its competitors Telecom and 2degrees. Telecom had traditionally owned the territory of pulling at New Zealanders' heartstrings through feelgood campaigns by Saatchi & Saatchi (champion of the 'Lovemark') such as 'Spot the Dog', 'Animals' and 'Father & Son'. Meanwhile, 2degrees had entered the market in 2009 after nine years of planning, offering cheaper rates to break up the duopoly and also playing on its New Zealand ownership (US and British investors have a stake but it is generally accepted to be 'Kiwi'-owned). Ben Fahy, a journalist who reports on the advertising industry for StopPress.co.nz, noted the dilemma for Vodafone:

Vodafone has long played the exotic foreigner role and, for obvious reasons, hasn't really played – or needed to play – the patriotic card. But that's all changed now, because it's gone the whole Kiwi hog for its big new brand campaign, which ... celebrates the fact that New Zealand is a nation of doers. (Fahy, *Vodafone and DraftFCB focus on the doing*)

Fahy observed, "You can't get much more Kiwi than *Boy*" and that in Vodafone's efforts to localise a global brand and connect with consumers, subtleties and nuances are important: "It's good to see Vodafone recognising that by zeroing in on New Zealand's innovative streak" (par. 3).

The advertisement was paired with a new initiative labeled an example of the 'Marketing As Service Design' trend. Consumers were directed to the 'Do Your Thing Better' section on the Vodafone website where links and apps for smartphones based on a consumer's interest could

be found. Vodafone's communications around the campaign avoided specifically recognising its emphasis on New Zealandness and innovation, instead discussing its responsiveness to New Zealanders' "need" for a "better life": "Vodafone's positioning moves it from a provider of a phone to a provider of a better life, helping you to fulfill the thing you want, via the company's device" (Vodafone, *Do your thing better*).

DraftFCB had conducted cultural research to map the distinctive qualities of the average New Zealander, via research firm Practica (Clifton, *Choice, bro*), which it used in orchestrating many of its campaigns for other clients, such as Mitre 10, Pak 'n' Save and Air New Zealand. DraftFCB planning director David Thomason admitted the advertisement was blatantly playing on nationality to connect with consumers, as mass-market brands needed to communicate with New Zealanders in a way that would resonate with them in order to succeed commercially (Fahy, *Vodafone's Greg Campbell*). Fahy noted: "[T]he New Zealandness in this campaign ... focuses on the nation's inventive streak and is delivered with a cheeky Kiwi twinkle in the eye [and] seems more overt than it's ever been before for Vodafone" (par. 8). However, Vodafone chief marketing officer Greg Campbell denied the company was playing the Kiwi card: "It's a conscious decision to be who we are. There's no sense in trying to be someone else" (par. 11). The advertisement is similar to those of 2degrees featuring comedian Rhys Darby, who also walks through various scenes making humorous and pithy observations, as well as playing on his Kiwiness. Given the company's need to align itself more closely with its local market, it is likely this is not a co-incidence.

Text

The lead commercial for the 'Do Your Thing Better' campaign opens with a shot of the famous white Hollywood sign as Rolleston enters the frame. The camera switches focus to his face, then switches to a long shot to reveal Rolleston standing in the middle of a pedestrian crossing on a typical Los Angeles street, lined with palm trees and littered with expensive cars (Figure 10). The Mercedes Benz symbol is seen on one, while another is a silver convertible, giving the aura of wealth. The text is one of high demand, as Rolleston looks straight down the barrel

and directly addresses the viewer: “Know what? This place isn’t all it’s cracked up to be.” The shot switches to an upmarket restaurant scene where various attractive women are lunching with either each other or with a man. In the background, a man in a suit walks past talking on a mobile phone, while in the foreground, two men sit at a table as one pitches a film script to the other. “All anyone does is *talk* about doing stuff,” Rolleston says, as the man describes the script: “There’s love, there’s passion, there’s...” The scenes play on Hollywood stereotypes: beautiful people, ambitious creatives trying to ‘make it’, and an abundance of wealth. “Hollywood?” Rolleston asks the viewer. “Pffft. More like Holly-*wouldn’t*. It’s all meetings – and no movies.” The scene switches to a semi-corporate office setting, where high-rise buildings can be seen through the window outside and a conference call unit is on the table along with the requisite water glasses. “There’s even meetings about *meetings*,” Rolleston says incredulously, leaning back in his chair out of the line of sight of others partaking in the meeting to make eye contact with the viewer quizzically (Figure 11). “We’ll have a meeting on Wednesday?” asks a heavy-set man whose weight, combover and undone shirt set him apart as the money-holder or agenda-setter in the situation, in contrast with the other men in suit shirts and ties.

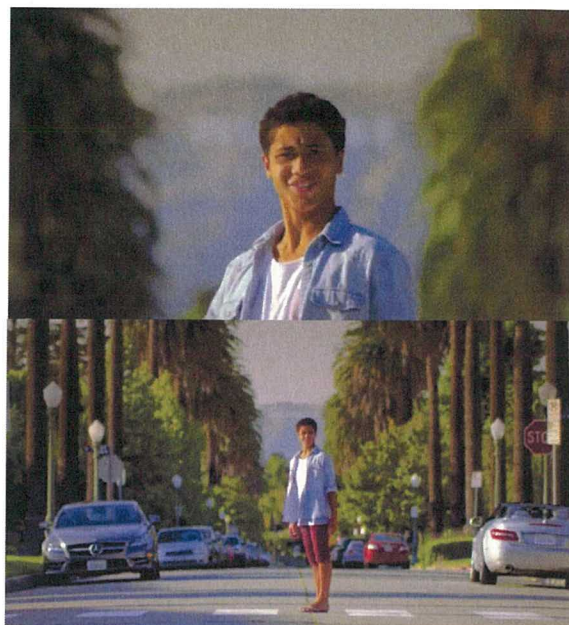


Figure 10. Vodafone: Close up and long shot.



Figure 11. Vodafone: Rolleston.

The next scene also plays on affluence, showing a swimming pool set high in the Hollywood Hills

and several wait-staff on hand. Rolleston is in the foreground, while in the background a man is receiving a massage on a table and another talks on a mobile phone. Two women, dressed in either revealing clothing or with high heels on, are positioned as decorative accessories to the main action.



Figure 12. Vodafone: Jandals.

“So I’ve decided. I’ve heard enough talking.

I’m a doer.” He takes a towel from a waiting helper, slides his feet into a pair of quintessentially Kiwi cheap rubber jandals (Figure 12), gathers up a thin, worn sleeping bag and announces, “I’m going home.” He turns to the man on the massage table, and farewells him: “Later, bro!”. It is then revealed that the man, seen only from a distance previously, is actor Cliff Curtis, who has himself found success in the US, starring in series such as *Trauma*, *Body of Proof* and *Missing*, though he got his start in Kiwi films such as *The Piano* and *Whale Rider*. Curtis, who has been known for portraying a range of ethnicities, such as Arab and Latin American characters, farewells him with a cursory, “Oh yeah, seeya!”.

Rolleston, still clad in the same casual faded denim shirt and maroon shorts as he wore in Hollywood, is then shown suddenly back home, in the middle of a stereotypical New Zealand rural setting (Figure 13). The camera takes in a shot of his gumboots, worn with long rugby socks (Figure 14), to emphasise the shift from one Kiwi choice of footwear (jandals) to another (gumboots). “So here I am. Cos New Zealand’s full of doers too. Like him. And this guy.” Rolleston indicates a man, ‘Warwick’, traveling around New Zealand by scooter, tailed by a support vehicle, to raise money for the Starship hospital, then an amphibious vehicle holding up traffic along Auckland’s Mission Bay. The second is perhaps a nod to successful businessman Alan Gibbs, the innovative pioneer of high-speed amphibious technologies who made his fortune from the invention and moved to the UK in 1999, still retaining links with home through a sculpture park, Gibbs Farm. Rolleston is then shown at a market, where the inventor of possum cheese is touting his wares to an unsuspecting public (“It gives the cheese a distinctly

New Zealand taste”). “Out here, if you want to start something, you start it,” Rolleston argues. “And if you prefer things in halves, you halve them,” pointing to a statue of Sir Ernest Rutherford, widely credited with having split the atom. He continues: “And if you want a robot dolphin, just invent one,” as Asian tourists on a boat chatter in wonder at a man inside a mechanical dolphin, with the subtitle: “That dolphin swallowed a man!” The shot switches to one of an old television set with Rolleston on the screen as he argues: “And if you want to be on TV, you be on TV.” Blurry in the background, behind the TV, is a sign for a Bluff lookout, while on top of the set is a kitsch ship in a bottle, perhaps a marker of provinciality in contrast to the newness and affluence of Hollywood, and beside the set the top of a milk bottle is visible, harking back to New Zealand’s past of milk delivery in glass bottles (Figure 15). The camera pulls away to the outside where Rolleston is shown both in person and on the set, which is located inside a ‘Pauavan’, a small caravan decorated on the outside with the iconically New Zealand paua shell.



Figure 13. Rural setting.



Figure 14. Gumboots.



Figure 15. Provincial signifiers.



Figure 16. Victory scene.

“Some other doers helped with that,” Rolleston says, raising a red Vodafone mug. “Cheers, guys.” The triumphant Warwick is shown fist-pumping as he glides into Bluff on his scooter. “And they wanna help you ... do all your things too. Whatever they are!” The end shot shows the Pauavan, two fire engines, Warwick’s ‘Scooter 4 Starship’ support vehicle and a crowd of enthusiastic supporters in Bluff as he glides over the finish line (Figure 16). The final brand shot features a red screen with the Vodafone logo and ‘do your thing better’, which transitions to ‘power to you’, perhaps subtly sending the message to the consumer that they have the power to choose one telco over another and that Vodafone is the logical choice, as the company supports the dreams of everyday New Zealanders, no matter how absurd.

ASB ‘Succeed On’

Background

In 2000, ASB introduced an advertising campaign built around one central character, a bumbling yet lovable New Yorker named Ira Goldstein, who had come to New Zealand on instructions from his boss to find out “what makes that bank different”. In spite of his popularity, by 2010 Goldstein was deemed ‘tired’ and needed to be ‘retired’. The bank briefed its agency, Saatchi & Saatchi, to come up with a new Goldstein. In February 2013, ASB’s new campaign launched with British actor Brian Blessed at the helm. The booming, deep-voiced Blessed loudly instructed New Zealanders to be less humble about their achievements, under the grammatically troubling slogan “Succeed On”. ASB’s general manager for brand experience Anna Curzon said the campaign was born out of research with New Zealanders that revealed Kiwis do not celebrate success enough. The bank’s research purported that three in 10 New Zealanders had truly celebrated success over the past two years, and that 17 percent were “relieved” rather than excited over the Rugby World Cup win of 2011 (Fahy, *Blessed be*). The campaign was designed to upend “traditional Kiwi humility, humbleness and a perceived reticence to celebrate”, with Blessed at the helm as he was a foreigner who could observe New Zealanders’ behaviour as an outsider (Vaughan, *ASB rebrands*). The text constructs New Zealanders as not just modest but in fact excessively and problematically so. It was a purposeful tactic on the part of ASB’s

marketing department to attempt to upend and disrupt this tendency to excessive humility: “[A] sense of relief or desire to ‘get on with it’ outweighs the excitement New Zealanders feel when [they are] successful,” Curzon said (“ASB survey reveals Kiwis overindulging on ‘humble pie’”).

Text

The lead advertisement for the ‘Succeed On’ campaign opens with a shot of a west coast beach, similar to that seen in the ‘Winter Beach’ execution of the BNZ texts. A young boy is doing a handstand on the beach. “You! Yes, you!” Blessed booms, as he walks towards the camera, pointing, immediately creating a high-demand situation for the viewer (Figure 17). “What marvelous dexterity! Top notch!” The scene switches to a school play on a small stage, where a handful of children play various fairy-tale scene characters. “And you! The undisputed world champions of humility,” Blessed continues, holding up a tiny trophy. The next shot shows a middle New Zealand pub scene with rugby playing on a screen and men securing jugs of beer. Blessed continues his tirade (Figure 18): “For when that glorious whistle blew on that historic night, you didn’t go ‘yeahhhhh, in ya face’, you went ‘phew’, like some reticent whoopee cushion.” The actor is almost looking directly at the camera, but his gaze is just slightly off, enough for the viewer to realise they are being addressed as much as



Figure 17. High demand.



Figure 18. Blessed: Exhortations.



Figure 19. Blessed: Exhortations.

Blessed's audience within the advertisement itself – in this case, the patrons in the pub, who turn to look at him in surprise. Blessed is then shown shouting through a megaphone whilst standing in the middle of a largely empty town square: “Is there a quota on self-congratulation? I think not.” Then, to a school classroom with the letter ‘A’ on the chalkboard: “We must celebrate the letter A.”

The camera takes a wide shot of Blessed walking down a grassy ridge to a flooded field where a large man dressed in waterproofs is pulling a sheep out of the water and saving it from drowning. Blessed's tweed-clad shoulder and crooked staff are seen in the foreground. He raves: “And when I say ‘Great Scott, man, you just saved a shaggy mammalian’, you say [New Zealand man speaks] ‘No biggy’. Oh my friend, yes biggy!” Blessed clutches an umbrella with one hand and shakes his stick in the air for emphasis (Figure 19) with the other. The next scene depicts a buttoned-down office scene, perhaps an architectural firm as miniature buildings are shown on a table, with bespectacled employees gathered around taking notes with an air of concern. Their reticence has clearly driven Blessed to the extreme measure of wheeling in a cannon filled with glittery confetti, with which he sprays the room: “There is no size or criteria for success, it's all success and we must give praise. With pyrotechnics!”

Finally, he is shown having an interaction with a female bank teller, asking her, “Don't you think, my dear? Thank you very much.” He then exits the bank, for the first time looking directly at the camera (Figure 20), rather than ‘almost’ at the viewer, as previously, saying: “But you, yes you! Be not so humble, be proud.” The advertisement, from beginning to end, remains an extremely high demand situation for the viewer, whose attention is required by Blessed's loud ranting. The script and slogan both employ the imperative (“Be proud”, “Succeed on”) as well as direct address (“You! Yes, you!”). The text's participants, such as the punters in the pub,



Figure 20. High-demand.

the school children on stage, and the architectural firm's employees, cannot (and do not) ignore Blessed and his tirade any more than the viewer can.

Steinlager Pure 'David & Goliath' and 'Pure Vision'

Background

In 2008, brewery Lion launched a series of advertisements for its new brand extension Steinlager Pure, a name that seemingly played on Tourism New Zealand's well-known 100% Pure campaign, which seeks to promote the country through its clean, green image. The new marketing direction stemmed from insights at the brewery's advertising agency that New Zealanders don't believe it when other Kiwis tell us that something is good, therefore someone "international" and "cool" had to tell us instead ("Pure marketing"). It was a deliberate tactic on the part of both the brewery and the advertising agency to deploy tropes of national identity. In association with a related Steinlager Pure marketing initiative, Pure Futures, Lion premium beer marketing manager Todd Gordon cited a range of New Zealand icons and traits:

This is about backing people who are passionate and uncompromising in what they believe in. Through determination, pride and inventiveness we have created a country that is the envy of the world. Iconic Kiwis like Sir Ed and Sir Peter Blake are great figures who have shaped our country. We've celebrated their uncompromising principles in past Steinlager Pure campaigns. Steinlager Pure wants to empower and reward New Zealanders who have clarity in their vision and refuse to waiver in their determination to make their dreams come true. This country has a heritage of standing up for what we believe in. Let's keep it that way. ("Steinlager search for pure people.")

Text

Three advertisements featured American actors and producers Willem Dafoe, Vincent Gallo and Harvey Keitel in texts that were dark, moody and masculine. Their American accents are unmissable and mark them out as cultural authorities, while their deep, gravelly voices have parallels with that of Len Potts in his voiceovers for BNZ 'Who Are We'. The North American accent is one of authority in a New Zealand context, according to linguistic research (Bayard,

God help us; Watts), as is the timbre and gender. Here, both accent and gender work to position the protagonist as an authority on New Zealand identity. The viewer is essentially talked at by a foreigner who is positioned as a father figure and someone with thorough knowledge of both inside US operations and New Zealand nuclear history.

The spearhead advertisement of the Steinlager Pure trio, 'David & Goliath', directed by Noah Marshall, shows Dafoe in a dramatic, high-collared long black coat walking past huge nuclear frigates. A low drum beats as Dafoe directly addresses the viewer (see Appendix H for full transcript) about New Zealand's uncompromising stance on nuclear weapons, referencing former Prime Minister David Lange's refusal in 1985 to allow nuclear armed US frigates into New Zealand waters. "If you're asked a question by a guy waving a big stick, you're gonna say yes to pretty much anything," Dafoe says in a direct address to the viewer, as the camera pans up the bow of a warship (Figure 21). The camera angle positions the ship as greater than the viewer, while Dafoe's authoritative NAm accent, paired with his direct address ("you're gonna") are intimidating and commanding. While his stance and words aren't directly aggressive or terrifying, the combined effect of the visuals and the high-demand script produce a textual moment that evokes terror, bullying and pressure. It is as if the viewer were standing in Lange's shoes, fronting up to the US personally.

Dafoe continues: "And if that guy represents the most powerful nation on earth, you're probably going to say 'Yes, Sir'. So when *we* say we want to hang out in your neck of the woods with our trillions of tons worth of nuclear might, you say 'Not a problem'. We can pretty much take our nuclear ships anywhere in the world we like." The script is redolent of an arrogant attitude and heavy-handed treatment. By this point, the name 'David & Goliath' couldn't be more appropriate for the text. Dafoe, dressed in a dark overcoat, is shown walking alongside a barbed wire security fence separating him from the frigate (Figure 22) and visually creating two sides: the US and New Zealand. While Dafoe is on the opposite side of the fence from the frigate, the script's language in employing an 'us-you' binary seeks to position him as on the side of the US. He is therefore purposely depicted as a foreigner, one with authority, knowledge

but discretion to judge for himself – something particularly important when it comes to the consumption/conclusion moment at the end of the text.

The viewer then sees a locked, watertight door with nuclear warning signs on it, as Lange's voice floats in as if from afar. The text employs an historical sound bite from Lange's famous Oxford Union speech (1985): "If you hold your breath just for a moment. I can smell the uranium on it as you lean towards me." The viewer is transported momentarily back to the 1984 Oxford debate, cheering Lange on as he stood up to the 'bullies'. Dafoe concludes, with some surprise but also a note of applause in his voice: "But when we want to sail to your tiny little island on the other side of the world, you guys still say ... no."

He then accepts a bottle of Steinlager Pure from a disembodied hand across a bar, tastes it with a thoughtful expression, and concludes, "I guess some things *are* worth protecting." The final shot is a product appeal to the viewer with the line 'Keep it pure'. The text mobilises a part of New Zealand's history many citizens are proud of and wraps it up with endorsement of both this nuclear stance (Figure 23) and its position in New Zealand identity, and finally employs these aspects in promoting the product.

A second text features Vincent Gallo striding towards "the unknown" across a series of empty landscapes, such as a dry back country scene and a glacier. A pitch-black shadow recedes as Gallo approaches it, with his voice – in a style almost identical to that of Dafoe and Potts – hailing "all the great risk-takers ... pioneers, explorers, who have gone before". It is an image that prompts visions of New Zealand explorers such as Sir Edmund Hilary and Sir Peter Blake, who "did not go where the past went, but where there was no path, and left a trail". An old-style ice axe is a nod to Hilary's ascent of Everest. The shadow is seen receding from a satellite image of New Zealand as Gallo asks, "what does the future hold for those who see tomorrow first?", playing on the text's direction of 'Pure Vision'.



Figure 21. 'David & Goliath', frigate.



Figure 22. 'David & Goliath', Dafoe.



Figure 23. Nuclear power signifiers.

Steinlager Pure – ‘Keep it Pure’

Background

In 2012, Steinlager Pure’s advertising took a tangential direction with the debut of a new commercial by *Boy* director Taika Waititi. The brewery had a new advertising agency and with it, this new direction. The advertisement was intended to show that the cultural cringe had changed – or disappeared – and that New Zealanders were now willing to celebrate successful Kiwis on the world stage. According to the beer’s marketing manager Gordon, it was a coming-of-age story:

We’ve developed a newfound confidence in our place in the world and this new campaign reflects that. Taika is a Kiwi succeeding on the global stage and we’re proud of him and other Kiwis that are achieving internationally. We’ve come a long way as a nation, and can now pat each other on the back when we do well, and this new instalment of Pure is a reflection of this. (Fahy, *Steinlager Pure and DDB*)

Waititi was given free rein to interpret New Zealandness as he saw fit and to stamp his own signature style on the advertisement. The result is an advertisement that acknowledges aspects of New Zealand’s identity and then pokes fun at them.

Text

Waititi not only directed but also starred in the advertisement, which leaned almost exclusively on satirising tropes of New Zealand identity. The script sees Waititi arguing that while New Zealand was “pretty special”, he didn’t need to tell the audience “how great we’ve got it ... *again*”, implying that viewers have heard enough from advertising spokespeople on the topic. Waititi is shown in stereotypically Kiwi landscapes (Figure 24) as he asks: “Do I need to magically transport myself from one glorious vista to another?”, referring to the tendency of New Zealand culture advertisements to visual hyperbole, in particular in appropriating the landscape. He makes fun of “our unique cultural heritage” as he’s shown hyper-muscular and riding a moa against a backdrop featuring a glacier, steaming pools and a rugby field, while a rugby ball turns in place of a planet in the sky (Figure 25). It is over-the-top, kitsch and slightly embarrassing, inviting viewers to cringe at the clichéd retrospective representation of New

Zealand identity that has already been served up in previous advertising campaigns. Visually, the text invokes a plethora of already-established symbols of national identity: rugby, the rural idyll, landscapes, pavlova, Mt Everest (Figure 26). At the same it also refuses them, arguing that the search for identity and validation is now redundant (“Maybe when things are this good, we can just enjoy them”). The text concludes in a bar scene, where a woman in a tight dress approaches him (Figure 27), signifying perhaps sexual and/or social success as a result of both product consumption and the refusal of national symbolism. Waititi attempts a smooth move as a bartender slides a bottle across the bar to him, but fails. The failure simultaneously satirises upmarket bar culture – something middle New Zealand does not identify with, seeing it instead as a facet of the posh Auckland lifestyle – and serves to defuse the seriousness of Waititi as a spokesman. Waititi’s Maori heritage hardly receives a nod and although he speaks with a very light ME1 accent, there is no sign here of using ME2 to produce humour. Instead, he leans on symbols and the cultural cringe to achieve this. This marks a split from his canonical use of ME2 to achieve humour, as seen for example in *Boy or Blazed As*.

Curiously, the advertisement satirised precisely the tropes that had previously been presented in the campaigns by Steinlager Pure featuring Dafoe, Gallo and Keitel. One possible explanation for the about-face, however, was the change in Steinlager Pure’s advertising agency from Publicis Mojo (which had been responsible for the previous three spots) to DDB, rather than a response to a shift in culture. The new direction could be read as one agency mocking the other. Regardless, the advertisement ultimately communicates the message that the search for validation on a world stage for New Zealand identity is over. We have achieved, the text claims, and there is no need any more for national identity to be appropriated within advertising. Steinlager Pure marketing manager Todd Gordon’s interpretation above also framed New Zealand’s search for a national identity as already complete, a sort of supra-nationalism. In this discourse, New Zealand is confident in its identity and its place in the world. The nation is well-acquainted with its own excellence but no longer feels the need for endorsement by a foreigner. The desperate thirst for external validation is acknowledged but then cast aside as unnecessary. Ultimately, the text, while striving for the sort of irony seen, for example, in 2degrees’ advertising featuring

Rhys Darby, misses the mark somewhat and comes across as self-referential cynicism. It is a displaced text within the canon, perhaps as a result of an advertising industry in-joke, which works to rip down the sophisticated, highly stylised and constructed symbolism the brand had built and replaced it with nothing.



Figure 24. 'Keep it Pure' nature scene.

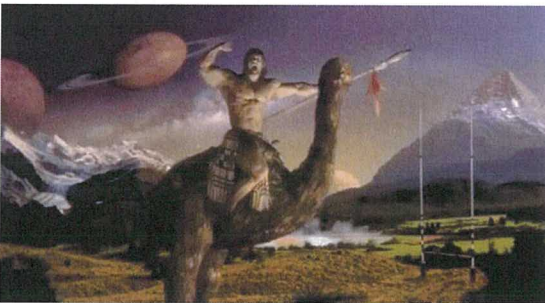


Figure 25. National signifiers.



Figure 26. 'Culture' signifiers.



Figure 27. 'Keep it Pure' closing scene.

CHAPTER 4: IDENTITIES

Overview

The dominant discourses emerging from these advertising texts are examined from Weedon's Foucauldian-based perspective that discourses are "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them" and that discourses are "more than ways of thinking and producing meaning ... they constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (Weedon 108). Key features of the discourses of national identity identified in this thesis include accent, direct address, vocabulary, gender, modality, tone and visual signifiers. The analysis argues that the advertising texts present an overall idea of a more fixed than fluid national identity made up of a range of discourses which the texts largely hold in common. The relationship of accent to any change in tropes of national identity is considered.

Masculinity discourse

National identities are often gendered (as seen, for example, Hogan's exploration of gendered national identities in Australian and Japanese television advertising) and New Zealand's national identity is no exception. Jock Phillips in *A Man's Country?* argues that New Zealand's masculine national identity has its roots in the country's pioneer history, as men outnumbered women and the rough country only amplified Victorian attitudes of stoicism. For Phillips, the idea of a national character is imagined through a tough, resourceful and modest persona. Law, Campbell and Dolan likewise point out that there is no female equivalent to iconic New Zealand men such as Barry Crump, Sir Peter Blake and Sir Edmund Hillary within the national identity. "There is no equivalent feminine myth, not even a term, to partner the 'Kiwi bloke'. While [men] are embraced as representative of the national character, notable women ... are more likely to be seen as resolutely idiosyncratic" (14). Thus, the masculine in New Zealand culture *is* New Zealand culture, and the tropes of masculinity (and therefore culture and identity) that are being deployed here involve typical notions of frontierism, innovative pioneerism, resourcefulness, loyalty to mates and stoicism – all of which are seen in the texts examined.

Campbell, Law & Honeyfield in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand* draw a link between New Zealand identity, hegemonic masculinity and beer consumption, arguing that the pub, and more specifically the relationship between beer and masculinity, is “one locus of male power that is persistent throughout New Zealand’s history” (181). Masculinity and its power are defended against any invasion of femininity through this locus of power: the pub, where – according to advertising texts – this power can be achieved or maintained through the consumption of beer.

Anita Brady goes further in arguing that the attributes reproduced in culture as “paradigmatic of New Zealand masculinity” are “simultaneously constituted as paradigmatic of ‘New Zealandness’” (356). Brady, in analysing the Speight’s ‘Perfect Girl’ television commercial (which depicts a homosocial relationship between two Southern men) suggests that ideas of New Zealandness rely so heavily on masculinity that a female adjunct needed to be present in order to cast the homosociality in heterosexual terms. She sees New Zealand femininity not as feminine in its own right but rather as a “misperformed masculinity”. Femininity is therefore also “transgendered” and exists only within the text in order to deliver heterosexuality. Brady writes:

The campaign cites foundational myths of pioneering masculinities to authorise the drinking of Speight’s beer as a performative act of Kiwi masculinity. Yet the masculine signifying economy it deploys for this purpose also plays out the paradoxes of a homosocial context in which the successful performance of masculinity is repeatedly measured in the active repudiation of women, but is simultaneously dependent upon legitimation through heterosexuality ... at the intersection of heteronormative anxiety and the homosociality integral to New Zealand identity, there emerges a New Zealandness embodied as female that simultaneously misperforms the imperatives of femininity, and the imperatives of masculinity. (357-358)

The thesis of these – and other – writers in claiming that New Zealand’s national identity is wholly masculine plays out within the advertising texts discussed above. The protagonists – James Rolleston, Brian Blessed, Willem Dafoe – are male, while women are often cast in side roles. In the Vodafone text, the women are cast as a masseuse, an administrator, two silent note-

takers in a meeting where men have the share of voice, an assistant, a cheese-server and tourists on a boat, while those in a 'doing' role (labeled 'doers' several times by Rolleston's script as he exhorts the value of doing rather than talking) are men: Sir Ernesth Rutherford, Warwick, the scooter enthusiast, a man who's built a robot dolphin, a man driving an amphibious craft and a possum-cheese maker. Similarly, in the ASB text it is not just Brian Blessed himself as the masculine figure in the position of 'doer' but also the farmer who pulls the sheep out of the water in the pouring rain. The office scene echoes Vodafone's meeting room scene, with masculine figures in the position of action and 'doing' and a female note-taker watching on (Figure 28). Later in the text a female bank teller smiles acquiescently (Figure 29) as Blessed condescends, "Don't you think, my dear?" Although Blessed demands New Zealanders "be not so humble, be proud", all that is on offer in the text of which the 'other' gender might be proud is a representation of hegemonic, rugby-obsessed masculinity.

'David & Goliath' offers up Willem Dafoe as a spokesperson, David Lange as a national icon and beer consumption as a performance of New Zealand identity. The collection of BNZ texts offer up a deep masculine voiceover and a range of typically male pastimes, such as rugby, fishing and boating, as a method of performance of national identity for the viewer to appropriate. The first two texts contain representations of a masculine New Zealand identity through their choice of spokesmen and how any women are cast, while the second two texts make more overtly masculine appeals to the viewer, who is interpellated as – and assumed to be – a man. BNZ's script for the



Figure 28. Office scene.



Figure 29. Teller interaction.

'Rugby' text, for example, directly addresses the viewer as a father who watches a younger version of himself playing rugby on weekends, while the 'Boat' text assumes the viewer to be a man and the boat itself feminine: "And now she's ready". The BNZ texts' preoccupations and assumptions of what constitutes national identity play directly into the world view of a middle-class white man – in other words, that of an advertising agency creative director at the time.

Stoicism

One central aspect of constructions of New Zealand masculinity is stoicism. Jensen notes that the archetypal Kiwi male is expected to hide behind a tough mask and maintain an aura of inexpressiveness, while Law et al point out that unemotional, resilient characters such as Barry Crump, Sir Peter Blake and Sir Edmund Hillary are pivotal to the national identity, but there is no female equivalent. Furthermore, the image of the "macho surface of the masculine stereotypes historically celebrated in New Zealand ... the self-sufficient, stoical Pakeha 'Kiwi bloke'" is prominent in literature (Fox, *Inwardness, insularity*), media and advertising (Jensen).

Stoicism manifests itself within several of these texts, held up as a model of New Zealand identity that is 'correct' or 'normal'. It is typified by the rugged farmer in 'Succeed On' pulling his sheep out of the ditch in the pouring rain. While Brian Blessed encourages him to celebrate having saved a "shaggy mammalian", the farmer refuses to make eye contact (Figure 30) or acknowledge his 'feat', merely brushing it off with the phrase "no biggie". This shrug typifies the stoic masculinity often ascribed to New Zealand identity. The scene expresses the desire of New Zealanders to 'get on with it', as noted by ASB's research, rather than celebrate or get excited.

References to staunchness or taking a stand also play into the discourse of stoic masculinity. Steinlager Pure 'David & Goliath' appropriates New Zealand's anti-nuclear stance, while 'Keep it Pure' references Sir Edmund Hillary's ascent of Mt Everest, as does 'Pure Vision' via the depiction of a glacier and an ice axe.

Stoicism may also manifest itself through depictions of rugby as the nation's most iconic sport. Rugby is integral to New Zealand's national identity (MacLean) and sport in general is

significant in the symbolic construction of nationalism (Bairner; Cronin and Mayall; Lawrence, McKay, Miller and Rowe; Maguire). (Bairner, 2001; Cronin & Mayall, 1998; Lawrence, McKay, Miller, & Rowe, 2001; Maguire, 1999). Falcous writes that “the cultural space of mediated sport is a lustrous site for enactments of national imaginings” while Fougere argues that rugby helps to highlight the egalitarianism of New Zealand society – in spite of its public school origins – and that it serves as a mirror to New Zealand society, providing “an important basis for the construction of a sense of national unity” (113-114). Turner builds on this by positing that rugby’s dominant place in New Zealand culture exists to serve as a substitute focus of national identity in the absence of defining historical moments. It works to provide a false sense of history and gives it a place and importance within the culture.

A simple mention of rugby within a text conjures up images of inexpressive toughness, typified by national legends such as All Black Buck Shelford’s 1986 test where he returned to the field to finish the game after having stitches and losing four teeth. Signifiers of rugby, such as the ball in place of a planet and the goal posts conflated into a clichéd landscape in ‘Keep it Pure’ (Figure 25), assist in the creation of a textual discourse of masculine stoicism. BNZ ‘Rugby’ constructs the game as part of a tradition handed down from father to son, just as the tradition of stoic masculinity is passed on from one generation to the next. ‘Succeed On’ employs a depiction of a pub scene with rugby supporters who, after winning, say “phew, like some reticent whoopee cushion” rather than openly celebrating. The tough mask and inexpressiveness here are not just the hallmark of the too-modest “champions of humility” of New Zealand’s imagined community but in fact citizens enacting the stoicism required to uphold the nation’s masculine identity.



Figure 30. Stoic farmer.

Modesty discourse

Modesty is a key trait within both contemporary and historic forms of New Zealand identity (Phillips, *A Man's Country?*). For example, linguist Janet Holmes has noted the manifestation of modesty within compliment exchanges (Holmes *Compliments and compliment responses*), while New Zealanders' "abhorrence of the 'self-promoter'" has long been observed within social discourse, heavily linked to "the personal characteristics of modesty, humility, and recognition of one's own weaknesses, balanced with a healthy respect for self and others ... outstanding leaders in New Zealand are not self-absorbed, 'cocky', or bent on Machiavellian control of others" (Kennedy 33).

The discourse of modesty emerges clearly from the texts examined, in two forms: firstly, as a financial or lifestyle modesty, seen in the refusal of the trappings of materialism and secondly, as personal or individual modesty, in other words as a personality trait. The Vodafone text highlights this first version in juxtaposing signifiers of 'New Zealandness' against the foreign nature of Hollywood. It presents modesty in opposition: ostentatious wealth set against financial modesty. James Rolleston is presented casually dressed, in stark contrast to the corporate clothing worn by those in the office meeting, and is shown dressed in inexpensive signifiers of Kiwi culture, such as jandals and gumboots. His physical appearance is typical of the accepted 'Kiwi way' of life, and he maintains a modest appearance in spite of his success in Hollywood. In employing Rolleston as a spokesperson in a setting entirely unlike him – or unlike anything in the accepted New Zealand identity – as well as the depiction of Curtis in a situation of indulgence, the text makes a nod towards transcending class divides but in doing so actually highlights it. At first glance it seems that the boundaries of wealth brackets are blurred, as here is a New Zealander in the midst of affluence, but Rolleston's script calls attention to the differences. His ME2 accent also works to pull him back from being a true and authentic participant in the scenario of luxury by constructing him more as a figure of parody and amusement, thus remaining an outsider but one whose Kiwi trait of modesty remains intact. His accent – a marker of class – is emphasised to the point of becoming a parody of the Maori accent, for example through the use of the KIT vowel [ɪ] (<him>, <if>) and the glottal stop [ʔ] at the end of "Know what?" rather than

the blade stop [t]. The KIT vowel is a hallmark of the New Zealand English accent, while the use of a glottal stop is traditionally frowned upon within the model of BBC English (Ladefoged and Disner), which had long been the preferred form in New Zealand media and advertising. Rolleston's ME2 accent marks him out as down-to-earth, unchanged by his new surroundings and consistently modest.

Modesty as a refusal of wealth is also invoked through word choice. The line "This place isn't all it's cracked up to be" set against a scene of an expensive restaurant sends the message that riches are not everything, helping to endorse the New Zealand trait of modesty. In order to uphold this trait, something particularly important for Rolleston as a spokesperson of national identity, his only course of action is to reject Hollywood before it can reject him. The viewer is interpellated as a 'real' New Zealander, who – like Rolleston – would assumedly perform the same refusal of Hollywood's trappings.

Wealth and class aside, modesty also manifests itself in these texts as a personality trait. Such a trait begins with individual behaviour but through discourse becomes a constructed facet of the national identity. This individual modesty is invoked in the BNZ 'Who Are We/Bach' text, which depicts a rustic bach in a rural setting, while the script directly addresses the reader, mobilising ideas of simplicity: "It's nothing very flash, you said. Just a bach. 1953. You grew up here. Summer holidays. Learned to play Scrabble. And to fish. And now, you bring *your* kids. And they read the old Biggles books. And laugh. And learn to fish. And it's still nothing flash. Just a bach." The bach being "nothing very flash", coupled with its existence for more than half a century, is not just a figure of modesty, but additionally helps to ground the identity in a history that would otherwise be absent. It is therefore redolent of old money and long-time residents rather than new money and incoming immigrants. This form of modesty also pervades the ASB 'Succeed On' text, which positions the loud, booming Brian Blessed as an authority on New Zealand and uses him to interpellate the viewer as a 'real' New Zealander with a marked group of characteristics. The text constructs New Zealanders as not just modest, but *too* modest. The form of modesty on offer is one that is carried out to a fault. Everything about Blessed

– in particular, his clothing, confidence, voice volume, accent and actions – highlights the antithetical characteristics of the national identity which the text wishes to negatively construct. His script exhorts viewers to cast aside the personality trait of modesty in favour of celebrating success: for example, he celebrates the “dexterity” of a boy doing a handstand on the beach and congratulates a farmer for saving a “shaggy mammalian”, to which the man replies modestly, “No biggy”. A scene of rugby supporters watching the 2011 Rugby World Cup final is depicted, where fans (according to Blessed) said “‘pew’, like some reticent whoopee cushion” rather than a more arrogant and celebratory ‘yeahhh, in ya face’. Such examples highlight both modesty within the individual and modesty as the ‘imagined community’. Blessed instructs the viewer, who is interpellated as one of an ‘imagined community’ of citizens who are the ‘world champions of humility’, “Be not so humble – be *proud*”. In attempting to construct modesty as no longer necessary, the text rips down a key aspect of what is considered to be the accepted New Zealand identity, but fails to replace it with anything. It essentially tells New Zealand viewers that they are wrong to be modest, constructing it as a debilitating fault.

Innovation/pioneerism discourse

Much is made of the trait of innovation within discourses of New Zealand identity, as evidenced by frequent mentions of the ‘number eight wire’ mentality, a do-it-yourself tradition in the lexicon so named for the popular myth that citizens can do anything if only given a piece of fencing wire to work with. Central to the myth is a lack of available resource, constructing the resulting product or innovation as an obligation. Linked to this self-referential culture of innovation is the notion of pioneerism, which again links back to the discourse of masculinity within the national identity. Jock Phillips argues that New Zealand’s masculine identity has its roots in the country’s pioneer history, where men outnumbered women and the rough country only amplified Victorian attitudes of stoicism. Our idea of a national character is “repeatedly imagined in the tough, resourceful, understated terms through which the Kiwi bloke is performatively reproduced” (Brady 356). It is no mistake that tropes of masculinity, frontierism, innovation, pioneerism, resourcefulness and stoicism are tightly wrapped up in ideas of national identity. Sturm and Lealand have identified a range of related notions that interface with the

myth of 'number eight wire': the idea of 'punching above our weight', the alleged 'can-do' country attitude (often derived from war), a 'fighting spirit' coupled with 'Kiwi ingenuity' and the resourcefulness of the mythical Kiwi bloke. Such nationalistic myths are "further reified ... on a global scale" (47) through the activities of film-maker Peter Jackson and production house Weta Workshops, which have displayed these notions through resourcefulness and invention. The trope is also typified by inventions such as AJ Hackett's bungy jump or the development of merino outdoors gear by Icebreaker. Some evidence exists to justify the myth – New Zealand typically ranks highly in the number of patents filed in proportion to gross domestic product, for example.

The discourse of innovation and pioneerism is most prominent in Vodafone 'Do Your Thing Better'. The text actively seeks to construct New Zealandness as proudly innovative, through the depiction of inventions and quirks. The 'robot dolphin' is one such quirk, while the depiction of an amphibious vehicle holding up a queue of traffic along the waterside is a nod to inventors such as businessman Alan Gibbs, who invented similar vehicles, such as the Quadski and the Gibbs Aquada. Rolleston's script is a verbal shrug paying homage to the simplistic ease of the culture of innovation. His words "Out here, if you want to start something, you start it" refuse to admit or bow to any obstacles, constructing innovation as something New Zealanders can do easily simply because they are New Zealanders. Even inventing a largely useless albeit amusing item can be achieved in the same facile way: "And if you want a robot dolphin, just invent one." The quirky side of innovation is highlighted through offbeat products and missions such as possum cheese, Warwick scooting for Starship and the 'Pauavan'. The pioneering achievement of Sir Ernest Rutherford splitting the atom is also referenced. This is done as a way to lead into a trope that is inextricable from the discourse of innovation: the notion of 'doing' rather than talking. Rolleston's script claims New Zealand is "full of doers", pitting it against Hollywood, which is full of talkers. Rolleston, as a Kiwi in a foreign setting, becomes frustrated at his inability to 'get stuff done' as he would 'back home': "I've heard enough talking. I'm a doer. I'm going home."

Gallo's script in 'Pure Vision' plays on a more pure notion of pioneerism by evoking uncertainty, urging the viewer to step towards the unknown: "Boldly. Without compromise. In the spirit of all the great risk-takers. Pioneers, explorers, who have gone before. Who did not go where the past went ... but where there was no path, and left a trail." Pioneerism, or stepping into the unknown, is visually denoted with Gallo striding quickly and firmly towards an ever-receding shadow across a series of landscapes where he is the only human. His surroundings include dry country, a river bed in a deserted South Island valley and a glacier. An old-style ice pick in the snow is a nod to such pioneers who had faced hardship in order to survive and thrive, and the mention of "those who see tomorrow first" likewise deploy the trope of innovation, by implying that foresight in innovation will lead to some sort of advantage.

Whether or not New Zealand truly is an innovative country is never questioned in these advertising texts, but rather taken for granted and mobilised to encourage consumption and draw a link between the product and the interpellated viewer.

Landscape discourse

It has been long established that landscapes, particularly remote, rural or unspoilt, have great significance within the national identity of New Zealand's imagined community. Landscapes play a key role in the construction of New Zealand identity and specific places help to invoke a feeling of belonging (Abbott and Ruru). Corporate entities often seek to appropriate the New Zealand landscape in their advertising and marketing material, taking ownership and control of the national visual landscape (Jackson). In particular, beer advertising is often characterised by the depiction of the rural idyll and visual representation of aspects of the New Zealand environment, which may in turn denote the defence of a disappearing lifestyle and place (Campbell et al). New Zealanders' relationship with the land was considered the first and most important aspect of seven 'cultural codes' of New Zealandness, according to 2010 research carried out by sociological and psychographic research firm Practica on behalf of advertising agency DraftFCB. New Zealanders' sense of self-definition is heavily bound up with the love of the natural world (cited in Clifton, *Choice, bro*): "Our view [of the landscape] is ... spiritual,

even soulful”. Belich and Wevers (6) claim that Pakeha New Zealanders in particular tend to have a “strong, if mythic, connection to a rural society or imagined versions of it, and (perhaps contradictorily) to an unspoilt landscape”. Although the research stems from a commercial perspective rather than an academic one, its results are in line with research on the topic (for example, Jock Phillips).

The landscape discourse is visually represented within the advertising texts discussed but it is not always ‘called out’ or overtly referenced either within the script or as a direct appeal to the viewer as other discourses are. Instead, it mostly sits in the background, serving as a scene against which the New Zealand identity discourses are argued. While this thesis argues that it is indeed a discourse – albeit one primarily visually represented – it does not present as much in the way of ideology, in terms of claims around who New Zealanders ‘are’, or ‘should be’. The BNZ ‘Who Are We’ texts call on the landscape discourse in a more simplistic manner and reference it within the script, as seen in the ‘Beach’ text: “Sometimes you think you’re the only person in the world who has walked these sands. The only one to watch the waves chase themselves along the shore.” Here, the landscape is used to call on a sense of belonging in the viewer: “This is where you belong – the never-ending edge of Aotearoa”. As in the ‘Carving’ text, it interpellates the viewer as one who has been away but returned with a sense of longing for home. Both ‘Beach’ texts use wide, sweeping panoramic

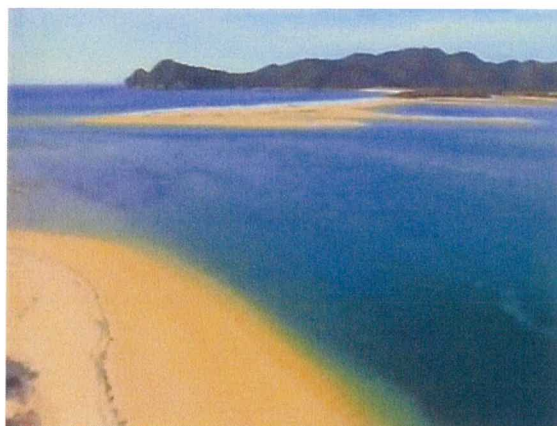


Figure 31. Beach landscape.

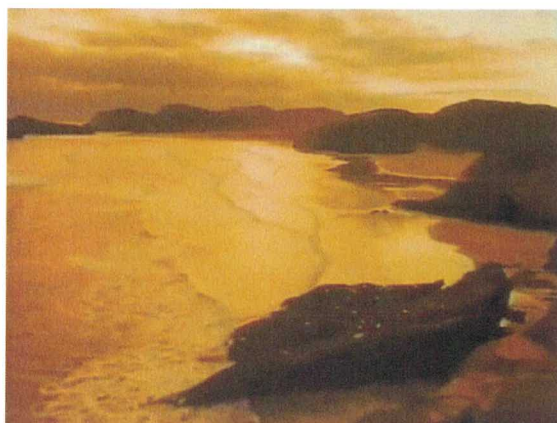


Figure 32. West coast beach landscape.

shots of east and west coast beaches devoid of people, creating a sense of space and abundance (Figure 31; Figure 32).

ASB 'Succeed On' employs the landscape in a much more subtle manner, situating Brian Blessed several times against an unmistakably New Zealand setting. He is shown walking along a wild and stormy beach with cliffs beside him and striding purposefully down a grassy ridge (Figure 33) before confronting a farmer about his excessive humility. However, neither the landscape nor any illusion of the rural idyll is overtly invoked within the script. Vodafone 'Do Your Thing Better' takes a similar line but pits foreign landscapes against a stereotypical depiction of a rugged pastoral shot. The text first sets



Figure 33. Blessed on grassy ridge.



Figure 34. Rolleston in pastoral scene.

up a series of foreign landscapes, such as an urban setting against the famous Hollywood sign, a restaurant scene and offices from which skyscrapers can be seen. The scene is redolent of a concrete jungle and is heavily contrasted with the New Zealand landscape that is shown next. Rolleston is transported to his home environment, where he is seen in the middle of an overgrown pasture, crooked fence behind, clad in rugby socks and gumboots (Figure 34). The unkempt nature of it is a nod to the rugged nature of the archetypal New Zealand landscape and helps to highlight the differences between 'us' – the imagined community – and 'them' – Hollywood, or the foreign.

As it does with all its treatment of tropes of New Zealand identity, Steinlager Pure 'Keep

it Pure' flips the landscape's position on its head and takes it from worshipped and mythical to redundant and tired. This text refuses to tackle the landscape seriously. The script openly mocks the tendency of advertisers to tout the landscape as a means to a commercial end: "Do I need to magically transport myself ... from one glorious vista ... to another?" Waititi asks the viewer. Meanwhile, the visual representation of the landscape reduces it to a cliché, showing Waititi in a beige safari outfit with a camera around his neck against a series of scenes that are constructed as the usual suspects. The first shows a lake with mountains in the background, but it is denied serious or mythical status by a hand that lags purposely in the shot (Figure 35). Another shows a waterfall with an abundance of greenery surrounding it, while a later shot conflates a handful of cultural signifiers within one landscape, such as glaciers, a mountain, a rugby field, a steaming geothermal pool and a forest (Figure 37). The number of visual references combined creates an image that is hyperbolic and absurd, poking fun at the landscape discourse.



Figure 35. 'Glorious vista.'



Figure 36. Hand in shot.

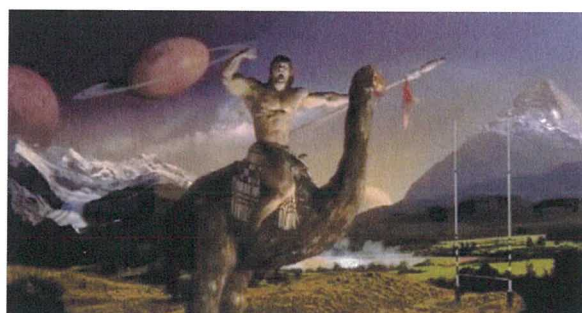


Figure 37. Landscape signifiers.

Purity

The notion of purity plays an integral role within the landscape discourse, typified by advertising campaigns such as Tourism New Zealand's '100% Pure', which mobilises the landscape, as well as images of people, national culture and tourism activities, to sell the country to the world (Morgan, Pritchard and Piggott). Landscapes in these texts are typically shown unspoilt and unsullied, such as the sweeping vistas of the empty beaches in the BNZ texts, devoid of humans. In order for the landscape to work visually within an advertising text – that is to say, as a marker of purity and the rural idyll – it is imperative that it be as close to its original state as possible.

Steinlager Pure consistently plays on the notion of purity, most obviously with its slogan 'Keep it Pure'. The 'David & Goliath' text sets up purity as the quality that is most at stake for the imagined community, as the threat of the US' 'trillions of tons worth of nuclear might' is the seemingly unstoppable force up against the purity of the nation. A snippet of former prime minister David Lange's Oxford speech is used to reference the nation's underdog status against "the most powerful nation on earth" in its attempt to retain its purity, which Dafoe concedes is indeed worth protecting. Gallo in 'Pure Vision' likewise argues: "Keep it pure ... and it's sure to be good".

Foreign endorsement discourse

A key part of the constructed New Zealand identity in these advertising texts is the need for endorsement from outside the imagined community. Such a desire for reassurance and validation from bigger countries forms part of the cultural code of 'independence' as noted by Practica and DraftFCB's research (cited in Clifton, *Choice, bro*). The use of characters such as Brian Blessed, Harvey Keitel and Willem Dafoe help salute our independence as a small nation determined to chart its own course, and acknowledge our 'unique' qualities (whether they really are unique or not). Such apparitions of foreign endorsement have long appeared in New Zealand television advertising. Steinlager, for example, has a history of using foreigners to validate the nation, such as with 'They're drinking our beer here', a 1987 campaign featuring

British actors Mel Smith and Rhys Jones discussing the beer's superior qualities with lines such as 'This stuff is sold all over the civilised world'. ASB is in similar territory, having used the bumbling American character Goldstein for years to report back to his US-based boss about how excellent New Zealand (and New Zealand banking) is. Foreign accents play an important role here as they serve to mark out spokesmen as cultural authorities in their position as non-New Zealanders. Blessed's RP tones hark back to a time when RP was an aspirational way of speaking, while the gravely voices of Gallo and Dafoe provide the new voice of North American authority, as NAM has more recently been heard (Bayard, *God help us*; Watts).

The marketing direction for Steinlager Pure 'David & Goliath' and 'Pure Vision' also speaks to this predilection for foreign endorsement. The creative direction and message in the texts came from research insights at the brewery's advertising agency that New Zealanders don't believe it when other Kiwis tell us that something is good, therefore someone 'international' and 'cool' had to tell us instead. 'David & Goliath' blatantly employs New Zealand's anti-nuclear stance as an attribute of the imagined community admired by those outside the community. In a similar way, the country's pioneerism is noted and admired by Gallo, whose status as a foreigner serves to validate this aspect of the national identity. Gallo's script urges the viewer to act "boldly ... without compromise", bringing up the same notion of a refusal to bend on an important subject that is seen in 'David & Goliath'. Both texts invoke independence, an uncompromising stance and strength.

In Vodafone 'Do Your Thing Better', foreign endorsement comes from another direction – through Rolleston seeing everything the most famous place (Hollywood) has to offer and then rejecting it in favour of home. It is similar to the rejection of the foreign seen in the BNZ texts, where the viewer is interpellated as having seen the world but finding it wanting and always being pulled back home. Blessed, in 'Succeed On', is a curious case, as while on the surface he seems to be going on a bender of celebration as a foreign figure of authority – hailing everything from dexterity to the 2011 Rugby World Cup win – on a deeper level it is in fact a criticism, interpellating the viewer as too-modest and excoriating this accepted national trait. It is also a

celebration, telling New Zealanders that they are even better than they ever realised.

Waititi, in 'Keep it Pure', upends the thirst for foreign endorsement by openly satirising tropes of New Zealand identity. Waititi highlights them and then pulls them apart, discarding them as no longer necessary. He makes fun of "our unique cultural heritage" as he is shown hyper-muscular and riding a moa against the backdrop featuring a glacier, a steaming pool and a rugby field, while a rugby ball turns in place of a planet in the sky. It is visual hyperbole and heavily constructed. Visually, the text invokes a plethora of already-established signifiers of national identity: rugby, the rural idyll, landscapes, pavlova, Mount Everest. It then discards them, arguing that the search for identity and validation is now redundant: "Maybe when things are this good, we can just enjoy them." Here, the ongoing quest for validation from abroad is framed as already complete, a sort of supra-nationalism. In Waititi's place within this discourse, New Zealand is confident in its identity and its place in the world. The nation is well-acquainted with its own excellence and hence no longer requires endorsement from outside.

No proof is ever required of the 'truth' that the country is admired by other nations. This 'truth' is assumed by the viewer and maintained by the advertising agency constructing the text and hence transmitting the messages.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This chapter draws together the discussions that have emerged from the examination of the history of accent, the texts, their background and emerging discourses, and offers several conclusions about the transition of accent and models of New Zealand identity on offer, notably that while accent has changed, representations of who is the ‘ideal’ or ‘real’ New Zealander largely have not.

Firstly, this thesis deals with the matter of the ‘identity truism’: the claim within the advertising industry that New Zealand English and a Kiwi identity were entirely absent from television advertising before the launch of BNZ’s ‘Who Are We’ campaign in 1990. Through the discussion and textual analysis of historical television advertising texts given in Chapter 2, we can indeed see a shift from a model of speech and style that emulated Britishness to an acceptance of New Zealand culture, identity and lifestyle that was distinct from its predecessor. Advertising texts began to discuss, celebrate or define ‘New Zealandness’ immediately before ‘Who Are We’ and this trend was amplified immediately after. However, the claim of the identity truism is false, as NZE began to be used during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, albeit sparingly. While BNZ’s ‘Who Are We’ campaign was probably the most impactful advertising at the time, possibly due to a high media spend, New Zealand English was clearly being heard in television advertising texts. Assertions about what constituted ‘New Zealandness’ and representations of national identity also began to emerge in the late 1980s, showing that ‘Who Are We’ was not the first advertising campaign to lay claim to such territory. This finding illustrates how industry histories might selectively pick and choose evidence to suit their own narratives, and how such narratives become ‘fact’ or ‘truth’ through a lack of scrutiny.

While the identity truism cannot stand up to examination, these early examples of television advertising nevertheless constitute an emergence of a particular New Zealand identity in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It can be no mistake that such an identity, often constructed as ‘different’ from British and therefore a sort of refusal of the country’s roots, emerged around the time of New Zealand’s sesqui-centennial in 1990. The sesqui-centennial marked the 150th

anniversary of the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, prompting the nation to become more actively aware of its history and the possibility of an identity of its own, as well as its bicultural nature. The advertising texts from this period discussed in Chapter 2 mark a clear turning point where New Zealand nationalism began to be fostered and celebrated at this time.

Given that the identity truism could not hold up to scrutiny, this thesis interrogated the nature of models of national identity that were emerging from the late 1970s through to the 1990s. The examination of texts in Chapter 2 shows clearly that a national identity was gradually being constructed through television advertising that attempted to mark out New Zealandness in a particular set of ways, such as by calling on masculinity, stoicism, innovation, and through the use of cultural signifiers. The use of New Zealand English as an accent in these texts helped the construction by aurally marking out difference and refusing RP as a model of speech. This refusal of RP is an integral part of both this emerging national identity constructed as ‘different’ and the prevalent discourse (discussed in Chapter 4) of the need for foreign endorsement in later advertising texts.

Beyond the use of NZE, this thesis also provides evidence to suggest that a shift towards biculturality could be observed as early as the 1970s, with advertising texts that celebrated cultural difference, such as Gregg’s ‘Different Faces’. This took the form of a gradual introduction of representations of Maori people, the use of ME1 and discourses around the awakening of an awareness about New Zealand’s multicultural nature. However, when ME2 began to emerge – as late as 1985 with Billy T James’ television advertisements for Mitre 10 – it was largely used to achieve parody or humour, a pattern that persists to the present day still persists in advertising texts. While ME1 is used for unremarkable effect, such as by Sir Howard Morrison or Taika Waititi, the use of ME2 in advertising texts remains hyperbolic and parodic. Texts such as ‘Legend’ and ‘Blazed As’ typify how ME2 is used to this end. NZE is used as a normalised form of speech, while ME1 is occasionally used but not normalised, and ME2 is constructed as a ‘joke’ accent. Therefore, while certain forms of speech are readily accepted or normalised, others are still constructed as the ‘other’ and used as a marker of difference.

Television advertising – and the advertising agencies that produce advertising material – perpetuates a Pakeha model of speech, in spite of the early (1970s) depictions of biculturality.

After carrying out analysis of advertising texts from the advent of television as a medium in the 1960s through to the time of the BNZ ‘Who Are We’ series, five texts (including ‘Who Are We’) were chosen for analysis. The five texts, examined in Chapter 3, provide a diverse range of accents as a starting point from which to carry out a critical discourse analysis. Five discourses and several subsets were then identified: masculinity (and stoicism), modesty, innovation and pioneerism, the landscape (including the notion of purity) and foreign endorsement. The discourse of masculinity pervades all the advertising material examined here. A particular brand of stoic masculinity is key to New Zealand identity, for which there is no female equivalent. For these texts, New Zealandness is about ‘doing’ rather than ‘talking’. Masculinity ties into the following discourses of modesty and innovation and pioneerism – we seemingly cannot have one without the other. The landscape and its purity also play a part, with the pervasive use of images of sweeping, empty landscapes to represent the physical space and construct it as an aspect of national identity of prime importance. Through these discourses, the notion of national identity as performance, or as experience or consumption, plays out. New Zealand identity is not merely about seeing a beautiful landscape, for example, but about experiencing it. The representations of national identity here are depictions of identity that can be achieved through experience, performed as expressions, or consumed as a product. Citizens of the ‘imagined community’ might go to the beach, the bach or out in the boat to enjoy the landscape and therefore experience national identity. Perhaps they perform it by playing or watching rugby, or by drinking beer and thus consuming identity. Such activities and experiences are held up as a critical part of the identity and how an individual might achieve that identity. Finally, the discourse of foreign endorsement presents a picture of a country still insecure and uncertain in its identity. The textual use of slogans such as ‘They’re drinking our beer here’ and the use of authoritative and prestige accents such as NAm and RP help to carry the discourse along. The nation has a pressing need to be recognised by other, bigger nations, to be told that it and its offerings are not just quality, but in fact superior. It is reminiscent of a

younger sibling needing validation from an older brother or sister. Simply to be is not enough – the nation needs a mirror from another (bigger) nation to confirm its existence.

These discourses, and the transition of accent and representations, speak to larger questions about how New Zealand's national identity has come to take this form and where it might go next. Jock Phillips in *A Man's Country?* goes a long way to explaining why New Zealand is a masculine nation, but this persistent hegemonic identity model (i.e. masculine, stoic, innovative, pioneer) is surely outdated in today's multicultural and diverse society. Further research might question why newer, more diverse models of national identity are still seldom represented in television advertising texts, and why ME2 and multicultural accents are often used to achieve parody rather than represented 'normally' or 'naturally' as NZE is.

In conclusion, this thesis submits that while accent in New Zealand television advertising has changed and diversified, models of national identity on offer to the interpellated viewer have largely remained static.

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You'll Never Be A Kiwi. Dir. unknown. 1993. Advertisement.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transcript, 'Who are We' / 'Beach'

Sometimes you think you're the only person in the world who has walked these sands. The only one to watch the waves chase themselves along the shore. *This* is where you belong – the neverending edge of Aotearoa. Year after year, you must come back. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank.

Appendix B: Transcript, 'Who are We' / 'Bach'

It's nothing very flash, you said. Just a bach. 1953. You grew up here. Summer holidays. Learned to play Scrabble. And to fish. And now, you bring *your* kids. And they read the old Biggles books. And laugh. And learn to fish. And it's still nothing flash. Just a bach. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank.

Appendix C: Transcript, 'Who are We' / 'Carving'

You've seen it a hundred times before. And yet these days, it seems to mean more. Perhaps you're becoming aware of a sense of ... belonging ... of culture. Who else has passed this way? You think about *that* a lot more these days. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank."

Appendix D: Transcript, 'Who are We' / 'Boat'

This is always the best time. All the hard work of winter. All the scraping, and the painting. And the old becoming new again. And now she's ready. And so are you. And you wait for the summer that's out there, hiding somewhere. Who are you? You're a New Zealander. And who are we? *We* are your bank.

Appendix E: Transcript, ‘Who are We’ / ‘Rugby’

You used to think it was probably the biggest rugby ground in the world, the under-eights and you. Too small to run the length so you used to play from one side to the other. Every Saturday morning. Every winter. Now you sit in the stand and there’s a little fulla who looks a lot like you doing all the running around. Every Saturday morning. Every winter. Who are you? You’re a New Zealander. And who are we? We are your bank.

Appendix F: Transcript, Vodafone ‘Do Your Thing Better’

Know what? This place isn’t all it’s cracked up to be. All anyone does is *talk* about doing stuff. [Voice describing script: “There’s love, there’s passion, there’s...”] Hollywood? Pffft. More like Holly-*wouldn’t*. It’s all meetings – and no movies. There’s even meetings about meetings. [Executive man: “We’ll have a meeting on Wednesday?”] So I’ve decided. I’ve heard enough talking. *I’m* a doer. I’m going home. Later, bro! [Maori guy on massage table: “Oh yeah, seeya.”] So here I am. Cos New Zealand’s full of doers too. Like him. And this guy. Out here, if you want to start something, you start it. [Market seller: “It gives the cheese a distinctly New Zealand taste.”] And if you prefer things in halves, you halve them. And if you want a robot dolphin, just invent one. [Japanese tourists on boat: That dolphin swallowed a man!] And if you want to be on TV, you be on TV. Some other doers helped with that. Cheers, guys. And they wanna help you ... do all your things too. Whatever they are!

Appendix G: Transcript, ASB ‘Succeed On’

You! Yes, you! What marvelous dexterity! Top notch! And you! The undisputed world champions of humility. For when that glorious whistle blew on that historic night, you didn’t go ‘yeahhhhh, in ya face’, you went ‘phew’, like some reticent whoopee cushion. Is there a quota on self-congratulation? I think not. We must celebrate the letter A. And when I say ‘Great Scott, man, you just saved a shaggy mammalian’, you say ‘No biggy’. Oh my friend, yes biggy! There is no size or criteria for success, it’s all success and we must give praise. With pyrotechnics! Don’t

you think, my dear? Thank you very much. But you, yes you! Be not so humble, be proud.

Appendix H: Transcript, Steinlager Pure ‘David & Goliath’

If you’re asked a question by a guy waving a big stick, you’re gonna say yes to pretty much anything. And if that guy represents the most powerful nation on earth, you’re probably going to say ‘Yes, Sir’. So when *we* say we want to hang out in your neck of the woods with our trillions of tons worth of nuclear might, you say ‘Not a problem’. We can pretty much take our nuclear ships anywhere in the world we like. [David Lange: “If you hold your breath just for a moment. I can smell the uranium on it as you lean towards me.”] But when we want to sail to your tiny little island on the other side of the world, you guys still say ... no. I guess some things *are* worth protecting.

Appendix I: Transcript, Steinlager Pure ‘Pure Vision’

They say the only certainty about the future is ... uncertainty. But if we’re to shape our future, we must step towards the unknown. Boldly. Without compromise. In the spirit of all the great risk-takers. Pioneers, explorers, who have gone before. Who did not go where the past went ... but where there was no path, and left a trail. So what does the future hold for those who see tomorrow first? Keep it pure ... and it’s *sure* to be good.

Appendix J: Transcript, Steinlager Pure ‘Keep it Pure’

New Zealand’s pretty special, right. But do I *really* need to tell you how great we’ve got it ... *again*? And ... do I need to do it from this bustling metropolis? Do I need to magically transport myself ... from one glorious vista ... to another? Do I need to remind you of our unique cultural heritage? Or, should we go over our recent triumphs? Or maybe I don’t need to say anything. Maybe when things are this good, we can just enjoy them.

Appendix K: Transcript, 'New Zealand is Yours'

[Song] We're in God's own country/got to take the time/to take a look around us/at what is yours and what is mine/wake up to what's about you/it's all so fresh and green/you gotta get up now, go there/breathe the air that's clean.

[Voiceover] One of the world's last unspoilt lands is waiting out there. You own it, yet you're almost a stranger to it. New Zealand is still young, and so are you. It's time the two of you got together.

[Song] There's nowhere in this mother earth/that's got so much together/you gotta get up now, go there/and make it last forever.

[Voiceover] New Zealand is yours. Go there. Now.

Appendix L: Transcript, Sesqui Year, 1990

For the first time in New Zealand's history, we have a real opportunity to unit New Zealand's past, present and future. To reflect on our past and look forward to our plans for New Zealand. For the country our children will inherit. New Zealand, 1990. It's our country. Our year.