



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

THE DISCOURSE OF NEW ZEALAND AND FRENCH TELEVISION
ADVERTISING: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
at the
University of Waikato
By
FABRICE DESMARAIS

ABSTRACT

This thesis explored two television advertising discourses. In a response to a need for more qualitative inductive approaches to cultural/national advertising whereby each culture is seen as unique and is not compared to another through the use of standardised American tools and values, this study blended specific quantitatively oriented strategies with interpretive sensitivity in an effort to engage in a cross-cultural “de-naturalisation” of New Zealand and French television advertising specificities. In this endeavour, the contrastive framework was particularly helpful as it made possible the “de-naturalisation” of advertising representations that are usually taken for granted in a particular culture.

The exploration revealed interesting specificities peculiar to each advertising environment. The identification of major discursive objects in the television advertising discourse of each country, the subsequent in-depth analysis of these discursive objects, together with insight into communicators’ thinking, showed that the French and the New Zealand television advertising discourses differ both in terms of communicative approach and in terms of selection of imagery.

Two main findings emerged from this study. The French television advertising discourse can be characterised by a heavy reliance on seduction, to the point that advertising and seduction were almost fused. This reliance on seduction was illustrated in the frequent use of feminine soft signs such as female voice-overs and female seductive characters, and the strong reluctance of French communicators to use a direct communicative approach. Interviews with French communicators revealed that their reliance on seduction – embodied in a range of texts that appeal to aesthetics, set up metaphorical or emotionally charged situations, and use female bodies and voices – was due to their being caught in strong traditional discursive formations on politeness and money that create knowledge about the act of selling as a shameful activity.

In the New Zealand television advertising discourse, the act of selling was not considered as a shameful activity but was well accepted as the foundation of the communication exchange between advertising communicators and their potential

viewers. As a result, New Zealand television advertising discourse did not rely as much on soft signs, on concealment, aesthetics, or on creating the illusion of emotion as French television advertising did, but used a more immediate, direct, and authoritative communication approach. This approach was embodied in the overwhelming amount of male characters and male voice-overs used in commercials, as well as in a majority of explicit messages.

Whereas French communicators argued categorically that explicit reference to national values was not helpful in advertising, New Zealand communicators assumed that nationalistic discourse would have a commercial value and would inspire New Zealand viewers to consume products or brands. Their usage of discourses followed a cultural logic prescribed by a strong discursive tradition on the importance of nation. Products or brands were recurrently placed within a national framework embodied in linguistic forms, and so viewers were invited to think of themselves as citizens, and to think about products or brands in terms of their socio-national universe. In order to promote consumption, New Zealand television advertising also drew on sport as a combination of masculinity rituals, social instruction, moral training, and declarations of identity. Mythical kiwi ingenuity imagery was also instrumental in the promotion of consumption and in giving models of consuming behaviour to subject viewers.

The thesis revealed that the content and form of advertising messages springs from communicators' cultural communicative habitus. The choice of advertising elements is made according to rules of cultural communication based on traditional discursive formations internalised by individuals evolving within a particular institutional and cultural structure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the help and support of many people who have contributed to the research and writing of this thesis.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Professor David McKie for his encouragement and assistance during the long process of researching and writing this thesis. Without his help, this thesis may never have been completed. My sincere thanks also go to Dr Debashish Munshi for his input and for prompting me to look further into several issues. I would also like to thank Professor Shirley Leitch and Associate Professor Juliet Roper. Without them this project would not have been undertaken. Their support at the early stages of the project encouraged me immensely.

I would like to say a special thanks to Sophie Bowden, Robert Scoliège, and Ann Fjaellman who were involved in this thesis as coders and spent long hours watching and listening to commercials with me. I also want to thank the several advertising professionals from New Zealand and France who took time out of their busy schedules to participate in this research. I am appreciative of their participation in this project.

I am also grateful to Graeme Turner, the editor of *Media International Australia* and to the anonymous reviewers for giving me valuable feedback on the published version of chapter 4 of this thesis. Thank you also to Ian Hutchison and John Farnsworth for re-publishing this chapter in their book, *New Zealand television: A reader*.

I would also like to thank all my colleagues at the Department of Management Communication, here at the Waikato Management School. My particular sincere thanks go to Professor Ted Zorn for his continuous support, Cliff Allen and Sheryl Cockburn–Wootten for their friendship and encouragement.

Last but definitely not least, thank you to Jobien Monster, to all my friends, and my family who have always wondered whether I would complete this project but have always been supportive.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
CONTENTS	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Approaches to advertising studies.....	2
Putting two advertising discourses in parallel.....	4
Quick overview of the project.....	6
Arrangement of the thesis	7
Plan of the thesis	8
Postscript that could have been a preface: Why compare New Zealand and France?.....	12
Limitations of the study	12
CHAPTER 2: CROSS-CULTURAL ADVERTISING RESEARCH	14
Defining matters: Cross-cultural/national empirical studies of advertising	14
Reviewing cross-cultural empirical studies of advertising environments	15
Value orientations and advertising appeals.....	16
Information content.....	17
Advertising form.....	17
Studies of creative strategy models.....	18
Other areas of investigation of cross cultural empirical studies of advertising.....	19
Bending and blending models.....	20
A review of the findings from empirical studies of French and New Zealand advertising	22
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	28
Sampling method. Selection of the corpus.....	28
Tackling the samples: Pre-analysis	30
Using channel-specific readings in the pre-analysis	32
Using categories.....	34
Interviews: Insights into the processes of production	36
Interview sample and technique.....	38
Interviews: Analysis.....	41
Beyond manifest content: Analysis of advertising texts	43
The aim of semiotic analysis and considering advertising as ideology.....	44
The use of cultural studies and its associated discourse analysis concepts	47
The subjects of discourse	49

CHAPTER 4: AUTHORITY VERSUS SEDUCTION: THE USE OF VOICE OVERS IN NEW ZEALAND AND FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING	54
Introduction.....	54
The study of voice-overs.....	55
The function of advertising voice-overs	56
Voice-overs as signifiers.....	56
Voice-overs communicate a national style.....	57
Aims and method	59
The gendered New Zealand vocal environment.....	61
The gendered French vocal environment	64
The naturalisation of mass media voice-overs	66
The effect of mass media voice-overs on the public	67
How do advertising communicators choose voice-overs?	68
Beliefs and assumptions of communicators in New Zealand.....	70
Other influences on New Zealand voice-overs	71
Beliefs and assumptions of communicators in France	72
Conclusion	76
CHAPTER 5: THE DIFFERENCE IN THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH	79
Introduction.....	79
Methodology	79
Description of the models used.....	81
Model one: Lecture commercials.....	81
Model two: Dramas.....	81
Model three: Lecture-dramas	82
Teasers	82
Commercials that give price and use price vocabulary register	83
Coding.....	83
Quantitative data	84
French television advertising: A high context, indirect approach.....	85
French emphasis on politeness.....	87
Communicating freedom and choice	89
Perceiving a hard sell approach as dictatorship	90
Politeness: An old discursive formation	92
Shameful act of commerce: The problematisation of money.....	93
Seduction and suggestion.....	97
Seduction of viewers through emotionally charged situations.....	103
Seduction of viewers through appeal to aesthetics.....	106
French communicators' self-criticism.....	108
New Zealand: A more explicit, direct, low context approach.....	111

Language particularities	114
Emphasis on urgency	116
Competitions: Win!.....	117
Price	117
Conclusion	119

CHAPTER 6: THE NOTION OF NATION IN NEW ZEALAND

AND FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING129

Introduction.....	129
Cultural key words.....	130
Method	131
The notion of nation in New Zealand	132
Interviews with advertising communicators	134
Mapping nationality in its discourse concepts	137
Emphasis on the national location of events	137
Telling viewers that products or brands are available within the national territory	139
Advertising the national origin of products	139
Advertising products as particularly adapted to the local environment	141
Advertising products as particularly adapted to New Zealanders	143
Glory in the global world.....	146
Regionalism and “Europeanism” in French advertising	148
Blending notions of nationality and excellence: New Zealand’s best..., New Zealand’s most..., New Zealand’s biggest..., New Zealand’s no 1	150
Conclusion	155

CHAPTER 7: THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER IN NEW ZEALAND

AND FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING159

Introduction.....	159
Literature review of content analysis and gender portrayals.....	159
Studies on the portrayal of gender in New Zealand and France.....	162
New Zealand	164
The impact of these representations on viewers.....	165
Method	165
Coding procedure.....	166
Results (1): Frequency of male and female characters in New Zealand and French television commercials.....	167
Results (2): Distribution of central characters according to gender and product type.	168
Results (3): Gender and product categories: Comparing New Zealand and French male characters.....	169

Results (4): Gender and product categories: Comparing New Zealand and French female characters.	170
Results (5): Female characters, beauty and domestic products: A thread common to two cultural advertising discourses	171
Results (6): A clear match: Females and medicine	172
Results (7): Other content categories	173
Discussion of results: Similarities with other studies	175
Differences from other studies	175
Contrasting New Zealand and French male characters	176
Conflicts	178
Conclusion	180

CHAPTER 8: GENDER, CULTURE, AND CONSUMPTION THE IMPORTANCE OF FEMININITY IN FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING184

Introduction.....	184
Femininity and seduction: A construction	185
Baudrillard: Seduction and the feminine.....	187
Seduction as a liberating power	189
French communicators' adherence to an old discursive formation on the feminine.....	190
The construction of French female advertising characters as sensual and intellectual seductresses	192
French communicators' non-problematisation of sensuality	195
Unsettling masculinity. French female characters as intellectual seductresses and holders of knowledge and wisdom.....	197
French communicators' natural belief in Latin values.....	201
Advertising characters as signs	202
Female characters and femininity as soft signs.....	203
Male characters and masculinity as strong signs	204
Challenges to subject viewers.....	205
Conclusion	206

CHAPTER 9: SPORT IN THE TELEVISION ADVERTISING DISCOURSE.....213

Introduction.....	213
Sport in two different cultural environments	214
The importance of rugby in the two cultural environments (1): New Zealand	216
Advertising and sport.....	218
The importance of rugby in the two cultural environments (2): France.....	219
Quantitative information.....	220
What kind of products did sport imagery promote?.....	222
The use of individual or team sports	223

Hegemony of individual sports in French advertising discourse	223
Hegemony of team sports and rugby in New Zealand advertising discourse	223
Gender bias in sport imagery commercials	225
The role of female characters in sport imagery commercials.....	225
The role of male characters in sport imagery commercials.....	229
Sport in the French television advertising discourse.....	233
Sport metaphor as a demonstration of product benefits	233
The training metaphor	233
The discursive construction of sport as a negative situation in French advertising	235
Articulation of sport and Health in French advertising.....	237
Sport in the New Zealand television advertising discourse.....	240
Sport as a metaphor for performance and dynamism.....	243
Sport imagery and the promotion of notions of determination, achievement, leadership, and discipline	244
Sport as an explicit moralising device in New Zealand television advertising	247
The symbolic meaning of team sports	251
The legitimacy of rugby players as role models in advertising.....	254
Sport as initiation into national consciousness and consumption	258
Celebrity sport endorsers as models of dedication to country and consumption	260
The rugby jersey as a sign of New Zealandness	263
Conclusion	265

CHAPTER 10: DO-IT-YOURSELF AND KIWI INGENUITY

IN TELEVISION ADVERTISING	268
Introduction.....	268
Do-it-yourself.....	269
Kiwi ingenuity	272
Do-it-yourself commercials: A discourse based on rational and emotional appeals.....	273
Materialistic incentives	274
Promoting emotional involvement.....	276
A male world	278
From “homo habilis” to “clever bastard”: The myth of kiwi ingenuity.....	282
Advertising gives models of ingenious kiwis and kiwi attitude.....	283
Creatures of excess	285
Kiwi ingenuity, global success, and consumption	287
Defying reality?	290
Conclusion	291

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION.....	293
Blending quantitatively oriented strategies with interpretive sensitivity	293
French television advertising and the naturalisation of <i>seduction</i>	294
New Zealand directness and nationalism	296
A quest for self-definition in New Zealand television advertising?	297
The ascendancy of culture: Creativity and its boundaries.....	298
APPENDICES.....	300
REFERENCES.....	317

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1	Product categories present during prime time television advertising.....	53
2	Percentages of male and female voice-overs in New Zealand commercials.....	78
3	Percentages of male and female voice-overs in French commercials.....	78
4	Frequency of the three designed communication models	123
5	Linguistic demonstrations and recommendations from lecturer's voice.....	123
6	Number of commercials giving price.....	123
7	Use of teaser commercials	124
8	Frequency of commercials using "national key words" and "national imagery"	157
9	Frequency of gender specific commercials in New Zealand and French television advertising.....	181
10	Distribution of central characters according to gender and product type in New Zealand and French commercials	181
11	Comparison of characteristics of men and women in commercials from New Zealand and France.....	182
12	Gender of characters portrayed in sporting situations in commercials	266

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The fact that advertising and culture are inextricably bound and that culture plays a central and complex role in advertising is widely acknowledged by advertising manuals (O'Guinn, Allen, & Semenick, 2000; Vanden Bergh & Katz, 1999; Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty, 2000), specialised books (Mueller, 1996), and by many other advertising studies (Lannon & Cooper, 1983; Nevett, 1992). Mattelart (1989) is one prominent author who has shown the diversity and sophistication of the national strategies used by international agencies. These national advertising strategies invest material objects with meanings and invent different motivations for the people of different nations consuming them. As Taylor, Grubbs, and Haley (1996) confirmed, advertising is without a doubt "a cultural phenomenon, culturally inspired and created within the expectations of a culture" (p. 2).

Dru (1996) observed how a person from one specific culture seeing advertising messages from another culture is struck by several major differences in style and content. This study derives from an interest in how this phenomenon of advertising is culturally/nationally tailored in relation to the two specific "advertising worlds" of New Zealand and France. The study takes the form of an empirical analysis that involves cross-cultural ethnography. It involves two levels of investigation: analysis of television commercials from these two environments; and interviews of advertising communicators from each country. It aims to point out cultural differences and attempts to develop an explanation about the salience, development, and maintenance of certain cultural patterns and processes in

commercial communication that are supported by beliefs and practices of advertising professionals or communicators as I will call them. ¹

Approaches to advertising studies

The general approach to conducting this research will be qualitative methodology. Such an approach, as Silverman (1993) pointed out, is often concerned with inducing hypotheses from field research. In addition, although this study's major emphasis is qualitative and interpretive by focussing on the social construction of meaning, it also uses simple quantification techniques, which, as many researchers pointed out (Silverman, 1993; Bailey, 1994; Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1986; Muchielli, 1988; Samiee & Jeong, 1994; Cook, 1992) can be fruitfully combined with a qualitative approach.

The angle that this study takes departs from that of other common cross-cultural empirical studies of advertising. As Samiee and Jeong (1994) noted "an a priori assumption in most cross-cultural studies is that advertising itself is reflective of culture" (p. 208). Following a marketing oriented approach, researchers indeed tend to take the approach that advertisements *reproduce* rather than *represent* reality and assume that "culture-laden aspects of ad contents *reflect* [my emphasis] . . . cross-cultural differences and/or similarities" (Samiee & Jeong, 1994, p. 208). The common point to empirical studies of advertising and culture is that they are indeed mainly descriptive and simply focus on finding out what cultural values are mirrored in advertising. Titles such as "Reflections of culture: An analysis of Japanese and American advertising appeals" (Mueller, 1987) indicate this clearly. This study departs from these other empirical cross-cultural studies of advertising in that it acknowledges the fact that, as Fairclough (1995b) put it, media texts, and therefore advertising messages, do not "mirror realities as it is sometimes naively assumed; they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them" (p. 103).

"Reflection studies" are interesting for marketers and advertisers as they point out which quantified cultural specificities they particularly need to take into account to be commercially successful in a particular culture. Such studies are also

relevant to academics who would like to support or challenge the call for advertising standardisation or localisation (see appendix A). However, such empirical studies only investigate what Hall (1980) calls “the ‘what’ of cultural systems” and advertising; they do not investigate culture and advertising as a “signifying practice” (p. 30). Most cross-cultural empirical studies do not pay attention to the “how” of cultural systems, to the “who”, the “where”, and the “why”. Empirical cross-cultural studies of advertising and culture make a useful inventory of themes or appeals and advertising formats but they do not question how social models are *represented* in advertising through advertising communicators’ cultural practices. As Cormansky (1994) argues, it is not enough to make an inventory of what social models are portrayed, it is also important to investigate how they are represented.

The present study wishes to take an approach similar to the “combined semiological/content analysis” recommended by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986, p. 175). The approach consists in blending specific, quantitatively oriented strategies with interpretive sensitivity (Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1986, p. 177). Giaccardi (1995) took a similar approach. Her empirical cross-cultural study of advertising departed from traditional content analysis methods by using a cultural studies approach to the social construction of reality in TV commercials from Italy and the UK. Giaccardi (1995) started from the conception that “advertisements refer to social reality, without mirroring it” (p. 113). Therefore, the aim of her empirical study was to consider advertising as a form of representation of culture rather than as the straight reflection more typical of other empirical comparative studies. As Giaccardi (1995) argued,

rather than mirroring social reality, advertisements put it on stage, construct a discourse out of particular aspects, draw on topical issues and discursive conventions; they select from among a range of possibilities, related to both form and content, and elaborate a version of social reality which is neither ‘true’ nor ‘false’, and which often lacks verisimilitude, but is always meaningful, inasmuch as it is ‘anchored’ to what is represented (although by ‘scattered and tiny ropes’), in Putnam’s 1975, phrase. (p. 113)

The present study also wishes to treat advertising messages as representations rather than as reflections of reality. It uses a cultural studies constructionist

discursive analytic approach (Hall, 1997) of the cultural/national content of television commercials. In departing from the mainly quantitative empirical studies of advertising, it focuses more on the way particular cultures, through the voice of advertising communicators, gives a representation of itself through communication linked to consumption.

Such a cultural studies approach involves thinking about advertising and culture as ideologies. The ideological effects of advertising have been stressed by many authors from several fields of study, whether it is consumer and marketing studies (Pollay, 1986, 1987; Wiles, Wiles, & Tjernlund, 1996), media and communication studies (Dyer, 1982; Sinclair, 1987; Tolson, 1996), discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995b) and, of course, semiotic studies (Barthes, 1957, 1977; Bignell, 1997; Williamson, 1978). This study concurs with the view that advertising discourse is indeed ideologically invested because it is created through the ideological filter of national culture and also because it is created to support the system of consumer culture. It concurs with Williamson's (1978) contention that advertising is a signifying system, a symbolic system, a language based on a system of thought privileging certain forms, meanings, and definitions. As Williamson further noted, advertising messages *are* ideological because signs within them are positioned ideologically to mean something else than reality, and ultimately they "naturalise" images, meanings and definitions that are found to be useful in a capitalist system to sell products and to sustain pressure upon consuming subjects.

Putting two advertising discourses in parallel

Most cross cultural empirical studies of advertising try to achieve a flawless comparison of the advertising of two or more countries but acknowledge that various factors stand in the way of comparability. They acknowledge that a perfect comparative study is impossible to achieve simply because no two cultural environments are exactly similar. Nevett (1992), for example, showed how the cultural/national character of advertising depends on a number of sociocultural, legal, political, historical and mechanical factors that are all linked and that differ from one culture to another.

Because of the sheer range and diversity of variables that constitute a cultural environment, attempts to study two advertising cultural environments objectively and fairly and on the basis of “what is comparable”, constitute an unworkable challenge. Following the advice of previous literature on what can be compared, would only result in unworkably narrow areas of consideration. Whitelock and Chung (1989), for example, argued that a perfect comparative study of advertising would have to choose two countries at a similar stage of economic development and with the same living standards. Other authors argue that the countries under study should use similar dominant advertising managerial techniques and pre-testing techniques (Nevett, 1992), should focus on advertising messages from the same product category (Biswas, Olsen, & Carlet, 1992; Chan, 1995, 1999; Johnstone, Kaynak, & Sparkman, 1987; Katz & Lee, 1992), focus on environments with the same patterns of commercial breaks (Zandpour & Harich, 1996) or commercials of the same length (Nevett, 1992; Stanton & Burke, 1998), screened at the same time of the day during similar programmes targeted at similar target audiences (see appendix B for more details). This selection might be possible to achieve; however, the possibility of isolating large enough corpuses for study would be quite remote.

Unlike other empirical comparative studies of advertising, whose tools and methods I will review in the next chapter, the aim of this study is not to quantify and compare only what is comparable. After all, after taking into account all the elements that are in the way of fair comparability, there would be no data left in the corpuses. Instead the thesis sets out to gather corpuses that are representative of the whole prime-time advertising discourse and see *what is proposed to viewers through the whole discourse* and what is represented and signified in these corpuses through advertising communicators’ practices.

Therefore my aim is not to use exactly the same “orthodox” methodological tools as other studies in order to be able to make results *comparable* with others with a view to help businesses increase profits by recommending them to standardise or localise their campaigns. This study is not market driven and is, above all, qualitative, using simple quantitative techniques mainly as a basis for reflection and exploration. The aim was not to isolate and “clinically” count and compare

appeals or advertising formats in order to be able to tell firms which advertising format they should use in order to be successful in the New Zealand or French market. Rather, this study is an exploratory study in which I put *in parallel* two *whole advertising discourses* in order to “de-naturalise” cultural/national advertising conventions and communicational habits of New Zealand and French advertising communicators. In a crudely “anthropological” fashion, I tried to stand back and look at the cultural imaginary of consumption presented by the television advertising discourse of these two countries. The approach is similar to the way one would observe two tribes with their intertwined social and material preferences, their aspirations, their rituals, their regulations, or their taboos. In this endeavour, the contrastive framework, as Giaccardi (1995) pointed out, was particularly helpful as it made possible the “de-naturalisation” of advertising representations that are usually taken for granted in a particular culture.

This kind of approach has been adopted because, as Taylor Grubbs and Haley (1996) and Samiee and Jeong (1994) suggested, there is a need for a more qualitative inductive approach to cultural/national advertising whereby each culture is seen as unique and not compared to another through the use of standardised American tools and values. It concurs with Taylor, Grubbs and Haley’s (1996) suggestion that, “such research would begin with a qualitative investigation of the core characteristics of advertising and the advertising process, and comparisons across cultures would be made at the higher level of analysis” (p. 2).

Quick overview of the project

Chapter 2 will explain the qualitative and quantitative methodological steps used in this study in more detail but a brief summary of the overall process is appropriate at this point. Stage 1 involved collecting large samples of commercials from New Zealand and French prime-time television. These were then reduced to smaller corpuses. A pre-analysis of the corpuses was carried out, focusing on the recurrence of manifest content of commercial communication. The aim of this stage was to uncover some of the cultural specificities of each country’s advertising discourse, to identify images, sounds, words, and also products that are so recurrent in the advertising discourse of a country that they have become natural

in their cultural media environment. Obvious examples turned out to be sport imagery in New Zealand advertising and female voice-overs in French advertising.

This first inventory of particularities of each advertising cultural/national environment was very instructive. It revealed that television advertising institutes a specific content or form through a process of selection, elimination, or development. Certain contents and formats are avoided and used only rarely, whereas others are particularly present and developed. This macro pre-analysis of the discursive surface of the corpuses was done in terms of volume. Accordingly, it was limited and oriented by the use of broad categories and a search for their frequency. This pre-analysis allowed the identification of certain specificities of each advertising discourse.

Stage 2 of the study consisted of narrowing down the specificities of each corpus, focussing on the most significant and less researched. Once this selection was made, the next step was analysing these particularities of each advertising discourse in more depth and comparing them to each other, using quantitative and qualitative analysis. In line with the discussions in chapters 1 and 2, the analysis drew principally from cultural analysis and discourse analysis frameworks and concepts. The movement of the study was therefore from the discursive surface to a deeper level involving critical analysis and the identification of discursive formations that, as interviews revealed, work as systems of rules for advertising communicators. Stage 3 involved interviews with advertising communicators in French and New Zealand advertising agencies to deepen and complement the analysis of the corpuses of commercials. The communicators acted as a relay to the analysis of advertising texts and provided different perspectives on the processes of production, as well as shedding light on the cultural aspect of the advertising creative process.

Arrangement of the thesis

The choice to further explore certain prominent specificities of each advertising discourse rather than others and develop them into chapters has been made with a concern to present findings that have not been researched, or been under-

researched previously. In presenting the research, there has been an attempt to keep a balance in the contrast between French and New Zealand advertising discourse within each chapter. However, because of the concern to present important specificities that are under-researched, chapters sometime contain an imbalance in the treatment of each advertising discourse. That is, for example, the case in the chapters on the use of sport imagery, and do-it-yourself and Kiwi ingenuity in which the New Zealand findings are the leading subject matter.

It has been argued that form is not dissociable from content (Fairclough, 1992). It is true that both form and content are practically inseparable and work together to constitute communication and meaning and should be analysed in interaction. Even though the analysis always took into account form and content in interaction, this thesis is nevertheless organised in a form and content format for analytical convenience. At the level of discourse it is interesting to separate form and content because certain historical discursive formations can prescribe rules on the form of commercial communication, others on content. In other words, communication traditions of each country prescribe rules on “*how* things can and should be said”, and rules on “*what* can and should be said”.

As Fairclough (1992) argued “the form-content distinction is not as clear as it may appear to be. There are aspects of content which clearly edge over into matters of form . . . and, conversely, aspects of form edge over into content” (p. 24). The form section part of the document (chapters 4 to 6) comprises analysis of voice-overs, analysis of dominant communicative approach, and recurrence of surface linguistic forms. In all these chapters however, these aspects of form of advertising discourse have not been studied in isolation from meaning/content but constantly related to it. In the same way, the focus in part two on thematic content has not been done in isolation from form.

Plan of the thesis

The present chapter aimed to give an overview of the whole project and the rationale for its angles of approach in this cross-cultural empirical study of two advertising environments. The second chapter reviews the tools usually used in cross-cultural studies of advertising, as well as the findings from studies that

specifically examined French and New Zealand advertising. The third chapter describes the research design and methodology used in this thesis. It explains the sampling method adapted in this study as well as the general approach of pre-analysis used to identify specificities of the corpuses of French and New Zealand commercials. It also accounts for the use of interviews with advertising professionals from both countries as a complementary technique to give insight into processes of production of advertising texts in each country. Finally, the chapter focuses on describing the tools used in the analysis of commercials relevant to each chapter. Notions of semiotic analysis and discourse analysis are reviewed.

The results section explores the main differences in the form and content of television advertising discourse from New Zealand and France. Its aim is to uncover and understand the discursive practices that New Zealand and French advertising communicators use to communicate to their audience.

Chapter 4 explores the use and attributes of voice-overs in television advertising from New Zealand and France as these clarify many specificities of each advertising discourse, particularly in relation to gender orientation and communicative approach. The chapter argues that voice-overs are signifiers, which are embedded in a national/cultural and communicative context, and that they are sociocultural constructions relayed to us by advertising, vocal incarnations of certain social and psychological attributes, which advertising communicators of one country favour, select, and consider to be representative of competent and credible authorities for the public. Through the comparative approach, the chapter shows that our vocal environment is not the only possible one and that there is a distinctive formatting of voice within the advertising discourse of each country.

Chapter 5 isolates some salient “laws of construction” of television advertising in each country in the light of specific advertising notions. The analysis of commercial messages from New Zealand and France brings to light certain communicational characteristics that derive from a certain communicational habit of the communicators of the country in which the advertisements have been

conceived. This chapter also isolates certain recurrent linguistic features of each advertising discourse, which derive from this communicational habit and show how important they are in the functioning of commercial communication. It makes use of remarks made by French and New Zealand communicators. Their comments shed light on the rationale behind their choices of communication practices and complete the observations made from the corpus of commercials.

Chapter 6 explores a salient linguistic particularity revealed by cross-cultural content analysis of key linguistic utterances in the advertising discourse. It shows how recurrent linguistic devices, which are used in New Zealand advertising in particular, reveal a wish of communicators to place products and brands within a national context. The French advertising discourse is also discussed; however, the major focus is on the particularity of the New Zealand television advertising discourse in how it participates actively in the formation of symbolical linguistic national signs with which viewers are asked to identify before they proceed to the act of consumption.

The second part of the thesis outlines the main differences in the content of television advertising from New Zealand and France. The chapters in this part spring from salient differences between advertising discourses revealed by content analysis of imagery and product category. It focuses on how images, symbols, and identities are fabricated through advertising discourse and then how they serve subject viewers/consumers of a specific culture as the contexts for their material and social lives.

Chapter 7 focuses on the results of a simple quantitative analysis of gender roles in New Zealand and French television advertising. It reviews literature regarding content analysis and gender portrayals in advertising before identifying differences and similarities in the representation of gender roles of New Zealand and French advertising central characters.

Chapter 8 further discusses the portrayal of advertising characters, particularly focussing on French advertising discourse's particularity of creating women as

central characters in the “dynamisation” of consumption. The chapter examines how the portrayal of advertising characters in terms of gender is dependent on communicators’ historical discursive knowledge about an accepted cultural truth of the feminine as the seductive sex in France and of the masculine as authority in New Zealand. This chapter also argues that the cultural endowment of genders with certain powers fits in with the communicative approach and the voice-overs adopted by New Zealand and French communicators and revealed in chapter 4 and 5.

Chapter 9 explores sport imagery. Analysis of the discursive surface of the corpuses revealed that it was a very significant element of the New Zealand television advertising discourse and one of the main differences in imagery content of both countries’ television advertising discourse. In this chapter I identify which products sport imagery supports, what sport metaphors exist in the advertising discourse of each country, and what particular motivating notions related to sport are drawn on by communicators in order to try to make viewers consume products and brands. I also explore how the sport metaphor is gender-biased and how it is often articulated with the notion of nation in New Zealand advertising.

Chapter 10 considers one of the main differences between French and New Zealand television advertising in terms of product category advertised. The chapter explores how New Zealand commercials for building products and services addressed New Zealand viewers and how they gave males in particular specific rigid subject positions of “homo habilis”. A link between these commercials and the myth of kiwi ingenuity is also made as communicators promoted ingenuity as a national attitude for viewers to emulate and subsequently engage into consumption of all sorts of products or brands.

Chapter 11 concludes the thesis by synthesising and reflecting on the findings of the study.

Postscript that could have been a preface: Why compare New Zealand and France?

To my knowledge, there have been no cross-cultural studies undertaken involving New Zealand and French advertising and little research into the nature of advertising discourse in New Zealand. Such contrastive research can therefore add to the small body of knowledge in this field and shed new light on certain areas that cannot be easily grasped through a study involving a single culture.

This study is a first small step in helping us assess the cultural distance between the two countries through the analysis of cultural representations proposed to us by their respective advertising discourses. It is assumed that through the contrastive framework, significant differences or similarities could be unveiled. As Carroll (1990) argued, we should be able to realise that our culture is not the only culture, that our vision is not the only vision, that our environment is not the only possible one. The fact that similarities or differences exist will also make us conscious of the previously unsuspected presence of highly naturalised discursive formations that exist in the advertising discourse of one country or the other and that shape us as sociocultural beings.

I also wish to point out that this topic is of strong personal interest. This study involves New Zealand and French cultures because they are the ones within which I live and in which I have spent years studying. I have lived in both France and New Zealand and this, I think, enables me to have both an outsider's as well as an insider's view of each country's cultural values and identities.

Limitations of the study.

The findings of this analysis should only be taken as a snapshot of television advertising at the time of recording, and as a basis of comparison for other analyses conducted on different corpuses. Clearly, more research is needed to confirm any of the findings from this study or to see whether there is an evolution in any of the areas tackled in this study. Television advertising also varies in terms of the type of product advertised and the time of the day (see Craig, 1992; Harris & Stobbart, 1986). It is possible that the selection of a different corpus (for example daytime rather than prime-time commercials, or print advertisements

rather than television commercials) would have produced a different cartography of French and New Zealand advertising environments. The findings of this study therefore only apply to the prime time period, a period during which a wide general population sample watches television (Gunter 1995) and therefore a time period during which many different products targeted at different audiences are advertised.

¹ Following Halmos (1969), the term “communicator” will be used in this study to refer to advertising professionals. Halmos’s definition of a professional communicator is someone who has acquired a specific competency in the manipulation of symbols and that uses its talent to link different people or different groups. This is definitely the case for advertising professionals who act not only as filters as they operate a selection of national culture’s symbols and images but also as symbol manipulators. Advertising communicators do the symbolic work of selection and representation. They are the ones who select the themes used to convey and illustrate advertising objectives.

CHAPTER 2

CROSS-CULTURAL ADVERTISING RESEARCH

The second chapter of this thesis begins by reviewing the main tools used in cross-cultural empirical studies of advertising. The idea behind this review is to map the field of cross-cultural empirical studies that have been conducted earlier and to consider the methodologies and techniques used, and also to assess their function and helpfulness. The chapter then goes on to review the findings from cross-cultural empirical studies of advertising specifically dealing with the New Zealand and French environments.

Defining matters: Cross-cultural/national empirical studies of advertising

In O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery, and Fiske's (1994) useful definition, cross-cultural analysis is "a kind of comparative analysis which prioritizes the relativity of cultural activities. Pioneered in social and cultural anthropology, the method compares whatever your particular object of study might be with perspectives from other cultures" (p. 67). In particular relation to advertising, Samiee and Jeong (1994) defined cross-cultural advertising research as any research that investigates advertising content or issues in more than one culture. Clark (1990) defined cross-cultural or comparative studies as studies that look for similarities and differences among nations in terms of a limited set of phenomena, although, as Samiee and Jeong (1994) observed, most cross-cultural studies of advertising tend to focus on cross-cultural similarities rather than differences.

Samiee and Jeong (1994) also generated debate about what constitutes the boundaries of cross-cultural studies. According to them, "within the context of

cross-cultural studies, culture should serve as either the primary or a key unit of analysis” (p. 208). Authors such as Johnstone, Kaynak, and Sparkman (1987) or Øyen (1990) however, pointed out the difficulties of isolating cultural from national differences. Indeed, cultural differences can occur within nations as a result of differences in language or culturally determined values of certain groups of people. A country nevertheless constitutes an appropriate unit of analysis of advertising when the objective of the study is to establish national, rather than cultural, views toward some phenomenon (Clark 1990; Samiee & Jeong, 1994). And indeed, in most empirical studies, a country rather than a culture forms the basis of research. The present study also takes the country or “nation” as the unit of the study; it focuses on exploring how advertising works as part of “national culture”. It considers advertising as a national/cultural phenomenon working within the boundaries of the national media landscape.

Reviewing cross-cultural empirical studies of advertising environments

In relation to the main areas of cross-cultural empirical research on advertising, this project reviews two relevant bodies of literature: the first body is the diverse models of empirical studies of cultural/national advertising; and the second is the findings from studies conducted on French and New Zealand cultural/national environments.

For the former, marketing models dominate the literature of cross-cultural empirical studies of advertising. Over the years, these empirical content analysis studies have been conducted with a view to assess whether advertising *reflects* or does not reflect the prevalent values of the culture in which it exists. Nearly all empirical studies that investigate advertising and culture, whether it is within one single culture (Chan, 1999; Shao, Raymond, & Taylor, 1999) or several (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992), whether they are based on audience research (Laroche, Toffoli, Zhang, & Pons, 2001; Tai & Chan, 2001; Zhang & Neelankavil, 1997) or coded content analysis of advertising messages (Tansey, Hyman, & Zinkhan, 1990; Wiles, Wiles, & Tjernlund, 1996), are predominantly descriptive and focus on what the content of print advertisements or television commercials reflects in terms of cultural values. They all use a range of tools that I will now review.

Value orientations and advertising appeals

A common approach is to search for value orientations in advertisements and then try to determine if these are consistent with the dominant orientation of the culture in which the advertisements appear. Such studies have, for instance, concentrated on investigating to what extent values, such as individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, or materialism, are reflected in samples of commercials or print advertisements. Their aim is to give cultural insights to advertisers who wish to market products in different cultural environments. Accordingly, the value orientations investigated are typically formulated in terms of thematic binary oppositions such as individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, or in terms of single notions such as time orientation, activity orientation, uncertainty avoidance, long-term orientation, and materialism (see McCarthy & Hattwick, 1992; Tai & Chan, 2001).¹

Other studies that investigate advertising appeals engage in the same kind of exploration. They search for which appeals are used in advertisements of a specific country and to what extent advertising reflects them. Various appeals, usually based on Rokeach's (1973) model, can be looked for in advertising messages. These range from appeals dealing with the "form" of advertising such as hard-sell or soft-sell, through more thematic appeals such as modernity and youth, status, group consensus, individual and independence, veneration of elderly and traditional, oneness with nature, manipulation of nature, to more product specific appeals such as product merit. Mueller (1987), for instance, investigated the extent to which these appeals were reflected in Japanese and American print advertisements. Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993), basing themselves on the work of Fieldhouse (1986), defined an appeal as "any message designed to motivate the consumer to purchase" or "the reason why" (p. 230). They also widened the range of appeals to 24, using loving care, health, friendship and togetherness, romance and sex, among others, and tried to identify them in food and beverage commercials from several countries. These appeals were all thematic, investigating the content rather than the form of an advertising message. Other studies have tested audiences' response to fear appeals (Laroche, Toffoli, Zhang, & Pons, 2001) while others have investigated the number of

advertisements using sex appeal (Biswas, Olsen, & Carlet, 1992), or measured advertising appeals used by service marketers (Ha, 1998).

Information content

While value orientations and advertising appeals have been used in studies, others have examined the information content of advertising messages from one country or several countries (Al-Olayan & Karande, 2000; Dowling, 1980; Ha, 1998; Johnstone, Kaynak, & Sparkman, 1987; Katz & Lee, 1992; Martenson, 1987; Renforth & Raveed, 1983; Tai & Chan, 2001; Weinberger & Spotts, 1989; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992). These studies take inspiration from Resnik and Stern's (1977), or Stern, Krugman, & Resnick's (1981), study of information content. They look for information cues about the product advertised. As a result they are useful in describing how much information advertising messages actually give about products. The cues considered with the information content framework are most often: price-value, quality, performance, components or contents, availability, special offers, taste, nutrition, packaging or shape, guarantees and warranties, and safety. In the present study, price-value was selected as a key information element to investigate and therefore commercials were scrutinised for their use of price (see chapter 5).

Advertising form

Another area of study in empirical studies of cultural/national advertising concerns advertising form, or execution. This aspect of research is important to consider in relation to advertising discourse. In the same fashion as other studies, such as Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, and Kropp (1999), the aim is to examine "themes and executions separately" (p. 60). As Zandpour, Chang and Catalano, (1992) pointed out, investigation into advertising form means looking at "the organisation and packaging of the advertising messages" (p. 27), or at, in the words of Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993), "how it is said" (p. 230).

Several methods of examining the form of advertising messages have been designed and applied. Wells (1989), and also Deighton, Romer, and McQueen (1989), classified advertising messages into lecture commercials, drama commercials, and lecture-drama commercials. This classification was used by

Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) in their comparative analysis of French, Taiwanese, and US television commercials. However, investigation into advertising form has been conducted using other advertising formats than those of Wells (1989). Caillat and Mueller (1996), for example, designed a division of rhetorical style, categorising direct speech and indirect speech, and Cutler, Javalgi, and Erramilli (1992) based their research on processes of visual appeal (description, comparison, association, and symbolic). Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993) also studied the format of advertising messages. They used a combination of ten advertisement formats, such as slice of life, little story about the product, testimonials, talking heads, demonstration, with an investigation of the tone used in advertising messages (direct or indirect, hard sell or soft sell, argumentative or narrative). Yet another model was used by Cormansky (1994), who based his approach on E. T. Hall's notion of high- and low-context, and designed a model for "measuring the 'amplitude' of the reference to context" (p. 149)². His study concentrated on advertising messages' propensity to focus on contextual imagery, or to present straight information on the product. Cormansky's (1994) model can be likened to an investigation of a combination of hard-sell, lecture versus soft-sell, drama advertising strategies.

Although all these models have strengths and weaknesses, Wells's (1989) model is the least ambiguous and easiest to use. Accordingly Wells's (1989) models of lecture, drama, and lecture-drama were adapted for this study. Details of the method used for analysing the form of advertising discourse will be discussed in more depth in the chapter on communicative approach (chapter 5).

Studies of creative strategy models

Empirical studies of advertising have also been conducted by applying Simon's (1971) creative strategy models. Following Frazer (1983), Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) defined creative strategy as "the policy or guiding principle determining the general nature and character of individual messages" (p. 25). Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992), following Simon's (1971) creative strategies looked, not only for the use of symbolic association in commercials from France, Taiwan, and the US, but also for repeated assertion, argument, motivation, command, and so on. Creative strategies are used to define guiding

principles linked to rhetorical styles – direct speech, indirect speech – (see Frith & Wesson, 1991; Caillat & Mueller, 1996) but are also used more loosely to refer to “what is said [in advertising messages] and how it is said” including appeals, tone and advertising format (Appelbaum & Halliburton, 1993, p. 229).

Some studies have investigated creative strategies through interviews with advertising professionals. In particular, Taylor, Grubbs, and Haley (1996) conducted a phenomenological research of emic descriptions of advertising by French creative directors. According to Taylor et al., the main problem with using creative strategy typologies is that they are too American and too constrictive. They argue that, as a result, “American researchers have tended to falsely characterise and typify aspects of French advertising, using American value standards and American typologies of creative strategies” (Taylor et al., p. 12). Taylor et al.’s study will be reviewed further for its results and also referred to in chapter 5 of this study.

Some empirical studies of cultural/national advertising have used other mixed methods. Katz and Lee (1992) explored whether there was a difference in the use of the social communication formats developed by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986), the product information format, the product image format, the personalized format, and the lifestyle format. Caillat and Mueller (1996) used a combination of content analysis and semiotics, basing their work on Leiss, Kline, and Jhally’s (1986) model but did not give any example of how they used semiotics to interpret “the meaning buried deeper within the text” (Caillat & Mueller, 1996, p. 83). These studies, however, unlike the present study wishes to be, were purely quantitative in their approach.

Other areas of investigation of cross cultural empirical studies of advertising

Cross cultural investigations of advertising have focussed on other diverse areas such as: the visual components of print advertising in the US, UK, France, Korea, and India (Cutler, Javalgi, & Erramilli, 1992); and humour (Biswas, Olsen, & Carlet, 1992; Toncar, 2001; Weinberger & Spotts, 1989). Whitelock and Rey (1998) investigated which products tend to favour a standardised advertising approach in France and the UK while Wiles, Wiles, and Tjernlund (1996)

investigated such things as race/skin colour of models in magazine advertisements, body shape of advertising models, clothing depicted, in order to see to what extent certain values and ideals were foregrounded. Several empirical studies have also investigated the portrayal and use of gender in advertisements from several countries, including New Zealand and France. These studies will be reviewed for their methods and findings before developing a model for gender study in chapter 7 of this study.

Bending and blending models

Methodologically, all these studies reveal that there is little harmony not only in the approaches used, but also in the use of terms that describe what is investigated in advertising. For instance, terminology such as cultural values or cultural themes are used interchangeably. As a result, studies that used cultural values (Caillat & Mueller, 1996; Chan, 1999; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996), or cultural themes (Cormansky, 1994; Tansey, Hyman, & Zinkhan, 1990), as the basis of investigation of advertising messages are involved in making an inventory of very similar notions in their corpuses (such as, adventure, beauty, collectivism, competition, individualism, patriotism, tradition, wisdom, sex, youth, wilderness, leisure), and examining which are the most dominant cultural values/themes reflected in advertising messages of one or several countries.

What is notable is that the vast majority of cross cultural empirical studies of advertising use a diverse mix of these content categories or methods. They do so in order to create a picture of the cultural character of advertising in specific countries in terms of what imagery and what values are exploited, and what form of advertising is prevalent. Most studies combine lists of values close to Rokeach's (1973) list of terminal and instrumental values, or Pollay's (1983), or Pollay and Gallagher's (1990) cultural values, or adapt Resnik and Stern's (1977) influential study of information content, or Wells's (1989) advertising formats. For instance, Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) used Simon's (1971) creative strategies in addition to Stern, Krugman, and Resnick's (1981) information content and Wells's (1988) advertising forms. Whitelock and Rey (1998) used Simon's (1970) ten points classification system together with Cathelat and

Ebguy's (1988) advertising styles, and a model by Young and Rubicam New York (in Martenson, 1987) simultaneously.

What is also notable is that, as with this thesis, these empirical studies of advertising adapt these models to their own needs as they add or remove, bend and blend content analysis categories that can often overlap. More often than not, researchers adapt and upgrade the so-called proven research tools, even if it is only slightly, because they have found that so-called proven tools are not adapted to their particular needs. For example Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, and Kropp (1999) noted that "the seemingly sacred Hofstede dimensions do not generalise to Southeast and East Asian cultures, and that dimensions generated from a different cultural background diverge from those generated in the west" (p. 70), and therefore give less accurate results. Laskey, Day, and Crask (1989) expressed their total dissatisfaction with the existing classification schemes of creative strategies and developed their own new typology, while Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993) adapted to their own needs Kroeber-Riel's (1990) four positioning strategies of informative and emotional positioning. Other studies also point out the need for tools to be adapted to such elements as the size of the corpus, the capability of coders, and the specific product categories studied (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, & Kropp, 1999; Dallmann, 2000; Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1992; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992).

This practice of adapting research tools to particular studies has been deplored by Becker (1998). Becker suggested that researchers should adopt old, and according to him, proven tools such as Rokeach's (1973) or Khale's (1983) list of values "in their 'orthodox' form, rather than in some truncated or hybrid form just to suit [their] convenience" (p. 4). Developing and using new tools, Becker (1998) argued, does not allow researchers to compare present with past results, thereby not advancing the practice of advertising research and failing to give firms "historically comparable" results. This thesis clearly disputes that position. If it were decided to standardise research tools just to be able to compare past and previous results that would be the end of the debate on researching new methods and refining old ones. More importantly, research would concentrate solely on obtaining results springing from quantifiable and comparable controlled variables

across countries. The result would be measured recommendations that could be given to firms, but these they would clearly be subject to the law of the market and would alienate critical as distinct from market-driven research. Rather than using an orthodox approach, this thesis prefers to use a more inductive approach. Accordingly, as already noted in chapter 1, the two national/cultural advertising discourses are put in parallel and the discursive surface of the corpuses are tackled inductively rather than guided by the choice of orthodox measurement tools.

A review of the findings from empirical studies of French and New Zealand advertising

Having examined the general approaches to cross-cultural advertising studies, this section will turn to reviewing the findings of empirical comparative studies of advertising that specifically deal with New Zealand and France. It will focus on giving results on the areas of study, such as information content, advertising format, appeals, creative strategies, derived from my general survey.

From the outset it was clear that there were very few comparative empirical studies of advertising that involve New Zealand (Andrews, Lysonsky, & Durvasula, 1991; Lysonsky & Pollay, 1990) and France (Appelbaum & Halliburton, 1993; Biswas, Olsen, & Carlet, 1992; Cutler, Javalgi, & Erramilli, 1992; Taylor, Grubbs, & Haley, 1996; Whitelock & Chung, 1989; Whitelock & Rey, 1998; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992). Those that do exist rely on straight content analysis.

Empirical comparative studies involving New Zealand are rare. The most common studies on New Zealand advertising are essays that discuss its aspects from a sociological point of view (Bell, 1996; Perry, 1994). One distinctive feature of this restricted field is that all empirical comparative studies involving New Zealand use audience research into perceptions of advertising messages. One such study by Lysonsky and Pollay (1990) surveyed students from Denmark, Greece, New Zealand, and the US. It found that New Zealand, Greek, and Danish students were more critical of advertising sexism than students from the US. and more prone to boycott products related to these sexist messages. A year later a study by Andrews, Lysonsky, and Durvasula (1991) showed that New Zealand,

Danish, and Greek students were all significantly more critical of advertising in general than students from the US. New Zealand students in particular, held a negative view of advertising practice, possibly due to the rise of advertising on television and direct mail advertising at that time. Their perceptions were that advertising “interrupts good programmes”, is “meaningless repetition”, and is a representation of “beautiful people having a ‘great’ time” (Andrews, Lysonsky, & Durvasula, 1991, p. 25). The other comparative study of advertising involving New Zealand was conducted by Furnham and Farragher (2000) who focussed on the portrayal of gender in television commercials. The results of this study will be reviewed in chapter 7.

Given the larger population and economy of France it is not surprising that there is a larger number of empirical studies of French advertising. As a result, a more extensive picture of the particularities of the French advertising environment can be drawn. According to Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) French commercials “make explicit promises that are beyond what the product can realistically deliver. They often provide a subtle presentation linking the product to a place, event, person or symbol, implicit sales pitch, and little product visibility” (p. 30). In addition, they “avoid the presentation of straight facts” (p. 33) with an important percentage (31%) without any information cues at all and they are “more likely to be dramatic with minimal copy and [. . .] seldom address the audience with a lecture” and “focus on qualities such as engineering, workmanship, and product components, often featuring new ideas” (p. 30). Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) summarised their findings by saying:

French commercials work very hard to entertain the public through symbolism, humor, and drama. Dramatic events unfold without any apparent attention to the audience. The symbolism and drama may not be related to the product. French commercials seldom use a person to lecture the audience and generally do not present single straight facts. They tend to avoid reasoning or argument in advertising. When information is provided in French commercials, it centers around new ideas about the product or its quality in terms of the workmanship, components, structure, etc. In pursuit of being entertaining or funny, French commercials often play with shapes and names and often provide no specific concept for the product. When the commercials do acknowledge the audience, they are likely to explicitly promise a dream that cannot be readily delivered by the product. (Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992, p. 35)

As well as confirming the lack of informativeness, Appelbaum and Halliburton's (1993) study revealed another distinct feature in the way that French food and beverage television commercials used more emotion than those from Germany, the UK and US. In their study, French advertising scored high in expressing individuality, in using "it's good", natural, romance, and sex appeals. Information about products was mostly conveyed by words rather than by pictures and the tone was overwhelmingly soft-sell and non-competitive if argumentative. Other characteristics of French commercials found by Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993, p. 236) were that they rely on "little stories around the product" and avoid demonstrations.

Whitelock and Rey (1998) further confirmed the low information aspect and extended the distinctiveness. They found that partially standardised, or purely national, French commercials relied more on motivation with psychological appeal and less on information than commercials from the UK. French commercials' dominant advertising style was egotistical and dramatic – it emphasised the classy aspect of the product and the social role of the object was emphasised by a dramatic setting. In terms of viewer benefit, French commercials were found to be strong on empathy and respect compared to commercials from the UK that used more entertainment and useful information.

Studies on French print advertising also came up with essentially the same major findings as studies of television commercials. Biswas, Olsen, and Carlet (1992), for instance, found that French print advertisements resorted more to emotional appeals and contained less information cues than American advertisements. French advertising also used sex appeals more than American advertisements and, "as far as the nature of expression is concerned, the majority of the French advertisements used attractive models" that were mostly female (Biswas, Olsen, & Carlet, 1992, p. 77). They also found that puns, jokes, and ludicrousness were the dominant types of humorous devices used in French advertisements.

Cutler, Javalgi, and Erramilli's (1992) study of the visual components of print advertisements from France, UK, US, India, and Korea showed that, out of all those countries, French advertisements used aesthetic symbolism/appeal the most,

did not use many ads with characters, and used the least children (5.7%) but many women (between 75% and 84%). Finally, French advertisements were found to show prices more often than any other country except Korea.

Insight into French advertising professionals' thinking was given by Taylor, Grubbs, and Haley's (1996) study of French advertising professionals' development of creative strategy. They found that the French approach to creative strategy involves intuition and intimate knowledge of French culture, whereas, by contrast, the American approach to the planning process mainly includes pre-testing and quantifying consumer knowledge. Taylor et al. (1996) found that the prevalent cultural belief among French practitioners and consumers is that advertising's role is not to convey information nor to focus on product functions but to touch people's sensibilities and to entice or to charm the consumer into buying. They identified four characteristics of French advertising, *la séduction*, *le spectacle*, *l'amour*, and *l'humour*. They reported that, according to French advertising professionals, "a good French advertisement is one that tempts the consumer with its offerings", one that is aesthetically appealing and "that has the drama, the entertainment value, the production values, and the excitement of the theatre" and that expresses romantic notions whenever possible (Taylor, Grubbs, & Haley, 1996, p. 7-8).

Except for Taylor, Grubbs, and Haley's (1996) all these studies used a marketing approach. They looked at corpuses via pre-determined tools rather than through a more inductive approach and treated advertising as a reflection of culture rather than a force in the production of signification through culturally motivated practices. In contrast, this study takes the view that the culture presented in advertising messages is not innocent but constructed. It agrees with Soulages's (1994) argument that one of the main works of advertising, and therefore of advertising communicators, is to set up and construct spaces of reference (*univers de référence*) such as places, social practices, family or individual behaviours, that are common to the people in a specific culture and that they can recognise. The approach has common ground with Cormansky (1994, p. 143) who argues that the success of advertising communication depends on the acceptance of what Bach and Harnish (1979) called "mutual context beliefs", in other words that the

communication between encoder and decoder of advertising messages has to be realised within a shared context.

Therefore, in order to be efficient in a specific country, advertising communicators need to conceptualise and use advertising communication as the place where people from the same culture/country meet and share common values and symbols. As a result, this study focuses on how, and to what extent, national culture and advertising discourse are intertwined and how national culture is “created and recreated in symbolic forms that seek not only to gain rhetorical success but also to impact upon social and cultural life” (Evans, 1999, p. 1) and eventually consumer life. This study wishes to explore how particular notions of national culture “are created and embedded in the exhibitionary forms of [. . .] cultural practices and institutions” (Evans, 1999, p. 2), in the practices of national advertising discourses. It contends that aspects of national culture are culturally constructed (in the sense of meaning-making) for subject viewers through the selective symbolic practices of advertising communicators that are themselves nationally/culturally situated.

Or, to put it in another way, advertising is credited, as Anderson (1991) put it, with “imagining” a version of the nation for subject viewers (see also, Billig, 1995; Miller, 1995; Smith, 1993; Spencer & Wollman, 2002). Anderson (1991) argued that nations are imagined communities “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1991, p. 6). Nations are imagined as a community because “the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson, 1991, p. 7). The other point that Anderson (1991) made about imagined communities is that they are constantly imagined and re-imagined in certain subjective ways through not only events such as wars, or facts, such as linguistic communities, but also by powerful symbolic practices such as flag design, mapping, emblem construction, and by cultural institutions such as the media, particularly the print media.

In this study, television advertising is seen as a major storyteller that contributes to such an “imagining” of national culture. Television advertising, as part of mass

communication participates in creating a link between individuals, in constituting an invisible and impalpable community space, because many in the nation see the same images/representations at the same time. Even though it is not its goal, through presenting constructed narratives, advertising tends to assist individuals to coagulate; it helps them think of themselves as belonging to a real national/cultural group through presenting them with images of the national/cultural way of life which join them (see Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1984; McCrone, 1998) and that are attached to the name of products or brands.

The next chapter will describe the methodological steps taken in the study. It explains the sampling method adopted in this study as well as the general approach of pre-analysis used to identify specificities of the corpuses of French and New Zealand commercials. It also accounts for the use of interviews with advertising professionals from both countries as a complementary technique to give insight into processes of production of advertising texts in each country. Finally, the chapter focuses on describing the tools used in the analysis of commercials relevant to each chapter. Notions of semiotic analysis and discourse analysis are reviewed.

¹ Even though, as McCarthy and Hattwick (1992) note, different cultural value orientations that I will not list here have been used by numerous authors over the past decades.

² *Mesurer l'amplitude de la référence au contexte.*

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

Having mapped its position in relation to existing research, the thesis will address several points of methodology and research design. The first part of this chapter will explain the sampling method adapted as well as the general approach of pre-analysis used to identify specificities in the corpuses of French and New Zealand commercials. It will then justify the use of interviews with advertising communicators from both countries as a complementary technique to increase insight into processes of production of advertising texts in each country. The chapter will then focus on describing the tools used in the analysis of commercials.

Sampling method: Selection of the corpus

Authors such as Samiee and Jeong (1994) and Clark (1990) pointed out that because of their complexity, cross-cultural studies imply research methodology considerations that are not necessarily the same as for domestic studies. They emphasised the need for a multimethod approach of advertising research that would involve several data collection methods (qualitative interviews, surveys, experiments, participant observations) and analytical techniques. In a similar vein, Cook (1992) argued for a comprehensive approach to advertising discourse that would be qualitative and quantitative (see also Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1986). A multimethod approach is justified because, both conceptually and methodologically, research based on multiple methods leads to more reliable results than does research dependent on one method (Samiee & Jeong, 1994). As Clark (1990) suggested, for cross-cultural studies, “a marriage of methodologies

that sometimes seem incompatible is often needed. The marriage is not expected to be without problems, though it is anticipated to be unusually fecund” (p. 77).

In this study, as Samiee and Jeong (1994) suggested, samples to be compared were taken during the same time period of day and year and came from reasonably similar regulatory or legal environments. As Samiee and Jeong (1994) also argued, the comparative study of advertising should ideally involve random samples of television advertisements from each country in order to enhance validity. However, in a comparative study, as Giaccardi (1995) pointed out, a large number of commercials taped on television is needed to allow recognition of typical themes and typical patterns of social organisation. For these reasons, television material for this research was collected in the following way:

A total of 1,928 commercials were recorded at random from six television channels between August 1996 and October 1996 and from January 1997 to March 1997 in both France and New Zealand. These two periods of recording were selected in order to avoid the problem of seasonality due in this case to the difference in the hemispheres raised by Johnstone, Kaynak, and Sparkman (1987) in the light of findings that information content varied with advertised product (e.g., Dowling, 1980; Resnick & Stern, 1977). It is logical to postulate that there could be differences between summer advertising and winter advertising. Accordingly, the study takes this into account as such a significant factor could alter the content of the advertising discourse or foster the emergence of certain discourses disproportionately.

Following the existing models of random sample advocated by Samiee and Jeong (1994) and used by Belk and Bryce (1986), Resnick and Stern (1977), Johnstone et al (1987) and Weinberger and Spotts (1989), TV commercials were recorded off the air in late summer-early autumn and late winter-early spring in New Zealand and France from major – and similar in content – New Zealand and French network television channels. Two people in two households (one in France and one in New Zealand) were given the responsibility of recording commercials at random. The people in each household were free to record commercials at any time they wished between the hours of extended prime time and over two periods

of three months. This approach was used so that the recordings do not reflect the researcher's agenda or timetable. The channels were respectively One, TV2, and TV3 in New Zealand and TF1, France 2, France 3, and M6 in France. Random samples were collected across the network from weekday and weekend extended prime time 5pm-10.30pm.

In line with other studies (Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992), all duplicate commercials were removed from the sample. As a result, 203 French commercials were identified as duplicate, leaving a total of 727 commercials in the final French corpus. A total of 288 New Zealand commercials were identified as duplicate, leaving a total of 710 commercials in the final New Zealand corpus.

Tackling the sample: Pre-analysis

This part of the study is in effect an inductive research (Kellehear, 1993; Lofland & Lofland, 1995), or what Krippendorff (1980, p. 170) calls a "fishing expedition". It uses grounded theory in that it does not start with any particular hypothesis except with a very broad one (Muchielli, 1988) that there might be differences between French and New Zealand television advertising discourse. Nevertheless, lines of investigation that followed a discursive cultural analysis framework were designed to direct the study within that broad hypothesis. The main research questions were:

- What discursive objects (see p. 31) were prominent within the discourse of each country?
- What discourse strategies were used and considered appropriate in the advertising discourse of each country? and
- What subject positions did advertising discourse offer?

To do inductive analysis, or to engage in grounded theory, as Lofland and Lofland (1995) argued, "you begin with an open-ended and open-minded desire to know a social situation or setting; the data and yourself as an agent of induction guide you in the task of emergently formulating one or more propositions" (p. 185). This study starts with an open and somewhat customised "wide mesh net", fishing in

randomly collected data “whose symbolic nature [is] then explore[d] to see what could possibly be inferred that might be of interest” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 170). The first phase of the study was in effect a macro analysis of the manifest content of the corpuses. Its aim was to guide a finer analysis of salient particularities and differences between national environments. As Maingueneau (1976, p. 8) noted, this type of empirical analysis seeks to characterise a corpus in order to identify what makes its content specific or singular, especially in comparison to other corpuses or other parts of the same corpus. At this stage the functioning of discourse is not taken into account.

Given the size of the corpuses, this study used a lengthy pre-analysis to see which specificities of each corpus could be identified. Bardin (1989, p. 126) identified “*préanalyse*” (pre-analysis) as a part of analysis that corresponds to a phase where a first reading of the sample is made, in which the researcher is open to all ideas and hypotheses. Pre-analysis is an exploration, a “*lecture flottante*” (floating reading), a kind of individual brain-storming that allows the researcher to establish contact with the sample to be analysed. This contact is made by letting impressions and directions, “*orientations*”, come to the researcher. Gradually, after several floating readings, knowledge of the sample becomes more precise as specificities are revealed and hypotheses emerge.

The pre-analysis of both corpuses focussed on their manifest content in order to identify their main specificities. Manifest content is, according to Mucchielli (1988, p. 21) “the only real content available” (*le seul réel disponible*) to the researcher. It is the visible, directly apprehensible content of communication. When looking for manifest content the researcher identifies what is physically available without looking for influential underlying content (Mucchielli, 1988). In other words, the focus of pre-analysis in this study was a focus on “the explicit of the act of language” (Charaudeau, 1983, p. 16). It concentrated on identifying the recurrent signifiers, linguistic or iconic, used in the commercial communication of each country. It considered the iconic and linguistic literal message of texts “cleared utopianically [and temporarily] of [their] connotations” (Barthes, 1977, p. 42). Kellehear (1993) gave an example of such a study using a large corpus (Willis, 1986) in which the researcher was “interested in two levels of meaning,

the level of obvious appearances and then the underlying level of meaning” (p. 47). During this first stage, this study researched only manifest content/obvious appearances because of the large size of the corpuses.

Using channel-specific readings in the pre-analysis

Inductive analysis can be quite overwhelming, especially when dealing with large corpuses. Lofland and Lofland (1995) noted that “as an inherently open-ended process, the situation of emergent induction can produce frustration and anxiety – as well as exhilaration” (p. 185). Accordingly, the thesis used two limiting factors. The first was to restrict the investigation to outstanding recurrent signifiers because of the sheer amount of data. The second was to fix boundaries by focusing on two major and distinct features of commercials, the linguistic and visual aspects of commercials in order to isolate the cultural/national particularities of the advertising discourse. This approach of separating linguistic and iconic elements in media texts is in line with other researchers. Fairclough (1995b), for example, as part of his critical discourse analysis framework, suggested that the analysis of media texts should include attention to their language and “texture” and should also include analysis of visual images and sound effects. Similar processes were recommended by Fields (1988), Cook (1992), and Viallon (1996).

Both Viallon (1996) and Fields (1988) suggested that, in the analysis of television discourse, separating the two channels that carry meaning, sound and image, although artificial in theory, can be very fruitful in practice. Viallon (1996) suggested that, when analysing television texts, researchers should focus on the one hand on the sound channel, considering vocal and acoustic elements, such as the characteristics of voices, and linguistic elements, such as oral and written language, but also music, noises and silences. On the other hand Viallon (1996), following Metz (1968), argued that researchers should also focus on the image channel, not only on framing choices and editing involving notions of speed and movement, but, in addition, on casting choices that involve other static codes (*codes statiques*) (Viallon, 1996, p. 54) such as the use of type of dress of characters in commercials to indicate certain stereotypes.

Pre-analysis of this corpus of commercials therefore followed Viallon's (1996) and Field's (1988) method of separating *audition* and *vision*. As Viallon (1996) explained, with this technique,

a first contact with the document is made without the sound, a second without the image or vice versa. The artificial nature of the process is justified by the necessity to give each channel its full signifying potentiality. This kind of process allows the researcher to bring to light numerous latent elements and refine, [. . .] the understanding of the sequence under study. (p. 88)

This technique indeed proved very effective and timesaving, allowing the researcher to concentrate clearly on one particular part of the discourse at a time, therefore eliminating the overwhelming feeling of having to use all senses at once. Several slow readings of each channel were necessary to induct the particularities of each corpus.

However, as Cook (1992) pointed out, the effect of an ad is not to be found in any of the three major modes alone (music, pictures, and language), but only in their combination. Therefore, once this channel-specific reading was done and particularities noted, several other readings of the corpus were made, taking into account both channels of image and sound together, focusing on notions of complementarity, opposition, and redundancy (*complémentarité, redondance, opposition*) between image and sound (Viallon, 1996).

Viallon (1996) and Field's (1988) method provided interesting insights into the manifest content of each corpus, especially in terms of identifying recurrent types of voices and imagery in commercials. Nevertheless, in order to refine the readings, this technique of reading corpuses was, after one channel specific reading, combined with the selection of categories that will be defined soon.

It is also necessary to mention, at this point that this study used frequency, a very common guide in analysis of mass communication (Bardin, 1989; Kellehear, 1993; Krippendorf, 1980; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Maingueneau, 1976; Muchielli, 1988; Scott, 1990) as the basis of investigation. Analysts generally agree that "the frequency with which a symbol, idea, or subject matter occurs in a stream of messages tends to be interpreted as a measure of importance, attention,

or emphasis” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 40). According to Maingueneau (1976, p. 26) the frequency with which a unit such as a word appears, can characterise the general repertoire of users of a certain period or characterise a certain situation of communication. Frequency of a word can also reveal a theme, a particular genre or register, or, as Maingueneau (1996a) pointed out, be representative of a discursive formation. Recurrence of chosen units, that is repetitions of the same unit in different contexts that are an indication of the importance of the recurring unit (Bardin, 1989), was looked for in both corpuses. At the level of advertising discourse, it is indeed possible to postulate that recurrence of specific imagery or words makes it significant and possibly representative of important cultural discursive formations.

Using categories

For a more precise reading of the corpuses the thesis deployed broad categories (Bardin, 1989; Bailey, 1994; Krippendorff, 1980) selected through the first channel-specific findings. The categories designed for finer analysis were comparable to what the field of content analysis provides as search limitation tools. The following categories were selected to push the reading of the corpuses further.

In terms of linguistic content, key word and key phrase were selected (Bardin, 1989). Bailey (1994) noted that single words, sentences or paragraphs are valid recording units in content analysis. Following Bardin (1989), a finer search for recurrent words was made in the corpuses. The identification of recurrences involved transcribing the linguistic content of a sample of 180 random commercials of each corpus as well as repeated careful readings and listenings over the whole of both corpuses. By means of this finer search, “national keywords” were identified as a central linguistic device in New Zealand advertising discourse.

Recurrent iconic imagery was another area recorded. The idea was to make an inventory of outstanding recurrent iconic imagery. As Bardin argued (1989) iconic imagery is part of the manifest content of communication and for that reason is, in a large corpus at the level of pre-analysis, more easily identifiable than themes.

Themes are complex units of signification, of varying length, whose reality is not necessarily linguistic but psychological. As a result of the search for manifest recurrent iconic imagery, sport imagery was identified as one key element of New Zealand advertising discourse. Accordingly it was subsequently selected as an interesting specificity to explore further in contrast to the French corpus where its recurrence was insignificant.

Apart from key words, key phrases or key imagery, a common unit suggested by authors such as Bardin (1989), Muchielli, (1988), or Bailey (1994) for the coding of fiction works such as films, novels, or television programs is that of the character (in this case, the individuals represented in commercials). Channel specific readings already suggested specificities in the use of characters and gender by each advertising discourse. The character was therefore selected as an interesting unit to concentrate on. Specificities, which could not be precisely grasped at this level of pre-analysis, were further studied in a more precise content analysis (chapter 7). In that chapter, characters were identified and classified according to a specific grid of analysis designed to expose the attributes or characteristics of characters, such as their age, their role, and so on. This more precise analysis focused on the role of central characters and the interaction between genders in commercials.

Pre-analysis of the corpuses suggested other patterns within national corpuses and differences between nations that were not linked to the previous “recording units”. After several readings, and as acquaintance with the sample deepened, other specificities of each national advertising environment in terms of communicative approach emerged. For instance, pre-analysis of sound particularities in each corpus as recommended by Fields (1988), Cook (1992), and Viallon (1996) suggested gender imbalance and differences in the “design” of voice-overs. This observation, which was also verified by more precise content analysis and reported (see chapter 4), suggested an important cultural difference in the way commercial communication was designed in each national environment (see chapter 5).

Finally, pre-analysis suggested differences in the content of advertising discourse in terms of products advertised. Taking into account the differences in the legal and regulatory environments, an inventory of product categories was made in order to verify whether there were major differences in the nature of the products advertised in each country. The product categories used in this study were not pre-designed, but identified following each corpus's specificities. All commercials from the corpuses were categorised as belonging to a product category; new product categories were added when needed, and some product categories were grouped together. These product categories were then compared to other studies' classifications (Whitelock & Jackson, 1997, Whitelock & Rey, 1998; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992) and, as a result, slightly modified and refined (See Table 1 page 52 for a list of product categories).

Interviews: Insights into the processes of production

Many in the field (see, e.g., Clark, 1990; Cook, 1992, Samiee & Jeong, 1994) advise any cross-cultural researcher in advertising to use several data collection and analysis techniques. Kellehear (1993) noted that "combining observations with interviews may actually increase the validity of the findings because one method may turn up findings which can be explored by the other" (p. 10). Silverman (1993) noted that attention to media texts and particularly to images in those texts can detract attention from the social processes involved in image-production. Therefore, in order to restore balance to the fixation of this study on advertising texts, and to enrich results, and increase their validity, I organised interviews with advertising communicators.

Further justification for the role of interviewing can be found in discourse theory. For discourse analysts (Charaudeau, 1983; Fairclough, 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Maingueneau, 1976, 1996a, 1996b) sociologists (Bourdieu, 1996), and cultural analysts (Hall, 1993), discourse forms a dimension of communication associated to conditions of production. As Maingueneau (1976) pointed out, a central specificity of discourse analysis consists in putting in relation texts and their conditions of production, or what Charaudeau (1983, p. 20) also calls discourse circumstances (*circonstances de discours*). These conditions of production include the material and institutional environment of discourse, the "sets of

institutional routines” (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 48) that tend to generate “ready to decode” material (Bourdieu, 1996). Fairclough (1992) argued for a study of these processes of text production because texts are produced in specific ways in specific social contexts by different people or teams that obey certain rules such as the editing and placing of the texts. This is especially true in advertising (see Cook; 1992). It is therefore necessary to have insights into the cultural processes of production as experienced by the encoders of texts. As a complement to the analysis of texts, these insights can foster an understanding of the pressures that shape commercial communication. Examples could include the relationship between advertising agencies and their clients, or advertising professionals’ cultural vision of receptors of their communications, and “assumptions about the audience” (Hall, 1993, p. 92).

This last point is especially important in Charaudeau’s (1983) and Pêcheux’s (1969) vision of the conditions of production of discourse. For Charaudeau (1983), the relation between encoders (*énonciateurs*) and decoders (*énonciataires*) is influenced by their vision on how language should be used in relation to their social practice as collective subjects. Pêcheux (1969) argued that each subject is constituted of several discursive roles linked to his/her status and institutional place (*emplacement institutionnel*). How people imagine themselves and their interlocutor in terms of role and image within the communication process is part of an imaginary formation (*formation imaginaire*). Imaginary formations depend on questions that encoders ask themselves such as “Who am I to talk to him/her like that?” or “who is he/she so that I talk to him/her like that?”

In interviews, the cultural cognitive connivance between encoders and decoders formed an interesting part of conditions of production to investigate. Encoders always make hypotheses about the knowledge of decoders, and about decoders’ point of view on how language should be used (Charaudeau, 1983, p. 24) or on their role in the communication process. Therefore interviews shed light on the constraints that are part of the conditions of production and that codify socio-linguistic practices of advertising in a particular cultural environment. In other words interviews illuminate the views that communicators have of the communication contract (*contrat de communication*) (Charaudeau, 1994) they

“feel” they have, or should have, with the cultural/national public. Interviews make it possible to decrypt the imaginary formations that advertising communicators have between their nationally-situated receptors and themselves.

Interviews can help show to what extent advertising work is culturally ritualised. Discursive work is indeed a practice regulated by rituals, as authors such as Foucault (1971) and Bourdieu (1996; 2001) have shown. The notion of habitus developed by Bourdieu refers to the habitual physical, social and linguistic behaviours that people have been led to develop during their life by being exposed to specific influences. Having become second nature in people, habitus channels the perceptions, appreciations and actions of people “outside conscience and constraint” (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 79) (*en dehors de la conscience et de la contrainte*). The notion of habitus is interesting to take into account as communicators can be said to develop a certain habitus related to their working environment. Maingueneau (1976) argued that institutions with their normative role make the rituals function according to certain rules that constitute the individual as subject of a certain ideology and also govern the practice of these subjects. Investigation of the institutional practices that support and structure the processes of production allow the researcher to uncover cultural rituals and discursive formations that may constrain advertising communicators and therefore lie behind the production of advertising texts.

Interview sample and technique

The interview sample of advertising communicators was obtained in the following way. Advertising agencies in France and New Zealand were first contacted by mail and asked to send a compilation of what they considered their best television commercials. As a result 6 French and 6 New Zealand advertising agencies sent compilation reels containing between 6 and 30 commercials each, in total 196 advertisements. These samples were originally designed to be part of the corpus. However, the size and diversity of the random corpus was such that these compilation reels were not taken into account in the study. They nevertheless provided a good basis for making contact with the agencies. A few weeks after receiving the compilation reels, a letter was sent to each of these agencies requesting an interview to discuss the implementation of creative strategy. Five

agencies in France and four in New Zealand responded positively and interview times were subsequently arranged in October 1997 in France and March 1998 in New Zealand.

Research participants for this study were selected by the agencies. They were either creatives, creative directors or strategic planners of five leading advertising agencies in France and four leading advertising agencies in New Zealand. The agencies were located in the main advertising centre of each country – in Paris and Levallois-Perret, France, and in Auckland, New Zealand.¹

It has been pointed out (Broadfoot, 2000; Verhoeven, 2000) that studies involving qualitative interviewing across several cultures can be difficult to conduct because language barriers and ethnocentrism usually come in the way of understanding and exchange of ideas. Samiee and Jeong (1994) suggested that the research team in a cross-cultural study should ideally include a representative from each culture in order to prevent misinterpretations of language, gestures, and deeds. This problem was minimised in this study as the researcher conducting interviews was proficient in both the French and English language and familiar with New Zealand and French culture. This fact allowed interviews to be conducted in the language of the participant, French in France and English in New Zealand.

The semi-structured interview technique as described by May (1997) was the methodological guide for structuring the investigation process. As May (1997) and Bailey (1994) noted, semi-structured interviews have the advantage of allowing interviewers to probe beyond the answers and invite interviewees to expand on the issues they raised. Therefore interviewees can respond to questions more on their own terms than those in a structured interview. Semi-structured interviews also have the advantage over totally unstructured interviews in providing a greater structure and standardisation that allows comparability between respondents' answers (May, 1997).

As Silverman (1993) noted, “‘authenticity’ rather than reliability is often the issue in qualitative research. The aim is usually to gather an authentic understanding of people’s experiences and it is believed that open-ended questions are the most

effective route towards this end” (p. 10). In order to help in the semi-structured interview process, a questionnaire containing 24 open-ended questions classified into five distinct sections was designed (see appendix C). De Vaus (1995) stressed that a questionnaire should be designed and conducted with specific research purposes in mind. The aim of the questionnaire in this case was to arrive at a clearer understanding of the cultural and institutional factors that support and give structure to the processes of creation and production of New Zealand and French advertising. Therefore the aim of the questionnaire was to initiate cultural reactions from respondents. It focussed on the broad hypothesis that advertising is a cultural product, and guided by orientations from the pre-analysis, it designed a list of areas for investigation.

Questions in section one of the questionnaire focussed on the communicators’ view of the function of advertising. This section of the questionnaire aimed to discover whether there were cultural differences in advertising communicators’ overall perception of advertising.

Section two of the questionnaire aimed to discover whether communicators could identify dominant or common themes/topics in the advertising discourse of their country. The aim was to understand whether advertising communicators could identify themes or topics they usually draw from in their everyday work.

The third part focussed on creativity. Questions were set up to discover what communicators from each country identified as curbs to creativity, and the role of institutional, legal, or cultural pressures.

Section four aimed at uncovering communicators’ perception of their receptors. The aim was to understand the views that communicators have of the “communication contract” (*contrat de communication*) (Charaudeau, 1994, p. 8), the way they feel about the cultural/national public, and how they understand the discursive constraints that guide the discursive strategies of communicators. As a result of channel-specific pre-analysis, two questions on voice-overs were also designed.

The fifth part focussed on the importance of New Zealandness and Frenchness in advertising messages. This section aimed at discovering the importance given to national/cultural values in advertising.

Interviews: Analysis

Following Lofland & Lofland (1995), recorded interviews were then transcribed, coded and analysed. Kellehear (1993) pointed out that through the inductive approach in thematic analysis “the researcher is interested in a topic or set of issues and then approaches an interview or document with these issues in mind. Themes are then sought after as these emerge from the narrative of the interview or written words or behaviours” (p. 38). Analytic initial coding of the transcripts in which “researchers look for what they can define and discover in the data” (Charmaz, 1983, p. 113) involved repeated readings and scanning of the transcripts for topics, as Patton (1980) and Lofland and Lofland (1995) called them, or themes, as Kellehear (1993) named them. These topics/themes related to the five main sections of the questionnaire designed to explore cultural and institutional influences on advertising communicators. Following Wetherell and Potter (1988), and Lofland and Lofland (1995), coding involved identifying which topics/themes tended to recur and to be treated more than others by advertising communicators of each country. Then, as Lofland and Lofland (1995) pointed out, “some codes begin to assume the status of overarching ideas or propositions that will occupy a prominent or central place in the analysis” (p. 193). These are then elaborated and explained further.

Following Wetherell and Potter (1988) a representative set of extracts from interviews was included in the report. These were included in relevant chapters whenever a thematic link was found between the analysis of texts and communicators’ comments, rationalisations, or justifications.

The aim of the analysis of these interviews was to go beyond what Silverman (1993) called “a romantic approach”, in which “the researcher sets out to record faithfully the experience of some . . . group” (p. 6). As Silverman (1993) remarked, “it is problematic to justify research in terms of its ‘authentic’ representation of ‘experience’ when what is ‘authentic’ is culturally defined. This

argument has implications for analysing interview data” (p. 6). Therefore, in line with a discourse analytic perspective, advertising communicators’ discourse was “not taken at face value as a simple description of a mental state or an event” (Wetherell & Potter, 1988, p. 168). Instead, the aim was less on advertising communicators’ individual experiences and more on trying to decode the culturally and institutionally given that transpired from their account. The point of view taken when analysing communicators’ accounts was that “the subject does not produce meaning freely thanks to a combination of units of language whose meaning is stable and obvious, but is dominated by the discursive formation within which his discourse is inscribed”² (Maingueneau, 1976, p. 84). Therefore the subject speaks through discourse and his voice should be evaluated as drawing and recreating discursive formations which, as Pêcheux (1982) put it, determine “what can and should be said” from a particular position. What was interesting to grasp from interviews with advertising communicators then, was, firstly, how these communicators were not necessarily at the origin of meaning but were constituted as subjects of their discourse by discursive formations, and, secondly, how they, as subjects, have the illusion that they are at the source of meaning and knowledge through a deluding identification with the discursive formation.

In order to be able to discern a pattern of the culturally and institutionally given themes and discursive formations common to French communicators or common to New Zealand communicators, the analysis of several interviews was necessary. Therefore, a search for common recurrent themes was made among the speech of different communicators of one country, focussing on similarities but also on differences in treating these themes.

Interestingly, as May (1997) pointed out, the accounts interviewees give of their actions are often either justifications or excuses. These, in turn, may be considered as indicative of how people identify themselves and routinely negotiate and appraise their social, cultural, and professional identities. In this study, communicators’ justifications were helpful and valuable in uncovering the culturally given rather than the personal unique world and experience of the communicator as it was indeed often in cultural terms that communicators justified or rationalised their practices.

Finally it is important to point out the valuable complementarity between the analysis of the interviews and the analysis of the advertising texts. As Kellehear (1993) noted, “an outsider’s interpretation may be a fiction if there is no way to check with the person or culture one is researching (p. 37).” Although in this case the researcher was both an outsider and an insider in both countries under study, interviews shed light on phenomena that the analysis of texts itself would not have made possible. The relay between analysis of texts and interviews meant that some of the questions asked in the interviews sprang directly from observations from the corpus, and conversely comments from communicators also engaged and focussed research.

Beyond manifest content: Analysis of the advertising texts

Most researchers, including content analysts (Bardin, 1989; Krippendorff, 1980; Muchielli, 1988), argued that it is necessary to make inferences beyond manifest content. According to Muchielli (1988), focussing on manifest content of texts is only a technique of validation of the perception of the content, but not a technique of analysis. Manifest content should be a passageway to something else; a facilitation of inferences, in a way content analysis could only be the stepping stone for a more hermeneutic study into symbolic meaning of messages. Any element of meaning in a text has an indexical function (*fonction indicielle*) more or less “allusively” indicative of a general attitude, of an atmosphere, of an ideology (Muchielli, 1988, p. 33).

After the identification of important manifest surface specificities in the corpuses, the thesis adopted a constructionist cultural studies approach to meaning. This entailed both semiotic and discursive approaches – drawing on concepts from “Barthesian” semiotics and “Foucaultian” discourse analysis – of viewing texts, in this case, advertising messages as entities that have been constructed using representational systems, concepts, and signs (Hall, 1997). As Hall (1997) explained,

it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others. (p. 25)

Therefore, the view taken in this study is that advertising texts, and national advertising discourse as a whole, spring from a representational practice that depends on the manipulation of the symbolic and arbitrary function of signs by advertising communicators. This process of representation, as Hall (1997, p. 15) argues, “is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture” and depends on people sharing conceptual maps which are in turn represented by a language, (in the broad sense of the term including visual images). Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore representational practices generated by the “language of advertising” within national culture, among people – communicators and viewers – supposedly sharing the same conceptual maps.

Hall’s constructionist cultural representation theory was therefore used to explore further the specificities revealed by pre-analysis of manifest content or what I have called the specificities of the discursive surface of the corpuses. I will call these specificities, discursive objects, after Foucault (1969) and Maingueneau (1976). Maingueneau (1976) called discursive objects (*objets discursifs*) the result of the transformation of surface signs into an object of knowledge dependent on conditions of production. In other words discursive surface reveals not only the importance of certain elements in a discourse but also the knowledge and truth constructed about these elements. Accordingly, the presence and recurrence of manifest sport imagery on the discursive surface of a corpus creates it as a discursive object, an object worth talking about in specific ways, an object advertising communicators find worth using in the specific cultural context of advertising communication. The aim of the study is therefore to describe and analyse, in each chapter, these discursive objects (*objets discursifs*) as objects carrying a certain knowledge – a certain “marketable” knowledge – as a result of a dependence on conditions of cultural and institutional production.

The aim of semiotic analysis and considering advertising as ideology

Each chapter uses a specific method to analyse its discursive objects. These methods will be explained in each relevant chapter. Usually complementary to a cultural studies approach, semiotics is deployed for “analysing how visual representations convey meaning” (Hall, 1997, p. 41). Examination of advertising

texts that related to each chapter's corpora (for example, the corpus of sports imagery commercials) was conducted using that technique. Semiotic analysis is an investigation into how meaning is encoded in media texts and has been applied to advertising texts (see Barthes, 1977; Bignell, 1997; Dyer, 1982; Goldman, 1992; Wernick, 1991; Williamson, 1978).

In order to decode advertising messages, analysis needs to proceed through a number of levels of signification, beginning with the denotative level which, as Barthes (1977) noted concerns the literal level, "the level of identification of the scene represented" . . . "the first level of intelligibility" (p. 42) or the 'pure', obvious meaning of the sign. Connotation, corresponds to the second, symbolic level, when the sign meets the feelings or emotions of the viewer and the "wider semantic fields of our culture" (Hall, 1997, p. 38), the values of the culture within which it circulates. In advertising texts, linguistic and visual signs are not used to simply denote something but also "to trigger a range of connotations attached to the sign" (Bignell, 1997, p. 16). According to Hall (1993), it is at the level of connotation that signs acquire their ideological value. Signs within advertisements or whole advertisements themselves, are offered to audiences as "open to articulation with wider ideological discourses and meanings" (Hall, 1993, p. 97). These meanings are referred to by Barthes as myths and operate both at the level of consumer culture and national culture.

As noted briefly in chapter 1 and earlier in this chapter, the aim of this empirical study of two advertising environments is not only to describe specificities but consider them as discursive objects that are springing from the ideological point of view of advertising communicators who are influenced by culture and institutional practices. One of the main ideological functions of advertising supported by the work of advertising communicators is the creation of meaning for commodities in a capitalist economy. As many authors have noted (Baudrillard, 1968, 1970; Cathelat & Cadet, 1976; Gottdeiner, 1985; McCracken, 1986), advertising, as a tool of the ideology of consumption, transforms the purely material function of commodities into a symbolic world of ideological and cultural meanings attached to these commodities.

Culture has evidently a major influence on the meaning of consumer goods (see McCracken, 1986). According to McCracken (1986), the order of culture structures the order of goods and “much of the meaning of goods can be traced back to the categories into which a culture segments the world” (p. 73). Advertising particularly helps products fill and create culture-specific needs of people in terms of use value but also in terms of exchange and symbolic or sign value. Goods are constructed by advertising as integral to culturally specific modes of social life (see Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1986). The power to define and reinforce the use-value and sign-value of goods in a specific culture/nation is an ideological matter, that of producing, changing, and reproducing culturally specific ways of life. Williamson (1978), following Levi Strauss, argued that advertising gives “natural objects cultural forms [. . .] Levi-Strauss describes the cultural transformation of natural objects as a process of ‘cooking’ [. . .] In just the same way, images of nature are ‘cooked’ in culture so that they may be used as part of a symbolic system” (p. 103).

This has implications for a study of national/cultural advertising discourse, of course, as a particular culture can be likened to a particular cooking system that “cooks” material objects and ideas differently. It can therefore be expected that analysis of a national/cultural advertising discourse would reveal that goods or product categories across cultures are invested with totally different cultural meanings. Also, within advertising discourse, the choice of certain words, certain metaphors, certain images can suggest to the public the “best and most common way” to tackle a topic and think about it. Within dominant discursive objects, advertising offers dominant hegemonic viewpoints of these objects through the construction of alliances between consumer and national discourses. The prominence of certain discursive objects on the discursive surface of advertising corpuses in this study in a way suggested a certain agenda of advertising that could in turn structure the preoccupations of the public. In a way advertising creates an ideological order, placing certain topics and discourses in a position of hegemony – that is “leadership as much as domination” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92) within the advertising discourse of a country.

The use of cultural studies and its associated discourse analysis concepts

This study uses cultural studies and its associated discourse analysis notions because they helpfully shift the attention from texts to higher organisational levels of “signifying structure” and ideas. The discursive approach within cultural studies is useful when looking at a significant number of advertising texts from a particular cultural/national context. It is indeed only after analysing an ensemble of advertising texts from one country that culturally specific discourses can be identified, because discourse “never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source” but appears across a range of texts (Hall, 1997, p. 44). As Hall (1997) pointed out, “in a culture, meaning often depends on larger units of analysis – narratives, statements, groups of images, whole discourses which operate across a variety of texts, areas of knowledge about a subject which have acquired widespread authority” (p. 42).

When dealing with a large number of texts, it is for instance important to realise how texts relate to each other. An important notion used in discourse analysis is that of intertextuality, which for De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) concerns the factors which make the utilisation of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts. Reference to other texts, allusions, quotations, are all examples of intertextuality. A study of a national/cultural advertising discourse needs to take into account the way certain texts evoke other texts (Barthes 1973), because, as Foucault noted, texts are in fact “caught in a system of references to other texts” (Foucault, 1972, p. 23). These intertextual references can be implicit or explicit as Maingueneau (1996) argued. The objective of intertextual analysis is therefore “to specify what other texts are drawn upon in the construction of the text being analysed, and how” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 233).

The process of analysis adopted at the level of discourse followed from Hall’s conception of Foucault’s perception of language as discursive. Foucault (1972) described discourses as socially and historically specific, changeable and competing ways of constructing and structuring meaning, knowledge, and social practice. They are as Foucault (1972) put it, “practices that systematically form the object of which they speak” (p. 49). As such, discourses produce knowledge

through statements about specific objects and areas of human experience, and in so doing, define and delimit how these objects are understood and talked about, and by whom they can be talked about with authority (Fairclough, 1992; Fiske, 1987; Hall, 1997). As Hall (1997) put it, discourse does more than creating meaning, it “defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about” (p. 44); it also “rules in” or “rules out” certain ways of talking about a topic, it sustains as Foucault puts it, a regime of truth that tends to be widely accepted and “naturalised”.

Discourses are structured, carried and shaped by discursive formations which as indicated by Foucault (1969, p. 53) correspond to the whole of texts that have, beyond the diversity of their objects and their authors, certain common points constituting a knowledge at a certain point in history. Discursive formations therefore provide a system of culturally but also socio-historically situated rules that provide the foundation for the reproduction in advertising texts, by advertising communicators, of a certain knowledge and truth through advertising mass media “*énoncés*”. Discursive formations therefore provide advertising communicators with a tradition of thought – through contact with numerous cultural/national texts constructing a similar knowledge – and these communicators need to “place themselves” within these popular discursive formations if they want to be heard at a cultural/national level. In other words advertising communicators instinctively know “what can and should be said [. . .] from [their] given position in a given conjuncture” (Pêcheux, 1990, p. 102).

For this reason, several authors have pointed out that it is crucial to realise the articulation of discourse on the context of socio-historical conditions (Cook, 1992; Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1972, 1982; Maingueneau, 1976). For instance, according to Fairclough (1992), “an intertextual perspective stresses the historicity of texts: how they always constitute additions to existing ‘chains of speech communication’ (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 94) consisting of prior texts to which they respond” (p. 84). Similarly as Foucault (1982) argued “we have to know the historical conditions which motivate our conceptualisation. We need a historical awareness of our present circumstance” (p. 418), and if we want to be able to

learn about ourselves we have to understand “how we have been trapped in our own history” (p. 419). Although this study’s project is evidently not to review the history of French and New Zealand advertising, historical awareness remains relevant and important for this study of advertising discourse, since, to be able to understand the recurrence or persistence of certain discourses it is often necessary to look in the past in order to understand where present messages are historically anchored. In other words it is important to understand advertising discourse in terms of tradition (see Cook, 1992). The position that this thesis takes, therefore, is that a discourse is not born in a kind of innocent isolation but constructs itself through a positioning in relation to what has already been said. It is important to realise that certain discourses – and therefore the advertising texts that take part in these discourses – arise from historical cultural communication traditions that restrain discursive change.

The subjects of discourse

As noted above, the approach of this study is in line with a cultural media studies approach in which the media, via the texts they produce, are thought to play a role in providing the discursive frameworks through which subject viewers interpret issues and make sense of their social experiences (Hall, 1997). Viewers are not passive receptors of advertising messages and the media is not necessarily all-powerful, making individuals think or do what they want. There is indeed enough evidence in literature to suggest that reception is not the passive absorption of pre-constructed significations but the site of production of meaning (Dayan, 1992; Morley, 1993; O’Donohoe, 1994). Far from being manipulated, audiences are active in the decoding process and tend to create their own meanings through processes such as selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention (Vanden Bergh & Katz, 1999; Wells, Burnett & Moriarty, 2000). The meaning of a text is also not to be found in the lifeless signifiers of a text as Barthes would argue but in the experience between the text and a socialised individual belonging to a community, or a culture or subculture. As Agger (1992) argued, “cultural studies recognizes that receivers are inherently empowered in the sense that they inevitably participate in the constitution of cultural meanings” (p. 8).

Therefore, if texts are not all-powerful then the only thing they can do is propose preferred readings that delimit the range of interpretations and that are negotiated by decoders (Dyer, 1982). According to Hall (1997), viewers are given subject positions via discourses carried by texts within which they locate themselves. Discourses produce a place for subject viewers to step into, and from which their understanding and knowledge about an object is also shaped. In the case of advertising, there is a production of discourses and representations that create the range of identities that in turn become socially/nationally available to viewers through consumption of images and products. These identities and images represented in television advertising carry norms and values, “cultural/national truths” or ideologies embodied in symbols, stories, myths, rituals and exemplary figures. The power of discourse is achieved when individuals identify themselves with these cultural/national truths that are proposed to them and find some satisfaction in adhering to them. And as I would like to argue, the satisfaction of cultural/national viewers can be constructed when advertising communicators invite viewers into “natural”, agreeable, and enviable national subject positions within popular cultural/national discourses.

If this study intends to view receivers as subject viewers being offered cultural/national subject positions through advertising, it also takes into account, and wishes to understand with the help of interviews, how encoders of the messages are positioned. Agger (1990, p. 71) argued justly that there are massive social and economic forces that compel people – and obviously advertising communicators – to work in the name of certain ideologies and lose their artistic and intellectual independence. As noted above, the ideology of advertising relating to its position within the capitalist system, its “cooking” of objects through associating them with certain meanings and values, in other words with a certain knowledge, places advertising communicators firmly within that institutional ideological capitalistic system. It is clear that advertising communicators’ job is to induce cooperation of the viewers/consumers through the use of symbols.

However, this study argues that discourse creates and structures meaning and also shapes a habitus in advertising communicators that leads them to select and

position certain discursive objects as hegemonic – for instance sport in the New Zealand advertising environment. Discourse also gives communicators guidelines as to how they should talk about these discursive objects – for instance *séduction* in French television advertising. Advertising communicators therefore, just as viewers, are subjects of their culture and communicate through the cultural/national discourses that predominate at the time. As Hall (1997) wrote “it is discourse, not the subjects who speak it, which produce knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the *episteme*, the *discursive formation*, the *regime of truth*, of a particular period and culture” (p. 55).

In accordance with the notions reviewed above, each discursive object/particularity treated in each chapter – for instance the use of sport imagery in advertising discourse – will be investigated following Hall’s (1997, p. 45-46) model of the study of discourses, including:

- The study of statements about the discursive object which gives us a certain kind of knowledge about it. In this study, television commercials contain statements, or are themselves statements, supporting one or several discourses. Sometimes they might even contain several statements linked to several discourses.
- The study of “rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about [a discursive object] and exclude other ways” – study of the rules which “govern what is ‘sayable’ or ‘thinkable’” (Hall 1997, p. 45) about a discursive object at a particular historical moment. In this study this comes down to investigating conditions of production of advertising texts to uncover which discursive formations guide the production of a certain form of texts rather than another.
- The study of the “subjects who in some ways personify the discourse; with the attributes we would expect these subjects to have, given the way knowledge about the topic [is] constructed at [the] time” (p. 45). Also of

crucial importance is the investigation of the subject positions made available to viewers.

The following chapters will present the results of the study. The first part of the results – chapters 4, 5, 6 – will explore the main differences in “the form” of television advertising discourse in New Zealand and France. The aim of this first part is to uncover and understand the discursive practices that New Zealand and French advertising communicators use to communicate with their audience. The focus is more on describing *how* things should be said in each advertising environment. Then the thesis moves on to analyse *what* should be said; it identifies and analyses prominent imagery, or product categories, linked to national myths, that are recurrently used in television advertising from New Zealand and France.

Table 1. Product categories present during prime time television advertising

Product category	France		New Zealand	
	n *	%	n	%
Food/drinks	140	19.26	165	23.24
Entertainment	85	11.69	61	8.59
Personal and beauty care	72	9.90	49	6.90
Automobile/accessories/oil companies	118	16.23	75	10.56
Household/cleaning products	40	5.50	26	3.66
Drugs and medicine	37	5.08	39	5.49
Clothing	17	2.34	20	2.87
Electronic/household appliances	44	6.05	51	7.18
Farming products	0	0	16	2.25
Sporting products	4	0.55	26	3.66
Do it yourself/furniture	7	0.96	52	7.32
Services	163	22.42	130	18.30
Total	727	100	710	100

* n=actual count

A total of 115 commercials (16.2 % of New Zealand commercials) were classified under the retail (n=98) and local (n=17) category. These commercials were distributed across several product categories such as food/drinks, electronics/appliances, sporting products, DIY/furniture.

The “services” section includes banks, insurances, real estate agents, travel agents, telecommunication/telephone companies. Also categorised under “services” were “public services” such as, drink driving campaigns, ACC campaigns, army commercials, retirement planning commercials.

¹ Six professionals were interviewed in New Zealand in the following four New Zealand agencies: Saatchi and Saatchi, Colenso, J. Walter Thompson, and Mojopartners. Six professionals were interviewed in France in the following five French advertising agencies: Grey, Australie, DMB&B, TBWA, and FCB. These interviews remain confidential. For this reason, when professionals are quoted, their names have been omitted.

² *Le sujet ne produit pas librement du sens grâce à une combinaison d'unités de la langue douées d'une signification stable et évidente, mais il est dominé par la formation discursive dans laquelle s'inscrit son discours.*

CHAPTER 4

AUTHORITY VERSUS SEDUCTION: THE USE OF VOICE- OVERS IN NEW ZEALAND AND FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Introduction

This chapter deals with one important aspect of the form of advertising discourse. As noted in the previous chapter, pre-analysis of the corpuses using the auditory channel suggested a difference in the gender orientations of voice-overs. This chapter offers a more precise quantitative and qualitative approach to push the analysis further.

Using perceptive auditory analysis of two different vocal environments, this chapter will identify the main prosodic features of voice-overs and attempt to illustrate how voice-overs are signifiers of attitude, emotion and also gender orientation. In taking such an approach it departs from communication studies' avoidance of including vocal parameters because of the difficulties of using phonetics. It aims to indicate how communication studies can be enriched by simple perceptive auditory study of voice without having to use a complex phonetic study of the voice.

This chapter will also investigate the logic behind the use of mass media advertising voice-overs, and the mechanism which creates their standardisation, by drawing on interviews conducted with New Zealand and French advertising communicators. This investigation will complement the observations made about voice-overs and will

show how voice-overs are sociocultural constructions and vocal incarnations of certain attributes relayed to us by advertising. It will examine how advertising creators favour, select and consider certain types of voice as competent and credible authorities for the public.

This chapter positions voice-overs as signifiers which are embedded in a cultural and communicative context. It considers them as sociocultural constructions relayed to us by advertising, vocal incarnations of certain social and psychological attributes, which advertising creators favour, select and consider to be representative of competent and credible authorities for the public. The analyses also show that not only is our vocal environment not the only possible one, but that there is an insidious formatting of voice within the advertising discourse of each country. In particular, it will draw attention to the usually unsuspected presence of highly naturalised “vocal formations” with sociocultural consequences existing in the advertising discourse of each country.

The study of voice-overs

The study of voice-overs is a neglected area of communication research. Definitions of voice-overs found in advertising books are usually very short and limited in scope. One such example is found in Wells, Burnett and Moriarty (1998) where a voice-over is referred to as “a technique used in commercials in which an off-camera announcer talks about the on-camera scene” (p. 451). Most of the research on voice-overs consists of a few quantitative American studies from the 1970s and 1980s in which the communicative approach of voice-overs in terms of voice qualities is not questioned. In the last ten years very little research has been conducted and studies do not explore voice-overs as cultural constructions. In general, studies of television advertising relegate voice and sound to the background and tend to focus on visual elements. Semiotic analysis, for example, neglects the encoding and decoding of vocal signs in advertising and is never used to investigate what voice quality can signify and what it adds to commercial communication. This is very surprising, as voice, just like visuals, is a very important feature of the communicative process.

Careful listening to the aural track of commercials without visuals shows that the system of signification through sound is very developed and difficult to decode in all its complexity.

The function of advertising voice-overs

Advertising voice-overs have several functions. In both France and New Zealand, they act as guides and advocates, convey information on product characteristics, explain how products work, or how to use them, or simply tell stories. Their main aim is to influence, manipulate and regulate our emotions with a view to selling products or services. They do so by positioning themselves as competent authorities who speak from an unchallengeable position. As Bonitzer (1976) stated “In so far as it arises from the field of the Other, the voice-over is assumed to know: such is the essence of its power” (1976, p. 30).

Voice-overs as signifiers

However, semantic content of the utterances of voice-overs is only a part of the communicative package they offer. Voice-overs also carry other elements, which add considerable meaning to the act of communication. Numerous authors have already explored the idea that voice carries certain characteristics, which add meaning to the act of communication. Authors such as Pittam (1994) and Scherer (1979) suggested that voice allows us to encode and decode different types of feelings or emotions. As much as content, it is indeed intonation and voice quality that convey meaning. In several studies, voice and speech cues have been specifically acknowledged as a rich source of interpersonal impressions (Allport & Cantrill, 1934; Aronovitch, 1976; Kramer, 1964; Starkweather, 1978). Laver (1994) for example, suggested that tone of voice can be a psychological marker of personality and mood, and that voice quality can act as a marker of physical characteristics. Similarly, German “expression psychologists” argued that vocal phenomena indicate a person’s characteristics such as momentary emotional states but also habitual personality traits (Helfrich & Walbott, 1986). Pittam (1994), as part of his comprehensive study on the vocal

communication of identity, mentioned that certain types of voices can be indicative of personality characteristics such as “competence, extroversion, maturity, dominance, perceived intelligence, artistic ability, sophistication, pride, weakness and warmth” (p. 163). Additional research has also credited voice to carry information on status (Scherer, 1979), race (Lass, Mertz, & Kimmel, 1978), and even on a speaker’s weight and height (Lass, Barry, Reed, Walsh, & Amuso, 1979).

Significantly absent in all the literature is research into what television advertising voice-overs can convey or signify in terms of personality characteristics. Nevertheless, advertising voice-overs can be approached as vocal incarnations of certain social, emotional and psychological attributes and can certainly act as signifiers in their own right. Advertising vocal signs are also very interesting to study because — just as Barthes noted in the case of the advertising image — they are excessive signs “formed with a view to the optimum reading” (1977, p. 33). Indeed, vocal signs in advertising are “frank”. They have an obvious emphatic function, they exaggerate certain characteristics of the voice, which are considered important for the communication of a message, and play to the extreme on such elements as voice quality and intonation. Voice-overs are not neutral voices but, on the contrary, serve to indicate specific emotions or a certain category of people. They purposely carry specific characteristics and transfer important values, which add meaning to the act of communication. For example, just as Lass et al. (1978) have shown how voice can point to age and gender, voice-overs can also, for instance, indicate gender and age more or less accurately. In both France and New Zealand, and in both commercials and television program advertisements, most voice-overs signify speakers in their thirties or forties. This middle age bracket is thought to be acceptable to communicate to the whole spectrum of young and old in society.

Voice-overs communicate a national style

In addition, at a macro level, in the global context, voice-overs can also signify cultures or nations. To put it plainly, voice-overs in New Zealand just “sound

different” to those in France. Voice-overs are indeed inevitably shaped by the culture they are embedded in and at the same time point to certain features — such as masculinity or femininity — of the culture or nation of which they are part. The idea that voice and culture or voice and nation are linked is far from new. As Pittam (1994, p. 8) reported, such scholars as Cicero, Wallis, and Wilkins have related voice to national or regional character. Likewise, as early as the 18th century, Sheridan (1968) believed in culturally specific “second nature tones” established by custom, and in “instituted emotions” carried by the voice. Similarly, in contemporary life, mass media advertising voice-overs can be said to carry such culturally formatted characteristics. At the national level, vocal formations — specific vocal styles or symbolic vocal constructions within the advertising discourse that define the vocal form in which things should be said — have been shaped by years of practice and institutionalised by the industry and the mass media that uses them. Through the repetition of a certain pattern of vocal communication in the advertising discourse, voice-overs encode a cultural distinction and become cultural signifiers. For the national audience, voice-overs are so pervasive that they become part of a taken-for-granted everyday cultural environment. To outsiders, or in the context of a cross-cultural study, voice-overs give clues about the culture and nation they communicate with, and the way a specific area of communication functions in that culture.

Of course, one of the most noticeable markers of national identity through voice-overs — whether it is natural or deliberately assumed — is accent. Laver (1994) and Pittam (1994) have suggested that accent can also work as a social marker. In the case of voice-overs, national vocal cues such as accent and inflections can be used purposely to give the product a particular national flavour and anchor it in the national consciousness. Advertisements for Kiwi bacon, BBQ factory, to cite a few, deliberately used a strong New Zealand accent as a signifier for nationhood (“New Zealandness” in this case).

Aims and method

As noted earlier, pre-analysis of the corpuses using the audition channel suggested a difference in the gender orientations of television advertising voice-overs. This observation was thought to be interesting to explore and therefore a more precise quantitative and qualitative method was designed to push the analysis further. However, the purpose of this study is not to present an advanced phonetic analysis of voice-overs. Instead it aims to assess advertising voice-overs as communicative devices. It aims at making sense of how voice-overs, as excessive signs “formed with a view to the optimum reading” (Barthes, 1977, p. 33), can be approached as vocal incarnations of certain social, emotional, attitudinal and psychological attributes.

The first step in the coding involved perceptive auditory analysis (see Cruttenden 1986, p. 6) of prosodic features of voice-overs. This coding was carried out on sixty advertising screens which were selected at random from each of the samples of prime-time commercials collected on French and New Zealand television. Three bilingual listeners – the author, a music student/opera singer, and a linguistics lecturer – were involved in the qualitative coding process. Because this study focuses on the discursal tones of voice-over delivery as well as on the physical aspect of voices, a phonatory and a prosodic analytic framework were designed (see Laver 1994, p. 154, 200). Description of the vocal quality of voice-overs was done concentrating on various effects of “timbre” used as “tones of voice” (Crystal, 1997b, p. 171). Phonation types as described by Laver (1994, p. 198), pitch ranges and loudness ranges (Laver, 1968, 1994) were utilised. In addition, the way voice-overs used intonation – which, according to Cruttenden (1986) “concerns which syllables are prominent, how they are made prominent, and to what extent they are made prominent” (p. 7) – was also given particular attention. For example, suprasegmental parameters such as tempo, length, loudness, and pitch, which conspire in varying degrees to give some syllables or words prominence or stress (Cruttenden, 1986, p. 7), were taken into account. In addition, the most salient segmental phonetic features – short-term individual speech sounds such as vowels and consonants – of advertising

voice-overs and grammatical forms of speech acts such as interrogative, imperative form, and statements, were also taken into account in the coding as they are inevitably linked to intonation (see appendix D).

The second step in the coding was based on these more detailed findings. It involved drawing on the notion of indexicality of voice quality as described by Laver (1968, 1994) in order to extrapolate what those tones of voice and prosodic patterns signify – or what they are probably meant to signify – and what voice-overs convey in terms of attitude and personality characteristics. The “semiotic” coding was made easy by the fact that voice-overs themselves are clear stereotypes of emotion and attitude. As previously noted, “in advertising the signification of the image is undoubtedly intentional” (Barthes, 1977, p. 33). It is exactly the same for the advertising voices. In advertising, the signification of voice-overs is clearly intentional; intonation is “purposive” (Laver, 1994, p. 492) and vocal qualities are clearly “used for paralinguistic purposes to signal affective, attitudinal or emotional states” (Laver, 1994, p. 21; Laver & Trudgill, 1979). Advertising voice-overs clearly work as excessive signs and amplify certain characteristics of the voice in order to send the clearest possible message to the listener. In the coding, attention was given to how prosodic features of speech of advertising voice-overs differ from neutral speech delivery, and how – and if – they are “exploited for momentary paralinguistic purposes of signaling particular attitudinal information” (Laver, 1994, p. 457).

These linguistic and semiotic observations formed the basis for a communicative presentation of findings based on the notion of paralinguistic phenomena of tone of voice as described by Laver (1994), and Laver and Trudgill (1979). Even though they are usually not considered sufficiently scientific, certain “impressionistic” terms were nevertheless used in the presentation of findings. Within a framework that disseminates communication findings, “impressionistic” terms need not undermine but can, in fact, complement the more precise phonetic description of voice-overs and be useful to describe their communicative approach. Indeed, this chapter above all

aims to convey the marked difference in the communicative approach used by voice-overs in the advertising discourse of each country. It also aims to convey another important observation: the difference in the articulation of gender difference through voice-overs.

The gendered New Zealand vocal environment

In New Zealand advertising, a great majority of voice-overs were masculine. From samples of voice-overs taken from prime-time television, 78.45% were male, 16.47% were female, and 0.98% used both male and female voices (see Table 1, p. 77). These figures reveal the imbalance of the vocal environment provided to us by New Zealand television advertising and mirror American studies which have shown that voice-overs in television advertising have always been overwhelmingly male (Marecek et al., 1978; Knill et al., 1981; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Craig, 1992). Clearly, the notion put forward by Lumby (1994), that contemporary mass media have acquired new “feminine” qualities and finished with the masculine/feminine binary, does not seem to be valid in the vocal environment of New Zealand advertising.

It is also interesting to note that stereotypical gender categorisation is present not only, as will be revealed in a later chapter, in the content of commercials – as has been shown in several studies (Knill et al., 1981; Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Lovdal, 1989; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Lin, 1997) – but also in their voice-overs. This study found that the female voice was excluded from certain positions of discursive power inside the New Zealand advertising vocal landscape. Female voices were used to sell specific products, particularly those targeted at women such as beauty, cleaning and food products. Male voices, on the other hand, were used to sell more technical or technologically-invested products, such as cars. In reality, in New Zealand, male voices were used to sell a vast range of products. Their authority seemed to be valid for just about any product, except for products exclusively for female use, available in the market. Moreover, television program promotions on all New Zealand television channels display a one-sided vocal encoding: all voice-overs are male.

The bias in gender was not the only noticeable feature of New Zealand advertising voice-overs. Vocal characteristics and intonation were also distinct. The tone of New Zealand male voice-overs was either dramatic, aggressive, or very enthusiastic. In many cases male voice-overs used triumphal interjections as if to convey virtues of determination and drive, and amplified stresses on certain strategic semantic elements of the message and on certain injunctive words such as “now”, “coming up”, “today”. In many cases, similar strong emphatic stress was used on key words describing the product, on brand names, on prices, and on adverbs of intensity. In most cases key words were also lengthened, and presented slightly louder, than other parts of speech, particularly in the final position of breath groups. In many New Zealand commercials, especially in straightforward promotional commercials, announcements were made by barkers’ voices – that is, voices similar to those that can be heard in a market – using a fast tempo and at almost shouting volume. These voices put on an over-enthusiastic tone, used emphatic rising intonations at the end of breath groups. They enhanced stresses and used vocal hammering to convey a sense of urgency.

The features of the language itself must be taken into account in the explanation of difference in the use of intonation in advertising voice-overs. Studies have found that stress is much stronger in English than in French and that the dominant role of stress, both at the word and sentence level, has repercussions on rhythm (Eady, 1982; Cruttenden, 1986; Tranel, 1987; Glanville, 1991). On the other hand, French, which has been labeled a syllable-timed language, “operate[s] with fewer distinction of stress” (Cruttenden, 1986, p. 23) than English which has been called a stressed-timed language. However, even though this linguistic element is crucial in the comparison of French language and English language voice-overs, it does not explain why New Zealand male advertising voice-overs were so predominantly masculine. There was no doubt that the pitch of most male voice-overs in New Zealand was “adjusted for the purpose of paralinguistic communication” (Laver, 1994, p. 155) to signal and emphasize masculinity.

The main types of voices identified by the analysis in New Zealand commercials were deep growling voices connoting toughness, slow monotonous and steady voices which seemed to act as a sign of assertiveness, or well-spoken rich and full voices connoting knowledge and expertise. These voices however, all emphasised stereotypical masculine and authoritarian attributes of the voice such as depth and loudness. Deep, sonorous and resonant New Zealand male voice-overs were found to transfer such notions as seriousness, competence, maturity, energy, warmth, trust and confidence and also connote power, strength, manliness, or dominance. In most instances, New Zealand male voice-overs pushed masculinity to the limit and excluded any trace of femininity. Softness, sensitivity, and emotionality in the voice were avoided and masculinity seemed to define itself through a strong opposition to femininity. Even the softest and warmest voices – usually those of more mature speakers – often had a low to very low pitch, which gave them a touch of “gruntiness”. Typical features of most masculine voice-overs were the tendency to use a low back pronunciation and low falling tones which were sometimes terminated by creak phonation. Accentuation and lengthening of harsh guttural sounds such as “r” giving a “growling effect” were also common. On the other hand, higher pitch voices used a faster tempo and were louder. In general, New Zealand male voice-overs were penetrating and imposed themselves through loudness and insistence. Just as Zuckerman and Driver (1989) found that power was defined by various aspects of vocal displays, in the case of most male voice-overs, it appeared that at the heart of their communication with the public was a strong relation of power.

On the other hand, this study found that the majority of New Zealand female voice-overs carried more neutral tones. These female voice-overs did not attempt to stress certain features of the voice which would emphasise their femininity. Whereas male voices affirmed their masculinity, conforming to a strong masculine vocal code, feminine voices tended to reject stereotypical representations of certain voice qualities usually equated with femininity, such as fragility in the voice, and emotion. Most New Zealand female voice-overs transferred notions of warmth, energy or casualness.

There was seldom an attempt made to seduce consumers. Female voice-overs used a “happy” or casual tone of voice but very rarely a sensual one and often resorted to maternal, or asexual, voices.

These findings tend to corroborate aurally Lumby’s vision-based view (1994) that feminist pressure in Australia, a cultural environment close to New Zealand, supports a taboo against “sexualising” women’s bodies. It might, therefore, be expected that, in New Zealand, just like in Australia, voices that emphasise stereotypical sensual feminine attributes might be considered “politically incorrect”. On the other hand there is definitely no taboo against constructing the content of masculine identity by “over masculinising” male voices for commercial communication purposes.

The gendered French vocal environment

From samples of voice-overs taken from prime time television in France, 53.50% were male, 29.84% were female, and 11.96% used both male and female voices (see Table 2, p. 77). Although these figures also revealed a disequilibrium in the vocal environment provided to us by advertising, there was a greater equality between the use of feminine and masculine voice-overs than was found in New Zealand television.

Moreover, in French advertising, male and female voices did not have exclusive territories. Voices seemed to be much more interchangeable with regard to product choice. In France, in a universe still dominated by male values, feminine voices acted as a relay of these values. Many advertisements used male and female voice-overs which echoed each other. Incidentally, as far as television programme promotions are concerned, very few of them are male on two channels (M6 and Arte) while they are all female on the main network channels (TF1, France 2, France 3).

While quantitative information revealed a better balance between male and female voices in French advertising discourse than in New Zealand advertising discourse, a qualitative study of these voices threw up other findings. Whereas New Zealand

voice-overs used emphatic stresses, French voices kept a flat intonation pattern. The emphasis on certain semantic elements of the message was achieved in a totally different way. French voices used regular pauses, as if to check on the audience's understanding of the message, and falling intonation at the end of breath groups, and/or lengthening of the last words of breath groups were used as prominence devices. Overall, the tempo used by French voice-overs was slower and voices were softer than in New Zealand.

French female voice-overs particularly used a distinctive communicative approach, which was in total opposition to the New Zealand style. A lot of them used whisper or breathy phonation. This, as Laver (1994, p. 190) explained, is used in a paralinguistic function to signal secrecy and confidentiality in many cultures, or even deep emotion or sexual desire (Crystal, 1997b, p. 171). Soft voices worked more to caress the listeners' ears, they imposed themselves through a subtle vocal coaxing. Women's voice-overs were voices of seduction, sometimes they were overtly sensual, sometimes they were an awkwardly glamorous whisper. Sometimes they were an adult feminine voice noticeably stricken with infantile regression, a kind of girlish voice. Most of them could be likened to a cajoling purr. Above all, it seemed the female voice's main purpose was to carry emotional connotations and tease the consumers sensuously.

Overall, the French feminine voice tended to play on the emotive function of language which, according to Jakobson (1960, p. 354), "tends to produce an impression of a certain emotion whether true or feigned". Nevertheless, the vocal teasing of feminine voices of seduction did not undermine the voice's authority and credibility. The French feminine and emotive voice in its context seemed just as confident and clear about how to communicate its message to the listeners as the New Zealand masculine assertive male voice. The emotion contained in the feminine voice could be used for the selling of a car or a high technology satellite channel or, in the case of programme promotions, for the trailer of an action or horror movie or for the

presentation of a rugby game. Light seductive voices were used in just about every communication situation, and were easily combined with a subtle emphasis on technology or power.

As far as male voices were concerned, they displayed a wider variety of emotions than those used in New Zealand. While there were some very masculine male voices, using a very low pitch and an assertive tone, they were a minority, and were usually used on imported American commercials, or on commercials featuring American products. On the whole, French male voices were a lot more modulated and used a slower tempo than New Zealand voices. They were softer and very seldom emphasized stereotypical masculine attributes of the voice. Some of them carried as much emotion as the female voices. Sometimes French male voices were even seductive and sensual, using whisper or slightly breathy phonation. They could, by New Zealand standards, almost be considered as feminine. Such seductive-style male voices did not feature in New Zealand.

The naturalisation of mass media voice-overs

The vocal environment provided to us by television commercials is important to study and isolate as a specific feature of advertising discourse. Because of the sheer amount of commercials shown per viewing hour, advertising voices take on considerable importance on television. They are so much part of our environment that we – and critics – seldom question their communicative strategy. We are not critical of the way media voices, and particularly advertising voice-overs, address us. In other words, voices we hear through the media are highly naturalised. Voice-overs seem to have an anaesthetic power which is materialised in different ways within different cultures. As unnatural as they may be, voice-overs do not strike the ear of their everyday audience as unnatural because we have become so accustomed to them. When asked to comment on the features of New Zealand television advertisements, New Zealand students made all sorts of comments on images but did not mention anything about voices. More surprisingly, interviews revealed that New Zealand advertising

professionals were unaware of the male-dominated vocal environment that they themselves created. It was only after reflection that one of those interviewed mentioned that there was indeed a much bigger pool of male voices to choose from, and that perhaps female voices were under-utilised.

This chapter contends that New Zealanders – the audience and the communicators themselves – do not question the predominant aggressive male voice, because to a certain extent they have learnt it is an appropriate voice, that it is natural in the context of the New Zealand advertising discourse. The same comment could be made about the French vocal environment and the taken-for-granted seductive voices. Comparative approaches, such as this one, reveal the culturally specific, as opposed to the natural, nature of voice-overs.

The effect of mass media voice-overs on the public

The fact that we are not conscious of the unnaturalness of our commercial vocal environment does not mean that it cannot have an influence on us. For some time now, television has been considered as part of our personal experience and as one of the significant resources for attitude formation and identity construction (Gerbner, 1977; Barbour, 1994; Barker, 1997; Tolson, 1996). McGhee and Frueh (1980) have for example shown how people learn sex stereotypes from television. This chapter argues that voice-overs, as part of the television “package”, can be an important element both in attitude and vocal formation. Thus, for example, the overuse of certain voices in the mass media can influence the way we use our own voices, and respond to other people’s voices, in everyday life.

This is particularly relevant when talking about gender attitudes. Voices which are heard on TV, can engender an anxiousness in men and women to play their roles “correctly”, and to adapt their voice to the dominant pattern. Studies have supported this, showing that not only anatomical and physiological, but also social factors, influence our voice and that mass media portrayals could have an influence on

people's voices (Scherer, 1979). Loveday (1981) and Van Berzooijen (1995) have shown that people try to project a vocal image associated with certain desired sociocultural attributes and that pitch is assigned a specific sociosemiotic function, such as the marking of politeness and sexual role, in different cultures. It is fair to say that masculine voices we hear on New Zealand television can involuntarily serve the purpose of reinforcing the popular belief that men are by nature assertive, dominant, and even aggressive and that it is part of men's biological construction, and also their social obligation, to have such a masculine voice.

Similarly, the frequent maternal voices can be said to establish motherhood as one of the main subject positions for women in New Zealand. In the same way, in France, French feminine seductive voices can put pressure on women to conform to a certain ideal of femininity, which is defined through seduction. Through French advertising voice-overs there is indeed a construction of a rhetoric of excessive femininity. In the same manner as male voices in New Zealand, female voice-overs construct and fix the content of feminine identity, which is, as we will now discover through the comments of professionals, nothing else but symbolic and subjective.

How do advertising communicators choose voice-overs?

Both in France and in New Zealand, interviews with advertising communicators revealed that the choice of a voice-over is guided by the communicators' perceptions of products and their assumption that the targeted audience will relate to it. Most communicators commented that the choice of voice depended on the product advertised, and on the image they wanted to associate it with. As one of the communicators put it, "if you want to promote a product that is natural, wholesome, young and innovative, then your voice should not be elderly and mechanical". The logic behind this argument was clear: voice reflects or embodies the qualities of the product so that a young voice, for instance, embodies a contemporary and modern product.

Similarly, voice could be given the task of reaching a target segment. For example, as one group of New Zealand communicators explained, a farmer's voice was likely to be used in an advertisement for a farming utility vehicle. Even if the car advertised was a contemporary product, a young voice connoting contemporaneity would not appeal to the target as much as a voice which would mirror the potential buyers' own vocal style. In the same way, an advertisement targeted at a certain subculture would use the type of voice most associated with that subculture.

However, it also appeared that French and New Zealand communicators' choice in terms of gender was mostly the result of an intuitive and unreflexive process. Taylor (1976) stated that the origin of creativity lay in the unconscious. Indeed, most of the time, in the interviews, the logic behind the choice of the gender of voice-overs was unclear. Some communicators explicitly stated that they used "what feels right", or "what comes naturally" to them. In the words of a French communicator, "It is not a dilemma. It is all natural for me. It is evident that it is a male voice or a female voice . . . without thinking . . . it is without thinking, it is intuitive . . ." ¹

In this process of choice of gender, professional communicators appeared to "work out" choices, acting on a trial and error basis, rather than on a specific rational framework. As one of the New Zealand communicators interviewed said, they tried both feminine and masculine voices and then chose the voice they considered to be the most appropriate. This lack of solid justification for the choice of gender was rather surprising given that voices were perceived by all professional communicators to be an important aspect of advertising communication.

The important point is that the communicators' intuitive choices of gender created a male-dominated vocal environment in New Zealand, and a more balanced gender environment in France. Therefore, the communicators' choice of gender did not only reflect a marketing logic – for example the product's attributes and the target, as some of them mentioned – but also the cultural pressure and the already established

communicative and sociocultural environment to which they belonged. As noted by Taylor (1976) and Mar'i (1976), creativity springs from an interaction between the creator and his or her environment, and culture fosters, but at the same time limits, our creativity by fixing boundaries to our thoughts. Culture provides an environment and a framework in which creativity is channeled and, as a result, people can only be creative within the rigid patterns of their culture. Interviews with advertising professionals confirmed this “structuralist” hypothesis and were helpful in uncovering the cultural beliefs and referential conventions which supported the production and re-production of certain types of advertising voice-overs.

Beliefs and assumptions of communicators in New Zealand

Possible underlying motives for the intuitive choice of gender of voice became clearer through the interviews conducted with French and New Zealand advertising communicators. It appeared that for all communicators interviewed in New Zealand, voice-overs were considered as authorities – not only in the sense of valid and legitimate speakers – but also, and mostly, in the sense of authoritative, commanding voices. New Zealand communicators held a strong belief that the male voice was the repository of authority, that it commanded more respect and more attention. One of the professionals could not see how a female voice could be an authority on certain products such as cars, and another one commented that women’s voices can basically only be used to sell products to women. Two of the communicators interviewed explained that the loud authoritarian voice of the father commanded much more respect than that of the mother.

These findings echoed remarks made by American copywriters more than 20 years ago, that a male voice is more authoritative and convincing (Suezle, 1970) and that “a man has automatic credibility on TV” (Callan, 1976, p. 75). New Zealand male advertising communicators still adhered to this sociocultural construction which is closer to a widely held symbolic cliché. After all, there is no universal proof that a male voice should represent authority and it has even been demonstrated in other

studies “that both men and women perceive female voices as equally effective to male voices” (Courtney & Whipple, 1983, p. 140).

This confidence in the male authoritarian voice was all the more surprising considering that all advertising communicators without exception viewed New Zealand consumers as critical, astute, and cynical. Using a loud male voice to hammer in prices and push other down-to-earth product features was still considered to be an acceptable communicative approach even for communicating to a cynical audience. New Zealand communicators, with their belief that voice has to be authoritarian and with their recreation of male authoritarian voices in the media, seem to obey the strong masculine codes noted by Jock Phillips (1987) in his book, *A Man's Country?*. The dominance of the male voice correlates well with New Zealand's myths of masculinity. The belief by New Zealand communicators that a strong male voice would enable them to better capture the attention of the New Zealand audience, shows how much their minds are embedded in a solid patriarchal system of thought.

Other influences on New Zealand voice-overs

Several other factors could explain the fact that New Zealand voice-overs are more masculine and punchy than in France. The characteristics of voice-overs are related to the dominant advertising style. As we will see in the following chapter, for most advertising communicators in New Zealand, the hard-sell approach was considered as a perfectly acceptable and efficient communicative approach. As a result, New Zealand advertising, as opposed to French advertising, employs a lot more direct messages in which the products are described and pushed to the public through a punchy style and with the help of hard-nosed arguments such as price. Masculine punchy voices, and a direct advertising approach, therefore correlate in the creation and re-creation of the New Zealand style.

Strong voices also have an important phatic function. New Zealand voice-overs have the particularity of being loud at the beginning and at the end of their speech. This

loudness in the introduction of the voice-overs together with sharp rising and falling tones is certainly used to indicate discourse boundaries (Swerts & Geluykens, 1994), separating advertising from the rest of the programs. But the predominance of strong masculine voices in New Zealand advertising can also be partly due to the mechanical and organisational characteristics of television advertising. These voices could indeed mechanically or unconsciously be employed in the battle that advertising has to fight against “zapping”, a major problem for advertising (see Van Meurs, 1998). Frequent advertising breaks may have the effect of pushing New Zealand communicators to make efforts so that viewers do not lose interest and change channels. These efforts would likely find expression through an acceleration of the rhythm, with more punchy voices to reinforce their spectacular character, and hopefully avoid a turning away by the viewer. The “slicing” of programs with advertising breaks pushes voices to race and to be carried away by excitement, and to sacrifice time for reflection and seduction. French advertising voices, because there are less advertising breaks, one per program on network commercial channels and none on state owned network channels, do not carry this dimension of urgency.

The New Zealand male voice-over is also clearly under the influence of an internationally pervasive voice style based on the American model. The percentage of male and female voice-overs in New Zealand advertising approaches the American figures which, over a twenty-year period, consistently showed around 90% of male voices (Bretl & Cantor, 1988). In addition, voices heard in New Zealand advertising, strangely echo a certain American style of enunciation, particularly in the borrowing of the low pitch and the over-enthusiastic rise contour movement. The American model certainly should be considered as a very important influence, even though the communicators interviewed did not mention it.

Beliefs and assumptions of communicators in France

Comments collected in France contrasted totally with the New Zealand findings. As will be further explained in the next chapter, authority – in the sense of imposing

command – was not considered as an acceptable communicative approach. All communicators interviewed invariably acknowledged the importance of “suggestion” and also “seduction”, a notion which was reported by Taylor, Grubbs, and Haley (1996) as one of the four emic descriptors of French advertising. As several comments by French communicators revealed, *seduction* was the main function of television advertising voice-overs. In the words of a French communicator,

It comes naturally. Sometimes we do not know because the product is mixed, because we have the impression that a man’s voice or a woman’s voice will have as much selling power or will be just as *seducing*.²

The female voice was clearly used as an important tool for seducing consumers, male or female. French communicators drew on the stereotypical cliché that a woman’s voice “has attributes that you can attribute to it, the attributes that one generally give to women, seduction, and a certain form of character”³

As will be reported in the following chapter, French communicators also clearly held the view that French people saw commerce as a pejorative business, that selling was almost a shameful activity. Therefore the seductive approach of French advertising is a way, or at least an attempt, to disguise the otherwise shameful act of commerce. The relation of seduction is therefore based on an unsaid element. In Baudrillard’s (1979) terms, this unsaid element – selling – is created in seduction messages as an object of circular attention, and communication is expressed only through metaphors and soft teasing voices, never directly. The voice of seduction is therefore totally opposed to the imposing command of the hard-sell voice. In more direct commercial messages, the commercial contract between sender and receiver is clear and explicit and the main challenge that the sender proposes to the audience is that of opening their wallets. Hard-sell messages and voices directly provoke a wish for possession and a will for power through the act of buying. They help in the presentation of plain ideas and in the pragmatic evaluation of the consumer good but clearly neglect the complexity of affective relations. On the other hand, the relaxed tone of seductive messages and voices, which has become the everyday established basis of

communication in French television advertising, arouses the desire to buy, but only through a game of pretence and appearance. This specific vocal enunciative strategy wishes to reconcile opposites by constructing both a challenge, and a complicity, between utterer and hearer.

This soft and seductive approach also has to do with the way French communicators perceived their audience. Just like New Zealand professionals, French advertising professionals considered their audiences to be astute, cynical, and critical. They also felt that people hate to define themselves primarily as consumers. In the words of one French creative: “people want to be addressed as individuals, not as consumers, they do not want to be treated as wallets”.

It also appeared that voice-overs related closely to certain implicit politeness conventions of the countries in which they were used. This was especially true in France as we will see in the next chapter. All communicators interviewed in Paris commented that a harassing voice is impolite and old-fashioned but that women’s voices are soothing. One communicator particularly commented that the audience would react negatively to a strong male voice and noted that,

there have been some [authoritative voices] at one stage but they have become very old-fashioned . . . a voice that harasses you, a hammering voice and all that, it is no longer in! Who does he think he is? You don’t want that. There is a sense that we do advertising but we do not really want to disturb people.⁴

These politeness conventions combined with a seductive approach created a less competitive and less direct tone than in New Zealand, or in the US (see Appelbaum & Halliburton, 1993). In any case these remarks indicate clearly that the notion of pleasantness of broadcasting voice is cultural.

Just as strong male voices exist with the more direct hard-sell approach of New Zealand advertising, the seductive character of French voices has its roots in the soft sell approach to advertising preferred by French communicators. Just like their New

Zealand counterparts, French communicators are under a cultural sway and draw on myths and stereotypes which supposedly represent French culture. There is still an implicit cultural pressure in France in favour of the preservation of high culture, that should be manifested in art, sophistication, and aesthetics. It appeared in their interviews that French communicators conformed to these values. Even if they all considered that advertising was a tool and not an art, it still appeared from the interviews that French advertising communicators despised hard-sell advertising and preferred soft-sell advertising which is the only type of commercial communication which allows an artistic approach. The French communicators' dislike of non-artistic approaches to advertising showed how much their minds were embedded in a system of thought that favours "high" cultural artistic values. Soft, seductive voices used by the French communicators were a sign of their rejection of what they saw as a too direct and non-sophisticated approach.

Another remark made by French communicators, which could explain the better balance between male and female voices, is that in France masculine culture is limited. Masculine institutions such as football or rugby do not have the power of transporting their masculine values outside their restricted domains. Unlike in New Zealand, as will be later made clear in this study, sports such as rugby and football that carry masculine values have not invaded the French advertising discourse to the same extent. As a matter of fact, an important consensus among the communicators was that in France there is a feminisation of society. One of the professionals interviewed noted that women have found their place in society, that they are going forward, and that men as a result are lost and are going backwards. As will be apparent in a following chapter, a certain "feminisation" is indeed noticeable through the advertising discourse in general, but is probably most noticeable within the automobile advertising discourse. Cars, which used to symbolise masculine attributes, and man's mastering of his environment, are now sold with soft arguments. The feminine voice-overs, which are used in just about every car advertisement, are soft,

seductive but nevertheless, in their cultural and communicative context, connote confidence and expertise.

Abhijit, Olsen, and Carlet (1992) noted that French advertising is more emotional and uses more sex appeal than American advertising. It also appeared that New Zealand communicators held the same views about French advertising, commenting ironically on its features as “sexy”, “classy”, and “suave”. There is no evidence of what the female audience thinks about the use of emotional and seductive voices in French media. From a feminist point of view, it could be argued that emotional seductive voices are inappropriate and offensive in the context of commercial communication. However, French communicators never considered that female seductive voices could degrade women or that soft male voices could degrade men. The feminine seductive voice in particular was not only a means of smoothing the communication process, and flattering the audience – male or female – so that they buy products, it was also considered as an hymn to femininity and an acknowledgment of the power of female seduction. In any case, the contrast between comments made by French and New Zealand communicators, validate Lumby’s (1994) remark that negative and positive images of women are cultural.

Conclusion

Voice-overs reveal a lot about how authoritative, or gender oriented, an advertising communicative approach can be. As we have seen, the way New Zealand and French voice-overs communicate to their audiences is totally different. Whereas in New Zealand, dominance is an authoritative male voice, in France it is the voice of female seduction. Male voice-overs in New Zealand can be compared, as some New Zealand communicators commented, to the commanding voice of the father. French female voice-overs can be compared to the voice of the sirens, with the exception that these sirens of mass communication attract the audience to the rocks of consumption.

Voice-overs have to be placed in their communicative and sociocultural contexts. If a communicative process is acceptable in one country, it is not necessarily acceptable in another. Voice-overs, as communicative devices, are sociocultural constructions which refer back to the principles of their creators' thought, to their frame of reference, and to their concepts. All these elements combine as a system. In one system, the deep male authoritarian voice is taken for granted as the best way to communicate with every type of person. In another system, seduction is the preferred technique. In both cases, we – the audience – can question the “naturalised” communicative strategy of voice-overs and be more critical of the way they address us.

Finally, we can ask ourselves if it is possible to renew the discourse or if “vocal formations” are immutable creations. The fact is that we, the audience, do have expectations about the voice, and violation of these expectations could have a negative effect on the effectiveness of the communication. Advertisers know that and, under the pressure of their culture, unconsciously stick to a cultural vocal norm and display a compliance to the already established rules of advertising communication. For these culturally conscious communicators, who are aware that their vocal environment is only a symbolic sociocultural construction, changing the voice-over conventions would be equivalent to taking a communication risk that, apparently, they are not ready to take. Unquestionably, voice-overs are part of a mechanism of mimetism and conformism which retards evolution, or at least rapid evolution. Given the strength of cultural norms, change in this insidious formatting of voice is unlikely to change quickly.

In the next chapter, I will explore in more depth the overall communicative approach used in each country. Dominant traits of advertising messages will be related to communicators' cultural views on the function of advertising.

Table 2: Percentages of male and female voice-overs in New Zealand commercials.

	Actual count	%
Total commercials	710	
Male voice-over	557	78.45
Female voice-over	117	16.47
Both male and female	7	0.98
No voice-over	29	4.08

Taking out retail (n=98) and local (n=17) commercials from the corpus did not significantly affect the ratio of male or female voice-overs. Results were: 80% male, 17.6% female, 0.4% male and female, and 2% no voice-over. It was interesting to find that 82.6% of retail and local commercial voice-overs were male.

Table 3. Percentages of male and female voice-overs in French commercials.

	Actual count	%
Total commercials	727	
Male voice-over	389	53.50
Female voice-over	217	29.84
Both male and female	87	11.96
No voice-over	34	4.67

¹ *C'est pas un dilemme, c'est tout naturel, pour moi c'est évident que c'est une voix de femme ou une voix d'homme . . . sans réfléchir . . . c'est sans réfléchir c'est intuitif . .*

² *Ca vient de façon naturelle. Quelquefois on sait pas parceque le produit est mixte, parceque on a l'impression qu'une voix d'homme ou une voix de femme sera toute aussi vendeur ou toute aussi séduisante.*

³ *Elle a des attributs que l'on peut lui attribuer, les attributs qu'on donne généralement aux femmes, séduction, une certaine forme de caractère.*

⁴ *Y en a eu a une période mais c'est devenu ringard . . . une voix qui harcèle, qui martèle et tout c'est plus ça! Pour qui y se prend? T'as pas envie de ça. Ya un côté vraiment on fait de la pub mais t'as pas trop envie d'embêter quoi.*

CHAPTER 5

THE DIFFERENCE IN THE COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH

Introduction

The previous chapter's study of voice-overs suggested a great deal about the communicative approach selected by advertising communicators in a specific cultural environment. In particular, it was suggested that the use of soft voices in French advertising, reflects and at the same time recreates, a soft style of communicating whereas the strong assertive voices of New Zealand advertising reflect and recreate, a more direct approach. This chapter extends the study of that main finding about the communicative approach. It proposes to explore not "what can and should be said" (Pêcheux, 1982, p. 111) but rather *how* things *should* be said. "How things should be said" is thought to condition "what can and should be said" because communicators will feel they have to design content that fits in the form of communication that is prescribed by a specific knowledge created by powerful cultural discursive formations. The aim of this chapter will be to isolate some salient "laws of construction" of television advertising in each country in the light of specific advertising formats.

Methodology

Of all the possible tools reviewed earlier in the appendix 1 of Chapter 1, I selected advertising formats (Wells, 1989; Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty, 1998, 2000) as the most appropriate and most usable for studying the form of advertising discourse. Following other research (Appelbaum & Halliburton, 1993; Mueller, 1987; Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992) the exploration of the form of advertising

messages in this chapter was conducted using the common models of “lecture”, “drama”, and “lecture-drama” that have been described by authors such as Wells (1989), and, Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty (1998; 2000), and used by Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992). New Zealand and French commercials were classified according to these three simple advertising formats. To complement these models, the amount of teaser commercials (Wells et al, 2000) was searched for in both corpuses. This was because these commercials can reveal an inclination of advertising discourse towards an indirect approach and a propensity of communicators towards abstruse thinking. In addition to this, elements of information content that can be linked to communication techniques that reveal a more pragmatic approach to commercial communication, such as giving price incentives, or using “price vocabulary register”, were also sought out in commercials from both corpuses.

Cormansky (1994) designed a model for analysing advertising messages from two cultures using E. T. Hall’s (1976) well-known theories about the relationship between culture and communication. This study used advertising format models to assess the difference in the patterns of advertising communication in France and New Zealand in relation to Hall’s theories. According to E. T. Hall, cultures can be classified by the amount of information implied by the setting or context of the communication. Hall argued that cultures differ on a continuum that ranges from high- to low-context. High-context cultures prefer to use high-context messages in which most of the meaning is either implied by the physical setting or presumed to be part of the individual’s internalised beliefs, values and norms. Very little is provided in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. On the other hand, low-context messages in which the majority of the information is encoded in an explicit direct way tend to be used in low-context cultures.

In this study it is argued that indirect communication such as dramas, but also teasers, fit in the high-context end of Hall’s continuum, whereas more direct communication lectures and commercials that use the price argument fit in the low-context end of the continuum.

Description of the models used

Model one: Lecture commercials

“Lecture” commercials, as Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty (1998) explained, are forms of direct address that deliver selling points. Wells et al. (1998) argued that a lecture advertising message is “a serious, structured instruction given verbally by a teacher” (p. 402). In lectures, according to Wells (1989), a speaker usually uses argument and exhortation to persuade and speaks directly to the audience: “display[ing] the product, talk[ing] about its features, and show[ing] what it can do” (p. 13). Lectures are therefore similar to what Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993, p. 231), following Olson (1989), call argumentative commercials “in which the viewer is directly addressed”. In terms of reception of the messages, in lecture commercials, “the viewer is the object of a message projected outward from the television screen” (Wells, 1989, p. 18). As Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993) also noted, the viewer is addressed at the rational level and “is a passive recipient of the message he or she is expected to process” (p. 231).

Additionally, the definition given by Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992), according to which lecture messages are narrated and have “no character or story” (p. 28), was found to complement Wells’s definition, and therefore, commercials that fitted in that category were also classified under model one. Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano’s model, for instance, fitted most promotional commercials that use pictures of products and a voice-over to inform or lecture audiences.

Model two: Dramas.

The second model is the “drama” model. Dramas are defined by Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty (1998) as a form of indirect address, “a story or play built around characters in some situation” that “relies on the viewer to make inferences” (p. 403). As Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty (1998) explained, “in a drama the characters speak to each other not to the audience. In fact they usually behave as though the audience were not there” (p. 403). Dramas “provide true samples of the emotional rewards associated with the advertiser’s brand” (Wells, 1989, p. 17). This model shares the same features of what Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993), following Olson (1989), referred to as narratives, in which “the viewer is

not directly addressed” (p. 231). Unlike the lecture that projects a message towards the viewer and “holds the viewer at arm’s length” with an argument, the drama “draws the viewer into the action it portrays” (Deighton, Romer, & McQueen, 1989, p. 335). As Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993) pointed out, such an approach is more emotional. Its purpose is to build a relationship between the consumer and the product. The context elaborated within the commercial has an important role to play in evoking a mood for the product to fit in. The advertising message aims at focussing the viewer more on the contextual and implicit information than on explicit factual information.

Model three: Lecture–dramas.

Classified under this model were commercials that used both techniques of lecture and drama to communicate their message. Indeed, many commercials can use a drama with characters interacting in combination with a lecture from one of the characters or from an added lecturer. As Wells (1989) noted, these commercials often ask viewers to alternate between two different states of mind. Viewers are drawn inside the commercial via a drama, they “become ‘lost’ in the story and experience the concerns and feelings of the characters” (Deighton et al, 1989, p. 335) then the commercial nails its point with an argument delivered in a lecture fashion. This technique has evidently the advantage of avoiding the cognitive defence mechanisms – such as counterarguments – that a straight lecture/argumentation might trigger in viewers.

Teasers

Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty (2000, p. 305) called “teasers” messages that “create curiosity and appeal to the anti hard-sell attitudes of young people”; they are “myster[ies] that don’t identify the product and don’t deliver enough information to make sense”. In this study a search for messages that pushed suspense to the extreme was carried out. However, unlike in Wells et al’s model, in commercials classified under that category, the product *was identified* but only at the end of the commercial as a result of suspense. A similar model of advertising messages in which the relation product/image/text is an enigma was suggested by Cormansky (1994). In these messages, the truth is withheld until the end of the communication, the product is absent at the beginning of the commercial and only

appears at the very end as a surprise ending. This model draws on what Barthes (1970, p. 24) called the “*code herméneutique*” which is the code of enigma, the code of hidden truth that receivers of communication have to discover. It is based on the entirety of “units that have the function of articulating an enigma, and the various accidents that prepare or postpone the answer”¹ (Barthes, 1970, p. 24). Whereas succeeding images pressure the text to unfold, the *code herméneutique* leaves the solution in suspense and therefore exerts a pressure that is contrary to the unfolding of the story.

Commercials that give price and use price vocabulary register

As noted in chapter 2, some studies search for information content in advertising messages. Following Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992), the “price-value” information cue suggested by Stern, Krugman, and Resnick (1981) was sought in the corpuses of commercials from France and New Zealand. Commercials were scrutinised for their reference to price, whether it was written on screen or uttered by characters or voice-overs. In addition to that, the search was widened to the use of vocabulary relating to price (such as save, buy, invest, *achetez, économisez . . .*) as this vocabulary is also revealing of a focus of discourse on cost and value issues.

Coding

“Lecture”, “drama” and “lecture-drama” commercials were first identified through a visual only reading. This technique was also used by Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) for their search of information content. It is particularly useful for identifying lecturers talking directly to the camera, or for identifying dramas in which actors ignore the camera. A second reading was carried out with sound and image together in order to review and confirm results from this first reading.

Another reading was carried out focussing on the sound channel only. The aim of this reading was to assess the function given to linguistic elements in advertising messages and to assess how much each of the advertising discourses relied on a direct, or on an indirect, linguistic approach. Linguistic communications were coded as “demonstrations” (“our products works like that, it is made of this material”) or “recommendations” from lecturers and/or voice-overs (“you should

do this” category). Both linguistic demonstrations and recommendations were grouped together as representative of a direct communicative approach.

Coding of advertising format (i.e. “lecture”, “drama”, and “lecture-drama”) and linguistic format (demonstration, recommendation) was carried out by the researcher. However, a simultaneous double coding of thirty commercials with a second bilingual coder was first carried out during which coding differences were resolved through discussion. Springing from these discussions, strategies were subsequently adopted by the researcher to achieve as much consistency as possible in the coding. Commercials that proved difficult to classify were discussed and resolved through discussion with the same second bilingual coder. The identification of teaser commercials, and the search for price and price vocabulary register in commercials, was conducted by the researcher only as these were straightforward procedures.

Quantitative data

This study found a difference in the use of advertising formats proposed to viewers in France and New Zealand. The “lecture-drama” model was a popular format in both New Zealand and France with around 30% of commercials falling into that category. However, model two – dramas – was dominant in French advertising whereas in New Zealand it was model one, lectures (see Table 4, p. 123).

This study also found that New Zealand advertising discourse used a lot more linguistic demonstrations and recommendations from lecturers’ voices or voice-overs than French advertising discourse which used a more indirect linguistic approach (see Table 5, p. 123).

New Zealand television advertising discourse also used the price incentive a lot more with three times more commercials giving prices than in French television advertising. The price vocabulary register was also deployed much more in New Zealand television advertising than in French television advertising (see Table 6, p. 123).

There was also a difference between the two countries in terms of the frequency of the use of teaser commercials. Teasers were used more frequently in French than in New Zealand television advertising discourse (see Table 7, p. 124).

French television advertising: A high context, indirect approach

This study therefore concluded that the dominant discourse of French advertising relied more on a communicative approach that tended to reject demonstrative, functionalist, and explicit messages. French commercials were mostly built around a communication model that favoured indirect presentation of products.

In addition, French advertising communication used more high-context messages than did New Zealand advertising. French advertising messages tended to carry meaning about a product via the context constructed within a commercial rather than through the direct enumeration of the qualities of the product. French advertising communication preferred to evoke the qualities of the product and develop complex fields of connotations, leaving the viewer to reflect on contextual information rather than on the product itself. This strong reference to context was done in different ways, by using implicit rather than explicit messages, and by presenting the product at the end of the communication as an outcome of suspense. French advertising communicators often constructed a discursive strategy based on the “*code herméneutique*”, building suspense, leaving the discovery of the truth of the product to the end of the communication.

These results are consistent with the findings from Biswas, Olsen, and Carlet (1992) and Appelbaum and Halliburton (1993) reviewed earlier in this thesis. Both studies found that French commercials focussed less on information but contained more emotion than did German, US, or British commercials and used more “little stories around the product” (p. 236). These results are also consistent with what Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992) found in their comparative analysis of French, Taiwanese, and US TV commercials. One of their findings was that French commercials “provide a subtle presentation linking the product to a place, event, person, or symbol with minimal copy, implicit sales pitch, and less frequent featuring of the product” (Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992, p. 32). More particularly their conclusion about French advertising was that it

work[s] very hard to entertain the public through symbolism, humor, and drama. Dramatic events unfold without any apparent attention to the audience. The symbolism and drama may not be related to the product. French commercials seldom use a person to lecture the audience and generally do not present straight single facts. They tend to avoid reasoning or argument in advertising (Zandpour, Chang, & Catalano, 1992, p. 35).

These findings are unarguably significant. However, the present study also extends the research to explore, through a relay between analysis of texts and the voice of advertising communicators, the dominant discursive formations that influence the discursive practices of advertising communicators. It is one thing to discover, as content analyses do, that, in order to be successful in advertising in France it is necessary to use symbolism, drama, and seduction. It is another to know *why* symbolism, drama and seduction are used by advertising communicators.

Through uncovering the discursive formations that influence advertising discursive practices, the thesis also has practical implications. It can help advertising communicators who work for foreign firms, (1) to better understand another culture's thinking, and (2) to position themselves in relation to the discursive formations that are present in that culture, and that have a great influence on communication. Knowledge of the main discursive formations that have an influence on advertising can provide communicators with crucial elements which help them decide consciously if they should design their communication to fit in the dominant advertising discourse, or outside of it in order to stand out and challenge established conventions.

This study does not pretend to give an exhaustive list of the cultural discursive formations that influence the design of advertising communication. What is reported here is what came out of specific interviews and of the analysis of a specific corpus of commercials. It found, through interviews with advertising communicators, and analysis of French commercials, that there were two major discursive formations responsible for the propensity of French advertising discourse for a "high-context" approach. One discursive formation prescribed polite communication while the other dictated that advertising communication

should not mention openly and directly what it is mostly designed for: selling commodities and facilitating the act of commerce.

Before addressing French advertising communicators' problematic relationship with money and the act of commerce later in this chapter, I will first focus on the importance of the notion of politeness in the discourse of French television advertising. Politeness was one strong theme that consistently came through French communicators' interviews. Indeed it was at the centre of the French advertising discourse as an element of great influence on the technique of commercial communication and on the construction of commercial communication messages.

French emphasis on politeness

An earlier finding of this study was that French commercials, especially direct lecture French commercials, were not as forceful and dynamic as New Zealand commercials. The presentation of product features was not as insistent as in New Zealand advertising messages. One embodiment of this phenomenon was revealed by the voice-overs employed in French television advertising, which, as noted in the preceding chapter, were softer and conveyed much more emotion than authority. Of course there were some authoritative messages but many direct lecture messages would also contain emotional overtones. In the French version of lectures there was virtually no appeal to purchase, no commands, only suggestions or timid exhortations. The only commercials which sent injunctions to viewers to buy goods were commercials for some CDs or videos, otherwise French advertising preferred a more indirect way of addressing consumers.

Interviews with French professionals revealed that French commercial communication was guided by strong politeness conventions. As one communicator noted,

you [viewers] don't like to be given orders like that. In France we are not obedient. We [communicators] cannot do that... It is politeness. We must be polite.²

French communicators tended to define the communication contract between themselves and the public on the basis of some broad cultural traits and

mentalities. Imaginary formations, in other words their perception of the receivers' cultural background, affected strongly the way they thought they should communicate. In the words of another French communicator:

In France we balk a little more at using the strong approach (*manière forte*) in order to persuade people... because French people do not like the strong approach. French people do not like to be given commands. We've never had the discipline of the Germans, we don't have the discipline of the English, you just need to order something to a French person if you want them to do exactly the opposite. That's the way it is. And we are not here to change mentalities; we are here to juggle with them as well as we can. ... We should not impose anything in any case. It is impossible. Hard sell only yells to people's face. It does not make them buy more if they don't want to buy.³

As this comment reveals, French advertising communicators' imaginary formations were based on national stereotypes that they subsequently used to justify their communicative approach. They reiterated dominant discourses on national behavioural differences in order to explain their communicative approach. Here the belief in the stereotype that constructs French people as undisciplined led the French communicators to avoid direct command-style communication. Settle and Golden (1981) noted that direct instructions from an advertiser might be discounted by the consumer because of perceived advertiser bias. French communicators' imaginary formations clearly led them to try and avoid advertiser's bias as much as possible by avoiding the direct imposing style.

In the interviews, the notion of adhesion to common values was central to the thinking of French advertising communicators. It was as if a process of consensus, harmony, and negotiation was inevitable and necessary between advertisers and the French public.

I think that an authoritative advertising message would not work. It is through seduction, the creation of an image that one makes people adhere to common values.⁴

Because French communicators privileged rapport between sender and receiver rather than a more 'confrontational' authority model, their "hard sell" messages often sounded like polite invitations to buy. Many commercials used invitations such as "*Citroen vous invite...*" (Citroën invites you...), "*découvrez la saveur...*" (discover the flavour...) or propositions such as "*Cétélem vous propose...*"

(Cétélem offers you...) or addressed people using polite titles such as “*Madame*”, “*Mademoiselle*” or “*Monsieur*”. In many commercials there was the sense that a command was indeed underlying but could not quite come up to the surface of communication. Commercials focused on the portrayal of the viewers’ potential desires and dreams. A commercial for a motor show in Paris for instance illustrated this technique; rather than directly asking people to go to the show in a direct lecture fashion, the only incentive given by the message through the voice-over was “One cannot stop a dream in its tracks. International Motor Show, from the 3rd to the 13th of October, Paris”⁵

Communicating freedom and choice

French television advertising frequently used a vocabulary of temptation and seduction as it obviously had the obvious advantage of allowing advertising communicators to avoid directness. For instance, utterances such as “*laissez-vous tenter*” (succumb to temptation) or “*Renault Mégane Scénic, soyez raisonnables, faites-vous plaisir*” (Renault Mégane Scénic, be sensible, please yourself) or “*succombez aux coups de foudre Citroën*” (experience love at first sight with Citroen) were representative of addresses dependent on a discourse of politeness. Again, these addresses refused to impose anything on the receiver, on the contrary they implied that the only thing that the receiver had to do was to make a choice based on his/her own deliberation.

The notion of choice or, more precisely, of freedom of choice, appeared to be a crucial ideological discursive strategy in French advertising. The strong discourse formation on politeness interestingly engendered a sub-discourse on freedom.

Williamson (1978) argued that

the idea of freedom is essential to the maintenance of ideology [. . .] in fact, advertisements work by a process in which we are completely enmeshed, [. . .] they invite us ‘freely’ to create ourselves in accordance with the way in which they have already created us” (p. 42).

In French advertising, the notion of freedom of choice was directly linked to the idea of politeness. Communicating the notion of freedom of choice to subject viewers seemed to be a way of French communicators to appear polite. Numerous examples could be given. For instance, TPS television told viewers that “*avec TPS*

vous regardez ce que vous aimez quand vous le voulez” (with TPS you can watch what you like whenever you like). Ford used a strong discourse on freedom in a commercial for its cars:

Look, when one can choose freely, a car can become the object of one’s dream. At Ford each model is at the same price, whether it is in 3, 4, 5 door versions or station wagon. Freedom of choice at a single price; another idea that brings us together. ⁶

French television advertising often openly invited viewers to dream about commodities rather than to think rationally about them. For French advertising communicators proposing dreams meant that they did not impose themselves but only proposed to satisfy people’s wishes. French television advertising discourse was close to *sollicitude*, a term, close to solicitation, coined by Baudrillard (1970), that evokes the contradictory notions of inviting, offering, or proposing but also inciting, summoning, or requesting.

Perceiving a hard sell approach as dictatorship

When asked what they thought about the hard sell direct approach French communicators were very critical of it. They reacted with strong emotions:

It does not interest me at all. Personally I hate it. Compared to all the precautions I like to take when I make a commercial, I hate it; it is of no interest. It is shit, I like to at least disguise my thing, so that there is an idea... metaphors, funny things, jokes, an image that they haven’t seen before, you see...I hope never to do that [hard sell] I will not do it. ⁷

Hard sell advertising was described with very negative metaphors. It was for instance compared to dictatorship, as if it did not give viewers any place for reflection to assess the communication directed at them. As another communicator put it,

That’s what we call verbal attack. It might help people when they are in front of the shelves in the supermarket. In fact they will remember the last thing they heard. In my opinion, it is as if we considered that the best way to run a country is dictatorship; it does not make sense. ⁸

One interesting analogy, which described well the perception that French advertising communicators had of hard sell, was the following:

Sometimes I have to shout at my kids because I do not have any other solutions, so I yell. Sometimes it works, unfortunately! Sometimes it works, but it works on kids. It works on kids (laugh). Most of the time I think that it is much better not to yell. That's why I think that hard sell is something that must be manipulated with a lot of caution and sparingly.⁹

The interesting point here was that using hard sell was considered as being the same thing as treating adult viewers as children, since hard sell was considered to be a form of yelling. Therefore hard sell was said to show a lack of respect for adults and was not considered a polite and acceptable communicative approach.

As a rule, directness in advertising was avoided at any cost. It also became clear through the interviews with French communicators, that messages which directly, and strongly, portrayed any kind of violence, were not considered acceptable. Messages similar to the road safety commercials screening in New Zealand, which graphically portrayed death, were criticised for their graphic content and directness.

It is unbearable. When we go to the Cannes festival and we get to the great causes category, it is odious. It is just a succession of horrible films and each one is more horrible than the other, with handicapped children...¹⁰

Often, the rationale behind this rejection was based on French communicators' imaginary formations of French viewers. French advertising communicators believed that this type of blunt messages, as with the other direct messages that mention price and remind people too directly of the act of commerce, would only trigger rejection from viewers. As one communicator argued:

French people have realised that advertising that shocks only triggers rejection. People do not want to see [violence]. In the English speaking countries it would seem that, to a violent issue they answer with the same weapon, which is violence, and that works.¹¹

The belief among French communicators that this approach would not work and that there is a need to use circumlocutions or hide part of the truth to communicate in advertising, was reiterated in another French communicator's simple generalising comment: "in France we always need to be polite/tactful/to use manners"¹². Clearly, simplicity and directness, as far as the form of advertising

messages is concerned, were not the main concerns of French advertising communicators. Rather, things should absolutely be said and done in the right manner, tactfully and politely, according to implicit protocols that dictated “how things can and should be said”.

Politeness: An old discursive formation

The importance given to politeness by French communicators in French contemporary advertising can be related to its roots in the French historical context. As France (1992) noted, France was in the seventeenth and eighteenth century the centre of good taste and politeness and the centre in which politeness was the subject of numerous debates: “In the period that goes roughly from 1660 to 1760, one witnesses a long and highly repetitive series of arguments, conducted in dictionaries and dissertations, plays, and novels, essays and dialogues, about the nature and value of politeness” (France, 1992, p. 54). France (1992) noted that, “*honnêteté* and *politesse* [were] essential values for the educated men and women of seventeenth- and eighteenth- century France” (p. 4). He further commented that “the polite person repeats in his or her person the work of civilization, smoothing out roughness, learning to adapt to the expectations of the group, to play a part in the concert of society” (France, 1992, p. 4).

Nowadays in modern France, studies such as Picard’s (1996) also show that “*savoir-vivre*”, mannerliness, and politeness are still very important notions in France. Picard particularly reported that 73% of French people gave “*savoir-vivre*” a capital importance. As interviews revealed, French communicators also subscribed to the “*savoir-vivre*” standard when it came to shape their advertising messages. The politeness compulsion seemed to be deeply rooted in their mind. Contemporary French advertising communicators obviously subscribed to similar values of seventeenth and eighteenth century France of “smoothing out roughness”. They were convinced that the communication contract between themselves and viewers necessarily involved polite manners and were concerned to “adapt to the expectations of the group”. It is therefore possible to argue that the discursive practice that French communicators are recreating – the fact that they feel as if they have to use polite manners, even to advertise commodities – can be an extension of this important traditional discourse of politeness that has

been running in France since the *ancien régime*. French advertising communicators' approach to communicating in advertising would be dependent on an old discursive formation that regulates their conduct and still defines an important rule of communication at the turn of the new millennium.

Shameful act of commerce: The problematisation of money

Interviews with French communicators revealed another very important reason behind their propensity for high context messages and indirect implicit communication. As briefly noted in the previous chapter, reference to the act of commerce was avoided in French advertising. As a French communicator put it:

There is that idea that doing commerce is a bit vulgar and everything, it is a bit shameful... as a matter of fact French people are not very good sellers. They are not known to be excellent sellers. Perhaps we need to disguise things a bit more.¹³

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, price, for instance, was very rarely given as an incentive in French commercials. Unlike in New Zealand, commercials promoting lower prices were infrequent in France (10% of all commercials), as if the price of consumer goods was unusable for viewers and useless or unmentionable for communicators. One French communicator noted that promotional messages were adopted on one specific market, the automobile market (even though this was not obvious from this study's corpus) because that market was under threat. However, this occurrence was called a *révolution*:

On the automobile market, promotion has become the rule . . . Meaning, it's got that, it's got that, it's got that, we are not very hard sell but the promotional message is becoming more and more important . . . I am talking about a particular sector indeed. There is a revolution in the automobile sector now; 50% of the communication is promotion, it is a novelty, it is a change, but it is normal in a market which is at -30% and is plummeting.¹⁴

When price was mentioned in French commercials, it was not the focus of the advertising message and was mentioned rather rapidly, either through a seductive female voice-over or some small print, almost always with the help of a "drama" situation in order to divert the attention of the receivers from the selling situation. Sometimes these dramas were so artificial and disconnected from the selling

message that it made the latter quite confusing. For instance, a commercial for Renault cars used a man dressed as a ghost who presented 3 cars veiled in white sheets while announcing: “Until October 12, at Renault’s innovation days, discover the new Mégane Scénic from 99700 Francs, the new Mégane Classic, and the new Safrane. Three new models at the same time. It is quite exceptional indeed!”¹⁵

As a French communicator noted, “infomercials haven’t taken off. Even commercials that end up with digits, prices and all, there aren’t basically any!”¹⁶. Another communicator pointed out how strong the cultural taboo on money was in French commercial communication. According to him it was so strong that as a result, even commercial communication ignored the concern of most consumers about price:

We are in a country in which, for a few years – perhaps we have now reached the bottom – people have been very sensitive to price, distribution brands, specials and so on. People have really slowed down their consumption. Price is a big issue. We are the country in Europe which has the biggest hypermarket and supermarket network; all prices have been cut, the big brands have had to lower their prices but this has no effect on communication.¹⁷

Interviews revealed that French communicators perceived that mentioning money in commercial messages would be insulting to viewers. Particularly there was a cultural belief that money was something dirty and that talking about money was the equivalent of insulting people. The comments of a French strategic planner conveyed this cultural belief:

People like to be told that they are intelligent. If brands in France say “I’m not expensive” it does not work. “I’m not expensive” implies “I have no money”, implies “I’m poor” implies “I’m stupid”. So if you say “I’m not expensive” it means “you’re stupid”. People don’t like to be told that they are stupid. So it’s true that it is in our interest to say “you’re smart”. So we’re into suggestion.¹⁸

The chain of thinking in this strategic planner’s comment reveals how, in France, money can be used as a means of social judgement. As a result it is a difficult concept to bring up in advertising. What is implicit in this kind of comment was the way that French viewers’ thinking was perceived. As this communicator

understands it, French people equate the amount of money they have with their intellectual ability and worthiness: “I have no money implies I am poor implies I’m stupid”. Indeed, it was assumed by this communicator that people who are poor or who worry about money, consider themselves stupid, because – it seems to be implied – they are not intelligent enough to find a well-paid job. In other words, through this discourse, people were purely judged on their performance in the capitalist structure; their intelligence was judged on whether or not they were able to find a good place in the capitalist system. People who have found a good place in the capitalist structure were considered intelligent, others who have not were considered stupid. It is clear that this strategic planner gave a very capitalistic definition of “intelligence” and “stupidity”. Ironically, even though he claimed that advertising communication should not talk about money he still considered that people are concerned about money and judged themselves according to their own wealth.

As a result of such thinking, French communicators created a discursive practice that constantly avoids money matters because communicating on price would be the equivalent of taking the risk of reminding viewers that they do not have unlimited money and therefore are not successful within the context of the capitalist system.

This advertising discursive practice fits in the French cultural discursive formation that produces a certain knowledge about money as something dirty. Advertising communicators are well aware of this cultural fact and are obviously also subjected to it. Mermet (1996) noted that, because of Judaeo-Christian tradition, French culture is rather hostile to money. He noted that in France, many proverbs such as “*l’argent ne fait pas le bonheur*” (money does not bring happiness) show a certain contempt for money. There is also a literary tradition, through authors such as La Bruyère, Balzac, and Zola, which is not favourable to money. The assumption seems to be that, although France is a rich country and one may think about money, one should not talk about it. One of the most derogatory social labels in French society is indeed “*nouveau riche*” and shows how in France it is out of place to have mercantile ambition, to want to have more money than others, and to display it. At any rate, this study’s findings establish that the cultural

tradition of hostility towards money continues to circulate, even within the institution of advertising, an institution that depends on money and on the concept of market economy for its survival.

French communicators' position into a cultural discursive formation that "problematizes" money tended to rule out money as a positive element in commercial communication. As a result, what all but one French communicator could not conceive as a positive point, was that advertising that uses price as an incentive could for example be considered as appealing to viewers' intelligence in money management, and therefore was appealing to some kind of "capitalist intelligence" on the part of viewers.

One other interesting comment by French advertising communicators on the dirty aspect of money related to actors in advertising. Communicators pointed out that the fact that some actors might want to earn money doing advertising was considered as something degrading. Two French communicators noted that actors who were taking part in commercials were definitely degrading themselves. As one of them argued; "It means that they need money... it means that behind that they need to pay their taxes or something else. It is not valorising." ¹⁹

The avoidance of money matters was also explained by several French advertising professionals in terms of religious behaviour. As noted earlier, Mermet (1996) linked the hostility towards money with the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Other authors such as Bartels (1982) argue that

the religious and philosophic beliefs of a people are the foundation of a nation's culture and the most important determinant of social and business conduct; these beliefs create role perceptions, behavior patterns, codes of ethics, and the institutionalized manner in which economic activities are performed. (p. 4)

Interestingly, religion was a common justification in French communicators' discourse. The historical influence of religion was consistently considered as having an influence on the national character and therefore on advertising communication. In the words of a French communicator:

There is a perverse side to the Catholic as opposed to the Protestant. With a protestant everything is said, there is no hiding anything, there is a kind of frankness, the rules are clearly laid down from the start, one talks about money, nothing is left unsaid. In the Catholic religion, it is a bit grey, some things are left unsaid, pictures are hidden, so in all this unsaid suggestion insinuates itself...²⁰

Stereotyping again lay at the heart of this comment that relied heavily on an established discourse that defines national character according to the dominant religion.

Seduction and suggestion

As noted above, the perception of money as something unmentionable led to reluctance by French advertising communicators to tackle the act of commerce directly and bluntly. In order to avoid talking about money and price, French advertising communicators developed a high-context communication practice that eludes the core mechanism behind advertising: the act of commerce. Therefore, in order to avoid communicating a selling message openly, French communicators relied heavily on what they defined as suggestion or seduction.

Also, as noted in the previous chapter, French communicators believed that –as an English communicator who worked in a French agency put it – “French consumers do not like being considered as wallets”²¹ and that individuals do not like to primarily define themselves as consumers. For French advertising communicators, consumers were, above all, individuals who, for a reason or another in their life of men or women yield to temptation. Therefore commercial communication could not allow itself to focus uniquely on viewers’ wallets, and see in them only a potential revenue. On the contrary, commercial communication had to tempt viewers through careful wooing. French communicators’ perception was that the attitude of consumers did not only depend on their buying power or their need as users, but on their individual consciousness with all the cultural affect it implies.

Seduction – a word which repeatedly came up in the interviews with French communicators – was an important tool that allowed them to disguise their real

selling intentions. When asked if he considered that advertising was a tool or a form of art, one French communicator noted:

It is close to art in a way, to the art of rhetoric, meaning, how we put in place strategies of conviction or *seduction* in a given context, so effectively it flirts with the art of rhetoric. ...There is something Latin, in which we are more into *suggestion* and *seduction*, the unsaid, the wink, than demonstrating everything. It is less demonstrative.²²

Another communicator argued:

Even if we try to do it [advertising] well, even if we try to make it *seductive* it is always with an acknowledged aim...whether we want to make people laugh, *seduce* them, or move them, it is always with one goal: selling. ...In human relationships it is necessary to *seduce* others, it is not only for commercial communication...When you meet a girl, well there are several ways of seducing her. Either you are handsome and then..., but sometimes it is not enough, or you need to make her laugh or you need to impress her with intellectual or physical prowess, I don't know, well, advertising is faced with the same problem and it also has to adapt to its target.²³

The recurrence of this notion of seduction through interviews and the use of metaphors such as in this last comment made by an advertising communicator who parallels the act of seducing a woman with the process of advertising, shows clearly that seduction was perceived as an important strategy and is indeed at the core of French commercial communication. Authors such as Taylor, Grubbs, and Haley (1996) had already noted the importance of seduction in the creative process in France. Anthropologists and sociologists have noted the importance of seduction in French culture. Baudrillard (1979), in particular, explored its significance and function in great depth. Carroll (1990) argued that in France,

seduction allows transgression of class divisions... It is an art of the French. It is not enough to be handsome and beautiful to seduce, a certain intelligence and expertise are necessary, which can only be acquired through a long apprenticeship, even if this apprenticeship begins in the most tender infancy. Thus, an ad for baby clothing, shows the perfect outfit for the 'heartbreak girl' and for the 'playboy', this is an indication of the extent to which this quality is desirable, since I assume the ad is geared towards the parents who provide and teach these babies. (p. 133)

Séduction is very much a 'naturalised' term that has almost become part of the definition of advertising in France. Both terms *publicité* (advertising) and

séduction are frequently used together in magazines or academic journal articles. For instance, in the journal *Communication et langages*, Duthois (1996) who wrote an article entitled “*Les règles de la séduction publicitaire*” (the rules of advertising seduction) in fact did not tackle the notion of seduction but discussed the importance of communicating on cultural archetypes. What was implied in the title itself though was that advertising *is* seduction or something very similar.

At this point it is important to understand the difference between the meanings of seduction in the French and Anglo-American context as it is quite significant. As Grace (2000) argued,

the word ‘seduction’, in the Anglo-American context, is resolutely associated with a kind of predatory male behaviour bent on conquest (typically sexual), usually followed by abandonment of the seduced, or alternatively a female behaviour designed to turn the male on the path towards evil and his downfall. ‘Seduction’ is taken overwhelmingly to be an abuse and manipulation for selfish ends that aim purely to satisfy the seducer (subject), with no concern for the seduced (object or victim). When a male ‘seduces’ a female (especially a ‘young and beautiful’ one) for his ‘pleasure’, we have the ingredients for the objectification, domination, oppression, and manipulation of women by men, or of the feminine by a masculine order, ingredients which, of course, feminists revile (p. 141).

In the French context, seduction carries much less connotations of oppression and objectification but carries more connotations of equality, equilibrium and freedom. As Baudrillard (1979) explained it in a very culturally charged text, seduction is rather considered as a game in which one can only seduce if one is already being seduced; seduction is a challenge between two parties, each being on the same footing, each being free to take part in an exchange of almost invisible signs (see also Gane, 1991b, p. 63). In line with this definition, in their interviews, when French communicators referred to seduction, they referred to a notion that does not include any violence or oppression. On the contrary, it alluded to a game of equality whose challenge was to achieve a complicity between themselves and the receivers of their messages.

In his book, *Séduction*, Baudrillard (1979) argued that we had entered an era of seduction. He noted that seduction, in French culture at least, was a very

important part of social and individual relationships, and that seduction participated in “challenge relationships” (“power relationships” would have too many confrontational connotations here) while at the same time sending signs of intimacy between people. For Baudrillard (1979) seduction is a dual/duel relationship made of secret signs, it is the art of dodging. In Baudrillard’s words, seduction hides in order to evoke, it uses a veil in order to attract, it arouses and evades. Seduction is the enemy of the absolute, of the complete, of the immediate, of the real. It bewitches through what it does not reveal. Seduction is based on a secret. As Gane (1991b) noted, seduction creates a tension around a secret, it is “an enigmatic duel which never reveals the secrets which motivate it” (p. 156).

According to Baudrillard (1979), as well as being based on a secret, seduction is also based on a challenge, that is, a never explicitly formulated ritualised pact. It is a challenge that functions with soft signs, that “plays with fragility, not with strength [and] it is through fragility that seductiveness derives its power” (Gane 1991b, p. 157). Therefore, seduction, if it is a pact, implies a special challenge that involves complicity, approval by both parties.

Similarly, in French advertising communication, seduction was used as a strategy, as a way of veiling the reality of the act of commerce, and as a way of challenging viewers. Seductive advertising messages dodged the reality of the act of commerce; they veiled certain things – the selling contract – and evoked others with the aim of attracting consumers. For French communicators, as for Baudrillard (1979), seduction was “what takes away its meaning from discourse and turns it away from its truth” (p. 77) ²⁴. Seductive advertising, as a type of discourse attached to the field of connotations and the implicit, was obviously opposed to the direct lecture discourse type which believes more in transparency of ideas, in the presentation of the truth, in the manifest rather than latent content of discourse and which perhaps pays less attention to the complexity of affective relations. A French communicator commented:

Our relation to commerce is very different. In Anglo-Saxon countries there is no shame in selling so they can do it strongly. In Latin countries it is a bit less clear so it is necessary to go through seduction... We are not a deeply liberal country in the modern sense... Free market was born in England it wasn’t born here. ²⁵

French advertising communicators seemed to adhere to Baudrillard's thinking that "the meaning of an utterance has never seduced anyone" (1979, p. 78)²⁶ and that what makes an utterance seductive, is its appearance, its inflexions, the circulation of its surface signs, and its nuances, but not the direct and tangible content of discourse.

Baudrillard (1979) also contrasted seduction to pornography, arguing that pornography is the opposite of seduction because it is about the obscenity of visual representation where "the hallucination of detail rules"²⁷ (p. 50). Using Baudrillard's words, it could be said that, in contrast with seductive advertising, direct demonstrative advertising is the 'pornography' of advertising, because of its representation of the real, and its presentation of the unashamed 'market truth' of products is 'obscene' and 'violent'. In hard sell advertising messages, as in pornography,

everything is to be produced, everything is to be legible, everything is to become real, visible, accountable; everything is to be transcribed in relations of force, systems of concepts or measurable energy; everything is to be said, accumulated, indexed and recorded. This is sex as it appears in pornography, but more generally, this is the enterprise of our entire culture, whose natural condition is obscene: a culture of monstration, of demonstration, of productive monstrosity. No seduction here . . . (Baudrillard, 1990, p. 34-35).

French communicators' comments curiously seemed to echo that same idea that direct lecture advertising messages are a disenchanting form of advertising, "just as sex is the abolished and disenchanting form of seduction, just as the usage value is the disenchanting form of objects, just as the real is in general the disenchanting and abolished form of the world" (24) (Baudrillard, 1979, p. 65). As interviews revealed, for French communicators the seductive approach represented the natural approach to communicating as if seduction was "the silent effectiveness in a world of visible effectiveness and disenchantment" (Baudrillard, 1979, p. 245).²⁸

It may seem odd to use Baudrillard's ideas on seduction and apply them to the advertising communicative approach of French communicators. Indeed, advertising is in the end a productivist discourse that presents the real and immediate in the form of consumer goods. It is true that advertising exists to

present consumer goods to the public and that, as a result, any advertising message is part of a productivistic discourse, part of the real, part of a discourse on producing a truth. Indeed, invariably, in commercials, the truth is revealed, even if it is only at the very end of teaser advertising messages, and in unveiling this truth, advertising inevitably puts an end to seduction. However, when studying closely the development of French advertising messages – before the inevitable unveiling of the real or truth – it became clear that seduction with its unsaid had a big part to play before the unveiling of the truth.

French communicators try hard to circumvent the productivistic discourse of advertising, creating a seductive sub-discourse based on secret and challenge, trying to keep seduction going as long as possible. This accounts for the important number of advertising messages in which the truth is only revealed at the very end as a result of suspense. Interestingly, a French communicator who talked about the process they go through before a campaign referred to this process as the unveiling of the hidden truth of brands, products and consumers:

There is an important work of reflection on “what is the truth of your brand, what is the truth of the consumer, what is the truth of your market in terms of communication” knowing that to reach truth, it is not enough to look, there is a work of unveiling, meaning, it is a bit pedantic but I will go back to the Greek etymology, ἀλήθεια, truth in Greek, it needs to be undressed, one can never see it, it is hidden . . .²⁹

Undressing the truth was presented as a complex process of decoding which in a way reflected the complexity of French communicators’ encoding of the truth in convoluted French advertising messages. It was indeed ironical that French communicators took much pain unveiling the truth just to re-veil it in complex circumlocutory seductive advertising messages.

The other interesting point that came through the interviews was that French communicators explained their soft approach to communication using a discourse that often opposed the “Latin” and “Anglo Saxon” characters. In other words they gave cultural, almost “biological”, differences as a reason for the peculiarity in their approach to communication. Their comments were often based on a

discourse that justified communication behaviour according to genetic/racist origins. One French communicator commented that:

Compared to Anglo-Saxons, we are less direct, meaning we will want to create brand values. I worked for Anglo-Saxon clients, English or Americans; [they ask] “the product is, tell them my product is good and buy it” and us [French] we go “well the meaning of the brand is...” so we are a bit more “philosophical”, more idealistic. We can contrast the pragmatic side of Anglo-Saxons with the idealistic side of Latins, in any case of the French who want to create brand values and communicate on values more than on product benefits. We [French] will really talk about values. What is the brand value, what is the vision of the brand, what does the brand believe in... They are not only companies in France, they are the UN, there is a vision of the world, they are philosophers...³⁰

This is yet another instance of the use of stereotypes to justify a communicative approach. As we have seen, belief in cultural stereotypes had an important influence on the French communicators’ approach to commercial communication. Belief in the stereotype that French people are undisciplined, and do not like to be ordered things, led French communicators to avoid direct communication and made them put a lot of emphasis on politeness. Similarly, the conviction that French people do not like to talk about money and, therefore, that suggestion is the right tool to communicate a selling message was supported by a belief in the stereotype that says that the Catholic religion engenders a lot of unsaid and does not promote frankness. Finally the Latin versus Anglo-Saxon stereotype was given as the reason why seduction is used so much in French advertising.

Seduction of viewers through emotionally charged situations

As noted above, French communicators based their discursive strategy on a strong reference to context as a means to awaken viewers’ feelings of emotion rather than on the listing of detailed information on products. The seduction of viewers was often achieved through emotionally charged contextual situations. In these situations people interacted through scenes of harmony in which tenderness, romance and seduction were the central notions. The product advertised was positioned either as central to the relationship between people or as peripheral to that relationship.

One common discursive strategy in French commercials in contrast with New Zealand commercials, was to reward characters with affection from other characters for using products. French communicators' discursive strategy was to present human relationships as much as goods and services, setting up a few seconds of human warmth, or understanding between characters, providing subject viewers with incursions into the blissful life of characters. A common discursive strategy in French television advertising was the representation of happy couples and families hugging and kissing each other, probably, as communicators believe, in order to signify the happiness brought about by the product.

For example, a commercial for a hair spray and gel by L'Oréal set up young and beautiful models kissing each other in the neck, or on the mouth, smelling each others' hair, caressing each others' face, smiling to each other in a very sensual manner. Seduction was the central concept conveyed by the characters' paralinguistic to viewers and the main value transferred by the commercial message to the product, as obviously seduction and beauty were only made possible with the mediation of the hair gel. Another example was a commercial for Primagaz in which the warmth given out by gas heating was represented in terms of human warmth, tenderness and love. Through images of couples or friends hugging each other or laughing together, of young mothers or fathers holding their children's hands, of happy family meals, and of suggestive sensual, if not sexually explicit, situations, Primagaz undoubtedly tried to seduce viewers and give a human face to their technical knowledge. An Italian romantic song was played in the background while a caption on screen simply accompanied the images throughout the commercials: "It is by drawing on the most advanced heat-producing techniques that we learnt to heat 45 million people. Primagaz, the energy to go further"³¹.

Along similar lines, tenderness was set up as a value that facilitated relationships between human beings of virtually all sexes, age and gender. Parents were very often shown caring about children in a very tender manner. In a commercial for Candia croissance, a little boy gave a flower to his mother, obviously as a thank you gift to her for being nice enough to feed him with Candia milk. The

commercial showed the young mother hugging her child, taking him in her arms and swinging around in a dance while the voice of the child was heard singing a version of the old classic by Edith Piaf, “*La vie en rose*”: “when she takes me into her arms, when she whispers into my ear, I see life with rose-coloured glasses”³². In order to seduce, French advertising’s strategy was to create a perpetual hug, a sweet complicity between itself and subject viewers.

Family situations, in which parents were portrayed with children as in this last example, were important in the setting up of tenderness. This importance of the family in French advertising discourse was supported by a French communicator’s comment:

There are a few key values that advertising appropriates to fit any case. There is the family. So in a period of crisis, in a period during which the family is something that no longer exists, there is a kind of collective fantasy of the cocoon family in which everyone has his/her freedom. It is no longer, ‘family I hate you’, nowadays it is ‘family I love you’. Family is frequently dished up.³³

An interesting representation that was found running through commercials with families and children, was children teaching their parents. Children were portrayed sometimes giving advice to their parents, sometimes using advertised products, and therefore indirectly showing parents the consumption behaviour they should adopt. Children were, for example, represented preferring and selecting the right brand of jam, cheese, ham, or even car, products not targeted at them but obviously at their parents. A French communicator explained this finding in the following way:

Childhood is becoming something very important. All that is linked to the depression, because since we do not know where we are going, perhaps that the only ones to know where we’ll be tomorrow are the children. So children stand for technology, they understand everything, they are intuitive.³⁴

The discursive technique that repeatedly used scenes involving an emotional bond between people in order to promote products or brands, was certainly linked with French communicators’ tendency to avoid direct communication. Emotional situations undoubtedly had the role of distracting subject viewers from the notion

of buying, making them focus on characters using the product in a blissful situation rather than on the reality of commercial dealings.

Because French television advertising consistently portrayed characters who were desirable and happy to be desirable because of their use of a product, a certain ideology of desirability was inevitably promoted. Unlike New Zealand commercials, French commercials created a strong knowledge about seduction and desirability for French subject viewers. They were given a potent model that professes that they too should be desirable to the eyes of others. Attached to these notions of seduction and desirability was also the creation of a certain knowledge about beauty which was carried by the “picture perfect” physical appearance of most characters in French commercials in comparison to New Zealand commercials. French advertising therefore did not only rely heavily on emotional content and situations, it also relied heavily on aesthetics.

Seduction of viewers through appeal to aesthetics

The soft seductive approach of French advertising relied heavily on aesthetics as a way to arouse emotions in viewers. French communicators were quite convinced that commercial messages should be aesthetically pleasing, “*vraiment beau*” (really beautiful) or “*joliment*” (nicely) designed and were quite emotional about it. As one French communicator noted; “beauty and grand spectacle, I find that marvellous”³⁵. Comments such as “French advertising often wants to seduce, it often has aesthetic impulses”³⁶ clearly supported the finding that seduction and aesthetics were given the task to work together.

Interestingly French communicators were all convinced that one of the perceived characteristics of French advertising was its commitment to high aesthetic values. One English communicator, who worked in one of the French advertising agencies, argued that French advertising was good at giving brands and products an added value of prestige. As one French communicator noted:

French advertising always has the reputation of being beautiful, well realised, that’s what people attribute to French advertising, compared to English advertising which is full of ideas and humour.

³⁷

In order to define their work, French communicators drew on an established “traditional” dominant discourse that certifies that French advertising is aesthetically pleasing and has always been so. Ironically, of course, French communicators’ conviction that French advertising was beautiful and well realised also put an implicit pressure on themselves to live up to a certain standard of aesthetics. They positioned themselves as having to effectively contribute to the recreation of the same “traditional” standards of “beauty” in French advertising discourse and to maintaining a certain ideology, and quality, of aesthetics.

The use of aesthetically pleasing messages links with the discursive formation on politeness noted earlier. Indeed, in the comments of French communicators, notions of politeness and beauty belonged together. It was a common wish of French communicators to propose aesthetically pleasing messages to viewers in as unobtrusive a way as possible. The study of France (1992) on politeness in French classical culture is interesting to bring up here. France divided the concept of politeness into three parts, “polish, police, and polis”. He noted that “‘Polish’ draws attention, etymologically, to a decorative, aesthetic view of politeness”, that polish is opposed to roughness and that “on the level of manners, this means for instance the ability to talk, listen and bear oneself in a way which is pleasant to others” (France, 1992, p. 55). In line with France’s argument it is possible to argue that in contemporary French advertising’s emphasis on aesthetic appearance signified a will to communicate politely.

As noted by French communicators, the importance of aesthetics in French advertising is also revealed through certain practices such as the use of famous filmmakers, French or foreign, in the realisation of commercials. This fact in itself reveals the concern for making commercials more than simple selling messages but high quality “shows” in which scene setting and aesthetics are considered important. Directors such as Luc Besson, Ridley Scott, Bertrand Blier and many others have been involved in French commercials for perfumes, yoghurt, or pasta, to cite a few.

Also, whereas in New Zealand television advertising the principal group of endorsers was male sportspeople (see chapter 9), the principal group of endorsers

in French television advertising was actors, singers and people from the fashion industry. Inevitably, these people carried with them artistic connotations which contributed to a more “art oriented” atmosphere in the French advertising discourse. Endorsers such as Jean Paul Gaultier, Sophie Marceau, Gérard Depardieu, Claudia Schiffer, among many others were used as endorsers for products such as sweets, perfume, pasta, cars and beauty products.

Other signs of the French advertising discourse’s strong appeal to aesthetics was the use of a certain type of music. This study found that French advertising used slightly more music in commercials than New Zealand advertising (France, n=56 or 7.7%; New Zealand, n=37, 5.2%). The French therefore relied slightly more on aesthetic oral stimuli to create mood. French advertising also used less fast-tempo music (such as rock or heavy metal) and relied more on a softer type of music expressing softer mood. Opera was a popular accompaniment for commercials promoting such diverse products or services as banks (Cortal), washing powder (Vizir), olive oil (Garapelli), television channels (TPS), or instant noodles (Knorr). Waltz was used to create a mood for a dessert chocolate mousse (Viennois), baroque music in a commercial for a French specialty called “*foie gras*” and the Crédit Agricole used “Imagine” by John Lennon as a way of creating a positive mood for viewers and prompt them to imagine what their life would be like if they decided to bank with Crédit Agricole.

However, even if all French communicators were convinced that aesthetics were important they also believed that this notion of aesthetics had to be closely linked to utility, and that they could not, as one advertising communicator said “do pretty advertising for prettiness’ sake”³⁸. As one communicator noted: “When it is beautiful and it serves the idea, OK, but if it serves nothing else than being beautiful then it goes down the drain.”³⁹

French communicators’ self-criticism

One would expect French communicators to be absolutely confident about the efficacy of their communication style and that they would assume that the meanings conveyed by their “high-context” commercials were unambiguous to French viewers. It would be a reasonable expectation that French communicators

as senders of messages are convinced that receivers who engage in the communicative process can decipher high-context messages because they have the same cognitive and emotive cultural background. One would expect that French communicators are certain that the linguistic and iconic implicit cues they give in commercials are decoded by viewers with the help of the same implicit cultural knowledge.

However, the comments of French communicators revealed that they were very critical of their own communicative approach and of the tendency of French advertising discourse to have recourse too often to indirect communication especially not engaging with the act of consumption. French communicators were all conscious – and to a certain extent annoyed – at their usual recourse to indirect formulations that demand an excess of productive work from them and interpretative work for the viewers. The French advertising communicative approach was regularly contrasted with English advertising in order to show the complexity of French thinking and French commercial communication. As one communicator put it:

The English are the only guys who know how to communicate an idea simply and in an exceptional manner. We [French] in order to have a funny idea it is always very complicated and they [the English] you see films of such simplicity and you think, Yes!... English advertising communicators, in order to go from A to B they follow a straight line. The French advertising communicator goes like that, I have an idea, I have another one, I have an idea, I have another one, I have an idea, I have another one, and he gets to D. He changes his mind like that ... we do not know how to say something simply, we do not know... it is cultural, linguistic, it is a system of thinking which is totally different...⁴⁰

Interestingly there was no certainty from French communicators as to the efficacy of their use of implicit cues, just the realisation of engaging in a more risky communication. There was a sentiment among French communicators that French advertising in general did not measure quite well the balance between implicit and explicit signs. As one communicator noted:

At the same time it is more honest to do that [direct, hard sell] it is more honest, it is “look, here I am to sell you something, I am here to sell”. Me unfortunately, with my method, I am here to sell but at the same time I disguise it so much that they [viewers] don’t know it anymore and that could be a problem.⁴¹

Another French communicator added:

[French advertising] is advertising that tries to construct something rational, often starting from a point of view that is totally irrational, totally crazy, and totally stupid. There is a strategic angle, which is wrong, which is totally arbitrary, and from there we are going to construct a kind of gas factory of rationality to justify all that.... It constantly tries to justify itself... There is no simplicity in the points of view. English advertising generally takes a direct angle of attack, very direct, very simple and tries to go the furthest possible in creativity whereas we don't. We have products which are called "*le beurre cru aussi bon que cuit*", and you ask yourself, wait a minute, what is it?...I think that there is very often a real absence of common sense in [French] advertising.⁴²

Here it is interesting to refer back to the importance of the old discursive formation on politeness. As France (1992) noted, authors such as La Bruyère Molière, and D'Alembert pointed out some of the negative effects of the politeness social phenomenon warning against the debilitating effects of politeness. Interestingly the French communicators' comments reveal a similar sentiment towards their own excessive disguise of commercial messages as seductive and polite messages. Just as La Bruyère had doubts about the superficiality of polished manners in a nation such as France (France, 1992, p. 358), French communicators had doubts about their own way of disguising, embellishing, and polishing commercial communication.

French communicators' apparent subjection to the authority of old discursive formations on politeness and money and, at the same time, their rejection of those is interesting. It is clear that French communicators had a tendency to feel as if they had to adhere to the prescription of old discursive formations on money and politeness in order to find some common ground with the public on which to base their communication. In participating and perpetuating these traditional old discursive formations, French communicators probably believed that they could have a common cultural, traditional, cognitive and emotional complicity with the public on the 'traditional truth' about money, selling, and politeness. However, the problem is that these main discursive formations are not obviously compatible with advertising discourse, which is a commercial discourse revolving around notions of selling and money. French advertising discourse therefore did not put the emphasis on the 'truth' and 'immediacy' of commercial dealings but switched

the attention on the relationship between sender and receiver itself. A typical French communicators' wish was to first and foremost construct a 'symmetrical relation', foregrounding proximity and complicity between sender and receiver around old discursive formations.

It is important to add that the lack of directness in commercial communication was also the result of client pressure on the agencies. A common complaint by French communicators was that clients themselves were not sure about the kind of communication they were ready to accept and the type of message they were willing to propose to their audience. As one communicator explained, in some ways, this uncertainty and wavering affected the relationship of confidence between agency and client and acted as a curb to certain types of creativity:

That's our relation to money, again... We are certainly a very peculiar country! We want to do commerce but we still want it to be art, we are always in between the two...and as a result it is not easy, the relationship between the agency and the clients is not really transparent. Honestly, we have some big brands, we are not always sure what they are playing at, I mean they ask us for efficacy but sometimes when we do something too "brutal" they say "oh but wait a minute, this should be a bit more subtle."⁴³

As these remarks by French communicators reveal, clients were obviously also subjected to the same discursive formation on politeness and money/commerce and were certainly also influential in the final recreation of the dominant advertising style in France. Clients were another piece, and a major one, in the pressured cultural environment that helped to shape French commercial communication.

New Zealand: A more explicit, direct, low context approach

Whereas French advertising discourse created a majority of dramas, and indirect communication messages, New Zealand advertising discourse relied more on lectures and on messages using demonstrations and recommendations. A common discursive technique in New Zealand advertising consisted of executing a communicative act that "lectured" viewers through direct address, argumentation, evidence, and instruction. Lecture commercials gave recommendations to subject viewers and clear arguments for purchasing products. Accordingly, they

attempted to engage in a very coherent discourse. The communicative effort was more centred on the transmission of knowledge about the product than in French television advertising. The lecturing lesson, as in all pedagogical discourses, constructed a dissimilar relation between subject viewers and lecturer, in that those who received the communication were obviously considered devoid of a certain knowledge that the expert was charged with transmitting.

Lecture commercials used overt and explicit messages that were plainly coded and verbalised specific details about the product advertised. Of course there were advertising messages that used a soft sell, drama approach, but the dominant approach was a lower-context discourse than in France. New Zealand commercials were more frequently constructed around a model that favoured a more direct presentation of the product and whose purpose was to communicate unambiguous meaning. New Zealand television advertising discourse did not put as much emphasis on contextual information as French television advertising. It relied on the real, the immediate, and on the direct and tangible content of discourse more than French television advertising discourse. In a way, New Zealand television advertising was more “pornographic” than French television advertising which, as noted earlier, lost itself in the rejection of that model.

A common discursive practice in New Zealand television advertising, consisted in presenting the product at the beginning of the message and enumerating practical information on product qualities and commercial value. The construction of visual and textual elements was constructed according to a cumulative model creating a redundant effect. The discourse or the voice-over was often a literal restatement or paraphrase of the image. A commercial for the Daihatsu Feroza illustrates this discursive technique. The commercial worked like a jigsaw puzzle; images of parts of the car as well as technical information – “full chassis” –, were presented on screen at the same time as a male voice-over “explained” the iconic message:

Buy the new Daihatsu Feroza in pieces, buy this much now and we'll loan you the rest for two years interest free. Let your Daihatsu dealer put the pieces together for you. New Feroza. Quality four wheel drive at a price you can afford.

Obviously promotional retail commercials clearly contributed to the dominance of lecture commercials within the New Zealand advertising discourse. Promotional commercials frequently used this phenomenon of redundancy between the iconic and linguistic messages obviously with the intent of reinforcing the selling proposition. Some commercials, for instance, set up a person moving about a store, touching a specific appliance, saying the name and giving the price of that appliance while at the same time the price and name of the product appeared on screen. Many examples could be given of this technique which aimed at hammering out a key message of good deals through mutual reinforcement of both image and linguistic content. However, when retail and local commercials were taken out of the New Zealand corpus, lecture models were still dominant. So too was the reliance on linguistic demonstration or recommendations and the focus on price and the price vocabulary register.

The lecture style was found to work hard to be recognised as a discourse of truth by subject viewers. This discourse of truth had recourse to specific procedures that worked to ensure credibility and legitimacy. Local celebrity endorsers, and also mature people were used as a guarantee of experience and reliability. A mature lady was, for instance, utilised to lecture viewers on the virtues of Panadol, a pain relieving medicine:

You've probably been feeling rather confused about the number of pain relievers now available. But what you may not know is that a number of them can cause irritation to your stomach. Panadol however brings fast and effective relief from headache, mosquito pain, toothache and other aches and pains but is gentle to the stomach, which should relieve your mind as well as your pain. Naturally use Panadol only as directed and please see your doctor if pain persists. Panadol, New Zealand's most recommended pain reliever.

Commercials not only explained what products were, but also had the aim of explaining how to use these products through a lecture demonstration. For example in one commercial a man demonstrated the different uses of Selley's Space Invader foam. The handyman was shown applying the product to different places while at the same time explaining his actions and describing the versatility of the product.

This is new Selleys' Space Invader. A polyurethane based expanding filler, for all holes and cavities around the home, where draft... noise ...and pests get in. Space invader expands as it sets, so it doesn't just cover holes, it fills them completely.

Language particularities

The study also isolated certain language particularities in New Zealand television advertising discourse. The use of injunction through imperatives was common and much more frequent than in French advertising. It tended to make New Zealand advertising communication more authoritative than in France. As a general rule, advertising messages conveyed straight out the directive illocutionary force of a command apparently intended by the communicators through the recurrent use of imperatives. Constructions such as “**Call** now and get Sky installed for just \$25”, or “**See** your nearest Travel Time Harvey world travel office...”, all participated in a direct, and directive, style of communication.

As interviews with New Zealand communicators revealed, unlike in France, hard sell, direct messages were considered perfectly acceptable. When asked what they thought of hard sell, all New Zealand communicators but one answered that they did not think that it was something uninteresting or unacceptable to do. Comments went from “No I don't think so at all” to “It's not boring; if it's right for the product, and so you know, it's the right mindset to be.” Unlike their French counterparts, New Zealand communicators seemed to easily accept and enjoy working with that communication technique.

There was also a clear belief that hard sell direct messages worked on certain occasions. New Zealand communicators' comments went from “sometimes people should be told plainly what to do” to “it can work yes, it's got its place”, or “it is very limited products that it can work for but I think it can”. A New Zealand communicator, even though he was more cautious than others about the hard sell communication technique, argued:

I think it works for certain categories whether it is a retail offer... you know, people tune into what they want to, you know. If they are in the market for a really cheap fridge and there's a hard banging voice on the radio which is going to talk about the cheapest whiteware in town right now you know, you're probably going to tune in because you are interested.

This acceptance of hard sell techniques did not in any way mean that New Zealand advertising communicators were not also concerned about the aesthetics of their work, and about the importance of emotion and mood in commercial messages. Although aesthetics did not appear to be as much an obsession as in France, emotion and originality were also considered important features of a good commercial. As one New Zealand communicator noted;

The emotional response that the ad actually manages to get out of me [is important]...if it's a very emotive piece you know that pulls the heart strings...that's how I evaluate good work, something that cuts through everything else for a start, cuts through the clutter of advertising that's on air... so I guess it's that ability to stand out, to cut through, to reach you either mentally or in the heart in a way that is quite surprising or new or different.

What was apparent from interviews though, was that New Zealand communicators were less narrow-minded than French communicators when it came to judging this communication format. They did not mind representing the real and the immediate in their communications through what the French viewpoint would consider as a more 'pornographic discourse'.

The presence of retail advertising on television in New Zealand needs to be taken into account here again. It undoubtedly has an influence on what communicators think and on what is, and what is not, considered acceptable in terms of advertising format. In other words, it can be said that communicators' perception of advertising is shaped by what they observe in their environment and by what they are used to work on. Advertising format is shaped by the cultural pressure and the established communicative and sociocultural environment to which communicators belong. French advertising communicators who do not work on retail commercials have, as a result, developed the view that the hard sell/lecture approach is unacceptable in television advertising and that the seductive approach is the 'natural' way of doing things. On the other hand, New Zealand communicators who work on retail television commercials, observe them in everyday New Zealand television advertising discourse, and work in a more "aggressive" advertising environment with frequent commercial breaks, have developed the view that a more promotional advertising format of communication on television is acceptable. As a result of this greater 'naturalisation' of

demonstrative lecture format, New Zealand television advertising discourse was further ‘colonised’ by this type of direct discourse and had an extra facet which hardly existed in French television advertising.

Emphasis on urgency

As I noted in the chapter on voice-overs, urgency was one of the features conveyed by New Zealand voices that contrasted with the French vocal approach. Other linguistic features of New Zealand advertising discourse, such as specific recurrent lexical units, reinforced this finding.

One of the interesting recurrent linguistic features was the use of the word “now”, which was employed in different linguistic contexts, almost as a mind-numbing punctuating device, in order to express urgency whereas it was never used in French advertising discourse. “Now” worked as a temporal deictic linguistic marker, anchoring the message in a context of time, as much as an enunciative marker which acted as a mark of lecture/hard sell advertising in New Zealand.

Male voice-over: You can join weight watchers **now** and save 31 dollars.

Female actress: At weight watchers the scales really are tipped your way.

Male voice-over: Join weight watchers **now** and save 31 dollars.
Register free. Join weight watchers **now**.

Through usage of “now”, for example direct injunctions such as “Book now!” “Ring now!”, New Zealand advertising discourse prompted viewers to react instantly to advertising messages. Messages such as “Buy your new kitchen *now* from the new kitchen studio and you’re in the draw...” or “Escape from winter *now*, to your own treasure island...” or “now, they’re back” used the same discursive technique; they gave viewers a tight time frame to engage in the act of consumption, effectively asking consumers/viewers to precipitate their purchasing decision. Urgency was also expressed through other lexical units such as “only”, “soon” or “hurry” as when viewers/consumers were told that there were “**Only** 7 days to go...” in order to be able to acquire the advertised products, that the winter sale was “**finishing soon**”, or that a deal was “going to be hot so **hurry**”. In any case the New Zealand advertising discursive approach created through the use of these lexical units contrasted totally with the French discursive approach.

Competitions: Win!

Competitions were often the reason for the recurrent use of urgency in New Zealand television advertising. This study found that the mission of many of New Zealand commercials was to promote competitions organised within a limited time frame in which prizes could be won. In many cases, communication of these promotional messages was done with an emphasis on urgency and prizes could be won on condition that consumers were quick to enter. Messages such as “Buy your new kitchen *now* from the new kitchen studio and you’re in the draw...” participated in this kind of discourse. Some commercials for competitions however, did not put the emphasis on urgency but simply had the mission to generate interest in competitions and draws. Mobil tempted viewers by plainly explaining that, “if you take a dollar fifty to Mobil you can get two Crunchie bars plus the chance to win prizes like a trip for two on the Orient Express”. The message then used an imperative to tell people to “Enter the Mobil lucky crunchy train competition.” What was interesting to find was that New Zealand television advertising discourse had an important mission to promote, not so much an added value of seduction or mystery like in France, but the added value of luck to an ordinary act of consumption.

Price

Another important difference between New Zealand and French television advertising discourse was the inclusion of price in commercials. As noted above, French television advertising rarely included price as an incentive for consumption. On the other hand, in New Zealand television advertising messages, the inclusion of price was commonplace. Price was included in many commercials through voice-overs and/or written captions such as “...all for only 3295+GST...”, or “Now \$84.99”. Words such as “save”, “cost”, “value for money”, “deal”, “buy”, “competitive prices”, “interest free” “great savings” were part of the linguistic register around which the discourse of price crystallised in commercials for the retail and non retail sector. Utterances such as “Save an incredible 50% on world famous MacLaren strollers”, “If you haven’t seen what your money buys, visit a dealer now”, “Briscoes winter sale, never before has so much cost so little”, or “Buy now with our twelve months interest-free terms” all made New Zealand subject viewers focus on the reality of consuming products, or

more precisely, of paying less for goods. Unlike in France, the act of buying, the core of the relationship between consumers and providers, was openly addressed by New Zealand television advertising.

This cultural communicative difference is perhaps best epitomized with the product category of jewellery. Jewellery is indeed something that is, in all cultures, given a very symbolic emotional meaning, and advertising is one of the primary ways of investing it with this meaning. Jewellery is usually articulated in advertising discourse with notions of love, beauty, and commitment. However, it was interesting to note that in New Zealand television advertising, jewellery was proposed to viewers through a hard sell discourse, a discourse devoid of seduction that stripped it of its emotional value and privileged the immediate and the real. Within the dominant communicative approach fostering redundancy, price and urgency, it was considered appropriate to sell jewellery solely on its market value, reducing its appropriation to a price issue, rather than communicating on its symbolic emotional value. In France, on the other hand, commercials for jewellery were engaged in a diametrically opposed strategy of convoluted seduction, for instance using nude female bodies morphing with golden rings to represent the purity of jewels.

In effect, most New Zealand commercials directly addressed three P's of marketing: product, price, place, and communicated this information openly and exactly to viewers/consumers. It is possible to argue that New Zealand advertising communicators who are used to seeing, and working with, promotional retail advertising have learnt to accept dealing with a more direct communication approach, whereas their French counterparts have obviously not. This 'naturalisation' of promotional advertising in New Zealand, to which New Zealand communicators are subject, would help in the colonisation of the whole television advertising discourse. As a result, the whole New Zealand advertising discourse was mainly direct, demonstrative and predominantly product oriented, which, according to Brassington and Pettitt (1997, p. 604), focuses on supporting the product in achieving its marketing goals. Even without counting retail commercials, New Zealand television advertising discourse's dominant practice relied on sales promotion techniques which as Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty

(2000, p. 402) noted, prompt consumers to take action, preferably immediate action. It offers extra incentives for consumers through price reductions, additional amounts of the product, cash, prizes and gifts, premiums special events, and so on. That is exactly what informative and injunctive messages of New Zealand advertising discourse were doing:

“Fax it! Today! at Dick Smith electronics. Buy this telecom fax 100 for just 440 +GST and get this fax pack with cleaning kit files and double adaptor absolutely free. It’s exclusive to Dick Smith Electronics.”

Conclusion

According to Charaudeau (1983, 1993), the success of communication – and therefore of advertising communication – depends on the performance of a communicative process based on the acceptance of a communication contract (*contrat de communication*) between encoder (*énonciateur*) and decoder (*énonciataire*). According to Charaudeau, the participants to a communication act tacitly accept a certain number of principles which make the exchange possible and accept a certain number of rules that manage it. Both sides know their rights and duties, as well as that of the other.

There is an obvious contract attached to the discourse of advertising. The advertising discourse indeed implies a “material” contract – the ‘act of commerce’ between two parties, the exchange of goods for money – between the advertiser (via its communicators) and the viewers/potential consumers. The advertising communication contract therefore depends on the acceptance of this fundamental material contract between both parties.

Within each culture – France or New Zealand – the material contract was negotiated differently because of strong implicit cultural pressure and, as a result, the communication contract had a different nature.

In France, where the concept of selling was almost taboo and imposing one’s point of view was unacceptable, communicators reverted to roundabout ways of promoting products, such as focusing on the context in which a product is utilised and avoiding direct selling propositions which would involve the mentioning of

money matters. French communicators were constantly reinforcing a communication contract that avoided the material contract on which it is actually built. In other words, French television advertising discourse used a high context approach, which favoured the implicit and indirect presentation of products or brands. Interviews with French communicators revealed that this communicative approach was due to their cultural knowledge about money and the act of commerce. Particularly, a cultural environment incorporating strong traditional discursive formations on money, politeness, commerce seemed to dictate the form of commercial communication and orient it to a tortuous and circumlocutory path. French communicators were caught in a discursive formation – supported by their clients and French culture at large – that creates knowledge about money and the act of selling as a shameful activity. They therefore resorted to a seductive discourse embodied in a range of texts that appeal to aesthetics and set up metaphorical or emotionally charged situations. Also, the hard sell discourse type was considered as a form of dictatorship. It was rejected unanimously by French communicators as an unacceptable form of communication because it did not fit in with the strong traditional discursive formation on politeness which has long been running through French culture for centuries.

In New Zealand on the other hand, the contract of communication was more closely linked to the material contract; in fact in the majority of messages the material contract and the communication contract almost coincided. The act of commerce was accepted as the foundation of the communication exchange between advertising communicators and viewers/potential consumers. Because of that acceptance, New Zealand television advertising was, in Baudrillard's words, more 'obscene' than French television advertising: it did not need to rely on secrets, on aesthetics, or on creating the illusion of emotion like French advertising. The dominant form of New Zealand television advertising was one in which the hallucination of the real, and the immediate, rules whereas the dominant form of French television advertising was one in which the hallucination of irrelevant details, and concealment, rules. New Zealand television advertising was engaged in a different logic than French television advertising discourse and was therefore involved in the creation of different knowledges about commerce. New Zealand television advertising discourse favoured low context, "decontextualised"

messages. Most advertising texts were explicit and favoured a direct presentation of products, or brands, through a redundancy of the iconic and linguistic messages. This hard sell dominant discourse put an emphasis on urgency through particular enunciative markers.

In re-creating specific enunciative strategies communicators re-created a cultural communication tradition which implied specific subject viewer/consumers in each culture. In New Zealand, subject viewers were constructed through the dominant discourse as consumers and pragmatists who were concerned about tangible attributes of products, and about direct factual information on what they were asked to consume. In France on the other hand, as a result of French communicators' direct avoidance of the act of commerce, subject viewers were mostly constructed as emotionally-involved individuals who needed contextual stimuli in order to be emotionally drawn into the communication and therefore implicated with the product.

In contrasting the discourse of advertising of New Zealand and France, it appeared that New Zealand advertising was more directive and perhaps more "violent" in its communicative approach than French advertising discourse. However, it could be argued that New Zealand advertising discourse was more direct and authoritative than French advertising only on the surface. As Rollin put it: "There is another kind of violence which does not have its name or appearance but which is no less dangerous: I mean seduction" ⁴⁴(Rollin, cited in Baudrillard, 1979, p. 240). The French seductive approach, which is nothing but a strategy motivated by commerce and money, is indeed a disguised form of authority and emotional violence that wishes to impose itself on subject viewers, but in a more devious way. Following Baudrillard (1979), it can be said that French communicators are in the business of making subject viewers assume their domination through seduction. French advertising, because it was not as direct, was arguably less honest about its intentions – to make people consume products and brands – than New Zealand advertising discourse, which was honest about its intentions and communicated its selling message openly.

The next chapter will be situated at the intersection of form and content in advertising discourse. It isolates linguistic forms that convey an important concept in advertising discourse, that of nation. The chapter will focus on and discuss the differences found in the use of linguistic forms relating to the notion of nation in French and particularly in New Zealand television advertising.

Table 4. Frequency of the three designed communication models

Advertising format	New Zealand (1)		France		New Zealand (2)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Model 1 Lecture	333	46.9	133	18.3	254	42.7
Model 2 Drama	166	23.4	346	47.6	162	27.2
Model 3 Lecture-drama	211	29.7	248	34.1	179	30.1
Total	710		727		595	

(1) Represents the whole advertising discourse.

(2) Represents the corpuses without retail commercials (New Zealand n=98) and local commercials (New Zealand n=17).

Table 5. Linguistic demonstrations and recommendations from lecturer's voice

	France		New Zealand (1)		New Zealand (2)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Linguistic demonstrations and Recommendations from lecturer's voice	232	31.9	374	73.3	267	44.9

(1) Represents the whole advertising discourse.

(2) Represents the corpuses without retail commercials (New Zealand n=98) and local commercials (New Zealand n=17).

Table 6. Number of commercials giving price

	France (1)		New Zealand (1)		New Zealand (2)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Commercial gives price	73	10	222	31.2	145	28.1
Price vocabulary register	106	14.6	283	39.8	196	38

(1) Represents the whole advertising discourse.

(2) Represents the corpuses without retail commercials (New Zealand n=98) and local commercials (New Zealand n=17).

Table 7. Use of teaser commercials

	France (1)		New Zealand (1)	
	n	%	n	%
Teaser commercials	180	24.7	120	16.9
	727		710	

None of the retail or local New Zealand commercials fitted in the teaser category.

¹ *Unités qui ont pour fonction d'articuler une énigme et les accidents variés qui peuvent préparer ou retarder la réponse.*

² *T'as pas envie de recevoir des ordres comme ça quoi. En France on n'est pas obéissant. On peut pas faire ça.*

³ *En France on rechigne un peu plus à utiliser la manière forte pour persuader les gens...Parce que le Français n'aime pas la manière forte. Le Français n'aime pas qu'on le commande. De tout temps de toute façon on n'a pas la discipline des Allemands, on n'a pas la discipline des anglais, il suffit qu'on ordonne quelque chose à un français pour qu'il fasse exactement le contraire. C'est comme ça. Encore une fois on n'est pas là pour faire changer les mentalités, on est là pour les étudier et jongler avec au mieux quoi.(plus tard) Il ne faut rien imposer de toute façon, c'est impossible. Le hard sell ça ne fait que hurler sur la tronche des gens ça les fait pas acheter plus si ils ont pas envie d'acheter.*

⁴ *Je pense qu'une publicité autoritaire ne marcherait pas. C'est par la séduction, la création de l'image, on fait adhérer les gens à des valeurs qu'on a en commun.*

⁵ *"On n'arrête pas un rêve qui marche. Mondial de l'automobile, du 3 au 13 octobre Paris."*

⁶ *Regardez, quand on peut choisir librement, l'automobile peut devenir un objet de rêve. Chez Ford, chaque modèle est au même prix, qu'il soit en trois, quatre, cinq portes ou break. La liberté de choisir à prix unique. Encore une idée qui nous rapproche.*

⁷ *Ca ne m'intéresse absolument pas, moi je déteste ça. Par rapport à tous les gants que j'aime prendre moi quand je fais une pub, moi je déteste ça, ça n'a aucun intérêt. C'est de la merde, moi j'aime bien au moins déguiser le truc, qu'il y ait une idée...des métaphores, des trucs drôles, une blague, une image qu'ils ne connaissent pas, tu vois....(plus tard) mais bon j'espère jamais faire ça, je le ferai pas.*

⁸ *C'est ce qu'on appelle le matraquage. Encore une fois ça aidera peut être à ce que quand ils vont se retrouver devant les linéaires ils se souviendront plus du dernier truc qu'ils auront entendu en fait. A mon avis c'est comme si on considérait que la meilleure façon de diriger un pays c'est d'instaurer une dictature quoi, ça veut rien dire.*

⁹ *Quelquefois avec mes mômes j'suis obligé de crier parceque j'ai pas d'autres solutions, alors je gueule. Quelquefois ça marche, malheureusement, quelquefois ça marche, mais ça marche sur les mômes. Ca marche sur les mômes. (rires) La plupart du temps je pense qu'on s'en sort beaucoup mieux sans gueuler. C'est pour ça que je pense que le hard sell*

c'est quelque chose qui doit être manipulé mais avec beaucoup de circonspection et de parcimonie.

¹⁰ *C'est insupportable, quand on va au festival à Cannes et qu'on arrive à la catégorie des grandes causes, c'est odieux, ce n'est qu'une suite de films les plus horribles les uns que les autres, avec des enfants handicapés.*

¹¹ *Les français se sont rendus compte que la publicité qui choque elle ne fait que produire un rejet. Les gens ne veulent pas voir. Dans les pays Anglophones il semble que à sujet violent on réponde avec les mêmes armes, qui est la violence et que ça marche.*

¹² *en France on a toujours plus besoin de mettre les formes.*

¹³ *Il y a cette idée que faire du commerce c'est un peu vulgaire et tout, c'est un peu honteux...d'ailleurs les français ne sont pas d'excellents vendeurs, ils sont pas connus pour ça être des excellents commerçants, peut être qu'il faut plus déguiser les choses.*

¹⁴ *Sur le marché de l'automobile, la promotion c'est devenu la règle... C'est à dire, elle a ça, elle a ça, elle a ça, on fait pas aussi hard sell mais le message promotionel devient un message de plus en plus important... je parle d'un secteur particulier effectivement. La ya une révolution dans le secteur automobile maintenant, ya 50% de la communication qui est de la promotion, c'est une nouveauté, c'est un changement, c'est normal sur un marché qui est a -30% et qui est en train de se casser la gueule.*

¹⁵ *Jusqu'au 12 Octobre dans le réseau Renault, aux journées de l'innovation, découvrez la nouvelle mégane scénic à partir de 99700 Francs, la nouvelle mégane classic, et enfin la nouvelle Safrane, trois nouveaux modèles en même temps, c'est quand même exceptionnel, ah oui!*

¹⁶ *Les infomerciaux ça a pas decollé. Mais même les films qui se terminent encore une fois avec les chiffres, les prix et tout, y'en a quasiment pas.*

¹⁷ *On est dans un pays où depuis quelques années, alors peut être qu'on a touché le fond, mais les gens sont très sensibles aux prix, les marques distributeur, les prix cassés etc. Les gens ont vraiment freiné sur la consommation. Il y a une grande attention aux prix. On est le pays en Europe où il y a la plus grande couverture de grande distribution, tous les prix ont été tirés vers le bas, les grandes marques ont dû baisser les prix, casser les prix mais ça n'a pas d'incidence sur la communication.*

¹⁸ *Les gens aiment qu'on dise qu'ils sont intelligents. Si toutes les marques en France disent j'suis pas cher, ça marche pas. J'suis pas cher implique j'ai pas d'argent, implique j'suis pauvre, implique j'suis con. Donc quand on dit j'suis pas cher ça veut dire t'es con. Donc les gens ils aiment pas qu'on leur dise qu'ils sont cons. Donc c'est vrai qu'on a plutôt intérêt à passer... t'es malin quoi. Donc on est dans la suggestion.*

¹⁹ *Ca veut dire qu'ils ont besoin d'argent... ca veut dire que derriere ca il faut qu'ils payent leurs impost ou quelque chose d'autre. C'est pas valorisant.*

²⁰ *Il y a un côté plus pervers du catholique par rapport au protestant. Un protestant, tout est dit, on cache pas, il y a une espèce de franchise, les règles sont clairement posées dès le départ, on parle d'argent, il y a pas de non-dit. Dans la religion catholique, c'est un peu noir, c'est un peu non dit, on cache les tableaux, donc dans ce non-dit il y a la suggestion qui s'infiltré...*

²¹ *Les français n'aiment pas qu'on les prenne pour des porte feuilles.*

²² *Elle se rapproche de l'art dans le sens art de la rethorique, c'est à dire comment mettre en place des stratégies de conviction ou de séduction dans un contexte donné, donc effectivement ça fleurte avec l'art de la réthorique. . . Il y a un truc latin où on est plus dans la suggestion, la séduction, le non-dit, le clin d'oeil, que tout démontrer, c'est un peu moins démonstratif que.. ouais...*

²³ *Même si on essaie de le faire bien, même si on essaie de le rendre séduisant, c'est toujours dans un but avoué... qu'on veuille faire rire ou séduire ou émouvoir c'est toujours dans un seul but: vendre. . . Mais de toute façon dans les rapports humains il faut toujours séduire, c'est pas propre à la communication commerciale hein. Quand on rencontre une fille eh bien il y a plusieurs façons de la séduire. Soit on est beau et au quel cas, mais ça suffit pas toujours, ou alors faut la faire marrer ou il faut l'épater par des prouesses intellectuelles ou physiques j'en sais rien, et bien la publicité elle est confrontée au même problème et en fonction de sa cible et bien elle change.*

²⁴ *La séduction est ce qui ôte au discours son sens et le détourne de sa vérité.*

²⁵ *Le rapport au commerce est très différent. Dans les pays anglo Saxons il n'y a pas de honte à vendre donc on peut le faire fortement. Dans les pays latins c'est un peu moins clair donc il faut plus passer par la séduction. On n'est profondément pas des pays libéraux au sens moderne...culturellement...donc ya pas... le libre échange il est né en Angleterre, il est pas né chez nous*

²⁶ *Le sens d'un discours n'a jamais séduit personne.*

²⁷ *C'est l'hallucination du détail qui règne.*

²⁸ *L'efficacité silencieuse dans un monde d'efficacité visible et de désenjouement.*

²⁹ *Ya tout un travail en amont de réflexion sur "c'est quoi la vérité de votre marque, c'est quoi la vérité du consommateur, c'est quoi la vérité de votre marché en terme de communication", sachant que la vérité, il ne suffit pas de regarder, ya un travail de dévoilement, c'est à dire, c'est un peu pédant mais je vais revenir à l'ethymologie grecque, ἀλήθεια, la vérité en grec, ça se déshabille, faut dénuder la vérité, on la voit jamais, elle est cachée . . .*

³⁰ *Pour les anglo Saxons on va être moins direct, c'est à dire qu'on va vouloir créer des valeurs de marque. J'ai bossé beaucoup pour des clients anglo Saxons, des anglais ou des américains. . . "The product is, tell them my product is good and buy it" et puis nous on arrive, "well the meaning of the brand is..." donc on va être un peu plus philosophique entre guillemet, plus idéalistes si on oppose le côté pragmatique des anglos Saxons par rapport au côté plus idéaliste des latins en tout cas français donc plus idéaliste à vouloir créer des valeurs de marque, communiquer plus sur des valeurs que sur des bénéfices produit. On va vraiment parler de la valeur. C'est quoi la valeur de la marque, c'est quoi la vision de la marque, à quoi elle croit. C'est pas des entreprises en France, c'est l'ONU, il y a une vision du monde, c'est des philosophes.*

³¹ *C'est en s'inspirant des techniques les plus avancées en matière de chaleur que nous avons appris à réchauffer 45 millions de personnes. Primagaz, L'énergie d'aller plus loin.*

³² *Quand elle me prend dans ses bras, qu'elle me parle tout bas, je vois la vie en rose.*

³³ *Il y a quelques valeurs clés que la publicité se réapproprie à toutes les sauces, il y a la famille. Donc en période de crise, en période où la famille est un truc qui n'existe plus, y a un espèce de phantasme collectif de la famille cocon où chacun a ses libertés. C'est plus famille je vous hais, c'est famille je vous aime aujourd'hui. Y a donc la famille à toutes les sauces.*

³⁴ *L'enfance devient quelque chose de très important, tout ça c'est lié à la crise, car comme on sait pas où on va, peut être que les seuls à savoir où on ira demain c'est les enfants. Donc l'enfant c'est la technologie, il comprend tout, il est intuitif.*

³⁵ *La beauté et le grand spectacle je trouve ça merveilleux.*

³⁶ *La publicité française veut souvent séduire. Elle a des impulsions esthétiques.*

³⁷ *La publicité française est toujours réputée jolie, bien réalisée, voilà ce qu'on attribue à la publicité française, par rapport à la publicité anglaise qui est pleine d'idées, humoristique.*

³⁸ *faire du joli parce que c'est joli.*

³⁹ *Quand c'est joli et que ça sert l'idée d'accord, mais si ça sert à rien d'autre que d'être joli alors là ça passe à l'as.*

⁴⁰ *Les anglais c'est les seuls mecs qui savent dire une idée simplement de façon exceptionnelle. Nous, pour avoir une idée amusante, c'est toujours très compliqué, et eux tu vois des films d'une telle simplicité tu te dis ah ouais!... Un publicitaire anglais, pour aller de A à B il fait une ligne droite. Le publicitaire français il fait comme ça, j'ai une idée, j'en ai une autre, j'ai une idée, j'en ai une autre, il arrive à D, il change d'avis comme ça. Nous on ne sait pas dire un truc simplement on ne sait pas... C'est culturel, linguistique, c'est un système de pensée totalement différent.*

⁴¹ *En même temps c'est des publicités, c'est plus honnête de faire ça. C'est "regardez, voilà, je suis là pour vous vendre". Moi malheureusement avec mon système moi je me dis, je suis là pour vendre mais en même temps je le déguise tellement qu'ils le savent plus quoi, et ça peut être gênant.*

⁴² *C'est une publicité qui essaie de construire beaucoup de rationnel souvent à partir d'un point qui est totalement irrationnel, totalement fou, totalement idiot. Ya un angle stratégique qui est pas juste, qui est faux, qui est totalement arbitraire et puis à partir de là on va construire une espèce d'usine à gaz de rationalité pour justifier tout ça. C'est une publicité qui se justifie. Ya pas de simplicité dans le point de vue. La publicité anglaise elle souvent prend généralement un angle d'attaque très direct très simple et va plus loin possible en création alors que nous non. Nous c'est des produits qui s'appellent genre "le beurre cru aussi bon que cuit", tu te dis attends, c'est quoi? Et puis ça se passe au 16e siècle avec des gens en perruque tu vois...Moi j'trouve qu'il y a une absence de bon sens souvent dans la pub.*

⁴³ *C'est encore ce rapport à l'argent. On est un pays particulier quand même. On veut faire du commerce mais on veut quand même que ça reste de l'art, on est tout le temps entre les deux quoi et du coup c'est pas évident. Les rapports sont pas vraiment affichés entre les annonceurs et les clients. Sincèrement on a des grandes marques on ne sait pas toujours où ils jouent quoi., c'est à dire qu'ils nous demandent de l'efficacité mais de*

temps en temps quand on fait un truc trop brutal ils disent “ ah mais oui attendez, faudrait quand même que ce soit plus subtil”.

⁴⁴ *Il est une autre sorte de violence, qui n'en a ni le nom ni l'extérieur, mais qui n'en est pas moins dangereuse: je veux dire la seduction.*

CHAPTER 6

THE NOTION OF NATION IN NEW ZEALAND AND FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Introduction

This chapter is situated at the intersection of the study of form and content of advertising discourse. It reports a considerable difference in the amount of national key words used in each advertising discourse. Cross-cultural analysis revealed prominent recurrent linguistic forms in New Zealand television advertising discourse that could be grouped together as they referred to the same object, the nation. These forms, which provided a kind of linguistic architecture or linguistic grammar signifying the concept of nation, were so widely dispersed across advertising texts, as to indicate a pattern in communicators' thinking. They both reflected and participated in a strong discursive formation on the notion of nation that permeated New Zealand television advertising discourse.

This chapter focuses on these linguistic devices. Their aim in commercial communication was clearly to place products or brands within the national context as a way of making them desirable. The chapter takes into account comments by New Zealand and French advertising communicators and describes when, how, and for what purpose, these recurrent linguistic terms were used in advertising discourse. Accordingly, it concentrates on the particularity of the New Zealand advertising discourse to participate actively in a more or less explicit construction of identity through advertising. It looks at the formation of symbolical national linguistic referents with which viewers of the nation are asked to identify before they proceed to the act of consumption. This aspect is specific to New Zealand

television advertising and is one of the distinctive research findings of this study. The notion of nation central to this chapter, which proved to be very important in the functioning of New Zealand television advertising discourse, will also be developed later in chapters 8 and 9.

Cultural key words

Fairclough (1992) argued that “discursive practice is manifested in linguistic form” (p. 71) and that any sort of textual feature is potentially significant in discourse analysis (see also Fairclough, 1995a). Fairclough (1992) further argued that textual analysis should deal with textual features such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Foregrounding, and, particularly, recurrence, of specific words within advertising discourse can indeed be particularly significant. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1992) defined recurrence as “the straightforward repetition of elements or patterns” (p. 49) and identified lexical recurrence, the repetition of the same words or expressions, as being the most noticeable sort. Recurrence, or frequency, or, in fact, overuse, of words, makes these particular lexical units very important words or key words in any discourse.

However, frequency only gives quantitative results. It does not reveal how important a key word is in one culture, what role it plays in that culture’s communication, and in what linguistic or discursive structure it is utilised. That is why Wierzbicka’s (1997) definition of key words as “words which are particularly important and revealing in a given culture” (p. 15) and Williams’s (1988, p. 15) definition as words that bind together certain ways of seeing culture and society is interesting and helpful in this chapter that aims to relate linguistic recurrence or “the wording of meanings” with “facets of wider social and cultural processes” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 185). Adding to Williams’s historical dimension of the notion of key words, Hartmann and Stork (1972), following Ullmann (1960), defined key words as “those terms which represent the concepts and ideals typical of a period or social group” (p. 122). This idea, that key words are terms epitomising the ideals of a particular culture and period, is particularly interesting for our purpose. It means that the recurrence, and therefore the foregrounding, of specific words or linguistic expressions in advertising discourse, would be focal

points that could reveal particular discursive practices institutionalised by advertising communication within a particular culture. As such they become “culturally salient ‘key words’ which are worth focusing on in social research” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 186).

In terms of identifying key words, Wierzbicka (1997, p. 16) also remarked that there is “no objective discovery procedure” for identifying them. However, examining word frequency (see Carroll, Davies, & Richman, 1971) within a particular corpus is a legitimate method, although “the results will always be affected by the size of the corpus and the choice of the texts entered in it” (Wierzbicka, 1997, p. 12). According to Wierzbicka (1997), what matters is “whether or not [the researchers’] choices led them to significant insights recognized by others familiar with the cultures in question” (p. 17). As she further notes,

the question is not to “prove” whether or not a particular word is one of the culture’s key words, but rather to be able to say something significant and revealing about that culture by undertaking an in depth study of some of them. (p. 16)

In line with Wierzbicka’s rationale, this chapter limits its study to a corpus of commercials from a specific period and obviously does not pretend to generalise its findings to the whole culture in which the messages were created. It nevertheless wishes to understand the use of these key words within advertising communication and to appreciate to what extent their use is commercially and/or culturally motivated.

Method

As noted in chapter 3, 180 random commercials from the New Zealand and French corpuses were transcribed and used as a sample for investigating the use of recurrent linguistic terms. In addition, a careful aural and visual reading of the rest of the corpus confirmed findings from the samples. Key words related to the notion of nation were not determined prior to the search and therefore the search was not limited to certain lexical units or linguistic forms. The investigation revealed a significant difference in the diversity, but also in the amount, and, also, as I will consider in this chapter, in the way these key terms were used.

In New Zealand television advertising, a clear emphasis was put on the notion of nation through linguistic devices and iconic imagery (see Table 8, p. 157). This study found that 12.25% of all New Zealand commercials used key words related to the notion of nation – which I called “national key words”. Words such as “New Zealand”, “Kiwi”, “New Zealander(s)”, “Godzone”, “nationwide” and “Auckland” were regularly used in New Zealand commercials. New Zealand communicators used a discursive practice that clearly insisted on the notion of nation through such key words. National key words were also not reserved for a specific kind of product or brand but were used across product categories. Brands of cars, mineral water, airlines, brands of tyres, pet food products, petrol stations and so on, all gave their communication a national spin, articulating them with national key words. On the other hand, only 0.82% of all French commercials used “national key words” such as “France”, or “Français(e)”, or “Paris”. The considerably lower percentage provided evidence that this consistent and distinctive discursive practice in New Zealand advertising barely existed in the French environment.

The notion of Nation in New Zealand

Authors such as King (1991), Bell (1996), Phillips (1987), Williams (1997), Perry (1994), have noted that New Zealand is embarked in a quest for self-definition. This quest is manifested in the recurrence of national ego-boosting messages in the media that promote national consciousness through clear, explicit cultural myths and clear images of the nation. Perry (1994) for example noted that in New Zealand there is “a crippling sentimental cultural nationalism in everything from best-selling management textbooks to the design of export logos” (p. 95).

Imagery that supports New Zealand myths, “national parks of the mind” as Murdock (1996, p. 4) called them, address anxieties about New Zealand’s national identity and place in the world. As Perry (1994) noted, these recurrent images of the nation reveal a fear that “the centre is somewhere else” (p. 77). It seems indeed that an important aspect of the central role of New Zealand mythical themes is linked to the question of globalisation and to the notion of periphery versus centre. As Laponce (1980) noted, the notions of centre and periphery are

locate and imagine ourselves. Being at the centre creates a feeling of integration whereas being on the periphery creates a feeling of isolation. A longing for being “integrated” might therefore be the drive behind a persistent national imagery focussing on success and pride.

Head (1991) noted that, in New Zealand “the landscape is more crucial to our identity than it is in older nations, where culture suffices, and it is the age factor that makes it so” (p. 23). Hobsbawm (1983, 1999) indeed argued that in France for example, the idea of nation is spread through the construction of republican monuments, public ceremonies, and also through “primary education, imbued with revolutionary and republican principles and content” (1983, p. 271). In New Zealand on the other hand, Bell (1996) suggested that national mythology puts forward the rural, natural, pure, and preserved character of New Zealand. As Bell noted, New Zealand media often evokes the magnificence of nature and rural life. White-capped mountains and still lakes, in particular, are constructed as eminent national symbols that depict New Zealand as unique and different from other places. Perry (1994) also showed how advertising privileged glamorised images of rural versus metropolitan men, using romanticised pioneer bushman icons, such as Barry Crump, in advertising messages. Therefore the natural/geographic environment participates in a discourse that contributes to the imagining of the nation and promotes a certain form of national consciousness.

As Lapierre (1984) noted, collective identity is built on the work of selective collective memory, and it is people in power who direct the selection of the imagery that will contribute to the construction of collective identity. In the context of this study, the people in power whose practices help in the shaping of collective national identity are clearly advertising communicators who select what they think are appropriate images in order to promote brands, or products, to specific audiences. Advertising communicators do “the imagining” for viewers and they do this imagining through providing subject positions for viewers. They create specific “national subject positions”, admirable models of kiwi attitude that promote certain national values and behaviours. Using Holland and Gentry’s (1997) notion of “intercultural accommodation” we can say that communicators’ strategically improve their communication with subject viewers through a cultural

accommodation behaviour that consists in “using language, art, national flags or other cultural symbols as part of the brand or promotion” (p. 483). The difference in New Zealand television advertising is that this discursive technique is not applied across two cultures – as in Holland & Gentry’s (1997) example, where the dominant Anglo culture targets ethnic cultures such as black Americans using their cultural symbols – but interestingly, and curiously, within one single national culture.

This chapter argues that, in order to sell products or brands, New Zealand communicators have institutionalised a linguistic discourse practice that consists of two simultaneous steps: addressing subject viewers as New Zealanders, and addressing them as consumers. These advertising communicators, unlike their French counterparts, often used this two-step process of pulling the viewers’ national heart strings before, indirectly, reaching for their wallets. The commercials that proposed this first step national identity to New Zealand viewers will be identified through use of linguistic words signifying the nation. I will also try to identify how these proposed national subject positions might attract viewers to consume brands or products and how they reinforced certain ideas of New Zealandness. I will begin by reviewing the position of advertising communicators vis a vis nationalistic discourse.

Interviews with advertising communicators

In their interviews, New Zealand advertising communicators clearly indicated that articulating the notion of nation in advertising was important. When asked what the unique characteristics of New Zealand advertising were, New Zealand communicators unanimously remarked that putting forward the fact that “New Zealand is unique” as one of them put it, was a very common and useful practice in New Zealand advertising. Bringing in national notions was thought to be crucial in the commercial communication process. As one communicator put it:

Using anything that’s going to try and drum up the pride that a New Zealander has in their country is always a good way to go because if you can endear the consumers to the brand that you are advertising through and stirring up all the things they have inside, that’s what you’re always going to be going for.

It was interesting to note that this national approach was considered important for New Zealand communicators because of a strong “imaginary formation” of consumers as compatriots living in a small community. As another New Zealand communicator put it: “New Zealanders are quite patriotic because we’re such a small country, so we’re always, you know, trying to do things that connect to New Zealanders”.

On the other hand, in the context of France, it has been noted by authors such as Yonnet (1993) how, in France, anti-racism and anti-nationalism values that sprang from the May 1968 “revolution”, have created a hegemonic discourse of national self-disgust in response to De Gaulle’s extreme vision of French “*grandeur*”. This ideology of anti nationalism would be carried by the generation that was engaged in the May 1968 movement, and that have now reached positions of power (see also Rigby, 2001).

It was interesting to find that, for all French advertising communicators, *Francitude* or *nationalisme* or *patriotisme* were old-fashioned values that did not have their place in advertising. This finding can be linked to Appelbaum and Halliburton’s (1993) who pointed out that food and beverage French commercials hardly ever used country of origin approach and never demonstrated belongingness. As one French communicator explained, French belongingness was certainly not a draw card:

We are more into European values than French values. . .
[Frenchness] had value in the 50s-60s, there was a guy with a beret who said “the jug of calva”, French values were very alive.
. . there was the guy with his bread, baguette, his cheap wine,
well, it was Dubo Dubon Dubonnet, now almost never. ¹

For French advertising communicators, *francité* was something that needed to be used with parsimony in very specific cases, for instance:

France takes significance when we need to sell Frenchness to foreigners but that happens rarely. ²

According to French communicators, nationality was not to be claimed in French advertising and communicating national notions in a direct manner was avoided. National notions should only appear in commercials if they were particularly inherent to the product; *francité* should not be artificially apposed or attached to a

product. French communicators isolated cheese, particularly Camembert, as a product that could for example be associated with *francité*. However, this product could be attached to *francité* only because of its inevitable French origins. Two communicators argued:

- The aspect good cheese from home, no, no
- It is not expressed that directly
- Camembert is the most “*franchouillard*” thing there is, in what it represents. It is Normandy, there is an aspect. . . (laughs). So indeed we are not going to sell it talking about, making a film in which we say that people have walked on the moon. It is true that it is linked to the patrimony, but we will never use these values and stick them on something that does not need it fundamentally.³

Another communicator argued that the values used in commercials for Camembert were universal values rather than national ones:

We do not attach ourselves to nationalistic values, we attach ourselves to values that are a little bit more underlying which are rural countryside or authenticity, etc, and that has nothing particularly French. It is just a process of attaching ourselves to certain roots with all they carry to products in terms of reassurance, cosiness, and authenticity and truth. Then it is true that there are products that are sold like that, but it is not nationalism, it is “remember the good old days when we were young, now it is just as good as it used to”. It is not a will to remind ourselves that we are French, it is a will to remind ourselves that it was the good old days.⁴

For all French communicators, incorporating French values in advertising messages was not considered important at all; on the contrary it was considered as an unhelpful and negative thing to do. As another French communicator put it, *francitude*

It is not something that we claim, it is not crucial at all. I cannot think of any commercial that creates such a reflex . . . I cannot remember any single commercial that says France France France, because why should we sell France to French people, it is not worth the trouble. In France, nationalism is not an important value. France is not a nationalistic country. France loves itself with the same intensity as it hates itself. We could do it [use Frenchness] for a receptive public such as the English, but the French, well, I don't really see what it can achieve.⁵

Mapping nationality in its discourse contexts

This section will explore the many discursive contexts in which national key words were used in advertising discourse and examine why these national key words were used. It will consider to what extent the use of these key words is commercially and/or culturally motivated. Studying how, and with which notions, these national key words are articulated will help clarify the discursive practice used by New Zealand advertising communicators and, to a lesser extent, French advertising communicators. Examples will be used to illustrate the main points tackled.

Emphasis on the national location of events

In some commercials, the logic in the use of national key words was clear; a linguistic inclusion such as “New Zealand” was simply given as a reminder of the geographic location where events took place or where products could be bought. Utterances such as “the legendary jazz violinist Stéphane Grappelli makes his long awaited return *to New Zealand...*” or “a new driving force is arriving *in New Zealand*” (Caltex), or “Peter André...now live *in New Zealand* in October” for instance gave an indication of place to viewers/consumers.

Interestingly, however, New Zealand communicators institutionalised a cultural discursive strategy that prescribes that the nation should be part of the geographic description of the location of events. Place, one of the Ps of the marketing mix was in fact turned into N (nation) or had nation attached to it.

Even though the use of the word “New Zealand”, as the location for events, provides geographical information to viewers, it is also possible to question the real utility and preciseness of such linguistic inclusions. It should indeed already be clear that some event or some product advertised on New Zealand television will be taking place, or be available, in the New Zealand market. From this perspective, the linguistic notion of nation, through the word “New Zealand”, appeared rather unnecessary and redundant to include as it should be absolutely clear to consumers that events advertised on New Zealand television were not going to take place anywhere else. The vague notion of the whole nation carried

by the word “New Zealand” could indeed be taken away from these advertising messages without altering greatly their communicative efficacy.

The fact that the reiteration of this broad and vague notion of the whole nation was often superfluous and avoidable, and that this linguistic recurrence did not exist in France, support the view that there were cultural reasons behind this phenomenon. The discursive strategy seemed to address the anxieties of a “periphery audience”, of an audience living in a country on the margins of international attention whose feeling is that “the centre is somewhere else” (Perry, 1994, p. 77).

In order to mobilise viewers, New Zealand communicators used a discursive technique that relied on national key words and that consisted in communicating the fact that New Zealand was finally ‘at the centre’. The fact that something was happening *in New Zealand* was advertised as something exceptional and therefore something that should make subject viewers want to share in it. As a result, New Zealand communicators were advertising the country as a venue as much as the event itself often through hammering techniques realised in reinforcement of image and text. For instance, the emphasis on national locality in the commercial for the Peter André tour was reinforced by the juxtaposition of a male voice-over “now live *in New Zealand* in October” and a caption on screen “Live in NZ”.

This practice showed how New Zealand communicators were recreating a discursive formation that magnifies any event that takes place in their country and that prescribes that, in order to advertise an event, it is better to explicitly construct it as a national event. Communicators, when designing these nationally charged messages bet on New Zealand subject viewers’ pride in having extraordinary events happening in their country. It appears as if they thought that consumers needed to identify with an internationally successful nation in order to consume specific products or brands.

Telling viewers that products or brands are available within the national territory

In other cases the inclusion of the notion of nation through national key words seemed simply to be aimed at reassuring viewers/consumers that products or brands advertised were available everywhere in their country. National key words were therefore used to indicate that a product is widely and readily available on the national market. Many New Zealand commercials used the term “nationwide”, sometimes in conjunction with a map of New Zealand that conveyed the different locations where products could be found or the service could be offered. A similar discursive technique was found in French advertising, although it was very rare – in three French commercials only. *Visual opticiens* told viewers that they could find “350 opticiens en France”, Euromaster claimed that there was “300 Euromaster en France”, and the *Crédit Immobilier de France* assured potential customers that “*partout en France avec nous vous pouvez*” (everywhere in France, with us, you can).

Advertising the national origin of products

National key words also participated in a discourse that emphasised the fact that a product was made in the country in which it was advertised. The concept of ethnocentrism pitched communication is relevant to this point. As Myung–Soo (1998) explains, “ethnocentrism pitched advertisements attempt to generate more favorable dispositions (i.e. higher purchase intention and quality evaluation) to domestic products by appealing to consumers’ ethnocentrism, which is defined as “consumers’ love and concern for one’s own country and the fear of losing control of one’s economic interest” (p. 447) (see also Sharma, Shimp, & Shin, 1995). Research in the US has for instance shown that “television advertisements aimed at arousing consumers’ patriotic emotions may be successful in producing behavioral responses in favor of domestic products” (Han, 1988, p. 31).

Although there is no proof that consumer patriotism of the New Zealand public has an effect on intentions to purchase domestic versus foreign products, the discursive practice of arousing consumers’ patriotic emotions was widely used in New Zealand television advertising but was never used in French commercials. Many New Zealand brands associated their names with the nation through the

addition of national key words. Kiwi Airlines, NZI Insurance, NZ Natural were some of the brands that capitalised on the notion of nation with their very names. In a similar fashion, many commercials put an emphasis on the notion of national origin of products or brands. H2go was not just presented as mineral water but was “New Zealand mineral water” and NZ Natural, another brand of mineral water, advertised its belonging to the land through its very name, but also through images of the Southern Alps and mythical New Zealand notions expressed through emotionally charged terms:

Just you and *Godzone*. It’s a feeling so good you wish someone could bottle it. *NZ Natural mineral water, sourced right here in the southern alps.*

Other brands plainly implied that consumers should consume them simply because they were made in New Zealand. Bell tea highlighted New Zealand tradition with the fact that they had been “*New Zealand’s own* for over 100 years” as if this fact could influence viewers to consume this particular brand of tea. Hannahs, a shoe retailer, used the argument that some of their shoes were made with New Zealand leather, Cavalier Bremworth carpets emphasised the fact that their products were made with wool “grown in New Zealand” and Greenslades furniture assured viewers that one of the sofas they were promoting was “100% New Zealand leather”. Another example could be given of a commercial for Summit shirts, which tied the country look of its shirts together with the notion of nation. Using a ‘motherly’ discourse, a woman’s voice-over enumerated the positive points of the Summit shirts to a very laconic husband. One of the positive points to which the husband reacted the most was the fact that the shirts were manufactured “right here in New Zealand”:

Woman: I bought you some more Summit shirts.

Man: ah Yeah.

Woman: Look at the patterns, fashionable checks and the lovely colours.

Man: (sigh) yeah.

Woman: And the material, it feels so warm and comfortable with a country look.

Man: Yeah

Woman: They’re easy fit, it’s handy for you isn’t it?

Man: Yeah.

Woman: And they make them for women too, *right here in New Zealand.*

Man: Ah yeah!

Woman: We could wear them together couldn't we?

Man: Yeah.

The fact that products were made in New Zealand or that brands were of New Zealand origin was clearly considered by New Zealand advertising communicators as an incentive for consumption. On the other hand, in France, advertising the national origins of products or brands was not done. Interestingly, French communicators' view of ethnocentrism was very negative. When a product or brand was French it was "better not to claim it"⁶:

Nowadays Citroën do not say (putting on a typical French peasant accent) "the good car made in our factories" (laughs) . . . as a matter of fact automobile brands much prefer to be seen as European brands than French brands. Because if I did not buy Citroën or Peugeot for a long time it is because they were French brands. I think there are a lot of people who did not buy these brands because it was too obviously written "French" on them . . . the job of Peugeot or Citroën at a certain point is to erase the national notion . . . "I'm going to help the French economy because I am buying a French car" is something that is outdated I think.⁷

On the other hand it was interesting to see that, in New Zealand advertising, communicators even appropriated people in the name of the nation. This was the case in a commercial for a Maori country rock musician called Dennis Marsh. Marsh was not advertised as an individual per se but labelled as a national citizen in the hope that this simple fact should make him popular and help him sell records:

This is the easy down to earth country style of *New Zealand's Dennis Marsh*. The new album 'Out of Nashville', recorded in the US with some of Nashville's best.

Curiously, through advertising discourse, it sounded as if the nation claimed and appropriated Marsh's fame. The nation enclosed him, gave him his significance but also, in a way, took away his individuality.

Advertising products as particularly adapted to the local environment

National key words were not only used to emphasise the idea that the product advertised was made within the national boundaries. National key words were

also simply used to highlight or to indicate to viewers that a specific product was particularly adapted to the New Zealand environment.

For instance, Genesis, a brand of insecticide for the farm, claimed that their product was “developed *in New Zealand for New Zealand farms*”. Undoubtedly, the logic behind this argument was that any product that is locally made would be better adapted to New Zealanders’ needs. This can therefore be considered as ethnocentrism pitched advertising. However, this was not always true as communicators also used this discursive strategy for international brands. New Zealand advertising communicators made ethnocentrism pitched communication available, through the repetitive use of national key words, not only to local brands, but also to foreign brands. A great number of advertising messages were part of a masquerade that disguised foreign brands with a New Zealand linguistic and/or iconic national image.

For instance, commercials for Firestone tried very hard to convince consumers that their tyres were adapted to New Zealand roads and to make their brand find a place in New Zealanders’ minds and hearts.

If it doesn’t use international technology. If it isn’t *designed for New Zealand conditions*, if it isn’t proven in the Indy 500, then it isn’t in the race. When you have to depend on one tyre, depend on a Firestone.

What was interesting here, and illustrates a discursive technique used in many New Zealand commercials, was how New Zealand and the overseas world were put in parallel. In this case the overseas world and the Indy 500 were given as two proofs of the excellence of Firestone tyres. The overseas outside world, signifying technology and embodied in a famous event (The Indy 500) was presented to viewers as a benchmark for and a guarantee of quality, as a place where excellence was achieved and rewarded. New Zealand, on the other hand, was presented as a guarantee that the product was adapted and performed well in the consumers’ environment. Therefore the discursive technique consisted in making subject viewers feel as if Firestone was not only internationally proven but also adapted to specific New Zealand conditions.

Another discursive technique used in New Zealand advertising consisted in constructing New Zealand as a very special place. This place was so different from “overseas” that products had to be made especially for it. Interestingly, representing “overseas” usually involved the setting up of New Zealand against the rest of the world. The very vague concept of “overseas” used in New Zealand advertising texts encompassed the whole world and in effect, in the Firestone commercial, New Zealand roads were set up as tougher than any other road anywhere else on the planet. New Zealand communicators constructed the national environment as something special that contrasted so much with the rest of the world that products had to be made, and bought, for this special environment. Of course, at the same time, communicators boosted subject viewers’ pride in their country’s special status and this something special was turned into an incentive for viewers to make their life depend on the specially adapted Firestone tyre. The linguistic text of this commercial literally hammered away on the New Zealand key word:

This is a piece of paved road found overseas and this is a piece of organic chip road found *exclusively in New Zealand*. To demonstrate how much tougher *the New Zealand roads* are, I’m going to use these apples. Now, let’s drive on the overseas roads, vroom vroom, and on *the New Zealand road* vroom vroom vroom. Now let’s compare apples with apples. So there you have it. If you’re looking for bargain price tyres, there’s only two tyres, the ones that are *made in New Zealand for New Zealand roads* and the ones that aren’t. The Firestone budget tyre, bargain price and *made in New Zealand*.

Advertising products as particularly adapted to New Zealanders

Whereas I just showed that national key words were used in commercials that emphasised the fact that products were specifically made for the New Zealand environment, national key words were also used in commercials that emphasised the fact that products were specifically made for New Zealanders. Linguistic utterances could communicate this notion in different ways in the most unusual contexts. The notion of citizenship was for example used for animals as in a commercial for Snappy Tom cat food, which assured viewers that “*the cats of New Zealand* have made their choice”. Advertising represented cats as citizens and cats were given not only a national identity but also a cultural identity that included eating habits. Animals, who as we know, have no nationality or culture,

were nevertheless given a national conscience that guided their choice. Strangely, the aim of the communication was to make pet owners respect the cultural-national choice of their pets so that they would buy perfectly adapted products for their nationally conscious animals.

The Barbecue Factory's communication bet on the propensity of viewers to identify themselves as "Kiwis", using a populist song that claimed kiwi nationality for their barbecues and basically equated the fabrication of a barbecue with the birth of a national citizen: "Where can I get a barbie of the highest quality, a bigger range of models, *kiwi made like me*." After this short song, the commercial proposed different models of barbecues to viewers, naturalising one of their models as the typical and long established object of every New Zealander's desire:

Male voice over: What about this super grill with three burners and a quality hard wood trolley, or the very portable round gas barbecue, and of course *the classic kiwi backyard barbecue*.

Obviously, in order to tell viewers that a product was particularly well adapted to New Zealanders, advertising communicators often needed to define what New Zealanders were. Commercial communication therefore linguistically, and iconically, associated themselves with New Zealand lifestyle stereotypes to which the products or brands advertised were particularly adapted.

Two commercials for Daihatsu demonstrated the way a foreign brand could be constructed as allowing New Zealanders to express 'their' New Zealand lifestyle. With the help of linguistic key words and appropriate imagery, the commercials literally told New Zealand viewers how they think, how they like to live, in effect, who they are. In one commercial the voice-over asserted: "*New Zealanders* like to enjoy their space, take a turn at things" whereas another commercial claimed that, "*New Zealanders* like to feel safe and sound, make grand entrances". Both commercials finally concluded: "Daihatsu Pyzar GRV, *suits New Zealanders* to a T".

None of the general statements given in these commercials – for example, "*New Zealanders* like to feel safe and sound" – were obviously based on any proven

truth; rather they were drawing on general myths of New Zealand life, they were attempts to make New Zealand subject viewers believe these were their values and that these very values matched perfectly the specificities of Daihatsu cars. The notion of space seemed to refer to a mythical notion of New Zealand as a 'spacious' country, possibly because of its small population, and the fact that "New Zealanders like to take a turn at things" seemed to relate to the mythical notion of kiwi ingenuity (which I will discuss in a later chapter). In any case it was clear that this discursive technique consisted in making cars fit in with the "national qualities" of New Zealanders and vice versa in making New Zealanders identify with the New Zealand qualities of the cars. Viewers who identified with these Kiwi values would obviously find the car ideal for them. Viewers who rejected the values proposed might reject the product; however, the identities and values presented were so obviously positive and flattering to New Zealanders that Daihatsu was assured of the adhesion of New Zealand subject viewers to the values proposed.

Certain foreign companies also constructed New Zealanders' ideal and unique consumption behaviour. For instance, New Zealand advertising communicators helped McDonald's insertion into Kiwi tradition. They did so by blending notions of international and national success; trumpeting the local qualities of "the unique world famous Big Mac burger *Kiwis choose like you*". The House of Travel's slogan "House of Travel, *How Kiwis see the world*" left no doubt about the particular suitability to New Zealanders of this travel agency's services. The slogan presented the service as adapted to the nation's psyche. House of Travel's service pretended to fit all New Zealanders' expectations of what travelling is. In the commercial, which was presented as a slide show of holiday destinations, a further New Zealand cultural – linguistic and iconic – sign was provided to viewers when the man showing the slides showed a photo of his feet, commenting; "Oh, and they are my *jandals!*". The "jandal", a typical New Zealand English word, worked as both a cultural iconic and linguistic sign, which helped the brand, fit even better in the national consciousness.

Glory in the global world

A specific discursive practice isolated in New Zealand advertising consisted in placing products or brands within the global context in order to glorify them and therefore make them more desirable. The interesting mechanism though, was that brands were first of all attached to the nation before being set up as a star in the global world. Therefore, through advertising, the nation, at the same time as the product, benefited from this global recognition. An example of this is illustrated in a commercial for the Aiwa mini system in which New Zealand was presented as the place on earth from which came the blasting sound of the new Aiwa stereo while a voice over complained: “Hm Hm. Can whoever it is *over there in New Zealand* with the Aiwa mini system, please turn it down a bit. Thank you”. Far away places such as Egypt, Switzerland, France and England referenced through geographic imagery were used as the proof of the power of the new sound system. One of the aims of this commercial was obviously to tell viewers that this particular product was available in New Zealand; however, the commercial also created an affective relationship between New Zealanders and their country, – and by extension with the product – in that New Zealanders could take pleasure in seeing their country being heard on a global scale and upsetting other places in the global world. Yet again, the commercial for a foreign brand did not address consumers as individuals but as part of the nation, as New Zealanders. The discursive technique used by advertising communicators was to flatter citizens through a demonstration of the existence and importance of their country in the world. The product was desirable because it was the instrument through which the country could be heard, figuratively and literally speaking in this case, on a global scale.

Commercials for Steinlager consistently used the strategy of glorifying the nation at the same time as promoting their brand. The brand claimed to be “New Zealand at its finest”, and claimed to be involved in a competition for excellence with the rest of the world on behalf of the nation. In a commercial that, on one level satirised American football hysteria, communicators set up a situation that allowed both the product and the New Zealand nation to be represented as superior. In the commercial a hysterical American football presenter approached a bar and ordered a beer:

Presenter: OK give me a bottle of San Diego Super Bowl stadium's no. 1 beer my man.

Barman: You betcha!_Judged the world's best beer!

Presenter: Ah Ah God bless America.

Barman: Oh no, *God bless New Zealand*. And they got the greatest football players in the world, no pads, no tights, they say they grow the world's finest hops.

Presenter: Green bullet hops? I never knew!

Male voice-over: At this most American event, they're drinking *New Zealand's finest beer*.

Young man at the bar: They uhh, took the America's Cup too.

The interesting part of this commercial and indeed of the whole Steinlager campaign, was how closely it linked the brand name to the name of the nation, and national achievement. Nationality was given as an integral part of the brand and obviously considered by the brand and advertising communicators to be an appropriate and useful notion to attach to the brand. The other point to note is the fact that, although this commercial was a satire of American life, it in fact revealed an admiration for American standards (by extension, the overseas world), as it was indeed against American high quality products that Steinlager was evaluated. The commercial communicated to subject viewers that New Zealand – thanks to Steinlager – could be superior to a leading and powerful country such as America. Accordingly they too could share the excellence of the nation and participate in national pride by consuming Steinlager.

This kind of discursive practice was commonplace in New Zealand advertising but was extremely rare in French advertising. Only two French commercials actually placed the product advertised as “a star” within the global context. One of these commercials was for Thomson, a French manufacturer of appliances and hi-fi equipment, in which a male presenter's argument for the proof of quality of this brand, was that 40% of American families owned a Thomson television. The success of the brand on the international level was used as a guarantee of quality and performance which would – advertising communicators hoped – make people consume the brand. Interestingly, just as in the Steinlager commercial, the Thomson commercial contained a caricature of American life in the form of a male sport fanatic switching constantly from one television channel to the other. Nevertheless, success on the American market was also presented as the pinnacle

of achievement, as the ultimate sign of success and quality of French products: “no wonder 40% of *American* families are equipped by this French manufacturer”⁸. Therefore both in New Zealand and France, there was a certain contradiction in the appreciation of America as it was both rejected and admired. American models of behaviour and lifestyle were caricatured and rejected; however, success on the American market was set up as a reference point and acknowledgement by Americans of the excellence of a national product.

Regionalism and “Europeanism” in French advertising

New Zealand advertising discourse mainly focussed on the notion of ‘one nation’ but very rarely distinguished regional identities. In New Zealand commercials, regionalism was hardly ever set up as a way of appearing closer to the consumers’ identity, except linguistically, with a focus on Auckland or in commercials for beer, and two commercials for cheese focussing on South Island lifestyle. Obviously, one of the reasons for this could be that regional identity in New Zealand is not as developed as in France where the process of identification with one’s region has been developed through centuries of history and customs and is still quite a powerful one. As a result of this shorter history, New Zealand regions do not have as many cultural and linguistic, and perhaps even natural regional icons, to refer to as French regions have. As a result, New Zealand advertising communicators tended to select imagery that represents the whole New Zealand nation.

In France the representation of the nation through advertising was often fragmented, through commercials that portrayed France as a collection of regions. In a commercial for *Crédit Immobilier de France*, for instance, the iconic message was a collection of portraits of people from different regions of France who were presented as discussing their future investments. In effect, the commercial presented a unified but at the same time a kaleidoscopic vision of France. People were all French but they also had distinctive regional identities revealed by their accents and the regional environment they were set up in. France was represented as diverse and viewers from each region were constructed as both national and regional citizens. This obviously had the advantage of further “localising” the communication by making viewers from different parts of France feel as if they

were addressed confidentially and as if *Crédit Immobilier de France* cared about their ‘double identity’.

In French advertising, the notion of nation was also used to place the nation within another developing concept: Europe. This tendency was noted by several French communicators who argued that European values were much more usable than French values in advertising. In two commercials for Euromaster “*spécialistes européens du pneu*”, France was included as part of Europe, and as belonging to the European market. The commercial used a German and a Swedish male mechanic as endorsers of the quality and availability of Euromaster services throughout Europe. Reference to France was not trumpeted throughout the message but made at the end of the commercial, in a short non-emphatic statement of four simple words: “*300 Euromaster en France*”.

Nevertheless, the inclusion of France into Europe did not always give rise to messages that promoted European harmony as in the Euromaster commercial. A commercial for *viande bovine de qualité* for instance set up the French nation as under threat from other European products that were presented as being harmful to French people’s health. In this particular case, British beef was implicitly questioned. The commercial played on imagery that emphasised the safe haven of the nation, starting with a satellite view of France and providing other images such as identity cards for cows on which appeared the initials FR to signify that the product was indeed a national one and did not come from another destination – particularly not from Great Britain. The voice-over reiterated the safety of French meat, emphasising the importance of putting one’s faith in “French professionals”, implying that not relying on national guarantee of safety could be fatal. This communication was also advertised as being co-financed by the European Community as a way of justifying the ethnocentrism of the message. French nationalism and the denunciation of unsafe British beef was therefore presented to consumers as being externally justified since the message was ratified by a higher level than the nation itself, the European Community.

It is clear, in addition to the rules on feeding animals, the *French professionals* of the beef meat industry inform you on the origin, the

type and the category thanks to the identity card of each cow. And that's not all, the cycle of criteria quality controlled guarantees the control by an independent body. Criteria of quality such as the minimum duration of seven days for maturation selected by certain brands, guarantee you a more tender meat.⁹

Blending notions of nationality and excellence: New Zealand's best..., New Zealand's most..., New Zealand's biggest..., New Zealand's no. 1

I now want to concentrate on the use of particular linguistic forms used in New Zealand advertising discourse that all relate to the notion of nation. O'Guinn, Allen, and Semenik (2000) remarked justly that "superlatives are understood by consumers as simply the standard language of advertising and are interpreted by consumers as such" (p. 109). Statements such as "the best" are purely subjective and cannot really be proved or disproved. This kind of exaggeration is called puffery. More precisely, Wells, Burnett, and Moriarty (2000) defined puffery as "advertising or other sales representations, which praise the item to be sold with subjective opinions, superlatives, or exaggerations, vaguely and generally, stating no specific facts" (p. 34). Arens (1996) defined puffery as "exaggerated, subjective claims that can't be proven true or false such as 'the best', 'premier', or 'the only way to fly' " (p. 43). Puffery then refers to "glorifying statements made about a product" (Wells et al. 2000, p. 34) and usually these statements concentrate their puffery on the product itself. For example Wells et al (2000) gave such examples as "The Best Seafood Restaurant" or "nothing outlasts an Eveready battery" (p. 34). This study found that a specific kind of puffery that included the notion of nation existed in New Zealand advertising.

Although some linguistic puffery solely concentrated on the virtues of the products or brands themselves, many New Zealand television advertising messages used a different kind of puffery which I would call "nationalistic puffery" and which consisted in keeping products or brands both within a context of excellence – with the use of terms such as "best", "largest" or "greatest" – and also within a national context by adding the notion of nation – usually through the term "New Zealand". Therefore, instead of claiming that a particular brand or product was the best in absolute terms, New Zealand communicators claimed that that the brand or product was the best within the New Zealand context. This

repetition of a specific linguistic pattern can, to a certain extent, be considered as an instance of parallelism. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1992) explained that parallelism “entails reusing surface formats but filling them with different expressions” (p. 57) and that “repeating a structure but filling it with new elements constitutes parallelism” (p. 49). This linguistic technique of lexical parallelism aimed at hammering on national meaning in which one term is constantly kept (*New Zealand’s most, New Zealand’s best, New Zealand’s largest, New Zealand’s own*) happened in a total of 17 New Zealand commercials. No instance of such a communication device was used in French advertising.

In many cases this kind of national puffery was utilised at the conclusion of advertising messages. Voice-overs, and/or captions on screen, at the end of commercials claimed the brand or product’s part in national fame with the help of assertions such as: “Stirling Sports, home of New Zealand’s best sport”, or “Avis, New Zealand’s number one”. Sportsworld, direct competitors of Stirling Sports affirmed at the end of one of their commercials, with the help of a very deep male voice, that Sportsworld was “the largest sports and leisure group in New Zealand”. Many other brands or products claimed their share of national fame and their place as consuming totems in the New Zealand culture with the help of this linguistic device; for instance Liquorland claimed to be “New Zealand’s favourite beer store”; Courier Post, “New Zealand’s hardest working courier company”, Finish, “New Zealand’s leading dishwashing detergent”; Air New Zealand “the airline of the world’s greatest travellers”; and a commercial for Panadol asserted that it was “New Zealand’s most recommended pain reliever.”

This linguistic device has been singled out as it revealed a very automatic, and therefore naturalised, way of comprehending the nation. The few examples given above show how the notion of nation could simply be associated to the name of a product or brand through a “possessive” linguistic device. Wyckham (1984) noted that television advertising uses a very informal approach to language. According to him advertising communicators use neologisms, slang and idiom, language inflation (the overuse of words such as ‘best’, ‘good’, ‘better’, ‘special’, ‘delicious’) and break the rules of punctuation in order to draw attention, be memorable and communicate clearly. In New Zealand advertising it did not seem

to matter whether possessive linguistic devices were articulated cohesively with the rest of the linguistic text in order to communicate clearly. As Cook (1992) noted, principles of cohesion in advertising are not always respected in contrast to other discourses because of the pressure on advertising texts to be concise. Myers (1994) also noted that advertising uses incomplete sentences, or enigmatic strategic waffle, that does not suggest much except vagueness. Fairclough (1992), Cook (1992), and Halliday (1985) justly pointed out that cohesion is an important feature of texts that reveals the modes of rationality of a text. The way “clauses are linked together into sentences and how sentences are in turn linked together to form longer units in texts” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 77) can also highlight how certain words are pushed together without any apparent logic.

Claims of being “New Zealand’s most famous” brand were mostly made in isolation or came at the end of commercial messages, possibly as a way of making them memorable. The positioning showed that these claims were not the result of a logical demonstration but were simply juxtaposed, attached as an added value of national fame. These linguistic devices were most of the time added on rather than being a logical grammatical component in a rational argument. For instance, Dulux Paint, in a commercial that set up a cat and a dog chasing each other and dirtying walls inside a house, claimed, in a non-cogent argument that: “The patented technology of Dulux wash and wear actually gives it a harder smoother finish, *making it New Zealand’s most washable stain resistant interior paint*. And that’s the Dulux difference.” Similarly, in a commercial which featured a strong gender stereotype of a young woman doing her washing, moving about her kitchen and then looking after her daughter, Farmers department store provided viewers with a mix of historical, material, and national reasons to buy their appliances at Farmers. All the national arguments towards the end of the commercial were literally stuck together in a non-cogent repetitive sequence:

Since 1937 Farmers and Fisher and Paykel have been bringing you the style to suit your lifestyle, we’re still doing it today with our easy-time credit plus no interest for six months on all Fisher and Paykel appliances, that means easy-time credit on this fridge freezer is just 12.99 a week and on this auto washer at just 7.75 a week. *More New Zealanders buy Fisher and Paykel appliances from Farmers. We’re New Zealand’s number one Fisher and Paykel store, because at Farmers the price is right.*

One is tempted to ask how statements such as, “Panadol. New Zealand’s most recommended pain reliever” could actually influence viewers to consume products or brand images. What does the claim that Finish is “New Zealand’s leading dishwashing detergent”, or that Avis is “New Zealand’s number one” supposed to mean for viewers/consumers? What is this kind of communication supposed to achieve? After all, as Wyckham (1984) argues, over-use of language inflation can have diminished communication effect, and “the advertiser who ignores the warning and does not research the question takes a great risk” (p. 305).

In some cases there was a clear logic behind this discursive practice. For instance, when Griffin’s explained that “at Griffin’s, we selected *New Zealand’s all time favourite cookie recipes* and the most delicious ingredients so that we could make cookies taste the way we know you love them best”, the communicators’ wish was obviously to make it obvious to the New Zealand public – represented by the intimate *you* in the address – that the brand had adapted its product to the country’s taste. The utterance, “New Zealand’s all time favourite cookie recipes” was also the proof that the brand took very seriously the consumers’ strong interest in national taste and tradition, an interest that they themselves constructed as paramount in consumers’ lives.

The use of the possessive – for instance, “New Zealand’s best...”, or “New Zealand’s finest...” – was also obviously a discursive technique that puts products in fierce competition within the national market and that simply implies that other brands or products are inferior. A commercial for Cavalier Bremworth Carpets that explained: “if you always wanted to enrich your home with *New Zealand’s finest pure wool carpet*, now is your chance with Cavalier Bremworth” in fact claimed that their brand represented the pinnacle of quality and therefore implied that all other competitors on the national market were inferior.

A commercial for State Insurance foregrounded the main logic behind this kind of discursive practice. The commercial only featured a text read by a male voice-over: “when looking for an insurance company, we all have the same choices. Yet *more New Zealanders choose one insurance above any other*. So isn’t it obvious who you should talk to?”. The first thing that was obvious to notice in this

message, although it was not clearly stated, was the implied argument that New Zealanders choose State Insurance because it is better than any other insurance companies and because State is the 'national authority' in insurances. However, the interesting point to note about this discursive technique is that, in declaring to viewers that "more New Zealanders choose one insurance above any other", communicators tried to make consumers conform to "the rule". In other words this communication promoted conformity and "normality" as it was implied that viewers should follow other New Zealanders' consumption habits. New Zealand advertising communicators therefore fostered the notion that consuming the norm is the thing to do; they promoted the idea that everyone should consume "New Zealand's most, New Zealand's best" products or brands, just because everybody else does.

Of course, this discursive strategy, because it fosters the norm and the popular, obviously creates the non-popular as worthless. As a consequence it lowers and rejects the non-standard and all unusual products or brands that are competing on the market. This type of discursive technique encourages conservatism by asking subject viewers to consume already established products and reject nationally "unapproved", new, or less successful ones. Therefore, communicators, in asking viewers to buy "New Zealand's best selling wagon" (Toyota) or go to "New Zealand's favourite beer store" (Liquorland), exert a pressure on viewers to be a standard consumer, and to be "normal" within their culture by following the "national consuming norm". The same logic lies behind advertising messages that generalise *behaviours* to the whole nation, for example commercials that proclaim that the Big Mac is the hamburger "that Kiwis choose like you" or that House of Travel's service is in tune with "how Kiwis see the world".

Communication that merely asks people to follow the consumption path of others and that simply reiterates notions of leadership is certainly not the most creative. It simply asserts the "leading qualities" of brands, relying on brands' supposedly established – but not proved – fame to convince people to "follow" the leader and stay in the path of normality. What communicators may not have realised however is that consumers might not want to follow the path of normality and authority. They might also not have realised that the use of "New Zealand's best"

or “New Zealand’s most” could be understood by some viewers as arguing that a product is best only within New Zealand but not first-class outside. In other words, a linguistic device such as “New Zealand’s best” could restrict the credibility of the product by imposing a national boundary to its excellence, hence having the opposite effect as intended.

Conclusion

One of the important differences explained in this chapter was that New Zealand television advertising discourse, through the recurrence of linguistic constructions that included words signifying the nation such as “New Zealand”, “New Zealander(s)”, “Kiwi(s)”, had a strong tendency to blend the notion of nation with brands. Advertising communicators often placed products or brands within a national framework embodied in linguistic forms and so invited viewers to think of themselves as citizens and about products or brands in terms of how they fit into their ‘socio-national universe’. Brands were advertised as being an integral part of the nation or of New Zealand’s way of life as when Daihatsu claimed that their cars “fit New Zealanders to a T”. On the other hand, French television advertising discourse hardly used national key words and when it did, these key words were part of a discourse that included products within Europe or which presented France as a mosaic of regions. French communicators argued categorically that explicit reference to national values was not helpful in advertising.

Investigation into the use of national key words also revealed how this phenomenon was both commercially and culturally motivated. There was always a commercial logic, as when communicators wished to put the emphasis on the national origin of products or when they wanted to communicate the fact that a product or a brand is available within the national territory, or when they wanted to communicate the fact that a product or brand is particularly adapted to the local environment or the local people. However, the use of these key words was also dictated by a cultural logic prescribed by a strong discursive tradition on the importance of nation.

In many cases the discursive technique used by New Zealand communicators aimed at flattering New Zealand citizens. Products, brands, or artists were “stamped with their New Zealand origin” in the hope that this would trigger consumers’ pride in belonging to the same successful extended family: the nation. Unlike their counterparts in France, New Zealand communicators assumed that nationalist linguistic discourses could have a commercial value and inspire New Zealand subject viewers to consume brands or products. They used the notion of national kinship as a core value of their commercial communication.

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1992) noted that in a text “recurrence is prominently used to assert and re-affirm one’s viewpoint” (p. 55). It is doubtful though that New Zealand communicators are, in each commercial, asserting an individual viewpoint. Rather, it is possible to argue that they are dependent on existing discourses and particularly on a discourse formation on nation that they also help re-create with their frequent use of national key words. The phenomenon of assertion and re-affirmation through linguistic recurrence indeed occurs at the level of the entire advertising discourse, since the same words and linguistic forms reoccur over and over again across many advertising texts designed by different advertising communicators. New Zealand communicators are caught in and re-create a particular discursive formation that determines what can and should be said and that in turn creates what can and should be expected. This discursive formation, materialised in recurrence of linguistic forms expressing the notion of nation, not only conditions communicators’ creativity but also in turn has an important impact on the way viewers expect New Zealand advertising to be. Using, re-using and over-using advertising ‘national linguistic forms’ naturalise these, impacting on the way subject viewers feel about their country and creating an expectation in consumers that advertising should be articulated with the nation.

Table 8: Frequency of commercials using “national key words” and “national imagery”.

	New Zealand		France	
	n	%	n	%
National Key words	87	12.25	6	0.82
National imagery	139	19.57	29	3.99
Total commercials	710		727	

Commercials that were categorised as using national imagery used clear national signs such as hyperbolic visions of national natural or cultural icons – including geographical places (e.g. clear hyperbolic focus on kiwi birds or Fjordland landscapes or the Eiffel tower in the case of France), people (e.g. well-known national figures), and artefacts (e.g. flags) -, or representation of typical New Zealand or French events (e.g. the overseas experience) or behaviours (e.g. the kiwi attitude).

¹ *On est quand même plus dans des valeurs européennes que des valeurs françaises . . . [la francité] c'était valable dans les années 50-60, il y avait le gars avec le béret qui disait, "le cruchon de calva", enfin les valeurs françaises étaient très présentes . . . c'était le mec avec le pain, la baguette, le pinard, enfin, c'était Dubo Dubon Dubonnet, là quasiment plus.*

² *La France prend une signification quand on doit vendre de la Francitude à des étrangers mais en l'occurrence ça arrive assez rarement.*

³ *-Le côté bon fromage bien de chez nous, non, non. . .
-C'est pas exprimé aussi directement.
-Le camembert, c'est le truc, plus franchouillard ya pas, dans ce que ça représente. C'est la Normandie, ya un côté. . . (rires) Donc effectivement on va pas le vendre en parlant de, en faisant un film où on dit qu'on a marché sur la lune. C'est vrai que ça se rattache au patrimoine, mais justement on utilisera pas ces valeurs pour les plaquer sur quelque chose qui n'en a pas besoin de façon fondamentale.*

⁴ *On se rattache pas à des valeurs nationalistes, on se rattache à des valeurs un petit peu plus sous-jacentes qui sont le terroir, l'authenticité, etc, et ça ça n'a rien de particulièrement français. C'est s'attacher aux racines avec ce qu'elles ont de rassurant de pépère et de gage de vérité et d'authenticité pour un produit. Alors là c'est vrai qu'il y a des produits qui se vendent comme ça mais c'est pas du nationalisme, c'est rappelez vous le bon temps quand on était jeune, maintenant c'est aussi bien qu'avant. C'est pas une volonté de se rappeler qu'on est français, c'est une volonté de se rappeler que c'était le bon temps.*

⁵ *C'est pas quelque chose qu'on revendique, c'est pas crucial du tout. Je vois pas de publicité qui fasse marcher ce réflexe là . . . je n'ai pas de souvenir d'une publicité qui dise la France, la France, la France, parce que qu'est-ce qu'on va vendre la France à des français, c'est pas la peine. C'est pas une valeur porteuse en France le nationalisme.*

C'est pas un pays nationaliste la France. La France s'aime et se déteste avec la même intensité. . . Autant on serait près à le faire [utiliser la francitude] pour un public réceptif comme les anglais, mais les français, bon, je vois pas très bien à quoi ça peut servir.

⁶ *Ne pas le revendiquer en tout cas.*

⁷ *Citroën aujourd'hui ils disent pas, (putting on a typical French peasant accent) "la bonne voiture fabriquée dans nos usines" (laughs) . . . en l'occurrence, pour les marques automobiles, elles ont beaucoup plus envie de passer pour des marques européennes que pour des marques françaises. Parceque moi si j'ai longtemps pas acheté Citroën ou Peugeot, c'est parceque c'était une marque française. Je pense qu'il y a une grande partie des gens qui achetaient pas ces marques là parcequ'il y avait marqué français dessus de façon trop évidente . . . le boulot de Peugeot ou de Citroën à un moment donné c'est de gommer l'idée nationaliste . . . "J'vais faire marcher l'économie française parceque je vais acheter une voiture française" c'est un truc qui est très dépassé je trouve.*

⁸ *Pas étonnant que 40% des familles américaines soit équipées par ce fabricant Français non?*

⁹ *C'est clair, en plus des règlementations sur l'alimentation des animaux, les professionnels Français de la viande bovine vous informent sur l'origine, le type et la catégorie, grâce à la carte d'identité de chaque bovin. Et ce n'est pas tout. Le cycle critère qualité contrôlée vous garantie le contrôle par un organisme indépendant. Des critères de qualité, sélectionnés par certaines marques, comme la durée minimum de maturation de sept jours, vous garantissant une viande plus tendre. Critères qualité contrôlée. Savoir pour mieux choisir. (programme cofinancé par la communauté européenne).*

CHAPTER 7

THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER IN NEW ZEALAND AND FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Introduction

This chapter examines the roles and behaviours of male and female characters as they were represented in the corpuses of New Zealand and French television advertising. Commercials in which advertising characters were portrayed, interacting, or not, with each other, were coded. Males and females' roles and the patterns of relationships between them were studied through content analysis and then through a semiotic analysis of the behavioural interaction of characters. This chapter is the first of two dealing with gender representations and is primarily quantitatively oriented. The following chapter on gender further explores one of the salient uses of gender in advertising discourse, that of the female character as *femme fatale* seductress in French television advertising.

Literature review of content analysis and gender portrayals

The idea that advertising is a theatrical production of gender is a widely accepted view (Goffman, 1979; Gunter, 1995; Simonton, 1995; Tebbel, 2000; Van Zoonen, 1994). So too is the view that advertising communicators want their advertising messages to be easily and quickly understood by viewers and that they therefore often use stereotypical situations and character roles identifiable without difficulty by audiences of a specific cultural environment (Leiss, Kline, & Jhally, 1986; Van Zoonen, 1994). As a result, the role adopted by men and women in commercials has consistently been found to be heavily stereotyped and often linked with

certain types of product being advertised (Gunter, 1995; Thoveron, 1987; Van Zoonen, 1994).

The fact that the media in general, and advertising in particular, proposes restrictively stereotypical portrayals of gender has been confirmed by many empirical studies based on different sample countries such as the US (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; McArthur & Resko, 1975), Portugal (Neto & Pinto, 1998), the United Kingdom (Furnham & Bitar 1993; Furnham & Skae, 1997), Italy (Furnham & Voli, 1989), or Australia (Mazzella et al., 1992). Studies of gender in advertising are obviously not restricted to the study of a single country. Some studies have dealt with more than one country; for instance Gilly (1988) compared the role of women in television advertising in Australia, Mexico, and the US. Also dealing with several countries, but with more geographical relevance to the present study, Whitelock and Jackson (1997) compared the role of women in television advertising in the UK and France. Furnham, Babitzkow, and Uguccioni (2000) also conducted an investigation of gender stereotyping in television commercials from France and Denmark, while Furnham and Farragher (2000) compared television commercials from New Zealand and France.

A certain number of findings recur in most studies on the use of gender in advertising messages. One of the recurrent findings from all the studies reviewed is that women are numerically underrepresented – in other words females are less likely to be the central character of commercials than men – and women are also disadvantaged in terms of the nature of their appearance in commercials (Furnham & Voli, 1989; Mazella, Durkin, Cerini & Buralli, 1992; McArthur & Resko, 1975; Neto & Pinto, 1998). These studies have also commented on the limited and inexact representation of women's roles proposed by advertising (even though it is obviously extremely difficult to define what an "exact representation" of women –or men for that matter – is, or should be).

Numerous studies have identified other basic recurring characteristics and patterns of gender portrayals (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Furnham & Bitar, 1993; Furnham & Skae, 1997; Furnham & Voli, 1989; Mazzella et al., 1992; McArthur & Resko, 1975; Neto & Pinto, 1998). The main recurrent findings have been compiled by

Furnham and Mak (1999) in a study which compares the findings from different time periods and countries. Across all nations, studies relentlessly report that men are more likely than women to act as authoritative central figures in commercials and then conclude that men act as the authority of a product more than women who are usually typecast as product users (McArthur & Resko, 1975; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Neto & Pinto, 1998; Furnham & Voli, 1989; Mazzella et al., 1992; Furnham, Babitzkow, & Ugucioni, 2000). On the other hand, men are more frequently depicted in autonomous roles – often portrayed as professionals – than women who are less likely to be portrayed in an occupational setting (Whitelock & Jackson, 1997) but are more likely to have dependent roles such as parent, spouse or homemaker (Mazzella et al., 1992).

Studies have also found that women have historically been more likely to be portrayed in a domestic situation and more likely to be associated disproportionately with commercials for domestic products than men who have been associated with non-domestic product categories and environments (Furnham, Babitzkow, & Ugucioni, 2000; Mazzella et al., 1992). Consistent with their dependent roles in advertising messages, women are also more often portrayed at home whereas men are more frequently portrayed in diverse locations or engaged in leisure/outdoor activities (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Furnham & Skae, 1997; Whitelock & Jackson, 1997).

Studies also show that, in commercials, men are often associated with practical or pleasurable rewards while females are associated more often with social approval or self-enhancement (Furnham, Babitzkow, & Ugucioni, 2000; Furnham, Mak, & Tanidjojo, 2000; Neto & Pinto, 1998). Another recurrent observation is that women in commercials are consistently portrayed as younger than men. Most studies show that young women and middle-aged men are the main age categories of central characters of commercials (Furnham, Babitzkow, & Ugucioni, 2000; Furnham & Skae, 1997; Neto & Pinto, 1998; Whitelock & Jackson, 1997).

According to most studies, these features have not clearly evolved since the 1970s although some studies in the US and Europe have illustrated that women no longer have the exclusivity of featuring in commercials for domestic products and

are more present in commercials for non-domestic products. Studies by Weigel and Loomis (1981) and Knill, Pesch, Pursey, Gilpin, and Perloff (1981) already indicated changes toward a broader representation of female roles suggesting that more and more women were given more authoritative roles as consumers and product representatives. More recently, Furnham and Skae (1997) in Britain and Whitelock and Jackson (1997) in Britain and France detected small changes in gender roles stereotypes in commercials particularly in the depiction of women, finding that women were less dependent and less tied to domestic settings and products than they used to. In any case, one clear point is that the cultural environment does have an impact on the evolution of gender portrayal. Recent studies in Asia for example show that gender stereotyping is not declining there and prove that the pattern of gender role stereotyping is culturally based and not homogenous for all countries (Furnham & Mak, 1999).

Studies on the portrayal of gender in advertising messages in New Zealand and France

New Zealand and France have received much less attention than, for example, Britain or Australia. However, a few studies on gender role stereotyping in French advertising have been undertaken. France has been the subject of a few studies which have given different and sometimes contradictory results. Findings reported in a study by Furnham, Babitzkow, and Uguccioni (2000) are in line with those of previous studies from the US or the UK. Furnham et al. (2000) noted that, in French commercials, most female central figures were product users and men were more likely to be depicted as authorities (as e.g., in Whitelock & Jackson, 1997). Also, the percentages of women and men portrayed as professionals in French commercials were similar but women were more likely to be portrayed as dependent than men (Furnham et al., 2000). Whitelock and Jackson (1997) also found that females in France and in the UK were less likely to be portrayed in a work situation than males. There was no significant difference for the location in which men and women were depicted although Whitelock and Jackson (1997) found that French women were more likely to be portrayed in the home than their British counterparts.

In agreement with findings from other countries, in both Whitelock and Jackson (1997) and Furnham, Babitzkow, and Ugucioni (2000), French commercials showed significant differences between the ages of central figures. In France, female central characters were more likely to be portrayed as young – 96% were portrayed as younger than 35 years old in Whitelock and Jackson's (1997) study – whereas most males were middle-aged. As far as product type was concerned, Furnham, Babitzkow, and Ugucioni (2000) found that women in French commercials were frequently associated with body and home products whereas men were more likely to be associated with auto/sports and food products. As far as the relation between central character and background is concerned, women were more likely than men to be portrayed with children.

Studies of French commercials also gave other distinct results. In the 1980s Thoveron (1987) reported that more males (59.4%) than females (40.6%) featured as central characters in French television advertising. However, in other studies, France is one of the few countries, along with Mexico (Gilly 1988), and Kenya (Mwangi 1996), in which it has been found that women were more likely to be the central character than men. This finding is also consistent with Whitelock and Jackson (1997), who found that in France women were more likely to be central characters than men (43% of males and 57% of females), and also consistent with findings by Furnham, Babitzkow, and Ugucioni (2000) who discovered that most visually-presented central figures were women, although their total sample of commercials combining visual and aural central figures comprised 55 % of males.

Furnham, Babitzkow, and Ugucioni (2000) also pointed out that France was an exception in its use of the end comment pattern for commercials. France was the only country in which the comment at the end of commercials was more likely to be given by women than by men. Similarly in the background scenes of the French commercials, in contrast with many other countries, males were more often depicted against a female background than a male background, whereas females were more often shown against a male background.

Whitelock and Jackson (1997) also found that only 17% of French females and 19% of French males were spokespersons for the product while Furnham,

Babitzkow, and Uguccioni (2000) noted that most French advertisements did not give factual arguments or opinions. However, Furnham et al (2000) noted that, in commercials in which central characters did use arguments or opinions, women gave their opinions about products more often than men did, and men gave more factual arguments than women.

All these findings are significant. However, the samples used by Whitelock and Jackson (1997) and Furnham, Babitzkow, and Uguccioni (2000) were respectively collected over 7 and 4 working days only – therefore a much more limited time span than this study. Furnham, Babitzkow, and Uguccioni’s study also included a mix of commercials from the morning, the afternoon and the evening, whereas the present study focuses on prime-time advertising and a longer collection period.

New Zealand

New Zealand has only been the subject of one content analysis study of gender roles in television commercials. Furnham and Farragher (2000) found that 57% of visually represented central figures and 81% of voice-overs were male. In terms of age, the majority of female characters were young (55%) and the majority of males were middle-aged (57%). Men were significantly more likely than women to be depicted as autonomous, in an occupational setting, or at leisure than women. Women were significantly more likely to be depicted in a domestic setting and portrayed in familial roles than men.

As far as product categories were concerned, Furnham and Farragher (2000) found that female central figures were more likely than males to be depicted in advertisements for body-related products and males were more likely than females to be portrayed in commercials for motoring-related products. Interestingly, males were found to be more likely than women to be users of the advertised product. Female characters were depicted as authorities on the advertised product as frequently as males, however, males were more likely to advance any kind of argument (factual or opinion) than were females. One of the concluding comments of Furnham and Farragher (2000) was that, contrary to predictions, “the New Zealand data was found to be more heavily sex-role stereotyped than the British data” (p. 415). They argued that “New Zealand advertisements would

seem to be more like Australian ads...and British ads of the early 1980's...which portrayed males as more likely than females to offer arguments in favor of the products they advertised, than like contemporary British commercials" (p. 433).

The impact of these representations on viewers

Obviously, as all these studies from different countries suggest, through this stereotyping, a certain knowledge about the nature of men and women's roles is formulated and disseminated by advertising messages. In line with cultivation theory (see Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1986) it has been argued, that such knowledge is transferred to, and learned by, television audiences and continues to foster a distorted common public vision and expectation about men and women's roles (Gunter, 1995; Walby, 1990). This distorted knowledge would be built through commercials which, according to Gunter (1987), have the most impact of all television programmes on social behaviour because they are often dynamic and attention getting.

Accordingly, as studies generally argue, the fact that females are more likely to be portrayed in a domestic situation than males would reinforce the idea, for example, that women have a life based at home and dominated by family, and that marriage and parenthood are more important to a woman than to a man. Similarly, the fact that women are portrayed as younger than men perpetuates the idea that women must remain youthful in appearance whereas men are allowed to show signs of aging. As Goffman (1979), and many other empirical studies reviewed, conclude, the focus on the young physical appearance of females reinforces the idea that women are valued by their attractiveness and sexuality while men are more valued in relation to other attributes such as personality, intelligence, or practicality.

Method

A total of 338 commercials containing characters in the New Zealand corpus and 302 in the French corpus were used in this study. Following other studies (Mazella, Durkin, Cerini, & Buralli, 1992; Neto & Pinto, 1998), all commercials containing cartoon, fantasy characters, animals, and other central figures that were not human were omitted. Commercials which used crowds were taken into

account provided that a prominent male and female character could be easily identified. Following Gilly (1988) no more than three central characters were coded in each commercial. If more than three characters were present in one commercial, the three most prominent figures were selected for coding. In the final sample of commercials, 451 central characters from the French corpus and 494 from the New Zealand corpus were coded.

Coding procedure

The coding of commercials was carried out following a specifically designed list of variables based on previous studies (Furnham & Bitar, 1993; Gilly, 1988; Harris & Stobart, 1986; Mazella, Durkin, Cerini, & Buralli, 1992; Neto & Pinto, 1998; Schneider & Schneider, 1979; Whitelock & Jackson, 1997). All these studies built on the comprehensive content categories developed by McArthur and Resko's (1975) ground breaking study (see Furnham & Mak, 1999). The variables selected for the present study were simplified and adapted to provide a relevant, and also a workable, framework for the size of the corpus. As recommended by Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986) all variables selected were mutually exclusive. These variables are given in Table 11 (p. 182).

Two coders, one male and one female both fluent in English and French were involved in the coding process of this part of the study. It was felt that a female coder was necessary in order to provide gender balance. Reliability of coding was ensured by each coding 30 commercials independently and subsequently discussing their findings. The rest of the commercials was coded by both coders simultaneously. As in studies by Schneider and Schneider (1979), and Gilly (1988), disagreement between the coders was resolved via discussion and consensus.

A complementary second step in the analysis of gender roles and behaviours involved conducting a semiotic analysis of the characters' behaviours and interactions. This process, carried out by the author, included considering communicators' use of characters as signs. It paid attention to how commercials marked out character roles through denoted and connoted signs, and how advertising characters interacted with each other through visual and aural signs

such as gestures and language. It also studied how characters were used as signs directed to subject viewers with a view to make them consume brands or products. Of course the previous content analysis coding by both coders helped considerably in the process of identifying recurring patterns of interaction or behaviours of male and female characters.

Results (1): Frequency of male and female characters in New Zealand and French television commercials (see Table 9, p. 181)

The frequency of use of male and female characters in commercials was calculated to see if there was a pattern in the use of gender in each particular advertising environment. Firstly a calculation was made of commercials in which only males appeared, secondly, one of commercials in which only females appeared, and thirdly, one of commercials in which both males and females appeared. This method was also used by Al-Olayan and Karande (2000).

The study found that most French commercials – about half – used situations involving both males and females (58.95% or n=178). Commercials in which only females were represented, were the next important group (22.85% or n=69), before commercials in which only males were portrayed (18.21% or n=55). These findings indicated that French advertising discourse tends to represent both genders quite evenly, at least in quantitative terms. These findings are in line with results from Whitelock and Jackson (1997) who found that females accounted for 57% of the central characters in evening prime-time French television advertising (6.30-10.30 pm) and findings from Furnham, Babitzkow, and Ugguccioni (1999) who found that their corpus of French television commercials had more visually presented female central characters (n=98) than visually presented male central characters (n=87).

New Zealand commercials revealed a different pattern. It was found that New Zealand television advertising used a lot of commercials in which only male characters were featured (41.12% or n=139). Commercials which used situations involving both genders were the next important group with 133 commercials (39.34%) using both males and females. Commercials in which only females were

used amounted to a total of 66 (19.52%), less than half the number of commercials solely using males.

The striking difference between the two advertising discourses resided in the fact that, in New Zealand television advertising, there were twice as many commercials featuring only males than in French television advertising. This finding can be paralleled with the finding of chapter one which revealed that voice-overs in New Zealand were mostly male whereas in France the vocal environment was more balanced. This study also revealed that French television advertising tended to use more commercials in which characters of both genders were used.

Results (2): Distribution of central characters according to gender and product type

The distribution of central characters according to gender and product type also produced contrasting findings. Table 10 (p. 181), gives the distribution of central characters according to product types; in other words it indicates whether males or females were more likely to be used to advertise certain categories of products than others.

In French television advertising, men and women central characters were used equally in commercials for most product categories (9 out of 13 product categories). In other words, as many men as women were found to be central characters in commercials for food and drinks, entertainment, clothing, electronic/household appliances, do-it yourself, services, and even automobiles and accessories. The product categories that revealed a difference in the use of gender in French television advertising were “personal and beauty care products”, and “household and cleaning products”. French women were more frequently shown with personal and beauty care products (n=39, 16.4%) than their male counterparts (n=20, 9.3%). French women were also more often associated with household and cleaning products (n=20, 8.4%) compared to French males (n=11, 5.2%) and were slightly more likely to be used as central figures in commercials for drugs and medicine (n=16, 6.7%) than males (n=13, 6.1%).

New Zealand television advertising revealed more dramatic differences between the genders. There were certain products for which the distribution of genders was equitable; for example, as many men as women were found to be central characters in commercials for clothing, and for services. Results showed that as many men (29.7%) were used as central characters in commercials for food and drinks as women (29.4%). However, there were many product categories which seemed to be very gender specific. New Zealand men appeared much more than women in commercials for entertainment (7.9% vs. 2%), for automobiles and accessories (11% vs. 4.4%), for do-it-yourself products (11.7% vs. 3.4%), for farming products (1.4% vs. 0%), sporting products (2.8% vs. 0.5%), and public services (8.6% vs. 6.8%). On the other hand, women were more frequently portrayed with electronic/household appliances (8.3% vs. 3.8%), personal and beauty care products (7.4%) than men (1%). Women were much more likely to be shown with household and cleaning products than men (9.8% vs. 3.1%) and with drugs and medicines than their male counterparts (6.9% vs. 3.4%).

Results (3): Gender and product categories: Comparing New Zealand and French male characters

A comparison of male central characters in French and New Zealand television advertising revealed striking similarities as well as differences. About the same proportions of New Zealand males (29.7%) as French males (25.8%) were found to be central characters in commercials for food/drinks. Interestingly, in both countries, the proportion of male central characters used in food/drinks commercials was higher to that of women. This phenomenon had already been noted in other studies (Furnham, Babitzkow, & Ugguccioni, 2000; Furnham & Skae, 1997; Furnham & Voli, 1989).

French male characters were used much more in personal and beauty care commercials (9.3%) than New Zealand males (1%). French men were also more likely to be used as central characters in commercials for automobiles and accessories (13.7% as opposed to 11% of New Zealand males), household and cleaning products (5.2% as opposed to 3.4%), drugs and medicine (6.1% as opposed to 3.1%), clothing (5.2% as opposed to 2.4%), electronic/household appliances (9.3% as opposed to 3.8%), and services (18.8% as opposed to 13.1%).

On the whole, French male characters were used in commercials for domestic products more than New Zealand male characters.

New Zealand males were more often used in commercials for entertainment products or services (7.9%) than French males (4.7%). There was also a significant difference in the use of males for the do-it-yourself category. New Zealand males were much more often used as central characters in this category (11.7%) than French males who were almost never central characters (0.9%) for the simple reason that the “do it yourself” category was almost non-existent in French television advertising. This study also found that New Zealand males were shown as central characters significantly more than French males in commercials for farming products (1.4% as opposed to 0%), sporting products (2.8% as opposed to 0.5%), and public services (8.6% as opposed to 0.5%).

Results (4): Gender and product categories: Comparing New Zealand and French female characters.

Results showed that female characters were used as central characters for household cleaning products more in New Zealand (9.8%) than in France (8.4%). In both countries the proportion of women used for the category of household and cleaning products was much higher than the proportion of men (although the gap between genders in this category was less marked in France than in New Zealand). Another category for which women were often central characters in both countries was drugs and medicine; 6.7% of French women and 6.9% of New Zealand women were used for this category of products. In both countries women outnumbered men in this category although the gap between genders was again much less marked in France than in New Zealand. Slightly more New Zealand women (8.3%) than French women (7.6%) were used in commercials for electronic/household appliances, and more French women (3.8%) than New Zealand women (2%) were found to be central characters in commercials for entertainment products or services.

This study found that French female characters were much more often used as central characters in commercials for personal and beauty care (16.4%) than New Zealand women (7.4%). There was also a significant difference in the use of

women for the automobiles and accessories category. French women were much more often used as central characters in this category (11.3%) than New Zealand women (4.4%). This study also found that French women were shown as central characters more than New Zealand women in commercials for clothing (4.3% in France as opposed to 2.9% in New Zealand).

New Zealand female characters, on the other hand, were more often used in commercials for food and drinks (29.4%) than French females (23.1%). New Zealand women were also more often used as central characters in commercials for services. New Zealand women were also more likely than French women to be used as central characters in commercials for do-it-yourself (3.4% as opposed to 0.8% of French women) and sporting products.

Results (5): Female characters, beauty and domestic products: A thread common to two cultural advertising discourses.

The linking of product type with gender illustrated how advertising, because it targets specific products at specific segments of the population, creates a natural match between certain gender segments of the population and specific product categories. The association of male characters in both discourses with entertainment products, with automobile and accessories, and in New Zealand especially, with do-it-yourself and sporting products, indeed reinforced ideas of the male as guardian of the practical, entertaining, athletic, and physical, world. On the other hand, the association of female characters with beauty products or household and cleaning products was clearly reinforced and naturalised by the images proposed in both advertising discourses. The association of New Zealand and French female characters with cleaning products clearly suggested that a woman's place and responsibility are firmly located within the home environment. This phenomenon was already noted 30 years ago by Dominick and Rauch (1971) and also validated by subsequent studies (Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Leigh, Rethans, & Reichenbach, 1987; Lovdal, 1989; McArthur & Resko, 1975; Schneider & Schneider, 1979).

Results (6): A clear match: Females and medicine

French and New Zealand female characters were consistently used in commercials for drugs and medicine. Female characters basically had the exclusivity of advertising such health care products. In these commercials, in both France and New Zealand, female characters were portrayed either as authorities/lecturers or in a traditional role of caring mother or wife. Mothers were portrayed as concerned about their children or husbands, or about themselves. Such close findings across two advertising discourses on one product category revealed how women, across two distinct western cultures, were typecast as comforting, soothing mother characters.

This stereotypical use of women as comforting and caring has been denounced by feminists as stemming out of a western discursive formation that creates a strong knowledge on the natural role and qualities of women (Autain, 2001; De Beauvoir, 1976; Friedan, 1965; Lips & Colwill, 1978). Feminists particularly argued that this specific role of women as caring characters is in accordance with a stereotypical view held by western culture since classical Greece that suggests that women are selfless, caring, nurturing and focused on others¹. Trying to work out whether caring is indeed a feminine trait or a construction of western culture, remains debatable. What was evident was that advertising communicators, across two different western cultures, were caught in this powerful discursive formation. In order to communicate efficiently and quickly to audiences, they created messages that fitted with the widely accepted regime of truth that articulates womanhood with caring. Caring and womanhood were mechanically articulated in both cultural environments.

Whereas the articulation of womanhood and caring, through association with medicine products, was a common feature of both advertising discourses, this study nevertheless found that the phenomenon of matching product categories with genders was more or less accentuated depending on the cultural context. French female characters were, for example, much more frequently portrayed with personal and beauty care products or clothing products than their New Zealand counterparts.

There were also divergences. French male characters tended to be included in commercials for traditionally female product categories such as beauty products, or household and cleaning products. Conversely, in New Zealand television advertising, female characters were included in traditionally male product categories. Content analysis indeed revealed that New Zealand female characters were much more likely than their French counterparts to be used as central characters in commercials for do-it-yourself and furniture related products, and sporting products. New Zealand female characters were also depicted in sporting activities more than French female characters (see chapter 9). The comparative approach therefore showed that New Zealand female characters, in participating in traditional male activities such as building and playing sports, were represented as being drawn into traditionally masculine territory more than their French counterparts.

While this quantitative information on the use of genders with product categories has informative value, it did not focus on the way genders were portrayed, or behaved, in commercials. The next part reveals the differences between genders in relation to the other coding categories used in this study.

Results (7): Other content categories (see table 11, p. 182)

Setting

In both French and New Zealand television advertising, females were more often portrayed at home than males. French males however, were more often portrayed at home (37%) than their New Zealand counterparts (22%). In both countries, males were also more likely to be depicted in an occupational setting or be associated with outdoors/leisure situations than women. Many more female characters in New Zealand advertising were portrayed in a store setting than French women.

Age

In both French and New Zealand television advertising, women were found to be younger than men. In both countries the majority of men were middle-aged. The French corpus showed that French males and females tended to be slightly younger than their New Zealand counterparts.

Credibility

Central characters in French commercials were more likely to be product users than in New Zealand where they tended to be authorities. In both countries, especially in New Zealand, women were more likely to be product users than men and men were more likely to be authorities.

Advice

New Zealand men were more likely to be givers of advice than New Zealand women who were more likely to be receivers of advice. The interesting contrast was that French female and male characters were found to be receivers and givers of advice in the same proportion. When comparing genders across countries, it was found that more French males were receivers of advice (13%) than New Zealand males (5%) and the same percentage of French males and New Zealand males were found to be givers of advice. When comparing female characters across cultures it was found that French females were more likely to be givers of advice (20%) than New Zealand females (11%).

Role

In both countries, more men were depicted in autonomous roles than women who were more often depicted as parent/spouse. These tendencies were more accentuated in New Zealand commercials than in French commercials. French commercials portrayed more men in the familial role of parent/spouse/partner (25%) than New Zealand commercials did (17%). French males were also less autonomous (72%) than New Zealand males (83%) whereas French female characters were found to be slightly more autonomous than their New Zealand counterparts.

Dress

In both countries the greatest percentage of males and females fit in the 'casual dress' category. However, both males and females in French commercials were dressed more formally than males and female characters in New Zealand commercials.

Discussion of results: Similarities with other studies

This study found that television commercials from New Zealand and France reiterate certain gender stereotypes already noted in previous studies. Just as other studies have found in other advertising environments (Furnham, Babitzkow, & Uguccioni, 2000; Furnham & Skae 1997; Mazzella et al., 1992; Neto & Pinto 1998; Whitelock & Jackson, 1997) female characters in both New Zealand and French commercials are portrayed as being younger than men who are more likely to be portrayed as middle-aged. Consistent with findings from Furnham, Babitzkow, and Uguccioni (2000) and Whitelock and Jackson (1997) and others, New Zealand and French male characters were depicted in autonomous roles more than women who were more likely to be depicted as parent/spouse or girlfriend. In French and New Zealand commercials, female characters were also more often portrayed at home than male characters, a pattern which has been noted by several other studies (Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Furnham, Babitzkow, & Uguccioni, 2000; Furnham & Voli, 1989; Whitelock & Jackson, 1997).

Differences from other studies

This study nevertheless revealed significant differences in the way genders were portrayed in French and New Zealand television advertising. Overall the gap – in quantitative terms – between women and men on most content analysis variables was wider in New Zealand advertising than in French advertising. In other words, more contrast in the portrayal of genders was found in New Zealand advertising than in French television advertising. It is also necessary to remember here that, quantitatively, the world of New Zealand television advertising was a more male world than the world of French television advertising. Indeed, as noted earlier, in the New Zealand corpus there were more than twice as many commercials with only males than commercials with only females, and only a third of the commercials featured both men and women. In New Zealand television advertising there were also a lot more male than female central characters.

In French television advertising, on the other hand, there were slightly more commercials with only women than men and almost half of the commercials featured both males and females. In French commercials, there were also more female than male central characters and as many men as women were found to be

central characters for 11 out of 14 product categories. In other words, men and women central characters were used evenly in commercials for the large majority of product categories.

The portrayal of female characters in New Zealand advertising also did not suggest, as it did in French advertising, that women should be well groomed and dressed in all situations. Just as New Zealand females' voices were not used to seduce consumers (see chapter 4), their presence was not used in a strategy of seduction. As I will argue in the next chapter, in New Zealand advertising unlike in French television advertising, seduction and "the feminine" (Baudrillard, 1979) were not as closely related. New Zealand female characters were given roles which involved a more neutral, more desexualised – and in some ways perhaps less traditionally sexist and less extremely stereotypical – gender behaviour than their French counterparts.²

Contrasting New Zealand and French male characters

There were also significant differences between the portrayal of male characters in French and New Zealand television advertising. Several representations of the male that existed in French advertising discourse – such as the emotional male/father; the male concerned about his appearance; the male turned into ridicule in the presence of women's superior intelligence, wisdom, or practicality; the man overtaken by events – hardly existed in New Zealand television advertising discourse.

The contrastive framework showed that French male characters were more involved in emotional situations than New Zealand men. When portrayed as partners or fathers, they often openly displayed emotion that was not signified by male characters in New Zealand commercials. Of course, the behaviour of French male characters was linked to the different product categories they were associated with. One of the facts that became clear in this study was that French male characters were included in traditional female product categories and were associated with products stereotypically reserved for women much more than New Zealand males. For instance, the category "household and cleaning products" revealed that the gap between males and females was less accentuated in French

than in New Zealand television advertising. As content analysis also revealed, French male characters were used much more in personal and beauty care commercials than New Zealand males and were portrayed in the role of parent/spouse/partner much more than New Zealand males. Such roles often involved warm and affectionate moments.

In French advertising, emotion and manliness were not incompatible elements whereas, in New Zealand television advertising, the combination of these two elements was an extremely rare occurrence. French male advertising characters were involved in scenes of tenderness – usually with children, family, and women – ; romance with women; social harmony – through scenes of socialisation around meals for example – ; and seduction, just as much as female characters. Several examples of commercials portrayed men as moved by poetry. Unlike in New Zealand, male characters were also shown enjoying grooming themselves and looking after their appearance in commercials for beauty products such as shampoos, shower gels, and perfumes. They were portrayed as being happy to be desirable, kissing, swinging into each others arms, and smiling at viewers, displaying signs more closely related to traditional femininity.

The picture that was portrayed of the New Zealand male by New Zealand television advertising was that of a person who is more practical, and more action oriented than French males. New Zealand males were action oriented because, as content analysis revealed, they frequently appeared in commercials for entertainment – almost twice as much as French males and almost three times as much as New Zealand females – and a lot of these commercials portrayed males in sporting situations. New Zealand advertising also contained a lot more commercials with professional male athletes as central characters than French advertising. This particular aspect of New Zealand advertising is so important that it will be discussed in chapter 9. As content analysis also revealed, New Zealand male characters were more frequently portrayed in commercials for do-it-yourself/furniture related products and services. Because of its peculiarity, in contrast with French advertising, this aspect of New Zealand advertising will be discussed in more depth in chapter 10. Another difference between the New Zealand and French advertising environments was that New Zealand male

characters had greater monopoly over the “automobiles and accessories” category than French male characters, giving the impression that the car, unlike in France, was an almost exclusively masculine object.

Content analysis also revealed that New Zealand males were significantly more likely to act as authorities than French male characters. They were shown as giving advice – although in the same proportion as French males – but unlike French males they were not often portrayed as receiving advice. It was also found that New Zealand males were used overwhelmingly in public services advertising. Commercials for road safety, and such organisations as ACC (New Zealand’s Accident Compensation Scheme), ALAC (Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand) and other organisations in charge of putting people on the right track, in other words in charge of socialising people, used twice as many male central characters than female central characters. New Zealand advertising discourse indisputably portrayed men at the service of government ideology and as guardian figures of a certain social order. These findings tend to confirm that the male figure in New Zealand was portrayed by advertising as an important authoritarian figure, and not only a more authoritarian figure than the New Zealand woman, but also than the French male.

Conflicts

Another interesting difference between the two advertising discourses had to do with the more frequent representations of conflicts in New Zealand than in French advertising. In French television advertising, the setting up of scenes of harmony rather than conflict between characters, particularly between males and females was a crucial discursive strategy. In the French corpus, conflict between male and female characters was only set up in two commercials. As in a dream world, male and female characters were always pleasant to each other, caring for each other, with, in most cases, the product advertised represented as central and as the facilitator of these relationships. As Merlant (1983, p. 136-137) already noted in the 1980s, French advertising imposed “squeaky clean families [and] young people with an insolent beauty”, “erasing anything violent, contradictory, or unhappy in life”³. As briefly outlined in chapter 5, in most cases products were placed in a context of happiness and tenderness in which the protagonists played a

teasing/challenge game. French communicators tried to involve viewers by setting up emotionally charged situations in which people interacted through scenes of harmony. In them, tenderness, romance, and seduction were the central notions. As a general rule, male and female characters were rewarded with kisses and hugs when they used the advertised product. This was particularly true in commercials for beauty products, where the use of a certain shampoo or perfume seemed to make people attracted to each other, but also for products such as food, or cars. The only instance of such discursive practice in the New Zealand sample was found in a commercial for Arnotts biscuits, portraying a male and a female character in the early stages of flirting.

Whereas in France the setting up of sensuality and social rewards was a crucial discursive strategy, the representation of idyllic relationships was not as central in New Zealand advertising. New Zealand communicators obviously did not mind focussing on what could be considered negative situations and were arguably more honest about representing the not so pleasant reality of daily life. The New Zealand corpus contained 12 commercials in which conflicts between male and female characters were portrayed. Characters were shown sharing affectionate moments as well as having conflicts; couples were for example represented as having arguments in commercials for a bank, for brands of beer, for transport safety, for a brand of frozen food, a brand of dairy products and so on. Interestingly, Wells (1989) noted that dramas need to pass the viewer's realism test, in order to have a positive effect. Verisimilitude, in terms of representation of people's 'real life' through characters was obviously given more importance in New Zealand advertising than French advertising.

Another interesting point in terms of relationship portrayal was that New Zealand female characters were portrayed participating in leisure activities with men. Male and female advertising characters were, for example, represented fishing together, building together, painting their house together, doing sport together, and relaxing together. Apart from the fact that it was female characters who were sucked into the masculine sphere and not the opposite, what was also interesting was that male and female characters were set up side-by-side with men rather than as interacting verbally with these men. Unlike in French advertising where dialogue between

characters was commonly portrayed, characters in New Zealand commercials seldom interacted verbally. New Zealand advertising discourse tended to use a particular discursive technique, portraying wordless interaction between male and female characters, often with a voice-over on top of the participants' side-by-side presence.

Conclusion

This chapter on gender gave some quantitative results on the use of genders in both advertising discourses. Analyses of the data revealed important traits such as the dominance of a specific gender in each advertising discourse (overwhelming use of males in New Zealand commercials, more female characters in French advertising), the specific associations of genders with product types in each advertising environment, and information on appearance, roles, and behaviours of characters in commercials from each country.

Analyses of male-female interactions, and interviews with French communicators, also revealed that a particular place was reserved for female characters in French television advertising. For that reason, the next chapter will explore, in more depth, the role of French female characters as representations of extreme femininity. This is because it was found that, unlike their New Zealand counterparts, French female characters had a central role in the “dynamisation” of consumption.

Table 9: Frequency of gender specific commercials in New Zealand and French television advertising

	Commercials with only men.		Commercials with only women.		Commercials with both men and women.		Total of commercials with characters
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N
New Zealand	139	41.12	66	19.52	133	39.34	338
France	55	18.21	69	22.85	178	58.95	302

Table 10. Distribution of central characters according to gender and product type in New Zealand and French commercials

Types of goods and services	France				New Zealand			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Food/drinks	55	25.8	55	23.1	86	29.7	60	29.4
Entertainment	10	4.7	9	3.8	23	7.9	4	2
Personal and beauty care	20	9.3	39	16.4	3	1	16	7.4
Automobiles/accessories/oil companies	29	13.7	27	11.3	32	11	9	4.4
Household/cleaning products	11	5.2	20	8.4	9	3.1	20	9.8
Clothing	11	5.2	10	4.3	7	2.4	6	2.9
Do-it-yourself	2	0.9	2	0.8	34	11.7	7	3.4
Drugs and medicine	13	6.1	16	6.7	10	3.4	14	6.9
Electronic/household appliances	20	9.3	18	7.6	11	3.8	17	8.3
Farming products	0	0	0	0	4	1.4	0	0
Sporting products	1	0.5	2	0.8	8	2.8	1	0.5
Services	40	18.8	39	16.4	38	13.1	36	17.6
Public services	1	0.5	1	0.4	25	8.6	14	6.8
Total	213	100	238	100	290	100	204	100

Services: Banks, insurances, real estate agents, travel agents, telecommunication/telephone companies.

Public services: Drink driving campaigns, ACC campaigns, army commercials, retirement planning.

Table 11. Comparison of characteristics of men and women in commercials from New Zealand and France

		France				New Zealand			
		Women n=238		Men n=213		Women n=204		Men n=290	
			%		%		%		%
Setting	Home	112	47	79	37	76	37	64	22
	Store/restaurant	19	8	17	8	35	17	55	19
	Occupational setting	49	21	56	26	34	17	64	22
	Outdoors/Leisure	50	21	55	26	55	27	104	36
	Other	8	3	6	3	4	2	3	1
Age	Under 30	164	69	93	43	121	59	92	32
	31-60	65	27	108	51	75	37	180	62
	61-over	9	4	13	6	8	4	18	6
Credibility	Product user	152	64	131	62	119	58	157	54
	Authority (expert)	34	14	36	17	45	22	91	31
	Both	34	14	30	14	21	10	28	10
	Neither	18	8	16	7	19	10	14	5
Advice	Receiver of advice	33	14	28	13	29	14	14	5
	Giver of advice	48	20	42	20	22	11	58	20
Role	Autonomous	159	67	153	72	132	65	241	83
	Familial (Parent/spouse/partner)	71	30	54	25	68	33	48	17
Dress	Formal	81	34	76	36	35	17	42	14
	Casual	157	66	133	62	169	83	243	84
	Untidy	0	0	4	2	0	0	5	2

¹ Chodorow (1978) for example, even developed a socialisation theory claiming that girls are involved in gender identification with their mother much more than boys -who supposedly have a more distant relationship with their father- and as a result girls grow up into feminine nurturing adults while boys do not. In France, Hoffmann (1995) showed how it was believed, during the enlightenment, that nature had given specific roles to women and that the 'natural' physical constitution of women defined her mode of relationship with men. Nature, as it was understood and reinforced by French male 'enlightened' philosophers, naturally gave women the vocation of spouse, mother and nurse. Caring for children, it was believed, was the destiny of women, a task that nature had assigned them. In the British Empire, the Victorian model for women that pervaded early New Zealand society was based along the same arguments. This belief of course has been recycled over the centuries, as Friedan (1965) noted, in France during the second world war with the motto "*travail, famille, patrie*" where *travail* was mainly the role assigned to men and *famille* the role assigned to women; by Nazi Germany with the words of "*Kinder, Kuche, Kirche*", in America through the construction of "the happy heroine housewife" idea (Friedan, 1965, p. 33). Interestingly, this construction of western culture is still reinforced by authors such as Gilligan (1982) who continue to argue that caring for and giving to others should be valued in women's lives as much as the male norm.

² It may be possible to argue that these similarities in the behaviour of New Zealand male and female characters, and the greater care in not sexualising New Zealand female characters is due to an adaptation of New Zealand advertising communicators to a female

audience that rejects sex role portrayals and traditional feminine ideals. Indeed, Ford, LaTour, Honeycutt, and Joseph (1994) and Ford, LaTour, and Honeycutt (1997) found that New Zealand women had a high level of “feminine consciousness” and were most critical of advertising sex role portrayals than women from the US, Japan, and Thailand. Ford, LaTour, and Honeycutt (1997) noted that “the more activist New Zealand culture (for females) manifests a stronger ‘link’ or structural relation between this element of ‘feminist consciousness’ and the general perceptions of the way women are treated in advertising” (p. 413). It is also possible to argue that, because New Zealand women subject viewers are not used to see frequent representation of extreme femininity or even offensive sex role portrayals as in France that they inevitably find portrayals of extreme femininity more easily offensive. In other words, less exposure to offensive advertising would lead to a more critical view of a rare occurrence.

³ *En ces temps-la, la pub m'agressait par toute l'image du bonheur qu'elle tentait d'imposer: familles clean, jeunes gens à la beauté insolente... Cette sorte d'univers de simulation au langage simplifié, qui gomme tout ce que la vie peut avoir de violent, de contradictoire, de malheureux.*

CHAPTER 8

GENDER, CULTURE, AND CONSUMPTION: THE IMPORTANCE OF FEMININITY IN FRENCH TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the particularities of the French female characters in television advertising. This focus follows from the findings of the analyses of commercials and interviews with communicators. Much more than New Zealand female characters, French female characters were given a central role in the “dynamisation” of consumption. “The feminine”¹ that they were asked to embody, had a central part to play as facilitator of consumption in French television advertising. French female characters were given two main roles as *femme fatale* that often overlapped: on the one hand, they were constructed as “sensual seductresses”; and, on the other hand, they were constructed as “intellectual seductresses”. In both cases these were extreme representations of femininity that had no equivalent in New Zealand television advertising discourse.

The first part of this chapter considers how the role of women is dictated by a western discursive formation principally supported by men. Baudrillard’s (1979) ideas on seduction will be particularly developed as they overlapped with several aspects of French communicators’s comments on gender and with the actions and roles of female characters in French television commercials.

The second part of the chapter links the representation and use of genders with the overall communicative approaches described in chapters 4 and 5 and discusses

how New Zealand and French television advertising discourses, through the representational work of communicators, endow each gender with different types of power.

Femininity and seduction: A construction

The idea that gender roles and behaviours are social constructs is not new. Feminists, in particular, have argued that the roles and behaviours of women have to a certain extent been historically dictated by men (Autain, 2001; Brook, 1999; De Beauvoir, 1976; Friedan, 1965; Mundy, 1975; Vilar, 1972) and by institutions such as the media. As feminist and socialisation theory tried to demonstrate, we are taught to perceive femininity and masculinity as mirror opposites through a system of reward and punishment but also through television and other media (Autain, 2001; Walby, 1990). The numerous studies reviewed earlier similarly showed that, as part of the media, advertising messages contribute to present stereotypical images of genders and also use female characters for their sex appeal. As early as 1979, Goffman's (1979) important study demonstrated how females were valued for their attractiveness and sexuality in advertising messages.

As Walby (1990) noted, in life and in the media, masculinity is represented as entailing "assertiveness, being active, lively, and quick to take the initiative [whereas] femininity entails cooperativeness, passivity, gentleness and emotionality" (p. 91). In particular, dichotomies of doing versus being², of direct versus indirect³, or agonistic versus hedonic power⁴, have been instituted between sexes, creating females as concerned about being rather than doing and as more suited to use indirect and hedonic power.

Van Zoonen (1994) further suggested that "the relation between gender and communication is primarily a cultural one" (p. 148) and that "the codes that confer meaning on to the signs of femininity are culturally and historically specific" (p. 149). In the context of France, as Allwood (2001) noted, there has been an ideological popular representation of national gender representations since the post-1968 period that involves the maintaining of masculinity and femininity as binary opposites at all costs. This arises because, according to the popular discursive formation shared by even feminists (Agacinski, 1998, 1999),

“without sexual difference, everyone would be the same and life would be dull” (Allwood, 2001, p. 15). In France, Allwood (2001) suggested, there is a strong discursive formation recreating the idea that “the French, with their gift for seduction and with the special understanding or complicity between the sexes are . . . superior to Americans, who are at the mercy of feminists and unable to speak or act freely because of the tyranny of political correctness” (p. 11).

One of the important roles presented as god-given to females in the western world, is the ability to seduce. As Duthois (2000, p. 64) suggested, the origin of this role can obviously be traced back to the Old Testament in which the female seductress is involved at the origin of the fall of man. This role of seductress has been discussed from a feminist point of view and described as a construction by males for their own pleasure (Autain, 2001; Cornut-Janin, 1998; Cosnier, 1987; Friedan, 1965; Vilar, 1972). According to feminists, women were given the attributes of male desires, and were created by men as gentle, helpless, beautiful, adorable, charming, and graceful. The idea is not new and is not the ownership of feminist criticism however. In 18th century France, male authors, such as Rousseau, had already argued that the role of feminine seductress through beauty and mystery given to women was “an idea born in man” (cited in Hoffman, 1995, p. 547), a sort of simulacra created by man for his own pleasure. Similarly, in the context of the contemporary media, Barthel (1988) and Brownmiller (1984) noted that the stereotypes of the attractive females were symptomatic of a male dominated media elite that creates portrayals in line with their ideas, or fantasies, about women.

One of the distinct differences between French and New Zealand television advertising discourse resided in gender. One of the chief roles constructed for French female characters, and not for their New Zealand counterparts, was that of seductress/femme fatale portrayed through representations of extreme femininity. The seductress is not a novel figure in French culture, nor is it a very easy one to define, but it is a character which, as De Beauvoir (1976) already noted over half a century ago, is part of a largely male-created tradition in French literature. Myths of the female seductress, as De Beauvoir (1976) noted, have been maintained and naturalised through a history led by phallogocentric authors such as Breton, even

though they have also been rejected by other authors such as Stendhal. The “*femme fatale*” as Inness (1999, p. 74) noted – a woman represented as “always glamorous and extremely feminine” but also very threatening to males – has featured as an important myth in French popular culture. This personification of women is represented within cinema, in popular classic films such as Roger Vadim’s *Et dieu créa la femme*. In Vadim’s film, a young woman, played by actress Brigitte Bardot, seduces every man she meets. Inness (1999) also noted how in contemporary French films, female characters represented as tough girls as in *The Professional* or *Nikita* were nevertheless constrained by their femininity. The female character in *Nikita* is, for example, “taught how to shoot guns and how to be an assassin, but she is also taught how to be a *femme fatale*” (p. 74). As Inness (1999) pointed out, *Nikita* above all, “embodies the ultimate male threat – a seductive, attractive woman who lures men to their deaths with her feminine wiles” (p. 75).

Baudrillard, seduction, and the feminine

The role of woman as seductress has not been only described from a critical feminist point of view but also from a male viewpoint that rather sees it as natural and powerful (Baudrillard, 1979; Etchegoyen, 1997, Servan-Schreiber, 1994). Certain male authors participate in recreating one aspect of what Friedan (1965) called the feminine mystique. According to Friedan, “the feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfilment of their own femininity. It says that the great mistake of Western culture, through most of its history, has been the underevaluation of this femininity,” which is “so mysterious and intuitive and close to the creation and origin of life that man-made science may never be able to understand it” (1965, p. 43).

One of the most controversial works on seduction and the feminine in the French context is Baudrillard’s *De la séduction* (1979). Baudrillard’s (1979) particular contribution is to recreate the traditional binary representation of genders, constructing a feminine mystique that emphasises how “seduction and femininity are ineluctable and intermingle” (p. 10)⁵ and how “the power of femininity is seduction” (p. 18)⁶. His text on seduction (1979) contributes to discursive

formations around the idea that females are the exclusive holders of the power of seduction.

The ideas put forward by Baudrillard on seduction, and the role of femininity in its process, are crucial for the understanding of the use of female characters by French communicators. As already noted in chapter 5, for Baudrillard (1979) seduction is a strategy of appearances and is defined in terms of play, of challenge, of dual/duel relationships, and of complicity, but not in terms of opposition. According to him, seduction is a universe in which “the feminine” is not opposed to “the masculine”, but is what seduces the masculine (p. 18)⁷ because the feminine has “the immense privilege of being the absolute master of the realm of appearances” (p. 19).⁸

Of course, Baudrillard’s conception of the feminine and his position “that knows the truth of the feminine and the masculine” (Gallop, 1987, p. 114) has been fiercely criticised by feminists and sociologists (Gallop, 1987; Gane, 1991a, 1991b). His argument has been accused of being constructed around male notions of desire and as positioning women as “other” within a misogynistic discourse clearly objectifying them because it implies that seduction, appearance, and indirect power are women’s best asset. Baudrillard can indeed be fairly accused of drawing on, and at the same time recreating, common beliefs on female use of power, particularly their association with indirect power noted above, and of reinforcing the common beliefs on the feminine mystique such as the mysteriousness of the other gender. Baudrillard is definitely caught up in the perception of traditional sexual order created by men as he not only implies that strategies of influence are gender specific, but, in suggesting that the feminine’s only purpose is to seduce males, he restricts the role of the feminine to the satisfaction of a certain male fantasy.

Baudrillard’s ideas on the “natural” role of genders have been accused of being retrograde and of clinging to 18th century ideas on women and femininity (Gane, 1991a, 1991b; Goshorn, 1994). Indeed, Baudrillard’s (1979, p. 18) comment that “the feminine is not opposed to the masculine, but is what seduces the masculine” seems to be drawn from the discursive formation on the role of females as the

seductive sex particularly articulated in 18th century male thought on femininity. Authors such as Steinbrugge (1995) and Hoffman (1995) showed how French male writers from the Enlightenment constructed myths about women, and their demonstration indeed shows that Baudrillard's ideas are anchored in these constructions.⁹

Seduction as a liberating power

For this thesis, one of the interesting points about Baudrillard's argument however, is the idea that seduction is a liberating power for women. In an interview Baudrillard declared "I'm not in agreement with hardline feminist ideology which says that a woman as seducer is a degrading role. In my view the strategy of seduction is a happy, liberating power for women" (1989, p. 54). Authors such as Goshorn (1994) have also argued that Baudrillard is "in fact involved in a common struggle with feminism against the naturalized hegemony of certain patriarchal institutions and the masculinist project of rational mastery in Western culture" (p. 258). What Baudrillard argues is that in using seduction, women can counter the hegemonic masculine model, can play with the established environment, and can alter their positions of disadvantage.

From a Baudrillardian perspective, therefore, the power of seduction of "the feminine" becomes the perfect tool to overthrow male phallocracy. With seduction "the feminine" can expose the insecurities of a phallocracy that indeed sees "the feminine" as a threat to its power. As archaic as Baudrillard's ideas on "the feminine" and "the masculine" may be, he maintains that, in a world in which the order is still based on dictates of the masculine libido, it might be a better strategy for women to refine seductive responses to phallocracy in order to reach power. This would be preferable to trying to recreate a strong direct and rational male-constructed discourse and therefore to create a form of female phallocracy. In other words, according to Baudrillard (1979), women should use seduction as a model for subverting the cultural reign of the dominant masculine culture, with its excesses of power, control, mastery, and rational meaning. Accordingly, women, who, in their rejection of chauvinism, are ashamed of their seduction and consider it as "an artificial setting up of their body" (p. 19)¹⁰, or as "a fate of vassalage and prostitution" (p. 19)¹¹ "do not understand that seduction actually represents the

mastering of the symbolical universe whereas overt power, the power of production, only represents the mastering of the real universe” (p. 19).¹²

Of course Baudrillard is not the only author to defend such ideas. Female authors such as Vilar (1972) have argued that women are able to use and manipulate men, by, ironically, using the attributes with which male desire has endowed them. In terms of media images, authors such as Whelean (1995) noted that “some women would argue that sexualised images of women can be renegotiated in a way that is empowering and self determining” (p. 164) and that feminists have recently been dissatisfied with “the simplistic analytical premises of the early second wave where it was often assumed that there was a one-to-one relationship between images of women and female oppression” (p. 164). As Winship (1985) and Gamman and Makinen (1994) argued, feminist critics may indeed be mistaken in reading the use of female seduction and the use of their bodies as “sexual fetishism” that inevitably positions women as objects and victims. They point out that images are often ironic and may be read differently, depending on many variables, including the constantly changing cultural context. They use the example of the character Emma Peel from the television series *The Avengers*, whom many women have perceived as both sexy and powerful.

French communicators’ adherence to an old discursive formation on the feminine

As revealed in their interviews, French communicators’ beliefs, and their application of these views in their discursive practice, coincided with several points of Baudrillard’s theory on seduction. The communicators’ comments, and their media texts, together with Baudrillard’s text, all participated in the same naturalised national discursive formation on the role of women as seductresses. French communicators kept recreating sensuality and mystery as naturally feminine, giving female characters the role of femme fatale, of sensually tempting and intellectually challenging characters.

Unlike New Zealand communicators, who never stressed the importance of seduction in advertising, and were not interested in elaborating on the notion of femininity in general or in the context of advertising, interviews with French

communicators revealed that they amalgamated seduction, femininity, and women and that these were given a central place. There was a common perception among French communicators that women and femininity in general, were important elements in French society. One French communicator for instance argued:

Women have taken power a little bit and men have lost their power a little bit. In the power relationship between men and women . . . in fact now 75% of women have two children and work. The rule for a woman these days is to work, so she works, she is recognised, she wants a fulfilled love life, in fact they go forward, it is a bit as if men were going backwards a little. So they have a very important role.¹³

In French communicators' interviews, the representation of females as seductresses in advertising seemed perfectly natural to them. Comments echoing dominant discursive formations on the importance of femininity such as "femininity is in France at the heart of the matter since a long time, it is part of life"¹⁴ or "France is a country that likes women"¹⁵ or even untrue claims that France was a country in which many women participated in the government (see Allwood, 2001), revealed the importance French communicators gave to the role of women. Their comments also seemed to echo results of studies which they might have been familiar with as part of pre-campaign research, by sociologists such as Mermet (1996) who reported that, in France, feminine values are increasingly important (p. 234) and that feminine values permeate French society.¹⁶

French communicators also explained the importance of women in advertising as indeed the sign of a considerable reduction in the power of male phallocracy. They argued that in French advertising, female characters embodied the next phase ("*la phase d'après*") after the 1960s liberation of women:

Since she is liberated, it is as if men were lost and women were saying to men: "look, I've taken my place, but you, where is your place, So wake up!" So there is a kind of role reversal, she teases men, she says: "come on, stand up guys!" as if men no longer existed.¹⁷

The construction of French female advertising characters as sensual and intellectual seductresses

I now want to discuss the representations of the seductress *femme fatale* in French advertising discourse. Analysis of commercials showed that female characters in French television advertising were clearly employed in seductive roles that involved two main often overlapping roles. On the one hand, they were constructed as sensual seductresses, and on the other hand they were constructed as intellectual seductresses. Female characters were not only portrayed as *femmes fatales*, having a playful way of using their bodies, but also their sharp and witty mind for the purpose of seduction.

In French television advertising, creating female characters as sensual seductresses was an important discursive technique. The representation of sensual seductresses involved the use of suggestive or very elegant dress codes, or nude or near-nude bodies for the purpose of physical seduction. This phenomenon is of course not new. As early as in the seventies, studies in the US (Culley & Bennett, 1976; Verkatesen & Losco, 1975) showed how female characters were used for their sexual appeal and physical beauty in advertising. Other more recent studies showed that the technique is still used in advertising, at least in countries such as the US or France (Federico, 1998; Ijima Hall & Crum, 1994; Lin, 1998). It has also been noted, especially in countries outside France, such as the US, or even New Zealand, that French advertising uses a lot of sexual imagery. Jeffries for example (2001) remarked that “using women’s naked bodies to sell products has traditionally been more commonplace in France than in many countries – especially New Zealand” (p. E4).¹⁸

In this study’s French corpus, the use of the female body for seductive purposes was clearly considered an effective discursive strategy in French advertising more than in New Zealand advertising. As revealed earlier, the fact that French female characters were represented in commercials as concerned about their appearance through association with beauty products and clothes, the fact that they were portrayed much younger than male characters, and that they were very regularly well dressed, shows that the setting up of the attractiveness of female characters and the construction of their role as “aesthetically pleasing seductress” was

paramount in French television advertising. Most female characters in French advertising were representations of extreme young femininity, young, good-looking and well dressed – and this phenomenon was true across all product categories.¹⁹

On the other hand, the corpus used in the present study revealed that New Zealand advertising discourse did not typecast women in a sensual seductress role, and put less emphasis on the aesthetic appearance of female characters. In contrast with French female characters for which coquetry and appearance had a really important role to play in the dramatisation of seduction, female characters in New Zealand advertising were portrayed as less physically perfect, less over-dressed, but more commonly “natural” looking than their French counterparts. French communicators’ representations, on the other hand, recreated the notion that fashion has traditionally served as the cultural sign of the feminine²⁰ (see Benstock & Ferriss, 1994; Freedman, 1986). By recurrently presenting female advertising characters in very elegant outfits, heavily made up, and dressed suggestively for sensual seduction, French communicators followed the same discursive formation as Etchegoyer (1997), who argued that it is natural for women to be the guardians of coquetry and sensitivity, and Baudrillard (1979), who argued that coquetry, people’s interest in their appearance and stylishness, is the theatrical representation of seduction.

In France, the discursive strategy that consisted in using blatant sex appeal by displaying female characters’ bodies was commonplace. Analysis of corpuses revealed that French female and male characters’ bodies were in many more instances than in New Zealand advertising clearly displayed nude or half nude to the viewers. A calculation of commercials in which the nude or half-nude body was displayed, revealed that 32 French commercials exposed the female body, 13 exposed the male body, and 7 exposed both males and female bodies together. More often than New Zealand advertising, French advertising used female and male characters with parts of their body suggestively exposed in order to promote products or brands.

Seven instances of clear sexual objectification of women were found in the French corpus. Nude or very lightly dressed women were used to advertise products or services as diverse as banks, cars, or coffee. Women for example, were shown exposing their whole nude body in commercials for beds, jewellery or plumber services. A brand of eggs for instance portrayed a woman who suggestively shook her breasts in front of the camera.

In contrast, New Zealand female characters were much less objectified. A calculation of commercials in which the nude or half-nude body was displayed revealed that New Zealand commercials portrayed the human body much less than French commercials. Only 9 New Zealand commercials exposed the female body, 7 exposed the male body, and 1 exposed both male and female bodies together. Only 1 instance of total nudity was found in New Zealand advertising discourse in a commercial for a brand of milk that showed an entire nude female body – shown from the back – ; transforming into a bone with the help of morphing technique. In this commercial however, the text clearly explained and justified the use of the nude body, in a way rationalising the use of nudity, possibly in order to make it more acceptable and less gratuitous as it was the only message of its kind within the advertising discourse. The use of classical music in this particular commercial further helped to turn this rare occurrence into a form of art also perhaps with a view to make it more acceptable. In total, only 3 instances of clear sexual objectification (e.g., camera focussing on breasts) were found in the New Zealand corpus. These were in commercials for beer, car racing, and stereos. In all these cases however, women were never nude, only dressed suggestively and clearly behaving to please men in commercials specifically targeted at men.

The interesting difference between French and New Zealand television advertising discourses was that the products advertised by female body imagery in French commercials did not have a clear gender specific target. Female sexual imagery could be used to advertise beds, eggs, coffee, banks, products and services which were not necessarily targeted at a male audience. Commercials therefore invited women subject viewers to envy the role of seductress presented in commercials, since the role of seductress presented in these commercials usually permitted the

appropriation of the product advertised and, as will be discussed later, the mastering of males. This recurrent process in French television advertising is similar to that which Dispenza (1975) noted in advertisements targeted at women, that women are invited to identify with the female character who is offered the following reward: success with males as a result of using the product. These commercials presented “eroticized images of the female body for the explicit appreciation and consumption by a female audience” (Fuss, 1994, p. 211) and a male audience.

The use of female physical seduction was much more rarely used in New Zealand television advertising. Physical attractiveness, in which a male and female character teased each other sensually, was used in only three New Zealand commercials. The extreme scarcity of such advertising messages showed that the discursive technique of representing characters seducing each other was obviously not considered appropriate, or efficient, for the New Zealand audience.

On the other hand, feminine physical/sensual seduction was such an important discursive technique in French advertising that it sometimes resulted in the construction of highly fantastic messages. The power of seduction given to the French female advertising characters through the use of the physical attributes of their bodies was so strong that it seemed limitless. In French commercials, female characters could seduce anything, even material objects. In a commercial for example, the alarms and lights of all cars in a street started going as soon as a woman dressed in a mini skirt got out of her new car. The eroticised female body was clearly presented to be admired by both men and women for its extraordinary powers of physical seduction, even over the material world.

French communicators’ non-problematization of sensuality

Whereas the use of physical seduction in commercials is rejected by French feminists (see <http://lameute.org.free.fr/index/>; Amalou, 2001) it nevertheless seemed to be a perfectly acceptable discursive technique to male French communicators.²¹ Soley and Kurzbard (1986) already noted that male advertising communicators in the US were more likely than their female counterparts to consider sex appeals as appropriate selling devices. Among male French

communicators in France it was similar.²² Whereas they rejected violence unanimously (see chapter 5), the use of sensuality and the nude, or half-nude, body was not “problematised” by male French communicators.

When discussing a commercial that used sexual innuendo on which a French creative had worked, he replied: “There is nothing sexual here, is there? Perhaps one can see a buttock and a pair of breasts and that’s it”.²³ Comments by French communicators on the use of sensuality, showed how naturalised nudity was in the French cultural context and how much French communicators were stuck in an unproblematic discursive formation idealising physical feminine seduction and rejecting what they considered a puritan Anglo Saxon approach. In the words of a French communicator:

When we work with English people within our network, they think that there is a large proportion of ideas that rely on inspiration based on connotations that are a little bit sexual. We have a tendency to consider that the English can be extremely subtle, extremely funny, extremely sophisticated, but that sometimes their communication would need a little bit more animality, emotion; that it should be a bit more based on the senses.²⁴

Nudity and sensuality were naturalised as such a non-problem that French communicators could not find any other reason than nationality for the fact that French advertising messages tended to use more sensual imagery. Using stereotypical arguments of cultural/racial origins, one communicator explained:

The Anglo-Saxons have a relation with sex which is not the same as us. We are Latins, they are Anglo Saxons, with all it conveys, Protestantism, politically correct like we see in the United States etc... Why do English people, as soon as they’ve had one glass too many, they show their arse, or why do they dress as women when they are drunk, we don’t know, I don’t know, it is in their nature. They’ve got a problem in relation to that and French people think about sex more than Anglo-Saxons, and in advertising it is the same there is more sex, that’s it. That’s not saying that it is better, that’s not saying that is it worse.²⁵

Unsettling masculinity: French female characters as intellectual seductresses and holders of knowledge and wisdom

So far I have focussed on the way feminine physical seduction was used in French commercials as part of a discursive technique aiming at seducing consumers of both genders. However, French female characters were not only used by communicators as a seductive tool because of their bodies. In French commercials, female characters' knowledge, good judgment, wisdom, commonsense, cleverness, and ability to maintain suspense, were also heavily drawn upon. This aspect of female characterisation in French advertising was made clear when their role was put in perspective with that of French male characters and New Zealand female characters. As indicated in the previous chapter, one important finding of the content analysis indeed indicated that French female characters were found to be as frequent givers of advice as male characters and were twice as frequently givers of advice as their New Zealand female counterparts.

Analyses showed that French female characters were regularly represented as holding knowledge about the product and that male characters were portrayed as being intimidated not only by women's beauty, but also by their wisdom, and knowledge. In French television advertising, a common discursive practice was to create situations of challenge, teasing scenarios between male and female characters in which the knowledge about the product was to be won or lost. French television advertising contributed to the recreation of the model of relationship in French society that, as Mermet argued (1999), relies more and more on a model according to which men propose but women decide.²⁶

Baudrillard's (1979) argument that seduction can be defined in terms of a game, a challenge, a dual/duel relationship, and that seduction can be seen as creating "a vertigo" around a void, an unsaid, is again relevant here. Indeed the situations of game, or teasing, between male and female characters in French commercials contained an unsaid implicit element that was created around the knowledge about the object advertised. A common discursive practise identified in the French corpus consisted in portraying male and female characters challenging each other's knowledge about the product advertised through an unsaid. This challenge

was represented as involving both sensual and intellectual tension between male and female characters.²⁷ The interesting point however was that the unsaid/hidden knowledge created in commercials between male and female characters lasted most of the advertising message, until almost invariably, the female character unveiled the truth at the expense of the male character.

Female characters were represented, in Baudrillard's terms, as the masters of the enigmatic universe created around the knowledge about the product. In commercials, female characters were given the power to hold and uphold knowledge through managing suspense. Indeed they held the power to decide when and where to deliver that knowledge; they managed the seduction situation through which the product was unveiled for the viewers. Therefore, the seduction situations represented were not only challenges between male and female characters, but also situations of "vertigo" between the female characters holders of knowledge and the subject viewers having to wait for the unveiling of the "truth".

Another common discursive practice in French advertising, linked to what has just been noted, consisted in portraying men as weak and pathetic and to turn them into objects of ridicule. The interesting point however, was that the insecurity of male characters in French advertising repeatedly came from the presence of female characters. Examples from French advertising, outside television, also tend to corroborate this phenomenon. For example in 1996, Kookai, a brand of feminine clothing consistently portrayed males as females' servants throughout their advertising campaign. In 1997 an advertising campaign for Les 3 Suisses emphasised the importance of feminine values, asserting that "*Demain sera féminin*".²⁸ In New Zealand television advertising discourse, on the other hand, the discursive practice that turned men into figures of ridicule was hardly used. In the few instances (n=7) in which male characters were ridiculed in New Zealand advertising, two commercials portrayed them as awkward on their own, and their awkward attitude was not triggered by or in the presence of women. Also, as noted in the previous chapter, the contrast of New Zealand males with French males revealed that the latter were portrayed as being more insecure than New Zealand males (more than twice as many French male characters were receivers of

advice than New Zealand male characters). French males were portrayed as accepting authority of other people – men and women – more than New Zealand male characters.

The unsettling of masculinity in French television advertising often involved the reversal of traditional gender roles and traits. It is linked to a phenomenon of “feminisation” that was noted in French television program *Culture Pub* (2000) for the product category of automobiles. According to *Culture Pub*, in 2000 in France, advertisers communicated more and more with women for that product category, and, in order to sell cars to women, advertisers had modified the automobile discourse. Cars no longer symbolised masculine attributes and man’s mastering of his environment but were sold with soft arguments. Traditional feminine attributes valorised cars. For instance, commercials foregrounded aspects such as comfort, round lines, or driving softness. They used a discursive strategy that interestingly fits in with Schmitt and Simonson’s (1997) disputable theory that “roundness evokes harmony, softness and femininity” (p. 90) and is perceived more favourably by females than males who supposedly perceive angular shapes more favourably. As noted in *Culture Pub*, the myth of the macho was also particularly outdated and cars in French advertising were no longer an extension of masculinity but a hymn to femininity.

It was clear from analysing this corpus that the phenomenon of role reversal was not restricted to the product category of automobiles. Female advertising characters were represented as taking control in situations in which males have traditionally been portrayed as authority figures. Female characters gave advice to males and were portrayed as taking control intellectually while men were pictured as listening and learning from them. The display of female characters as not impressed by men was common in French commercials. While male advertising characters were portrayed as doing all they could to impress women, it never worked because female characters held the knowledge about the product and had the last word. They helped male characters and were portrayed as having more expertise. Men, on the other hand, were portrayed as unwise, ill-advised, ridiculous, and laughable because they used wrong products or services, or they

used products or services in an incorrect manner, or they did not know anything about these products or services.

French commercials, much more often than New Zealand commercials, demonstrated men's hopelessness. The hero was often the female character while men were dreamers and their immature behaviour was contrasted to the more composed and thoughtful character of women. This happened even when a male character was represented as a super hero, as in a commercial in which a male character was portrayed as the fictional character "the Mask", or when he was portrayed as in another commercial as believing that he is a secret agent, it was in fact to better turn him into ridicule at the end of the commercial. Males' foolishness was invariably condemned by the wisdom of their female counterpart who brought them back to real life. For instance, the Mask's foolishness was clearly condemned by clear signs such as his wife's sigh at the end of the commercial, and the secret agent was taken out of his dream and reminded by his wife that he had to pick up his children from school.

French commercials portrayed men as characters who were ridiculously dependent on women, totally lost without their wives and who needed women's emotional and practical support. For example, a commercial for portable phones portrayed a group of men on a bush walk, feeling scared and lonely without their wives, and desperately wanting to use their mobile phones to contact them. Another commercial portrayed a man falling asleep in his car while he was apparently driving. At the end of the commercial however, the man's wife was portrayed wide-awake and driving the car next to her sleeping male partner. The sound of a lullaby helped to signify the male character as dependent on the female character. The tendency for unsettling masculinity and gender role reversal in French advertising went even as far as interchanging traditional ways of speaking and sexual behaviour. Unlike in New Zealand television advertising, French commercials portrayed female characters treating men as sexual objects; using imagery of female characters with their hand on their male partner's bottom, or portraying men that held what could be considered very traditional feminine discourses.

Therefore, in portraying the uselessness and insecurity of male characters, French advertising did appear to question masculine power. French advertising discourse portrayed an ironical view of traditional masculinity. Traditional hegemonic models of masculinity were not valorised but challenged and male power was clearly eroded. Through television advertising discourse, it seemed that French communicators portrayed a crisis of phallic masculinity and a shift towards a representation of feminine control, something that sociologists such as Mermet (1996, 1999, 2000) and Rauch (2000) argued is happening in French society along with the depreciation of traditional masculinity.

French communicators' natural belief in Latin values

French male communicators' propensity for portraying the other gender as objects of mystery and desire, in other words for using so many female characters in tempting seductress roles, was justified through a strong naturalised belief in a kind of ancestral logic based on ethnic roots. In particular, what they considered as the natural French Latin approach to gender was contrasted with the English Anglo Saxon approach:

Latin machismo prefers to talk about women, Anglo Saxon machismo prefers to talk about men. Roughly speaking, the English only show men in changing rooms. Without going too far (laugh) it is rowing clubs, and all that. Group culture, men in groups, in France is quite restricted. Even if there is football and rugby, there are no pubs in which men drink together!²⁹

In the same vein, another French communicator also compared his vision of the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon way of using gender. According to him, focussing on femininity, as in France, or on masculinity, as in New Zealand, revealed two different male approaches to gender and more particularly “two ways of living a kind of machismo”.³⁰ The same communicator further argued that these two different spotlights on gender proposed by advertising could be considered as “an affirmation of virility [which is achieved by] either focussing on the other [women/femininity], or on focussing on oneself [men/masculinity]”.³¹ It was clear, through French communicators' comments, that in the French environment, females were created, in Servan-Schreiber's words (1994, p. 298) as “a marvelous obsession”³² that allows males to feel as such.

Therefore, French communicators' natural belief in both ethnic difference, and the permeation of their advertising creations by Latin values, could explain their frequent use of females as seductresses. According to this theory then, in France, male-created advertising discourse, from its subjective male viewpoint, had a strong tendency to represent the other according to certain ancestral ideals and allocated to this other specific powers based on these strong naturalised cultural stereotypes. The French male viewpoint that shaped advertising discourse recreated the feminine as what seduces the masculine and developed the female seductress archetype of the modern Eve as a way to manipulate and seduce consumers. In contrast, New Zealand advertising discourse that recurrently used male imagery, and portrayed males as authorities, tended to focus on the gender of its creators, on the self, on masculinity.

Advertising characters as signs

At this point it is worth returning to a macro perspective and reflecting on the role that advertising characters may have in the overall communicative approach of each country. This study of two different television advertising discourses made clear the fact that the mechanisms of endowing each gender with a certain mode and amount of power were culturally embedded. Advertising communicators clearly drew upon dominant ideas on gender power running in their culture through dominant discursive formations. They drew on their own culture's social expectations and prescriptions that specify how each gender is to act, and what social function each gender is allowed or expected to perform within that culture (see Macoby, 1987). In turn, these gender roles and functions were translated to the advertising communicative act, recreating, in advertising messages, a culturally dominant way of thinking about gender.

The French advertising discourse, with its many teasing and challenge situations between male and female characters and its strong tendency to use female characters as seductresses whose main mission was to challenge male characters, tempt viewers – especially males – or provoke women to adopt the role of seductress, drew heavily on and recreated a dominant hedonic mode of power for female characters, based on both the use of display, indirectness, mysteriousness, and manipulation. Unlike their New Zealand counterparts, French advertising

female characters, as signs, were supercharged with these male accepted notions that put female seduction on a pedestal and “fetishises” the other.

The New Zealand television advertising discourse on the other hand, with its great number of commercials with only males and its greater amount of male central characters whose mission was to command attention through direct, authoritative, respect-producing messages, could be characterised as reproducing and fostering a dominant direct and agonic mode of power. I will not develop this idea here however, as I will deal with the use of masculinity and masculine rituals in New Zealand television advertising messages in the next chapters on sport and “bricolage”.

Female characters and femininity as soft signs

It is crucial here to bring together the recurrent representation of the French female character as physically tempting and intellectually challenging seductress with the findings of chapters 4 and 5 in which we saw how seduction was an integral part of French communicators’ discursive strategy because they could then avoid “selling strongly”. This too connects with what Baudrillard said about the relation between seduction, women, signs, and the symbolic universe. In line with the discursive formation that recreates females as seductresses, Baudrillard argued that women have become masters of the symbolic universe and masters in the art of prompting desire, and that it is through fragility, vulnerability, through void that women seduce, never through power or strong signs.³³ Even if it recreates common myths on femininity and seduction, this comment by Baudrillard on the use of signs is important for this study. It enables me to argue that communicators’ recurrent representations of female characters as masters of the symbolic universe, through their control of teasing, challenging situations, were part of a signifying practice that consisted in sending “soft signs” – as opposed to “strong signs” – to French consumers because “soft signs” fit perfectly well with the indirect communicative approach based on the implicit and the symbolic universe that French communicators prefer for their public.

The vision of the feminine as embodiment of hedonic and indirect power shared by advertising communicators and Baudrillard (1979) – the idea that women have

become masters in the art of creating desire – provided them with a handy discursive technique that allowed them to sell softly. Women’s voice, their intelligence, their teasing of men intellectually and sensually were all used as techniques to build up suspense and prompt viewers’ desire. Communicators used the feminine strategically as it allowed them to avoid sending strong selling signs to consumers and allowed them to send soft signs aligned with the symbolic, indirect, soft selling communicative approach. Women were indeed perfect seductive tools in a cultural context such as France where the archetype of the seductress is so naturalised and where it is not considered acceptable to sell strongly.

Male characters and masculinity as strong signs

Baudrillard (1979) also argued that power, overt control, and rational meaning – represented by phallocracy and embodied by males – only represents the mastering of the real universe and the immediate. It is nowhere near as powerful as the covert and subtle power of seduction. In France, unlike in New Zealand, the mastering of the real universe and the presentation of strong signs through characters was clearly not the preferred technique.

As shown by content analysis, French communicators used more advertising messages in which central characters were product users without it being too obvious, perhaps because setting up product users – for example, people using products in a social situation – rather than using authorities who gave arguments, allowed French communicators to avoid “selling strongly”. Also, because seduction cannot be achieved through overt power or strong signs, it can be hypothesised that male characters were therefore not used much in French television advertising because their mastering of the real universe would be too direct and unsophisticated compared to women’s indirect mastery of the symbolic universe. Maleness and its traditional connotations of power would generate selling messages that were too direct and explicit.

Therefore, it is also possible to argue that French male characters were portrayed as being less authoritarian than New Zealand men, and less charged with traditionally masculine attributes and behaviour than New Zealand men, because

strong straightforward signs of power sent by traditional masculinity were avoided by French communicators who prefer to deal with the symbolic universe. In addition, the harnessing of men by women in French advertising can also be understood as the distinct preference of French communicators for the dominance of the symbolic over the real and the immediate.

Conversely, we can hypothesize that male characters in New Zealand television advertising were used in conjunction with a more direct communicative approach (outlined in chapter 5) because they could send strong signs. The overt and straightforward power of males embodying “the mastering of the real universe”, and the strong signs they can send, fitted well with a more immediate and clear communication contract such as the one that existed in New Zealand in which many direct messages were delivered to the viewers in a more straightforward manner. The more direct New Zealand communicative approach was supported by masculine imagery but also by spokespersons and authorities who, as noted earlier, were used more in New Zealand than in France.

Unlike in France, the New Zealand male viewpoint that shaped advertising discourse clearly did not glorify feminine seduction but relied more on the alliance of the power of masculinity and “strong signs” in order to entice consumers into stores. By not setting up the teasing, challenging seduction situations of their French counterparts, New Zealand communicators seemingly rejected seduction as a discursive technique and arguably portrayed female characters in more intransigent feminist rules which condemn seduction and most of all its use and embodiment by women.

Challenges to subject viewers

It could be argued that the discursive strategy employed by French communicators of turning men into ridicule created subject positions that many male viewers would not find attractive. However, this particular representation of men obviously does not seem to have any negative impact on the communication with men, or even with women, otherwise communicators would not use this strategy repetitively. In fact, it could be argued that by setting up situations in which male characters are either seduced by women’s beauty or superior

intelligence, French communicators created a regime of truth that constantly reminds males that they enjoy being seduced.

Whereas in New Zealand television advertising the main challenge posed to men viewers was simply to imitate male characters' behaviours, the discursive strategy of French communicators worked rather like a challenge to men. Sometimes it was an obvious physical challenge sent by sensual seductresses, sometimes an intellectual challenge sent by females' superior intelligence, knowledge, or wisdom. Male viewers might indeed feel challenged and, in order to counteract a situation in which male advertising characters are presented as ridiculous and female characters as wise, try to rectify the situation in their real life by buying the product advertised – and, therefore, in the process of consumption, become as wise and knowledgeable as women.

Also, as argued earlier, French commercials had both the aim and the effect of making women viewers envy the role of seductress presented by commercials, since the role of seductress presented in commercials usually permitted both the appropriation of the product advertised and the mastering of males. Therefore it was the art of seduction itself which was made desirable by television advertising, it was seduction and the power it conferred that was presented as the central desirable obsession and fascination for both men and women viewers. Advertising created seduction as a private fantasy, since viewers, when presented with images of male and female characters seducing each other, could imagine themselves either as seduced or seducers. In a sense, at an individual level, advertising played on viewers' wish of love fulfilment and sense of insecurity. At the level of a nation it created a collective fantasy of seduction linked to the act of consumption of commodities.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the particularity of French television advertising discourse's use of female characters as a modern Eve seductress whose central role was to facilitate communication and consumption. French advertising discourse's distinction in relation to gender is its cultural acceptance of seduction mainly based on recycling certain old notions of the feminine as mysterious and tempting.

The representation of women is indeed based on advertising communicators' discursive knowledge about a historically accepted truth of the female as the seductive sex.

French communicators used female characters to prompt desire through a challenge provoked by the soft signs they were culturally assigned to send. In accordance with Baudrillard's – arguably sexist – thinking that women have become masters of creating desire and that it is through fragility, vulnerability, void, and never through overt power or strong signs that women seduce, communicators used the feminine strategically as it allowed them to avoid sending strong selling signs to consumers. Female characters were used as sensual seductresses, but also as “intellectual seductresses”. They were created as masters of a game of challenge created around the knowledge about consumer goods. Female characters were used in commercials because they fitted with French communicators' marked preference for a symbolic communicative approach. They became seductive tools for an environment in which it is not considered acceptable to sell strongly. Men, on the other hand, were often turned into ridicule, revealing a certain ironical treatment, and rejection, of traditional masculinity that is linked to a cultural aversion for sending “strong signs”.

In contrast to French advertising, New Zealand female characters were simply not given a special mission in the “dynamisation” of consumption, they were not assigned the role of tempting seductresses. Whereas French television advertising discourse appropriated the female body, and seduction, in order to pose a challenge to both women and men, in New Zealand the representation of female characters was arguably more in line with reactionary feminist ideas, in that it refused, or disregarded, seduction and discounted the use of the body and its sensual potential. In the more male-dominated world of New Zealand television advertising male characters acted as stronger signs, they were obviously considered adequate tools to relay and convey strong, respect-producing, effectual, selling messages to the audience. The different place of male characters in New Zealand television advertising will be tackled in the following two chapters.

¹ As defined by Baudrillard (1979) and other male authors caught in the discursive formation that dictates the role of females as seductresses.

² Theories have been developed, in the field of psychology, about the styles of power and influence associated with each gender. For instance, it has been argued that western culture tends to dictate that females acquire their power through more covert and indirect sources than do males (Lips 1981; Lips & Colwill, 1978) and that this same western culture portrays males more frequently in active or adventurous roles of doing, whereas females are more often found in roles of being, depicted as less active, more romantic and decorative. O'Sickey (1994, p. 24) has shown how these dichotomies are recreated in Barbie magazine, "a manual for disciplining the body" and the mind of young girls, in which "a systematized and rigorous basic training toward a normalized femininity is dictated" (see also McRobbie, 1982; Pierce, 1995).

³ Taynton Crawford (1988) argued that women and men are socialised to use communicative power in different ways and Mundy (1975) argued that western women, after centuries of learning that anger is not feminine, have settled on passive aggression, that they reject the direct expression of their anger as a means of controlling others. Johnson (1976) also developed a theory that relates sex-role stereotypes to power use. According to Johnson, "direct power is demonstrated when a person exerts influence openly, by giving an order or making a request," whereas, "indirect power is exercised when the influencer obtains the desired outcome while trying to keep the other person unaware of the influence. Indirect power is often called manipulation" (Lips & Colwill, 1976, p. 228-229). In line with Mundy (1975), Johnson (1976) argued that women tend to rely on indirect power more than men, because there have been so many constraints against directness by women and because the media such as "popular magazines devoted to advising women about interpersonal relationships indicates that women are actually instructed to use manipulative, rather than direct, strategies to get what they want (i.e., "let him think it was his idea)" (Lips & Colwill, 1976, p. 229).

⁴ The concepts of agonistic and hedonistic mode of power can be paralleled with the concepts of direct and indirect power. According to Morgan (1972) and Freedman (1986) who borrowed these concepts from Chance and Jolly (1970), a dual system of power puts in contrast the agonistic mode of power, which involves the direct use of aggression or active force, with the hedonic mode, which is another form of dominance, this time based on the ability to command attention of others through display. These two modes of power have also been put in parallel with gender behaviours. Again the influence of the media in promoting and recreating the hedonic mode of power for women can be clearly seen, in for instance, articles that insist that what makes a woman irresistible is her *allure*, "that thing that makes a woman most a woman-that is, most 'other' from a man" (Irvine, 1996, p. 147).

⁵ "*Séduction et féminité sont inéluctables et se confondent*"

⁶ "*Cette puissance du féminin est la séduction*".

⁷ "*Un univers où le féminin n'est pas ce qui s'oppose au masculin, mais ce qui séduit le masculin*" (p. 19)

⁸ "*L'immense privilège du féminin . . . d'être resté le maître absolu du règne des apparences*" (p. 19)

⁹ As Steinbrugge (1995) argued, in 18th century France, although women were integrated into intellectual life, they were also defined as close to nature, “consisting of that unstable equilibrium of natural, animalistic sensuality, on the one hand, and of the sense of moral norms that reins it in, on the other...” (p. 91). On the one hand, a few authors such as Montesquieu, or Poullain de la Barre, with works such as *De l'égalité des deux sexes* (1673), tried to demonstrate the equality of sexes, arguing that “l'esprit n'a pas de sexe” (p. 301 in Hoffman, 1995). They pointed out that the narrow range of education available and given to women had turned them to entertainment and futility, constructing them as beings devoid of reason whose natural state is that of submission, faintheartedness, and effacement (p. 303 in Hoffman, 1995). On the other hand, differences in physiology that justified gender characteristics such as a natural weakness, sensibility, tenderness and gentleness ('delicate' characteristics which also naturally directed women to obedience), were developed by other 'enlightened' male philosophers. Women were also constructed as enigmas, as mysteries for men, created as an 'other' whose instable mind was difficult to define.

Steinbrugge (1995) also showed how feminine beauty was put on a pedestal and created as a myth by male writers. The image of the female as a temptress “subjecting men” (assujettissant les hommes), drawn from the religious ideas of previous centuries endured during the enlightenment (Hoffman, 1995, p. 37). Montesquieu wrote, “they [women] hold a natural sway over us: that of beauty, to which no one resists” (in Hoffman 1995, p. 351). This idea of beauty, reported by authors such as Laclos or Cabernis among many others, was closely related to the notion of mystery and seduction. It was a conjunction of the idea of beauty and the notion of seduction which was, in fact, presented by 18th century male authors as appealing, it was not the reality or obscenity of nudity because nudity does not present as much interest as a pleasure deferred and hindered by decorum (bienséance), rivalities, coquetry, modesty, or even by virtue. According to 'enlightened' males' ideals, an attractive woman was a woman who slips away, who uses a veil in order to attract, who naturally uses strategies of dissimulation (in Hoffman p. 548 & 163). In other words, beauty was largely located in women's ability to seduce.

¹⁰ “*Mise en scène artificielle de leur corps*” (p. 19)

¹¹ “*Un destin de vassalité et de prostitution*” (p. 19)

¹² “*Elles ne comprennent pas que la séduction représente la maîtrise de l'univers symbolique, alors que le pouvoir ne représente que la maîtrise de l'univers réel*”

¹³ *En fait les femmes ont un peu pris le pouvoir et les hommes ont un peu perdu leur pouvoir. C'est à dire que dans les rapports de force hommes-femmes, en fait maintenant ya 75% des femmes qui ont deux enfants et travaillent. En fait la règle maintenant c'est de travailler pour une femme, donc elle bosse, elle est reconnue, elle veut une vie amoureuse totalement remplie, en fait elles avancent, c'est comme si les hommes reculaient un petit peu. Donc elles prennent aussi un poids important.*

¹⁴ “*La fémininité en France est au Coeur du sujet depuis un certain temps, ça fait partie de la vie quoi*”

¹⁵ “*La France, c'est un pays qui aime les femmes*”

¹⁶ “*Les valeurs féminines imprègnent la société française*” (Mermet, 1999, p. 253).

¹⁶ “*Les valeurs féminines imprègnent la société française*” (Mermet, 1999, p. 253).

¹⁷ *Ouais justement c’est la phase d’après. Comme elle est libérée, et en fait c’est comme si les hommes étaient perdus et les femmes qui disaient à l’homme: “attends, moi j’ai pris ma place, mais toi elle est où ta place. Donc reveille-toi!” Donc il y a une espèce d’inversion des rôles, elle taquine les mecs, elle dit, “allez, debout les mecs!”, comme si y’avait plus d’hommes.*

¹⁸ In 2000 and 2001 in France, some brands pushed the limits of sexual provocation further, starting a trend known as “*porno chic*” (glamorous porn), in which products are associated with sexually explicit situations involving nude (mainly female) bodies. Interestingly, “*porno chic*” was launched by some high-class clothing brands, “*haute couture*” such as Ungaro and by brands of perfume such as Dior or Yves Saint Laurent, with advertisements that mixed zoophilia with sado-masochism. However, products as diverse as a retail chain of shoe shops (Eram), or a brand of sausage (*La ficelle de Bourgogne*) to cite a few, also used fetishistic or sado-masochist images to promote their brands. A recent report (Grésy, 2002) written for the Secretary of State in charge of the rights of women (*Secrétariat d’état aux droits des femmes et à la formation professionnelle*), has denounced the utilisation of women’s nude bodies in advertisements, especially when nudity is linked to violent or pornographic themes or when advertisements use demeaning stereotypes or humiliating situations. In the last few months French advertising has gone quite far along that path. For instance, one of the advertisements for a locksmith company discussed in the report for the Secretary of State used the imagery of a chastity belt and used the tag line “even at that time it was good to protect your patrimony” (*Déjà à cette époque, il était bon de protéger son patrimoine*). Another advertisement for a brand of powder sweetener portrayed a blonde Barbie doll like cartoon character saying “I did not invent the powder but I know how to use it”, which, in English, would be the equivalent of a woman advertising a brand of car or tyres saying “I did not invent the wheel but I know how to use it”. The effect of this type of advertising that objectifies and demeans women has been denounced by advertising authorities such as UDA or BVP. However, Jacques Bille, president of AACC, played this down and noted that, overall, advertisements show respect to women and that only a few campaigns, which should not be defended, use the image of women “clumsily” (Amalou, 2001). In this study’s corpus of prime time television commercials, no instance of “*porno chic*” advertising was found as this trend is only a recent one.

¹⁹ One French communicator was honest about the standard techniques used in the representation of characters in advertising, arguing that,

there is a tendency in advertising, and I think it is global, to use young and beautiful people, exuding good health, it is true that it sells more than showing an old smelly and toothless person . . . generally there is a tendency . . . you take a girl of 20 years old in order to make a mother of 30 years old and you take a 30 year old mother in order to make old 50 year old woman. It’s often like that.

²⁰ It has been pointed out that women are expected to be immersed in the fashion and beauty cultures, whereas it is not expected of males who are looked at with suspicion if they seem to pay too much attention to their looks, fashion, or decoration (Kaiser, 1990; Craik, 1994). Servan-Schreiber (1994, p. 298) showed how French males “naturally” believe that the search for aesthetics is feminine and that females have a relationship to their bodies (through adornment for instance) for pleasure.

²¹ Despite the fact that results of studies in other cultures such as the US argue that when levels of nudity or eroticism increase the intended communication effects either turn negative or dissipate (LaTour, Pitts, & Snook-Luther, 1991) Also, as Joseph (1982) or Caballero, Lumpkin and Madden (1989) point out, there is some uncertainty over the effectiveness of sex appeal on communication outcomes or on purchase decisions or on the use of nudity or erotic content, as it might just increase consumer attention, but not necessarily increase positive attitudes towards a brand (Alexander & Judd, 1986).

²² The element to remember here is that, as communicators from France and New Zealand noted, the number of males involved in the creative side of advertising is overwhelming and therefore advertising discourse and therefore the knowledge that was created about men and women is in large part a male construction.

²³ *Ouais ya rien de sexuel là hein non. . . si? On voit peut être une fesse et une paire de seins, bon.*

²⁴ *Quand on bosse avec les anglais nous au sein de notre réseau, ils trouvent qu'il y a une grosse proportion d'idées qui reposent sur des ressorts à connotation un petit peu sexuelles. Nous on a tendance à considérer que les Anglais peuvent être extrêmement fins, extrêmement drôles, extrêmement raffinés, mais que quelquefois leur communication aurait un peu plus besoin d'un petit peu plus d'animalité, d'émotion, qui soit un peu plus basée sur les sens.*

²⁵ *Les Anglo-Saxons ils ont un rapport aux choses du cul qui est pas le même que nous. Nous on est des latins, eux c'est des Anglo Saxons avec tout ce que ça véhicule de protestantisme, de politically correct comme on voit aux Etats Unis etc. Pourquoi les Anglais, des qu'ils ont bu un coup ils montrent leur cul , ou pourquoi ils se déguisent en bonne femme des qu'ils ont picole on en sait rien, j'sais pas, c'est dans leur nature. Ils ont un problème par rapport a ça et les Français pensent plus au cul que les Anglo Saxons, et dans la publicité c'est pareil, y a plus de cul, voila. C'est pas pour ça que c'est mieux, c'est pas pour ça que c'est moins bien.*

²⁶ *“L'homme propose et la femme dispose” (p. 131).*

²⁷ Lin (1998) in her study on sex appeals in US commercials also noted a “game phenomenon” (involving sensual teasing) that was played between male and female advertising characters, in which “the sexual tension between men and women [was] played out as a two-way—though perhaps not yet even-handed—game (p. 471). As Lin (1998) found in her corpus, “commercials featuring physical sexual innuendo had a similar amount of flirting initiated by both genders” (p. 471).

²⁸ Frustier (2000) studied how the 3 Suisses campaign reflected the evolution of the liberation of women in the last 3 decades, portraying liberated women having “insolent creativity” (p. 18), portrayed in control through slogans such as “*c'est elle qui commande*” (1987) up to the the “*demain sera féminin*” (1997).

²⁹ *Le machisme latin préfère parler de la femme, le machisme anglo-saxon préfère parler de l'homme. Les anglais montrent que des hommes dans les vestiaires en gros. Sans vouloir aller plus loin (rires), c'est les clubs d'aviron, c'est tout ça. La culture de groupe, d'hommes dans des groupes, en France elle est assez restreinte. Même s'il y a le football et le rugby, y'a pas de pubs où les mecs boivent un coup entre eux quoi.*

³⁰ *C'est deux façons, j'ai l'impression, de vivre une sorte de machisme, quand même.*

³³ *“C’est par la fragilité que la femme séduit, la vulnérabilité, le vide, jamais par des pouvoirs ou des signes forts”* (1979, p. 18)

CHAPTER 9

SPORT IN THE TELEVISION ADVERTISING DISCOURSE

Introduction

Cross-cultural content analysis of commercials revealed that sport imagery¹ was drawn upon considerably more in the New Zealand advertising discourse than in French advertising discourse. In this study 17.7% of commercials used sport imagery in New Zealand compared to only 3.98% in France. This chapter addresses that distinctive difference between the New Zealand and French television advertising discourse. In particular, it explores how the sport metaphor was used in commercials and to what effect. It identifies what types of sport are used for what ends; what values are promoted through the use of sport imagery in advertising discourse; and what differing subject positions are constructed for the New Zealand and French consumers.

Because of its focus on sport imagery, the chapter selects key examples as representative of specific uses of sport in the advertising discourse. However, because of the evident disequilibrium between the two environments in terms of the frequency of sports imagery, this chapter can use French television advertising discourse only as a contrast to a more detailed analysis of New Zealand advertising discourse's cultural appropriation of sport. Within the French advertising discourse certain discursive patterns recurred, but the small number of French commercials deploying sport made it hard to isolate clear-cut discursive practices.

Sport in two different cultural environments

Before exploring the way sport is used in television advertising it is essential to position it within each respective culture. For the purpose of this study it is also important to contrast the cultural meaning of sport in the two countries. Because of the recurrent use revealed by my corpus of sport in general, and rugby in particular, in New Zealand television advertising, the following part will mainly focus on the New Zealand environment.

It is widely understood that sport, especially mediated sport, is an important site for maintaining the imagined community and constructing the collective identity of a nation (Alabarces, Tomlinson, & Young, 2001; Bairner, 2001; Billig, 1995; Coakley, 1998; Hargreaves, 1986; Hayes, 2001). Sport is an important part of New Zealand culture; it has been a central site where national identity is constructed and maintained. This critical role of sport in the formation and maintenance of New Zealand national identity has been acknowledged by many authors from different fields (see Collins, 2000; Laidlaw, 1999a, 1999b; Patterson, 1999; Phillips, 1996; Sinclair, 1986). Authors such as Jobling (1991) talked about the enthusiasm, almost the fanaticism for sport in New Zealand, qualifying New Zealand as a “proud sporting nation” (p. 255). Every year, the New Zealand Yearbook, a source of commonly held cultural beliefs, emphasises that “sport, fitness, and leisure have played an important part in creating and shaping New Zealand’s national image” and that “New Zealand is perhaps best known for the calibre of its international sportspeople” (1998, p. 285). Sport and Recreation New Zealand (2002), an organisation whose aim is to create opportunities to all New Zealanders to be active clearly emphasises the link between sporting performance and New Zealand’s sense of identity, arguing that it is “important to our national identity that we are world-leaders in some sporting disciplines” (p. 11) and that “research shows 95% of New Zealanders get more satisfaction from world-class performances of New Zealand’s sports teams and individuals than from similar achievements by other Kiwis” (p. 8). Sport programmes on television in New Zealand are also the most popular events. In 1996, for example, the top five programs in terms of audience rating were all rugby games and eight out of the twenty top programmes in 1997 were rugby events (New Zealand Official Yearbook 1998, p. 254).

It may be true that New Zealanders like sport and especially rugby – there are 182,500 players in New Zealand compared to 264,885 in France for a much bigger population (Mermet, 1999, p. 396) – but it has also been argued that the media plays an important part in the glorification of sport (see Bassett, 1987; Bell, 1996; Perry, 1994; Phillips, 1996). As Atkinson (1994) noted, this is revealed in the content of television news where 24% of bulletin time on One Network News is devoted to sports.

In New Zealand, sport celebration on television is often equated to national celebration (Perry, 1994; Bell, 1996). The lack of success in sport disconcerts the media and triggers prime time television debates that turn into national soul searching exercises. That was the case in 1998, a poor year for the All Blacks (New Zealand's national rugby union team), and more recently in 1999 at the occasion of the All Blacks loss in the rugby world cup semi final. Articles in newspapers or magazines very often mix sport – rugby in particular – and nationalistic feelings. They frequently remind readers that the fame of New Zealand individuals or New Zealand national teams, the All Blacks in particular, conditions national identity and defines national reputation. Newspaper headlines that assume that rugby is the nation's heart such as “The whole of New Zealand is anxious to revel in victory tonight” for a Bledisloe Cup game (Saturday night fever, 1999, p. C1) or “Monday mourning” at the occasion of New Zealand's loss in the rugby world cup (Monday mourning, 1999, p. 1) are commonplace in the press.

On the other hand, in France, unlike in New Zealand, sport has never been central to the nation's identity. Contrary to what happens in New Zealand, the ideal of France's “exceptional destiny” – Charles De Gaulle's words – (Girling, 1998) does not include *grandeur* in terms of sport but in terms of economic and political ambitions on a world scale (see Girling, 1998). Similarly, Gildea (1997), in his study of French national identity, culture, obsessions, and aspirations in the fifty years after the Second World War, did not mention sport but suggested a strong cult of intellectual meritocracy in France. Studies on France indeed usually focus on art, politics, fashion, cinema, religion, the press, literature, and feminism but never emphasise sport as an element constitutive of the nation (Howorth & Ross,

1987, 1988, 1989; Flower, 1997). Although sport remains the first activity linked to sponsoring (Andreff & Nys, 2001), it does not have a central place in the French media (Thomas, 1993). According to Loret and Allouis (1994) the number of hours dedicated to sport on all French television channels in 1992 amounts to 2120 hours and only 64 hours and 46 minutes for rugby.

The importance of rugby in the two cultural environments (1): New Zealand

Many studies have observed that rugby is undoubtedly an important factor in the shaping of New Zealand's "exceptional destiny". For instance, Nauright (1996a) pointed out that "most history writings in New Zealand discuss rugby, which is consistently presented or critiqued as the 'national game' " (p. 230). Nauright and Black called rugby in New Zealand a "secular religion" (1994, p. 165) and noted that "in no two countries [New Zealand and South Africa] has sport in general, and rugby in particular, been a more powerful force in the construction of 'national identity' " (1996, p. 206).

Here, we have to keep in mind what Hall (1996) noted, that "identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse [and], we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies" (p. 4). In New Zealand, as Phillips (1987) suggested, rugby is part of a national tradition that was created within nationalistic political discourse. Indeed, according to Phillips (1987, 1996), the 1905 All Blacks legendary tour that is now a central foundational myth of the country (see also Hope, 2002; McConnell & Edwards, 2000), built on wins that were played against British teams in their off season, was discursively constructed mainly through the government's voice. Particularly instrumental in this process, was New Zealand Premier Richard Seddon's ability to construct an image of national success linked to rugby and superior physical manhood of the colonists. The 1905 All Blacks tour was therefore the beginning of a new and enduring discursive formation amalgamating notions of sport, national success, and productive, determined masculinity.

Whereas the 1905 All Blacks tour was the spark that triggered a new culturally powerful discursive formation blending rugby and nation, this discursive

formation was put into practice by national institutions such as schools. As Phillips revealed, for a long time “schools forced rugby upon the male population of the country” (1987, p. 85) and, until the 1970s, rugby was compulsory for boys in certain schools and was, in most schools, the only winter sport offered (see also Fougere, 1989). Schools therefore were part of an ideological state apparatus that defined sporting practices and as a result the physical, social, and moral values of New Zealanders. Phillips (1987) also noted that this policy of rugby promotion was considered valid because rugby was thought to be an educational experience for New Zealand males, in particular “rugby was held to be ‘character forming’ because it required hard work and the conquest of fear and pain” (p. 84). Rugby’s central role in New Zealand culture was revealed again in 1981 when a Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand triggered a mini revolution. This time, the national symbol of unity and cohesion that was rugby was turned into a source of division and conflict (Crawford, 1985; Fougere, 1989; Hope, 2002, Thompson, 1988). Rugby was, however, again central in the shaping of a major event in New Zealand culture.

Nowadays, at the turn of the millennium, even though many games are now available on pay-TV and therefore alienate and distance the average New Zealander from a traditional source of imagined collective national identity (Day, 1999; Hope, 2002), the way rugby is represented in the New Zealand media reveals how the game is still presented as an integral part of national culture. Rugby commentary is for example subject to established discursive conventions that emphasise the solemnity and intensity of the event, something that Bassett (1984) already noted in the 1980s. In contrast to France, for example, where the coverage of rugby events starts just before the game and finishes straight after, in New Zealand, each rugby game is presented by the media as a real dramatic event that includes a build up which can easily last up to one hour before the game and a match analysis after the game. The commentators’ discourse is built around a review of the previous years’ confrontations between teams, and around pre-match and post-match players and expert commentaries and match statistics. All these elements, which can double the actual duration of the coverage, are the standard procedure of “packaging” the game for the New Zealand public. Rugby commentary has been constructed as a true scientific discourse which positions

New Zealand viewers as rugby experts and which at the same time inevitably amplifies the stature of the game.

Advertising and sport

In New Zealand television advertising, rugby imagery has gained an economic value that derives from the cultural, social, political and “mediatic” value it has accumulated through the decades (see Phillips, 1987). In the New Zealand commercial world, sport and national signs are often articulated to create value around goods and to fuel the campaign themes that support these goods. Sport people or situations are “asked” by advertising communicators to act as signifiers in an already established mythical referent system that, advertising communicators believe, is meaningful for national subject viewers/consumers.

A good example of this articulation of sport and nation to support a newly created good is found in the newspaper advertising campaign for special silver coins by the Reserve Bank of New Zealand. The advertising message is a clear example of a text that participates in a prevailing and popular discourse that presents sports people and the All Blacks team as a source of collective identity, pride and status for the nation. It equates sport glory with national pride. It attempts to create an important affective meaning between itself and the readers in order to make them proceed to the act of consumption. The emotive effect worked on the reader is achieved by the choice of an emotionally-charged hyperbolic language relating to the past and present of national sport, and by the use of intensifiers and a grandiloquent tone. The advertisement, which uses a photograph of the 1924 All Blacks “Invincibles”, and is entitled “We’re proud of our country”, tells readers:

New Zealand has always battled against the odds, triumphing over the limitations of our size to accomplish greatness in the face of adversity. When we win, our hearts sing with the pride of a nation. And if we lose, our heads are held high in the knowledge that the real achievement is to compete [. . .]. Take the [. . .] Anzacs, who stood their ground with courage in the face of insurmountable odds at Gallipoli in 1915. Sir Edmund Hillary, -explorer, mountaineer and humanitarian, and the first man to conquer Everest, the world’s highest peak. The America’s Cup team, who, under Peter Blake, won the coveted trophy after a valiant effort. These achievements and many more form the fabric of our heritage. Now, our nation’s pride has been captured in a unique coin set, the pride of New Zealand.

The representation of sponsorship deals in advertising is also obviously important as it clearly facilitates the naturalisation of this mixture of sport and commodity imagery. The phenomenon of advertising and sport sponsorship in New Zealand has been touched on by authors such as Perry (1994), Bell (1996), and recently by McGregor (1999) and Laidlaw (1999a). Laidlaw (1999a), in particular, discussed how the All Blacks for instance are now more than just a team but a brand on which “a new commercial layer has been superimposed” and whose individuals are “on an endless conveyor belt from place to place, signing merchandise, posing for photographs, making television commercials and acting out the part as brand ambassadors for Philips, Ford, Lion Nathan or any of the other corporate partners of All Blacks Inc” (p. 175). In many cases, advertising messages that used sport imagery were part of campaigns that advertised sponsorship deals.

The importance of rugby in two cultural environments (2): France

In France, rugby has never had the national cultural importance it enjoys in New Zealand and has never been part of a major national discursive formation on national success. Rugby is ranked the eighth sport in number of players, after football, tennis, judo, pétanque, basketball, horse riding, and skiing (Mermet, 1999). It has never been considered as being the nation’s main source of glory and unity. One of the reasons for this lies in the regional nature of the game. As a matter of fact, Terret (1999) noted, rugby was for a long time more an activity linked to potential divisions of the nation rather than to its unity. As Terret explained,

rugby gave the South West the opportunity to confront Parisian domination openly, to compete on its own soil against the capital which, since the revolution of 1789, had never stopped pitting its centralist and authoritarian Jacobin tradition against the decentralist Girondist position that was particularly strong in Bordeaux. (p. 64)

Also, in contrast to New Zealand where rugby has always been considered as a site in which performance is paramount (Phillips, 1987), French rugby is part of a tradition of fun rather than competition (see Sansot, 1990). Terret (1999) noted that “rugby playing went hand-in-glove with other aspects of regional life, such as bullfighting, hunting, festivals (the bandas) and the love of good food” (p. 73).

Rugby authority Pierre Albaladejo, a legendary former French player and commentator of rugby games on television, also emphasised the fact that “rugby was made to have fun”². Authors such as Adole (2002), Rey (1997), and Albaladejo all expressed explicit concerns with regard to the evolution of rugby towards “professionalisation” and rationalisation, and worried that the game, which has always been associated with good food, singing and laughter, might turn into a site where productivity, planning, performance and profitability would become the main aspects. Albaladejo interestingly contrasted the more relaxed French approach to rugby to the much more serious and professional New Zealand and South African approach, arguing that “I might be chauvinistic but, very honestly, I have rarely seen the All Blacks or the Springboks be doubled up with laughter”³. Unlike in New Zealand, where rugby has always been a vehicle for competitive notions and nationalism, in France rugby matters rarely extend beyond the sporting discourse, even after the process of “professionalisation” and there has never been a hegemonic discursive formation amalgamating rugby and nation.

Quantitative information

Before exploring in more depth the way sport imagery is used in New Zealand and French television advertising, I will report the quantitative information that came out of analysing the corpus. Analysis of commercials revealed that sport imagery was drawn upon considerably more in the New Zealand television advertising discourse than in the French advertising discourse. Out of the 710 commercials from the New Zealand corpus, 126 (17.7%) used sport imagery. In France, although the amount of time devoted to sport on French television has tripled in fifteen years to reach 3000 hours of airtime in 1997 (Mermet, 1997, p. 401), the content of television advertising did not follow that trend. In the French corpus, only 29 commercials out of 727 (3.98%) used sport imagery as a context to advertise products or brands.

Interviews with communicators also revealed that, just as seduction was naturalised in French communicators’ conception of advertising, for New Zealand communicators sport and patriotism were naturally assumed to be key elements. A communicator who explained the part of intuition in the creative process

explained:

We're given a brief to work from that is usually quite tight in what it has to achieve but loose in the way that it has to be done because the account service and the client when they're writing the brief they know exactly what they want to get out of it whether it is to generate sales or generate people to have a fondness for their brand or things like that but they never say it should be done in a funny way or it should be done using *sport*, or *patriotism* or things like that so that is I guess a lot when intuition comes into it because there is no formula for writing ads unfortunately.

As this comment shows, sport and patriotism were naturalised as top of the mind concepts and included under the principal elements carried by intuition.

New Zealand communicators were also very much aware of the importance of sport in New Zealand television advertising. For instance, when asked what kind of celebrity endorsement was used the most in New Zealand television advertising, all communicators, without exception, identified sports people and particularly the All Blacks as the largest group of endorsers. As one New Zealand communicator explained:

Probably local sports heroes I'd imagine because they're a huge part of our . . . I mean they're so easy to hang on to you know, whether it is Jonah Lomu doing the McDonald's ads, or I mean Bull Allen selling barbecues or whatever, it's a very simple first thought basically.

It was also interesting to note that New Zealand communicators were also very critical and cynical about the overuse of sport celebrity endorsers, pointing out that using so many sports endorsers was "bizarre" and that there were far too many commercials utilising rugby players. This frequent use of sport endorsers was also repeatedly explained by the lack of other possible local personalities. As one communicator put it "probably partly because we are a small country and those people are still accessible. We don't have enough actors, international people cost too much."

What kind of products did sport imagery promote?

Analysis was conducted in order to see whether sport imagery was solely used to advertise sport products or whether it was used as a discursive context to advertise

any sort of product. It was found that in both New Zealand and France, the majority of sport situations or sport endorsers did not necessarily promote sport-related products. In French television advertising, out of the 29 commercials that used sport imagery, only four (13.79%) were advertising sport products or institutions. These commercials advertised a sport television channel (TPS), Nike, a fitness videotape, and a motor show. In these commercials the sport imagery was used to convey factual information, as was also the case in the motor show commercial, in which cars and motorbikes were exposed. In the other commercials that advertised sport-related products, the sport imagery was used to convey fun or fitness through images of sport, as was the case in commercials for Nike or in an aerobics video tape featuring female endorser Monica Loubry.

In New Zealand, slightly more sport imagery commercials (25 out of 126, or 19.9%) advertised sport-related products or institutions and therefore represented a direct link between the sporting situation – or the celebrity endorser – and the product. These commercials advertised sport equipment, sport shops, sporting events, energy drinks, and sport videos.

The interesting finding was that the majority of commercials that did use sport imagery in French and New Zealand television advertising (France: n=17, 58.62%; New Zealand: n=101, 80.1%) used sport or sport endorsers to promote brands or products that did not have any clear or direct link with sport. In France, these commercials advertised products such as portable telephones, yoghurt, mineral water, or television sets. In New Zealand, these commercials used sport imagery in a metaphorical manner in order to promote various products such as soft and alcoholic drinks, mineral water, food products (such as bacon, hamburgers, and butter), insurance companies, television channels, banks, tools, airlines, cars, and all sorts of appliances. In New Zealand television advertising, sport imagery was used as a metaphorical device that worked for any kind of product. Communicators used sport in a parasitic discourse that attached itself to virtually any kind of product promotion. The challenge for this study was to find out what discursive logic lay behind the creation of these metaphors.

The use of individual or team sports

Analysis was also carried out in order to see whether individual or team sports dominated in the television advertising discourse of the two countries.

Hegemony of individual sports in French advertising discourse

In the French corpus most commercials used individual sports. Out of the 29 commercials that used sport imagery, 19 (65.51%) used individual sports whereas only six used team sports and four used both individual and team sports. Many individually based activities such as golf, judo, skiing, bike-riding, or jogging which, as Loret (1991) noted, allow individuals to keep their freedom from others or a team, were used in French commercials. French television advertising discourse clearly used individual effort as a model for viewers in most of its messages.

These findings indicated that the discourse of French television advertising was modelled on actual social practice. Indeed, Mermet (1997) reported that in France more than one third of the people practice an individual sport, whereas only one fifteenth of the population practice a team sport. Jamet (1998) also added that, until the 1960s, sport was based on a competitive model but that, since then, there has been a decline in the number of people taking part in team sports while participation in individually-based activities has increased considerably. According to Mermet (1997) and Jamet (1998), the popularity of individual sports in France is linked to the fact that sport is very much considered a leisure activity in which relaxation and pleasure are more important than performance and competition. According to Mermet (1997) and Jamet's (1998) research most French people prefer sports that they can practice at their own rhythm outside of any institutional framework and try to personalise their sporting activity.

Hegemony of team sports and rugby in New Zealand television advertising

In New Zealand on the other hand, the majority of commercials using sport imagery used team sports as a model for viewers. An interesting point to note about New Zealand advertising discourse was that 61 commercials (48.31%) used rugby and 14 (11.11%) used cricket. These two team sports clearly dominated the sporting discourse in New Zealand television advertising.

Cricket imagery was used to advertise such products and services as a bank, chartered accountants, lotto, bread, cricket equipment, and clothes. Rugby did not seem to be restricted to the promotion of a specific category of products; it was used to advertise virtually all sorts of products and services. Particularly, the expertise and credibility of rugby players seemed to have no limits. Famous rugby players were used to sell cars, soft drinks, beer, barbecues, carpets, tools, hamburgers, milk, sports gear, television equipment; to promote holiday developments, oil companies, department stores, road safety, and so on.

Sport was clearly thought to be an efficient promotional device for consumers and especially males. Viewers were for instance told by a “matish” male voice that one of the reasons to buy the *Sunday News* newspaper was that it is “big on sport”. However, the overwhelming amount of commercials that used rugby imagery showed that New Zealand communicators clearly used this particular sport as one of the driving forces behind commercialism. Viewers were prompted to renew consumer goods via the presentation of rugby imagery or linguistic metaphors from rugby that in some cases supported sponsorship or partnership deals. Consumers were enticed into KFC fast food restaurants by a commercial that promised a rugby ball to anyone who buys a KFC pack through a voice-over that challenged viewers to “score one today”. A commercial for Heathcote appliances told viewers to “enjoy watching the All Blacks on [a] Panasonic 29 inch colour television for just \$1599” while another commercial that featured a television set on which an All Blacks game was screening asserted that “The Phillips All Blacks television with powerchip gives you a clearer, cleaner picture whatever the conditions” and concluded that “The Phillips All Blacks television, [is] always the best for you.”

Interestingly, a recurrent commercial item in New Zealand sport imagery commercials was rugby boots. These clearly worked as an important commercial and cultural sign in commercial communication. In commercials, they acted as a metonymic iconic cultural reference to rugby in order to attract male consumers. Rugby boots were simply considered a good way to attract customers into stores judging by the number of commercials that used them as loss leaders. Advertising messages for such retailers as The Warehouse, Lifestyle Sports, or Stirling Sports

were constructed around promotions for rugby shoes in order to entice customers into stores – one commercial was for example entitled “the bootiful sale”.

Gender bias in sport imagery commercials

In New Zealand and French television advertising it was evident that female sport did not enjoy the same discursive coverage as male sport both in quantity and in meanings transferred. In New Zealand and France, very few commercials used situations that featured women involved in sporting situations or women sport endorsers. As revealed in Table 12, (p. 266), this study found that in the majority of New Zealand and French commercials male sport endorsers or sporting situations in which only males were engaged in sporting activities dominated (New Zealand, n=89, 70.6%; France, n=14, 48.3%). Only six New Zealand commercials (4.8%) as opposed to four (13.8%) in France used female sport endorsers or sporting situations in which only females were engaged. Three out of these six commercials in New Zealand television advertising used netball. Also, in New Zealand television advertising 31 commercials (24.6%), used situations in which both genders were present. In France this figure was significantly higher with 11 commercials (37.9%), which suggested that sport was not so much a male bastion as in New Zealand television advertising.

The role of female characters in sport imagery commercials

The fact that female athletes are underrepresented in mass media coverage of sport is a well-documented finding (see, e.g., Eastman & Billings, 2000; Koivula, 1999; McGregor, 1994; McGregor & Melville, 1993; Pirinen, 1997; Sabo & Jansen, 1992). Kane and Greendorfer (1994) went as far as saying that women in sport media are simply “symbolically annihilated” (p. 31). As well as being underrepresented, females have been found to be stereotyped and trivialized. Common stereotypical techniques include gender marking (Duncan, 1990; Koivula, 1999; Weiller & Higgs, 1999), emphasizing feminine characteristics and favouring heterosexuality (Elueze & Jones, 1998; Kane & Parks, 1992; Koivula, 1999; Pirinen, 1997) or infantilisation (Daddario, 1994; Duncan, 1990; Elueze & Jones, 1998). Turner, Bounds, Hauser, Motsinger, Ozmore, and Smith (1995) found an under representation of female sport figures in advertising in US advertising and conclude that indeed “arguments can be made that future

television strategy should be more inclusive of women” (p. 33).

Even though there were few sport imagery commercials portraying women, the way these commercials employed women was interesting. When they did use female characters, most French and New Zealand commercials that used sport and targeted women either emphasised domesticity and “cosmetic fitness”, the use of sport – in combination with the use of a product – to obtain an attractive body (Coakley, 1998, p. 217). A New Zealand commercial for the Warehouse used Barbara Kendall, a windsurfing world champion, to promote the latest AEG appliances. Although the commercial tried to introduce a humorous dimension by making Barbara say: “My husband loves using his AEG large-capacity washing machine, and it’s only \$1199”, she was still the “subject” who was set up in a domestic situation in front of appliances. The social environment constructed by the commercial was that of everyday domestic life and Barbara was portrayed as having a rapport with the management of, and responsibility for, this domestic world. Her speech was also undoubtedly directed towards other women, not men, therefore clearly implying that the domestic world of appliances was part of the gender sphere of women.

Both the French and New Zealand television advertising discourses articulated women in the promotion of thin desirable bodies. In France, the use of the right brand of mineral water or the use of video fitness programmes were presented as ways to achieve cosmetic fitness. The commercial for a fitness video in France prompted women to worry about and model their body before summer by showing shots of a woman involved in fitness exercises on an idyllic tropical island. The commercial provided the female viewers with the types of exercises they should do if they wanted to reach the standard of acceptable femininity. Other commercials suggested that the step between ugliness and beauty/fitness was consumption of healthy food. A commercial for Contrex mineral water clearly suggested that the female character portrayed could not achieve the acceptable standard of beauty and fitness without ingesting the product.

Similarly Silver Ferns netball player Bernice Mene, in a commercial for McCain’s healthy food, was not so much used for the physical performance she is truly able

to achieve on the field but was set up as a role model promoting cosmetic fitness and acceptable eating behaviour to other women. The subject position created for female viewers in this commercial was clearly one of thin desirable objects who should look after their physical appearance. This injunction by advertising was supported by Bernice's father – a famous sportsperson himself – who telephoned her to check whether his “little girl [was] looking after herself”. The patriarchal voice introduced in this commercial created an opposition between the supervisor and the supervised, the responsible and the irresponsible, clearly setting up the female champion as not quite responsible for her acts. But it was not only Bernice who was put on the spot, the patriarchal voice used in this commercial seemed to ask all women viewers whether they were fulfilling the subject position advocated by men: Are you looking after your body? Are you a good model of cosmetic fitness?

Whereas French female characters were portrayed as uninterested in sport, and especially in male sports such as soccer, in New Zealand television advertising, females were included in sport situations and, sometimes portrayed as moral participants. Numerous commercials focused on female characters as All Blacks spectators. In one of the versions of the McCain's commercial for example, a female champion netball player was portrayed eating her meal while watching an All Blacks rugby game, and therefore, supporting male sport. A commercial for Lucozade that promoted the “energy to spend competition” even featured a woman having some kind of military training imposed by her muscular boyfriend so that she could win prizes.

Some commercials clearly combined gender expectations with New Zealandness. One commercial for Ansett New Zealand, which featured a customer talking to the viewers and having a short conversation with an air hostess at a check-in counter, drew upon stereotypical New Zealand gender imagery. Apart from emphasising aspects of the air hostess's character – just like men who were involved in rugby she was also “dynamic” and “focused” – the commercial played on stereotypical representations of New Zealand femininity:

Man: What kinds of people make such an airline? Take that young woman there, dynamic, intelligent, focused, encouraged to make

her own decisions. Judging by her aura of competency, you'd say she was from a rural background. Probably several brothers, no sisters, a bit of a tomboy, the usual resentment at not being able to play rugby, although she did have a pony, her parents still own the land and their fondest wish is to see her married.

Man: Brothers?

Air hostess: Only child.

Man: Sport?

Air hostess: Touch rugby.

Man: But you did have a pony?

Air hostess: Allergic.

Man: Err no surprises there then...

It did not really matter that the man's predictions turned out to be wrong, the point we should note in this commercial was the way it clearly defined subject positions for New Zealand women. This commercial indeed took part in a discourse that contributes to fixing New Zealand gender idiosyncrasies through social participation in sport and life in the country. The commercial gave viewers a model of the rural New Zealand family and also reminded us what physical activities country girls are expected to participate in. The New Zealand female was portrayed as having typical female sporting pursuits or "toys", such as the pony, and as aspiring to participate in "male" activities such as rugby. The commercial constructed women as rugby participants, therefore once more creating an idealised expression of New Zealand social harmony around rugby.

In both France and New Zealand, television advertising reflected an ideal of graceful femininity. In commercials that used sport imagery, stereotypical signifiers of femininity such as grace and elegance were commonplace. As Guttman (1996) pointed out, femininity in sports is usually constructed in opposition to masculinity and vice versa. Snyder and Spreitzer (1983) noted that sports have been constructed as either acceptable or unacceptable for women according to Victorian ideals of femininity. For instance, sports that involve attempts to physically overcome opponents by body contact are generally seen as not acceptable for women. A commercial for Mitsubishi motors in which a woman ice skater was portrayed dancing on Ravel's Bolero in front of what appeared to be a moonlit Milford Sound clearly drew on the grace of the female movement. The skater's moves which were most probably meant to signify style, elegance, and refinement in the visual discourse, were paralleled with the verbal

discourse of the “stunning style and design” of the new Mitsubishi cars.

In both advertising discourses, but in New Zealand in particular, signifiers of femininity and female worlds contrasted totally with signifiers of masculinity/masculine worlds. This was evident in the music used in sports commercials. New Zealand commercials for Caltex with the New Zealand female netball team for example, used a light, gay and youthful sounding music that contrasted totally with the heavy metal type of music from commercials peopled with male rugby characters. This finding parallels Feder-Kane’s (2000) comment that “the narrative surrounding the women’s competition [figure skating] is sickly sweet in its presentation of the competitors’ femininity” (p. 207). This choice of music clearly suggested a clear opposition between idealised male and female worlds. In addition, it was also interesting to note that in New Zealand television advertising, many commercials that used women in sporting situations, or that advertised women’s sport equipment, used a male voice-over. Commercials promoting sport equipment for women could even use a male rugby player as endorser, as was the case in a Warehouse commercial for netball shoes.

The role of male characters in sport imagery commercials

Whereas French and New Zealand female characters were used in similar situations of domesticity and cosmetic fitness in sport imagery commercials, the difference in the representation of masculinity in sport imagery in each country was more distinctive. In the New Zealand television advertising discourse, the traditional concepts of masculinity noted by Phillips (1987) continued to prevail (see also Perry, 1994). New Zealand commercials that used sport imagery usually involved dramas highlighting masculine virility, toughness or power and indirectly played the role of a guide to masculinity. Sport imagery – particularly rugby imagery – was often used in commercials as if it could transfer notions of assertiveness, domination over others, hard-man masculinity, and tough competition. These notions contained in rugby imagery were transferred to products in commercials, creating product or brand personalities as very assertive and competitive indeed. Whereas sport imagery in New Zealand often participated in the promotion of violent behaviour through the showing of intense, brutal and powerful images of rugby, on the other hand, French television advertising did not

contain any hyperbolic visions of the muscly masculine body. Rather, male characters in French commercials were portrayed engaged in sport situations that involved an element of fun and relaxation rather than power.

Chandler and Nauright (1996) noted that in the English speaking world in particular, sport has been equated with masculinity.⁴ Messner and Sabo (1994) suggested that “popular culture and sports media tend to glorify the violent use of the male body in sports” (p. 93). As Phillips (1987) noted, in New Zealand, rugby promotes an admiration for physical strength, courage, toughness, and manliness built on physical and mental toughness and these values can be traced back to those of frontier pioneer New Zealand at the turn of the century. To this needs to be added the fact that, as Phillips (1987) also noted, there is a long New Zealand tradition of perceiving rugby as an analogue to war and rugby players as embodiments of military values.

In contrast to French advertising, in New Zealand television advertising, masculinity was often excessive and as Star (1993) noted, “the macho rugby player [was often] a drag queen, parading excesses of machismo in the same way that the regular queen parades extremes of ‘femininity’” (p. 65). The dramatisation of masculinity through sport imagery in television advertising messages was achieved through written texts or utterances, visual images or both. Commercials could show unachievable physical feats, as when a man was portrayed bench-pressing a truck in a commercial for energy bars. Sportspeople, especially rugby players, were glorified, and were, for example, given the ability to move into space like rockets.

Other commercials for Moro bars, but also for the Super 12 competition, or the Steinlager “paint it black” commercial (and of course all the trailers promoting rugby games), were all examples of a succession of visual images of bone-crushing hits in synch with tough rock music. Several commercials for Sky television such as “live and kicking” worked in the same way. Black clouds and thunder were the backgrounds for images of violent collisions, tackles, winning moves, decisive passes, and skilful side-stepping from the All Blacks. These images of glory were conveyed by a super fast editing and accompanied by heavy

metal music and a deep resonant male voice. All these elements combined together created an atmosphere that emphasised masculinity and power and positioned these two notions as part of a unified discourse. In one of the commercials promoting the Super League competition, the sound of tackles was even kept, emphasising physical power and challenge. This was far from the communicative approach found in France where programme promotion for rugby games used slow motion rugby moves in conjunction with a seductive female voice or a warm male voice. Whereas, as I will show, in France tackling imagery in advertising was equated to a painful experience, in New Zealand advertising, tackling was clearly glorified and used as a way to attract male audiences.

In the majority of French sport imagery commercials, the discourse encouraged men to see their bodies as relaxed and free from the pain of working out via such images of people snowboarding, biking or playing soccer socially. In New Zealand commercials by contrast, the body was portrayed as a machine that needed to be worked out. New Zealand commercials encouraged men and women to see their bodies as powerful, disciplined, and controlled through regimentation and military training to achieve sporting or consumption goals. One typical commercial featured the shining sweaty bodies of the All Blacks working out in a gymnasium. The display of strength was emphasised by close-ups of powerful thighs and biceps and was accompanied by a sound track of groans and punchy heavy-metal music with images of violent tackles intercut with close ups of pumping muscles.

In New Zealand television advertising discourse, masculinity was not only carried by images. Linguistic expressions conveyed the idea of sport as a heroic battle, glorified physical clashes, and highlighted masculine virility. A good example was in the commentary used in a Newstalk ZB commercial: "This is adventurous stuff! . . . Oh what a hit! They felt that right at the back of the stand!". Other messages such as a commercial for dragway cars, which showed images of cars burning rubber, constructed a stereotypical masculine aspect of car racing with heavy-metal music, masculine voice-over, and punchy text: "See the speed, hear the roar, feel the ground shake!".

Finally some commercials constructed a clear connection between rugby, war, and masculinity. As Nauright (1996b) noted, rugby has been used as “a metaphor for war and for the Darwinian notion of the survival of the fittest” (p. 123) (see also Phillips, 1987). The amalgamation of sport and war is already common in the discourse of sport commentaries in the western world (see Blain & O’Donnell, 1998; Boyle & Haynes, 2000; Maguire & Tuck, 1998; Trujillo, 1995). New Zealand is not an exception; war has been used as a metaphor in many games and in pre-match build-ups. Patrick Espagnet, from the French newspaper *Sud Ouest*, reports that, before the second test between France and New Zealand in 1994, rugby legend Sean Fitzpatrick warned the French team through a press conference that “next Sunday it [would] be war”.

In New Zealand television advertising, geographic antagonism seemed to be at the core of the use of rugby and war imagery. A commercial for TAB (New Zealand’s betting agency), for instance, represented rugby teams as armies through the use of plastic soldiers and prompted consumers to take part in an ideology of regional rivalry so that they make their bets. Geographic antagonism was also, at the core of a commercial for the Super 12 competition that exploited the artificial opposition between the southern and northern hemisphere. In this commercial, famous rugby players from New Zealand and one from Australia were transformed into bombs that flew to destroy the northern hemisphere. The commercial, which again glorified rugby players by giving them the capability of moving about in space, clearly created and exploited a rivalry between opponents and transformed simple sport competitors into enemies in order to create an interest in a simple rugby competition.

This articulation of sport and war imagery not only created an expectation of violent clashes, it also was considered appropriate to emotionally entice viewers to “consume” rugby games. The commercial emphasised the notion of conflict and combat and the importance of consumers’ allegiance to one’s kinship as the conditions for participating in the consumption of this competition. From this point on, sport imagery in New Zealand and French advertising discourses will be discussed separately because, in each cultural environment, sport was used in very distinct ways that could not easily be put simultaneously in parallel.

Sport in the French television advertising discourse

This section examines the main aspects of sport imagery commercials in French television advertising with particular regard to: looking at what the use of sport imagery intended to achieve; identifying a recurrent sport metaphor; and showing how sport imagery was repeatedly linked to a discourse on health that represented sport negatively.

Sport metaphor as a demonstration of product benefits

In most French commercials, sport metaphors were used to illustrate product benefits. In some cases advertising used sport as a way to transfer excitement. Good examples were the commercials for the sport channel (TPS), which used the metaphor of a roller coaster ride to represent the thrill of watching sport on TPS. In the commercial, a sofa transformed itself into a roller coaster car that took an entire family through several sporting situations. The car carrying the family was sent to different sport fields, right in the middle of the action, and transformed itself successively into a tennis ball, a soccer ball and a rugby ball. In this case the thrill of the sporting action served as a stimulation for viewers to proceed to the act of consumption.

Sport was also used recurrently used as a demonstration metaphor. In other words, sport imagery was used as an illustration or evidence of what the product can do for the consumers. The sporting situation wished to demonstrate and prove, through imagery of physical exercise, that the product was capable of changing consumers' lives. Sport imagery illustrated the product's helpfulness in the achievement of well being as, for example, in a commercial for Circularine that used a female gymnast to signify the well-being and the agility obtained as a result of using the product. In other commercials people cycling were portrayed to illustrate the efficiency of a course of treatment and septuagenarians were portrayed playing soccer on a nice summer day after having had lunch in their garden in order to promote the goodness of olive oil.

The training metaphor in French advertising

Although the corpus of French sport imagery commercials was small, an interesting metaphorical device was isolated in two French commercials. The

concept of training was used as a basis for the commercials' underlying discourse of consumption, creating an interesting parallel between the world of sport and the world of consumption. In demonstrating product benefits, these commercials made explicit parallels between using the product and *training* one's body, suggesting that the product advertised helped in the conditioning of our body for a better fitness or a better physical appearance. Both the linguistic register – in this case, the use of sporting vocabulary – and the iconic message were built on the notion of training.

In one of these commercials, for Danone yoghurt, the final voice-over clearly stated that David Douillet, Olympic and world champion of judo, trained his body with yoghurt and that consumers should imitate him if they wanted to achieve the same fitness and well-being. In the commercial, insistence on the possessive pronoun “*your*” (“Every day with Danone nature, train your body to feel good. Danone nature, your everyday training”⁵) implicated viewers/consumers into the discourse, implying that the champion's body was not the only possible beneficiary of Danone's training superpowers. In addition it suggested that, despite the fact that the product had been elevated by the endorsement of the legendary champion, Danone could still be used as training device by “ordinary” consumers and was still within their reach.

In the other commercial that used a training metaphor, a parallel was made between the daily training of a French world champion skier, Luc Alphand, and his everyday use of the shampoo. In this case, in the same way as the skier did his everyday training, he used the shampoo, every day, in his shower, in order to “train” his hair. The champion explained: “This is my hair. It has also suffered. The helmet, the wind, the snow. But *I trained it really well*”⁶. After a voice-over had explained the benefits of the product, using a scientific discourse jammed with technological jargon that gave the product the cutting edge advance that a true champion expects, Alphand resumed: “At last competition has finished. As for my hair I continue to train it!”⁷.

In these training metaphor commercials, although the endorser appeared at the centre of the message, it was the product that was presented as the secret, the

inspiration, and the protector of the consumers' sport heroes. The fact that the product was able to train the powerful body or even just the hair of champions of international stature clearly elevated the product, giving it almost magical virtues. In fact these "training" commercials were part of a discursive strategy that gave ultimate power and authority to the product – the same authority as any sport trainer has in a sport situation.

The discursive construction of sport as a negative situation in French advertising

Although Mermet (1999) argued that in France, "sports that bring pleasure are taking over sports that bring suffering" ⁸ it was found in this French corpus that sport was recurrently constructed as a negative situation. French advertisers and communicators did not capitalise on the positive image of "pleasure sports". Sport in this corpus was very often presented as a destructive activity. Only two French commercials really presented sport as an enjoyable and fun activity.

French commercials that used sport often worked according to a problem-solution model. The logic in the syntagmatic relationship of ideas was usually clear: in commercials, sport created a problem, usually some form of stress – physical or material – and the product advertised communicated the solution through a metaphor that acted as a situation of demonstration. A commercial for Rennie, for example, constructed an interesting parallel between the stomach pain that a soccer coach was experiencing on the side of the field and the appalling way his team was playing. The negative sporting situation in a way both symbolised and contributed to the coach's physical suffering and stress. However, as soon as the coach swallowed a tablet of the product he regained energy and his team immediately scored a goal. Therefore sport mirrored the state of the coach's health and was used both as a metaphor for pain and well being. The sport imagery provided a clear representation of the transition from a negative situation symbolising physical suffering to a positive situation symbolising relief.

As the previous examples show, French commercial sport metaphors were the equivalent of "torture tests". Sport was indeed recurrently presented as the toughest challenge for a product or a person and was usually the cause of stress

rather than an answer to it. In the commercial for Petrole Hahn featuring ski champion Luc Alphand the product was presented as battling and counteracting the effects of a hostile environment. Sport was set up as a harsh environment so that the product could be portrayed fighting the damaging effects of difficult sporting conditions and ultimately contributing to the champion's success. Images of the champion skier going downhill in the wind and snow were given as the proof of the uncompromising and menacing nature of the outside racing world. Set up as a contrast, the world of Petrole Hahn, with imagery of a warm shower, emphasised well-being, pleasure, and comfort after the torture of the natural elements.

In another commercial, for Rexona deodorant and sunscreen, a woman was portrayed running across a desert through diverse natural obstacles under a scorching sun in order to prove the efficacy of the product. The commercial used obvious signs of heat such as a shot of the blinding sun, and a close-up shot of a giant cactus catching on fire. Again, the sport situation in this commercial provided a testing ground that worked to provide evidence of the quality of the product. Similarly, commercials for Dim (a brand of underwear) portrayed a group of young men wearing their underwear in the sea while surfing, letting them dry on the beach in the sun, putting them back on, and starting a series of athletic moves. The sport situation of surfing and athletics were created as "torture tests" to illustrate the qualities of the product: its elasticity, its comfort, and its resistance to elements such as water and sun.

One sport in particular was recurrently used as a torture test in French commercials: rugby. In one specific example, a brand of detergent used rugby's reputation and connotation of harshness to prove the product's effectiveness. In this case, the rugby context was "a torture chamber" for garments. It was presented as *the* sport in which clothes are the most easily dirtied and destroyed. Rugby imagery – in this case children playing rugby on a muddy field – was selected on the grounds that it provided the ultimate test of harshness for a sport garment. Unlike in New Zealand commercials, rugby in French commercials was never given any other value than that of a testing ground for the product.

Two other French commercials also used rugby as a torture test. One of these commercials advertised a pain reliever and the other one a brand of yoghurt. This time rugby was not presented as a torture test for a product but as a challenge and a painful experience for the body. In the commercial for the pain reliever, in which two plasticine characters were involved in a violent tackle, the product was presented as an answer to the painful physical experience of the sport. The commercial did not give rugby any other value than the painful experience of a tackle. What was presented to viewers was rugby in its simplest “painful” form with no added social value as was often the case in New Zealand advertising. The fact that this straightforward advertising message for a pain reliever was presented with the use of plasticine characters also further contributed to suggest an impersonal and socially decontextualised treatment of the game. Rugby was virtually dehumanised.

In the commercial for yoghurt, rugby was this time used as a metaphor for the dangers of life. The commercial was filmed from a subjective camera where the audience was the main person experiencing violence. The subjective camera – representing the viewer – was successively attacked by a dog, involved in a snowball fight, tackled violently by a rugby player, caught in a powerful storm, and involved in a road rage incident in Paris. Rugby was again synonymous with a violent experience which paralleled other stressful physical experiences. Rugby was presented by French communicators as nothing else than a stressful situation that could be solved by using the product advertised – in this case by eating yoghurt.

Articulation of sport and health in French advertising

Many French commercials that used sport were part of a discourse on health – what is known in French as “*hygiène de vie*” – in which the grooming and well-being of the body is presented as the real concern. The commercials for yoghurt discussed earlier were for example part of this discourse on health, so were other commercials for mineral water.

Almost half of French commercials (12 out of 29, or 41%) that used sport imagery took part in a discourse on health that transformed ordinary products such as

yoghurt or mineral water into almost magical health products. French television advertising discourse, therefore, did not necessarily position sport as a contributor to good health; rather, it was the “healthy product” combating a negative sporting situation that was usually constructed as the main contributor to good health.

A commercial for mineral water, illustrated this point clearly. The commercial created a parallel between sport and life, with the claim that “Life is a sport”⁹. In the commercial, sport and stress/competition were the object of an interesting parallel whose only object was to promote the virtues of drinking mineral water. A young family man in a suit was portrayed in the stressful situations of a day in his busy city life. His attempt to catch a taxi was compared to a difficult 100 metres race, an argument with a business colleague was compared to a “ping pong” match, and a punch from his young son was called “boxing”. The water was shown as the way to regain one’s vitality and youth and to enjoy family life again. Towards the end of the commercial the young man was portrayed literally “recharging” himself by drinking water out of a bottle. Straight after his consumption of the product the parallel between sport and life continued but this time the young man was shown jumping on a bed with his wife while a caption on screen read “trampoline” suggesting that the intake of the beverage had boosted his energy and sex drive. And, as was the case in the Rennie commercial, sport had suddenly become a metaphor for pleasure but only as a consequence of using the product.

Of course, sport imagery was not always negative when articulated with health. Water and yoghurt were for instance also given virtues of purity and comfort through the showing of sporting body imagery. For instance, at the end of a commercial for yoghurt, purity, comfort, and soothing were all signified by the healthy half-naked body of a man doing yoga in his bare apartment. This imagery created a sensation of simplicity, purity, cleanness and innocence while the voice-over reminded viewers how the product could help in protecting their fragile body from an aggressive outside environment:

Remember. You used to be protected. All of a sudden it happened. Then you had to battle, defend yourself, defend yourself again, defend yourself all the time. Then Bio created another Bio in order to help your body to protect itself. Bio with

active Casei, life is a struggle that you win everyday.¹⁰

In all French commercials for mineral water, sport and the act of drinking water were articulated with obtaining a healthy, thin, and desirable body. Drinking mineral water or eating yoghurt, in conjunction with sport, was presented as a way to achieve what Coakley (1998, p. 217) called “cosmetic fitness”, the combination of fitness and attractiveness. Commercials clearly defined the type of sporting lifestyle that went with the product and that should be adopted by consumers. It also identified in which situations mineral water should be drunk or yoghurt should be eaten. For example, in a commercial for Contrex mineral water that was obviously targeted at women, a simple drop of water was shown changing shapes to form icons which represented jogging, stretching and shopping. Clearly these icons represented the life situations that were appropriate for drinking Contrex and linked women and cosmetic fitness. The voice-over “Contrex, my thinness partner”¹¹ also implied that helping the construction of a healthy body was not the only magical virtue of mineral water. Sport and Contrex mineral water were articulated as complementary in obtaining a healthy and thin body that is socially valuable and that conforms to the physical standards fixed, in part, by advertising imagery.

The fact that sport was used negatively in so many French commercials can be considered surprising if we consider that, in France, sport is considered as a leisure and relaxation activity (See Mermet, 1997; Jamet, 1998). Although French advertising discourse mirrored the preference of French people for individual sports, it did not really reflect the idea that sport is a relaxing leisure activity. Communicators did not use scenarios that were in tune with the public’s dominant perception of sport and did not communicate images of sport as relaxing activities in order to attract consumers. Instead, French advertising communicators used different tactics. They followed the path that, according to Langholz Leymore (1975), advertising usually follows, “reiterat[ing] the essential problems of life – good and evil, life and death, happiness and misery etc. and simultaneously solves them” (p. 7). French advertising communicators created sport as a negative situation and drew on all the possible negative effects of sport. They removed those positive virtues of health and relaxation from sport and transferred these to

products. In other words, parallels between sport and stress were strategic ploys created to enhance the “soothing” quality of products.

Sport was not used in the same way in New Zealand television advertising; instead, sport was mainly presented as a positive experience that rarely carried negative connotations.

Sport in the New Zealand television advertising discourse

Having mapped the different ways sport imagery was used in the corpus of French television advertising, I now want to explore the different ways sport imagery was used in New Zealand television advertising and the values of sport that were regularly drawn upon in commercials. In analysing New Zealand television advertising discourse’s cultural appropriation of sport imagery, I tried to comprehend the importance of the social world created around and within sport imagery, and particularly rugby imagery. The rugby experience in New Zealand television advertising discourse was often transformed into a symbolic experience for many things before being “dished out” to viewers.

In the analysis of a perfume advertisement for Chanel No. 5, Williamson (1978) suggested that Catherine Deneuve’s face was “in apposition in the grammar of the ad . . . although the connection is really a random one” (p. 25). In New Zealand television advertising, sport imagery was also often used “in apposition” in the grammar of commercials and the discursive logic behind this phenomenon was clearly cultural. Sport imagery served the purpose of supporting and strengthening the legitimacy of a product only by “juxtaposition”. It was not used to prove something through a logical demonstration of features or benefits of the product, but it was clearly used according to cultural conventions, because communicators thought they could transfer its cultural popularity to products or brands.

A common discursive practice in New Zealand television advertising consisted in simply placing products in the context of sport imagery and expecting this association to heighten the status of the product advertised. In Kiwi bacon advertisements, for example, rugby was clearly not used to demonstrate the goodness of bacon but was only utilised as a spring-board to popularity for the

product. Images of All Black supporters shouting “black, black, black” were only shown to remind viewers that rugby is the “Kiwi religion” and that the brand Kiwi bacon is a supporter of a Kiwi cultural ritual. Images of rugby players performing a powerful Haka (Maori war dance) – humoristically entitled “Kiwi aerobics” – intended to send a patriotic shiver down the spine of New Zealand viewers in order to make them emotionally bond with the product so that they would eventually consume it. The next image in the commercial was simply a piece of bacon frying, therefore timely juxtaposing the product to national sporting imagery. What was therefore asked from the audience in this type of commercial was a simple cultural decoding of the message: New Zealand viewers were asked to position themselves within a dominant discursive formation on the importance of national sport and they were encouraged to think how well the brand fitted in their socio-national universe. Advertising communicators assumed that all New Zealanders would decode and appreciate the importance of rugby imagery, here the Haka, and accept its juxtaposition to the product as an incentive to consume.

A message from Kenwood can be given as another example of such cultural encoding. Rather than being asked to engage in a rational marketing decoding consumers were asked to engage in a very cultural decoding. The commercial simply used an unknown Maori rugby player resting his elbow on a stereo. The commercial created a curious parallel between three elements: mini skirts and mini stereos, referred to as “stunning minis”; between knee-long skirts and midi stereos referred to as “superb midis”, and between big stereos and Maori male rugby players. Outside the New Zealand cultural context, the connection between a rugby player dressed in sport gear and the stereo equipment placed next to him would certainly appear odd and illogical. However, in a country in which the male target audience is expected to be immersed in the cultural importance of rugby, such amalgamation of rugby and technology was obviously considered acceptable and comprehensible by advertising communicators. The aim of sport imagery in this commercial was not to demonstrate product benefits but again to inscribe the product in a distinct cultural context.

The linguistic register of sport was also important in New Zealand advertising messages. A commercial for Nestlé dip onion soup illustrated this with a close up

image of a bowl of onion dip, and the shadow of rugby posts shown on screen, while the voice of well-known rugby commentator John McBeth commented:

The halfback clears to the first five, second five, out to the centre, and there he goes! Oh, there's no stopping the Maggi onion soup of Nestlé reduced cream dip! It's definitely a dip of two halves. Maggi onion soup of Nestlé reduced cream.

This commercial linguistically juxtaposed the world of sport with a specific product in an attempt to create, or reinforce, culture and consumption: watching rugby on television while eating onion dip.

Several other commercials used the discourse of sport commentaries to advertise all sorts of products. Two commercials from Newstalk ZB radio station capitalised on the linguistic discourse type of rugby commentary together with images of a rugby player tackling a human size microphone. The voice of a commentator was heard commenting: "Moving the ball wide. This is adventurous stuff". This was an obvious attempt to transfer some excitement to the experience of listening to Newstalk ZB radio. The rugby experience, in the form of broadcast commentary, was in a way used as lure for the audience. Rugby imagery, linguistic or iconic, was the cultural event that any brand could put forward in order to attract the consumers' attention.

Several other brands used linguistic metaphors to attract consumers to their stores. A commercial for Guthrie Bowron, for example, juxtaposed pots of paints with a rugby stadium and prompted viewers to "get your tickets to the big event". The vocabulary of sporting motivation could even be used to promote a carpet as in a commercial with All Blacks captain Sean Fitzpatrick, in which the player asserted that being in the carpet business is "about commitment, and you have to deliver" and that telephoning that particular carpet company was "a great way of buying a carpet. It's a good call."

The creation of the above messages was simply a cultural amalgamation of iconic imagery or linguistic commentary from sport with products. Cultural symbolic logic had taken over marketing logic. Nowhere else in the world, except in the cultural environment of New Zealand, could rugby commentary and situations be

used to sell bacon, bank services, silicone glue, onion dip, and stereos. Communicators simply used sport imagery and linguistic register as an all-purpose layer of meaning that could be added to any commercial message. Commercials that juxtaposed sport with any kind of products did not obey a marketing logic but a cultural logic that dictated to New Zealand communicators that sport imagery, when attached to any product, will make it popular and worth buying.

Sport as a metaphor for performance and dynamism

Sport imagery was not only used in order to place products firmly within the culture, but also to transfer certain notions to products that are believed to be inherent to sport. In the modern capitalist world, according to Gibson (1993), sport is thought of as a way to achieve performance or results. Analysis of New Zealand commercials showed that most advertising messages using sport contained the notion of performance and had the clear intent of transferring it to the products. A New Zealand commercial for Courier Post was a perfect illustration of how sport could be used as a metaphor for the performance and efficiency of a service. In order to convey the fact that New Zealand Post was “New Zealand’s hardest working courier company”, the commercial portrayed a deliveryman delivering a parcel to a top athlete involved in a 100 m sprint.

In New Zealand television advertising, cricket, rugby, and the All Blacks, were clearly used to convey performance and dynamism and transfer these notions to products or brands. Commercials featuring international rugby players such as Jonah Lomu or Christian Cullen for instance, illustrated this point. In order to give the Rebel sports brand a dynamic image, advertisers transformed Christian Cullen into much more than a simple rugby player. Cullen was portrayed making extraordinarily fast moves in all sorts of sports such as soccer, golf, basketball and so on. In the process of this commercial of course, communicators not only transferred a dynamic image to the brand through Cullen’s energy, but also allowed Cullen to transcend the boundaries of his legitimate competence by magnifying and transforming his real sporting competence and elevating him to the rank of “god of all sports”.

In a similar way, a commercial for the Chartered accountants aimed at conveying performance and dynamism to its profession, using a parallel between a bad management of business finances and a disastrous cricket game. The bad cricketers portrayed in the commercial stood for business people who did not use chartered accountants whereas the skillful player who appeared half way through the commercial stood for the efficient chartered accountant leading a team to victory. The succession of fast sporting images not only gave a dynamic image to what is considered a pretty dull profession; it also created a flattering parallel between the efficacy of professional sport and professional accountants. Again sporting vocabulary took an important place in the discourse of the commercial.

Sometimes there are good days, sometimes there are, well. . .
Running a business can be like that too. A true professional understands how *to keep the score moving*. That's why things gonna happen when there's a qualified chartered accountant on *the team*. So if you're serious about business, always look for this sign.

Many commercials transferred performance through hyperbolic imagery of sporty bodies, individual sporting performances or teamwork. A commercial for Ados silicone glue featuring Wayne Shelford, a former All Black, created a comparison, using rugby imagery and commentary, between the All Blacks' tight team play and their ability "to fill gaps" with the product's performance in sealing windows. Hyperbolic visions of muscled male bodies were presented in a commercial for Moro bars. It used close ups of the powerful bodies of the All Blacks working out in a gym in order to give the brand energy and dynamism at the same time as making consumers conclude that the strength of their heroes came from the chocolate bar. Commercials for Sky television used dynamic images of sport that fitted with the hard sell communicative approach. Dynamic, if not violent, rugby imagery involving powerful bodies was presented to the viewers as an indicator of the content of the channel but also to convey intensity and urgency.

Sport imagery and the promotion of notions of determination, achievement, leadership, and discipline

Whereas it was clear that commercials had the intent of transferring certain notions such as intensity, urgency, performance, and dynamism, to products and services, it was also clear that sport imagery gave consumers potent models of

behaviour to succeed in the world of consumption. Laidlaw (1999a) noted that in New Zealand, “sport, at the level of excellence practiced by the All Blacks or Peter Blake’s America’s Cup team has become a metaphor for successful enterprise of almost every kind” (p. 174). In analysing New Zealand commercials it appeared that advertising communicators selected not only successful metaphors but also more specific notions drawn from the realm of sport in order to involve viewers and show them the path to consumption. Weiss (1996) noted that the notion of achievement, which is a constitutive element of sport, is used by the media as a metaphor because sport success is immediately discernible whereas achievement in other areas remains invisible for many people. In New Zealand television commercial messages, advertising communicators often used sport as clear imagery of achievement and that notion of achievement was presented as an intrinsic social value of sport that viewers should adopt and transfer to the more banal world of consumption.

In commercials it seemed as if processes used for better efficiency and production, of training hard, of rationalisation and of planning to which professional sport – and now rugby especially – is subject (see Coakley, 1998; Laidlaw, 1999a, 1999b), guaranteed and could transfer performance and reliability to brands or products. In New Zealand commercials these notions of achievement, determination, and leadership were prominent. Images of the game of rugby and its players clearly reflected and endorsed the dominant values of contemporary economic life and consumption such as efficiency, discipline, determination, and achievement. Several celebrity rugby endorsers portrayed moving about the world of consumption gave viewers potent models to achieve goals within the consumer culture.

An example could be given of All Black Andrew Merhtens kicking for goal in a commercial for Farmers department store and metaphorically showing consumers that they too can achieve their goals, not through the satisfaction of kicking a rugby ball between two posts but by buying consumer goods and therefore seeking satisfaction through consumerism. In the case of this commercial for Farmers, the action of “shooting right” was equated to the action of “choosing right”. The male voice-over told viewers:

You don't have to be a kicker to kick for 50.000 dollars cash. Just buy any Phillips television, stereo or video from Farmers, like this 29 inch Matchline with incredible picture, incredible sound and a free cabinet worth 199 dollars. A great deal from Farmers at 1999! And you'll automatically enter the draw to kick for 50.000 dollars in the Philips kick for cash competition, now at Farmers!

Here, through advertising, the player's action and success on the field was translated into the world of materialism and consumption. The commercial led viewers to seek the same satisfaction as in sport but through the act of consumption.

Cricket situations, or endorsers, provided similar models to viewers for setting and achieving material goals in life within the consumer culture. Commercials for Bank of New Zealand (BNZ) set up a parallel between saving money and destroying wickets, they prompted viewers to think about their savings in terms of a play activity. In order to create a clear imagery for their sponsorship of cricket, the BNZ commercials used words with double signifiers, which have meanings both in the banking world and the game of cricket. For example, 6% interest with BNZ was associated with images of great batting shots – sixes – from the New Zealand cricket team. When BNZ offered 8% interest it was said to “bring back the interest back in the game”. In these commercials the voice of the cricket commentator and the standard male voice-over alternated on images of winning cricket. The concept of winning was also of course very important, as the commercials wanted viewers to equate winning with capitalising. One of the commercials for BNZ, created a clear parallel between cricket moves and the more capitalistic move of putting money in the bank:

Cricket commentator: That'll be it: a hundred!

Male voice-over: If you've got 100 in the Bank of New Zealand cashdraw saver account, you could win a 100,000 dollars in a monthly prize draw. The more hundreds you put away!

Cricket commentator: He's got it: 200!

Male voice-over: the greater your chance of a very exciting win.

Cricket commentator: He'll be very happy about that, as well he might be. He picked up a double century.

Male voice-over: to be in to win a 100,000 dollars every month call 0800 ask BNZ

Cricket commentator: . . . here at Carisbrook and very well deserved.

Sport and especially rugby imagery was also articulated in advertising with a discourse of leadership and discipline. For instance, Air New Zealand – sponsor of NPC rugby – used notions of commitment, pride, and organisation, expressed through the speech of the leader of a group of supporters in order to promote air travel. Advertising using the All Blacks was at the forefront when it came to promoting the values of winning, competition, sacrifice, and commitment, to viewers. The All Blacks were presented as an incarnation of those values and as an inspiration to New Zealand viewers. Also, evidently, brands who used winners as endorsers, also taught New Zealand viewers another clear lesson: losers and the dominated are not worth identifying with, only winners and dominators are. In other words the discourse used by television advertising participated in the consolidation of established power and worship of the physically and mentally strong.

These ways of inviting subject viewers to worship those excellent at sport and mentally strong was clearly represented in a commercial for the *National Bank* that presented the All Blacks as models of economic self-made men who had become successful by means of competitiveness, tenacity, and self-discipline. Pushing the concept that “luck has nothing to do with it [success]” advertising pushed forward the lives of these athletes as people with exceptional destinies and used a parallel between rugby and “real” life. The rugby players’ sporting experience and mental stamina was particularly used as a model of dedication for “ordinary people”, and their experience in mental management was presented as qualifying them to become investment advisers. The suggestion here was that, just as the rugby players were dedicated to their sport, subject viewers should dedicate themselves to consumption and make the right consuming choice. Advertising communicators seemed to assume that through watching sport metaphors subject viewers would acquire the taste for effort and transfer it to their more banal banking habits.

Sport as an explicit moralising device in New Zealand television advertising

As just shown, the New Zealand television advertising discourse, through commercials that used sport imagery, proposed models of individual and social behaviour that emphasised values of commitment and determination presented as

necessary in the world of consumption. Analysis also revealed that sport imagery represented other clear models of social life for viewers that conveyed explicit moral and socialising messages involving discipline of the body and the mind. This way of using sport imagery in New Zealand television advertising did not have an equivalent in the French television advertising discourse.

Hargreaves (1986) noted that “media sport encodes an ideology of order and control, in the way the conduct of participants in sport events and that of spectators is depicted” (p. 145). Loret (1991) argued that sport can be part of a discourse of “public utility” that emphasises moral ideals and such society values as equality, solidarity, respect of social rules and other individuals. According to Loret (1991), the practice of sport is nothing but a condensed part of social practice and sport can be used by the state in the construction of a harmonious society and can be utilised for a better integration of individuals in the midst of a specific preferred social organisation.

Unlike in France, sport imagery in New Zealand television advertising was found to have the same function. It was often used explicitly as a socialising, moralising device, and as a unifying activity. New Zealand television advertising used all kinds of sports or sport endorsers, such as car racers, golfers, sailors, and of course rugby players, to emphasise the discourse of “public utility” (Loret 1991). It seemed as if any sport could act as a metaphor for the respect of social rules and serve as a clear agent of socialisation and moralisation. In New Zealand television advertising, sport dealt with important moral questions. Through the use of sport in advertising it was clear that viewers could and should learn lessons. Many sporting messages stressed imagery that symbolised ideas about how New Zealand society should work and, in some cases, sport was presented as an idealised expression of social harmony.

Phillips (1987, p. 83) noted that rugby in particular was used to teach moral lessons in New Zealand through involvement in the game. In commercials it was identical, the notion of moral leadership of sport endorsers was crucial. Rugby players and other celebrity sport endorsers were used as promoters of social harmony and order, and presented as guardians of the national collective super

ego, especially in public service announcements. They promoted values of self-control, responsibility, respect for others, discipline, competitiveness and, of course, ultimately, a certain social consumerism. Moral sport imagery was created by advertising communicators as a model for viewers to achieve goals within the social/national culture.

Sport was for instance used as a moralising device in commercials for ACC featuring ex All Black Wayne “Buck” Shelford. These commercials contained a clear moral lesson addressed to young males. They were designed in order to reduce the growing number of rugby injuries covered by ACC - 25% of all injuries - (Yearbook 1998, p. 291), used the hierarchical authority structure of mainstream sports in which athletes are subordinate to coaches. Shelford was portrayed as a respected role model growling at a group of very attentive and admiring male rugby players who clearly looked down as if they had committed a mistake. The educational experience set up in this commercial was a moral training for all potential New Zealand males who play or wish to play rugby. The commercial did not only convey a stretching message but a community spirit message as well since ACC’s survival depends on community funding. With the coach shown participating in the training with young males, the commercial participated in a discourse that suggests that rugby should build unity, and cohesion, and shape responsible character, but should also not cost society. Young males were urged to fit into the community by changing their comportment and behaving responsibly according to the rules set by the coach. Yet again, a discourse of performance and competition transpired from this commercial and was used as the underlying motivation for stretching, for not hurting oneself, and therefore for not putting financial pressure on the wider society. Shelford’s comment, “If you’re not prepared physically and mentally, you’re not gonna make it!” and the last caption reminded viewers that “Warm, Stretch, [and] *Perform*” go together. The message proposed to young males in these commercials therefore prescribed both notions of performance and restraint; it advocated performance and achievement within socio-national boundaries.

In a commercial for the Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand, ALAC, a group of sport people in changing rooms was given the authority to use

patronising language to make viewers feel at fault for drinking alcohol. In this commercial, sport was presented as a framework for healthy and responsible behaviour. Morality was measured in terms of sporting ability and physical fitness in terms of performance:

Male Cricketer: G'day!

Male rugby player: Looks like we're drawn to play you this week.
Yeah you!

Male cricketer: Could be a good game.

Female netball player: Tough but fair.

Male Hockey player: And only one team can win right?

Male cricketer: Course it's only a game

Male rugby player: Wouldn't want to take it too seriously.

Male Hockey player: So if you're having a beer on Friday night

Female netball player: Have one for us

Written caption: You know the competition is hungry

Male cricketer: Have a couple! Yeah.

Written caption: Don't let a couple of drinks make all the difference.

Sportspeople were clearly given indisputable authority to put people off drinking alcohol. They were considered appropriate to use a fear appeal, to interpellate viewers and impose their sporting lifestyle as the most desirable. They were presented as role models whose healthy bodies stood for cultural ideals to strive for. Sport was clearly used within a social control discourse aimed at shaping New Zealand subject viewers' vision of the socially acceptable body and eventually social practice in terms of healthy living. This kind of commercial used sport as a "result-principle" discourse (Lumer, 1995). As Lumer (1995) explained, under this model "everybody may take part in the competition under the condition that he keeps the rules; the person having accomplished the best performance is the winner and will receive the prize" (p. 272). Indeed, viewers were offered a choice although not a real one, either they strived to keep to the rules of good healthy living advocated by the role models in the commercial, and as a consequence became winners in the eyes of dominant society and rewarded by it, or they rejected these rules, and became losers rejected by society.

Training in social conformity was also evident in commercials for Caltex oil company and New Zealand police that promoted road safety. These commercials used the framework of sport and translated the concept of sport rules to wider

society. In the process, Caltex clearly portrayed itself within a discourse of public utility. One of these commercials featured the golfer Bob Charles who was presented as a “driving legend”. Bob Charles told viewers: “Because I’m a professional, I really concentrate on my driving. On the road, you should too, as if your life depended on it”. Besides the creation of the pun on “driving”, the choice of a golfer as an endorser was once more part of a cultural logic that gives symbolic meanings of power and respect to sport figures. The commercial based its message on the use of a double signifier for “driving” rather than on a real expertise situation, involving a real driving expert, as might be expected for messages of this importance. Typically, priority was not given to an expert but to a sport legend from the past who, almost certainly because of his popularity, visibility and likeness value, was chosen as a spokesperson.

In the same series of commercials, an identical cultural logic was at work. This time, Andrew Merhtens, a rugby player, was pictured holding a rugby ball and declaring: “I don’t like ugly flankers breathing down my neck on the footy field. It’s the same on the road, keep your distance”. The interesting point to note in this commercial was how the rugby experience gave a framework for good behaviour in society. The ugly flankers stood for careless tailgaters and Merhtens the rugby player stood for the careful driver. Through this commercial, the rugby endorser – via an identification process by subject viewers – prepared them to fit into and become contributing members to an orderly society. In the commercial the negative connotations that rugby could carry in terms of violence and deviance were carefully avoided and the rugby player clearly had become a model of restraint and fair play. Merhtens, and also Mathew Ridge and Richard Loe, two notoriously impulsive and violent players who also participated in the same series of commercials, were presented as role models who could control their violent impulses for the socio-national good.

The symbolic meaning of team sports

As Martin (1996) suggested, each sport has particular perceived characteristics and therefore a particular image that is also carried to the endorser belonging to the particular sport before being transferred to the product. Cashmore (1996) also pointed out that mainstream or organised sports such as rugby are sports that have

accumulated their own “bureaucracy”, and just as bureaucracy, mainstream sports are predictable. Contrary to alternative sports that participate in a rejection of stadiums and their constraining rules (Loret, 1991), team sports obey certain regulations and have fixed physical and moral boundaries: for example the games are played on a limited area and regulations are enforced by a referee.

Just as “bureaucracy stabilises a society, orders it, regulates it and renders it predictable” (Cashmore, 1996, p. 3), mainstream sports such as rugby, through advertising, provided products with a traditional and stable context or helped in the promotion of specific socially acceptable behaviours. As Bassett (1984) put it, referring to rugby in particular:

Most team sports also possess a strong element of cooperation and an emphasis on team effort. In rugby these values are particularly strong and find their expression in the comradeship and relationships both on the field and during the social activities which surround most rugby teams. (p. 17)

In New Zealand television advertising, it was indeed mainstream team sports – rugby in particular – that provided the majority of visions of “acceptable” behaviour to subject viewers. In advertising, mainstream team imagery, and particularly sport endorsers, indirectly represented the values and limitations that the moral ideal of their game implies. Mainstream team sport endorsers such as rugby players in New Zealand were indeed usually moral heroes representing strictly defined mainstream values. Rugby player Sean Fitzpatrick for example, one of the most potent symbolic figures of the game carried personal but also strong teamwork values drawn from his rugby milieu such as reliability and integrity. He was clearly used as the total opposition to alternative values.

The commercial for road safety featuring Andrew Merhtens also drew upon the notion of morality and, particularly, on the notion of fair play that is seen as one of the main moral rules of the game. The commercial used a rugby endorser because of his capacity as a mainstream sport endorser to stress teamwork, obedience to authority, group loyalty, and willingness to sacrifice for a team. Sport endorser Andrew Merhtens, was transformed into an authority figure who symbolised rugby rules and fair play. He was presented by advertising as guardian

of a fair play code that must be respected and followed, and that, if disregarded, would result in social chaos. Clearly, the message, through the team player's voice, urged New Zealand viewers to avoid risk and wanted them to play fair in society. The fair play side of rugby was drawn upon and used as a metaphor for responsible conduct on the road.

The rugby framework was therefore used as a way of communicating with viewers and eventually maintaining order, safety, and control. A particular selected aspect of rugby was used to transfer the value of harmony with team members, respect of authority and the rules. Just as viewers should be outraged at bad or aggressive play they should be similarly outraged at bad or aggressive driving.

The discourse of public utility drawn from mainstream team sport imagery could be capitalised on by a brand of tyres for example. In a commercial that associated Firestone and the Hillary Commission, viewers were directed towards an "acceptable" code of conduct. Firestone capitalised on the cultural aura of sport by associating itself with a respected sport body and then, through advertising, insinuated itself within a safety discourse based on the notion of fair play. Through the experience of team sport the commercial proposed two ways of dealing with sporting life and by extension with social life. One was the deviant path of unleashed violence represented by signs such as a young player's evil look and closed fist, the other was the acceptable social behaviour of moral manliness and "violence within the rules" when the same player took the option of a brutal but "lawful" tackle. The linguistic text, together with the iconic message, created the impression of a choice for the subject viewers identifying with the situation:

Male voice-over: You're ten points down with twelve minutes left, and there's this one guy, he's got past you every time (echo). Here he is again. So what are you going to do? Get ugly? . . . (whistling from the referee)

Voice of referee: Off! (echo)

Voice of team mates: Loser!

Male voice-over: or play fair. You have a choice. Whatever your game. Play hard but play fair.

The linguistic moral message was reiterated in the images of rugby play and accompanied by iconic signs that also emphasised right from wrong. The discourse of rectitude allowed by the team sport situation used the judgement of team mates as a social deterrent (through images of angry team mates), pointing out that anyone who engages in deviant behaviour will be ostracised by friends and eventually by society – symbolised by the referee. Therefore this commercial became a code of living which once more took part in the prevention of anarchic action and maintenance of New Zealand social cohesion and order. And as the Firestone brand and their advertising communicators might have thought, being associated with notions of fair play and cohesive society could only develop in viewers/consumers positive attitudes towards the brand.

The legitimacy of rugby players as role models in advertising

Rugby players were often used in television advertising in a discourse of “public utility” that emphasised moral ideals and such society values as solidarity, respect of social rules and other individuals. However, rugby is a violent sport that also emphasises values of aggressiveness, domination, and antagonism between teams. Rugby players obviously adhere to these values as they play the sport. As Bassett (1984) showed, these values of aggressiveness, domination and antagonism are contained in the game itself but are also exploited and justified by rugby commentators in a discourse that promotes hard-man masculinity:

Frustration, anger and hostility are frequently regarded as appropriate and acceptable within certain contexts. As when a player has been illegally tackled, for instance, and retaliates with a wild swinging blow, the commentator will be heard to say, ‘You can’t blame him for that’. (p. 29)

As Coakley (1998) argued, in their everyday job, sportspeople learn that being hostile toward and overcoming others is perfectly normal. On the field they are expected to forget social rules that would interfere with the development of their physical skills, they are used to use a combination of intimidation, aggression and violent behaviour as strategies (Coakley, 1998). It is obviously the same for rugby players. The values that they learn on the field, clearly contradict the norms most people use to guide their behaviour and most of what rugby players do on the field would never be allowed on the streets. Jean Luc Sadourny, one of the French

rugby players of the 1994 New Zealand tour reported, for example, that before the second test at Eden Park, straight after the toss, by way of a friendly handshake, Sean Fitzpatrick had literally crushed his hand (Bouzinac, 1994).

Miriyana Alexander noted in an article published in the *Sunday Star Times* (November 1998), that 11 high profile rugby players, including Zinzan Brooke, Joel Vidiri, Eric Rush, and Marc Ellis, have been involved in road accidents in recent years involving careless driving causing death, dangerous driving, assault, and drink driving. Moreover, as Star (1993) reported,

there are stories of All Blacks who have raped, deserted pregnant partners, dishonoured debts, become alcoholics, beaten wives and children, sexually harassed women, been bad employers, used obscene language, brawled and urinated in public, wrecked hotel rooms, slandered homosexuals and got away with it. (p. 64)

It was therefore very interesting to find that, off the field, in commercials for instance, rugby players endorsed values of morality and respect of others. Timaru Psychologist Ian Geary (cited in Alexander, 1998) pointed out this irony:

We put these guys in the gym, get them all pumped up and excite their testosterone levels beyond the norm. They're super-charged, high octane performers and that, combined with youthful exuberance, can be lethal. . . . There's also a lot of pressure for them to be role models. Coach John Hart calls them corporate ambassadors and put them in suits and ties, and that represses their natural instincts. Perhaps they let that out behind the wheel. (p. A7)

Despite their not-so-good record as role models, particularly on the road, as the examples provided above illustrate, and despite the fact that like many other professional sportspeople, they are essentially trained to be hostile and learn how to overcome others (Coakley, 1998), rugby players were still widely used by New Zealand advertising communicators to promote values as diverse as safety, character building, and temperance.

In the case of the commercial for ACC that advocated warming up and stretching in order to avoid injury, the choice of "Buck" Shelford was for example questionable. In an interview, Shelford held a totally opposite discourse and seemed to value self-sacrifice and heroism in the face of violence rather than

careful injury prevention. Talking about the 1986 New Zealand-France test at Nantes (Shelford's second international and then the All Blacks' latest test loss), he proudly commented how he kept on playing despite physical injuries which would have surely cost ACC some money: "I lost three teeth when someone kicked me, and then had to go off in the third quarter with concussion. My right testicle was ripped out of the scrotum and 18 stitches were needed to repair the damage" (Romanos, 1990, in Star, 1993). Shelford's appropriateness to endorse values of self-control and temperance in order to avoid injury is also questionable when it is known that he was one of the keenest All Blacks' kamikaze players. How could Shelford endorse values of self-control and promote injury prevention when *The Listener* credits him with the following words after he was dropped from the all blacks in 1990 by coach Alex Wyllie because of an injury:

No, I'm not injured... I played against North Auckland on Wednesday, I trained yesterday, and I'm playing on Saturday. Does that sound like I'm injured? I mean, what's an injury? I've played with injuries my whole career. What does it matter? It's only pain. You go out there and get stuck in. That's what rugby's about. (Romanos, 1990, p. 5, in Star, 1993, p. 61)

New Zealand advertising communicators clearly assumed that if rugby players achieved great physical feats on the playing field, they must be great people and therefore should be used in commercials. Communicators also seemed to adhere to the widely held belief that sports build character. As several authors (Simon, 1991; Leonard II, 1998; Coakley, 1998; Horne, Tomlinson, & Whannel, 1999; Parlebas, 1986; Legras & Clement, 1993; Thomas, 2002) noted, this notion that playing sport builds character has been and continues to be widely accepted in many cultures – especially in most wealthy, post-industrial societies – even if research has not supported the belief that sports build character. In New Zealand television advertising, it seemed that when advertising communicators used organised team sports, they believed in that character logic. Moreover, they based their logic on two of the main faulty assumptions noted by Coakley (1998, p. 97): firstly, that, organised, competitive sports “involve powerful character-shaping experiences” which can be transferred to products or used as moral lessons for viewers; and, secondly, that sportspeople who supposedly have internalised “most if not all of the ‘character-shaping lessons’ *inherently contained* in sport

experiences” and have therefore the authority to give moral lessons to other New Zealanders or sell any product on the market.

Coakley (1998) also suggested that “deviance is defined through a labelling process in which some behaviors (or people) are identified as bad, undesirable, or unacceptable on the basis of rules made by people in positions of power” (p. 149). He also remarked that “people in power use their position and influence to make sure *their* definitions of what is good or bad become the *official* definitions of what is normal or deviant in the society as a whole” (Coakley, 1998, p. 149). It is fair to say that the discursive practices used by advertising communicators in New Zealand played a considerable role in the definitions of normality and deviance. Messages proposed by the New Zealand advertising discourse could be said to define and redefine deviance as they indeed have the power to shape viewers’ appreciation of sport and sport heroes by constantly giving illustrations of who is a role model and who is not. As I have noted, All Blacks who have been engaged in deviant behaviour on and off the field were still used as role models for temperance by advertising. The advertising discourse ignored information that would tarnish or defame rugby heroes, even though some of what we know about them strongly suggests that sport has not built their character.

Whereas New Zealand newspapers and tabloids sometimes give a negative coverage of sport, television advertising was involved in a cover-up of everything that is negative about sport and sport heroes and gave rugby and rugby players constant glamour and status, making them signifiers of good conduct. Advertising communicators could indeed choose with complete impunity to have a notoriously violent player such as Richard Loe or even the impulsive Matthew Ridge endorsing the antithetic values of good conduct and self-control. In effect advertising communicators ignored or redefined deviance. They developed and promoted the positive side of the game of rugby and very specific facets of the character of rugby players that fitted the commercial interest of the firms they worked for. Communicators might know that “the character logic” is flawed and incoherent but they certainly found the concept very convenient for advertising products and promoting moral values to New Zealanders.

It was not only celebrity endorsers that were magnified; it was the game of rugby itself. In New Zealand television advertising, sport was always successful. In constantly presenting winning imagery, television advertising discourse allowed national sport to remain glorious even when national teams were losing. Brands continued capitalising on the teams' time-honoured glorious image, even though they were not so glorious; for instance, 1998 was a particularly bad year for the All Blacks yet they retained their commercial value. For advertising communicators, negative reality did not really exist, positive myths – of winning teams – was much more useful as they could be capitalised on. Therefore advertising discourse, in unsuccessful times, acted as a relay to maintain sporting myths. In a way, advertising, because material objectives were at stake, allowed the national teams to maintain their legitimacy despite mediocre results. This certainly confirmed that it is not only the results of a team that turn it into a myth but also the discourses that recuperate and sustain it.

Sport as initiation into national consciousness and consumption

In New Zealand television commercials that used sport imagery, another discursive dimension existed. Indeed, I wish to argue that New Zealand viewers were not only prompted by advertising communicators to develop certain values desirable in the social world and in the world of consumption but, as was the case in several of the previous examples, New Zealand communicators wanted viewers to relate to and connect with *national* sport imagery. One of New Zealand communicators' most common discursive practice indeed consisted in inserting products within a clear national sporting framework which was obviously considered as a common cultural ground. Messages were articulated around national signs related to sport such as national sportspeople, national historical sport situations, or sport related objects, and viewers were encouraged to think about products in terms of how they fit into their national universe. In this process, national sport imagery valorised certain behaviours that were presented by communicators as avenues to "kiwihood". Through commercials that used national sport imagery, New Zealand viewers were prompted to develop a sense of who they are, nationally speaking, and also how they are competitively connected to the rest of the world through their nation. Sport was presented as a natural unifying activity and used as a tool to awaken feelings of national identity

and pride, as if underlying nationalistic discourse could have a commercial value and therefore make people consume.

Many New Zealand commercials capitalised on and perpetuated the idea that the prestige of the country derives from success in the sporting domain. As Perry (1994) noted, already in the 1980s BNZ “pushed the theme that successful participation in international competition depended upon national unity and could be used to secure it” (p. 132). In this corpus of New Zealand commercials, many brands, sponsors of sport events or not, capitalised with their commercials on glorious national sporting situations and on national sport heroes’ fame. Sponsors such as Steinlager, Toyota, Coca Cola, to cite a few clearly tried to achieve the objective of “community involvement” identified by Abratt, Clayton, and Pitt (1987) as one of the corporate objectives of sponsorship. In this case though, the community was the national community. Television advertising’s aim was then to relay and reinforce the brand’s image of champion and defender of the nation to the public in promoting their sponsoring as a major support to the glory of the country.

As Laidlaw (1999a) also noted, the national historical event of the 1995 America’s Cup win by Team New Zealand was one specific event utilised in various advertising messages to raise the profile of brands. Japanese brand Toyota capitalised on, and at the same time promoted, New Zealand national pride by using America’s Cup nationalistic imagery. Shots of the stem of the Black Magic yacht cutting the waves alternated with images of the New Zealand flag, the Black Magic parade in Auckland and the newly made New Zealand hero, Sir Peter Blake. The enthusiastic voice of Peter Montgomery, famous New Zealand sailing commentator, commenting the winning moment, together with the appropriation of Scottish song *Auld Lang Syne*, which was also used in other New Zealand commercials containing highly emotional nationalistic content, emphasised the importance of the moment as a true national commemoration. In the process of this commercial, New Zealand communicators selected national sport success imagery for a Japanese brand that had indeed the right to appropriate it and capitalise on it since the brand was one of the capitalist forces behind its success. Through the act of financially supporting the Black Magic boat, a private venture

presented as a national treasure, the brand had legitimate access to national imagery through television commercials.

Unlike in French advertising discourse, the process of promoting products or brands as community treasures through association with the concept of national sport was common in New Zealand television advertising. Images of the All Blacks or Black Magic winning, together with nationally charged linguistic discourse, were used recurrently in order to incite viewers to support sponsors. Viewers were created as one with the nation, they could be addressed as “New Zealand” and individual identities of consumers were erased as they were asked to reach their wallet for the supposed good of the country, as in this commercial.

Race commentator: That was an extraordinary move from Black Magic. This is extraordinary work. There’s a big message in this race New Zealand.

Male voice-over: Two million dollars black boat bonus. Get your ticket and get behind the boat!

Celebrity sport endorsers as models of dedication to country and consumption

As part of the sport imagery, celebrity sport endorsers had an important role to play in this national discursive strategy. Advertising communicators inevitably constructed desirable models of “national winners” for viewers - males in particular - to identify with. Andrews, Carrington, Jackson, & Mazur (1996) identified Michael Jordan in advertising and other media representations as serving as an explicit signifier of America in countries outside America. In New Zealand television advertising, several sport heroes – recognisable as national heroes and therefore used as national signs – from different sporting backgrounds, such as sailing, mountaineering, cricket, and rugby, were used to promote all sorts of products and to transfer an added national dimension to products. The most common discursive practice by far, involved using the All Blacks and the sentiment of national pride they are supposed to trigger in viewers/consumers in order to promote consumer goods. Out of 61 commercials using rugby, 44 used the All Blacks as a team or as individuals recognisable as such.

Commercials used sportspeople as models of dedication to the nation. For example, three different commercials for the TAB betting agency clearly aimed to trigger feelings of national pride to promote gambling. They featured New Zealand successes in different sports such as horse racing, rugby league, and rugby union. However, these commercials were not only straight selling messages. As a first step towards consumption, they presented nationalisation experiences through sport characters, via which viewers learnt the specific values of their nation. Notions of commitment, dedication, and achievement in the eyes of the nation were presented as models of behaviour for consumers. The way most national sport characters were presented taught viewers that the search for success should be done through the nation's values and that viewers/consumers could participate in these values by consuming the right products.

An example of a potent model of behaviour by a national sport hero can be found in one of the three commercials for the TAB featuring famous All Black Zinzan Brooke. The commercial is a good example of a message that gave a clear model of national dedication to New Zealand viewers and that represented a sport hero driven by pride and performance for the glory of the national community he symbolised. The commercial revealed how Brooke managed to come back from a serious injury to his Achilles' tendon to finally be able to play, achieve great rugby moves, and score for the national team in the 1995 rugby World Cup final against South Africa. The commercial presented Brooke the All Black as an achiever to the eyes of the nation. It was the thought of playing for the nation, even more than the love of the game, which provided him with moral support and helped in the healing process. Through his mostly inarticulate comments accentuated by the editing, and obviously targeted at the TAB subculture, we learnt that his almost miraculous recovery was possible because of his strong will and determination to play for his country. The values of determination, commitment to the national team, and national pride were summarised not only with images of Brooke's recovery but also in his comments: "That little wee silver fern that you'd stick on your chest, that just used to do something for ya".

The model of dedication given to New Zealand viewers by advertising communicators was clear. Through Zinzan Brooke, national rugby players'

experiences were presented to viewers as proofs of self-worth, and Zinzan, just like many other rugby players in New Zealand advertising, was introduced as having a special character that distinguished him from ordinary people who are, as it is implied, less committed or dedicated. It must also, however, be pointed out that this commercial did not only concentrate on the praise of the national hero. The way rugby, “the context game” of the endorser, was treated by communicators was also interesting. It was indeed rugby itself, which was presented as the source of inspiration for Zinzan. The fact that rugby was the source of the injury did not seem to matter as much as the fact that, just like religion, rugby provided him with moral support which would help in the healing process.

In terms of other potent models given to viewers, the commercial also displayed notions of endurance, tenacity, denial of pain and disability that are not only in tune with a certain notion of desirable New Zealand masculinity – as noted by Phillips (1987) – but also presented as necessary to participate in the glory of the nation. Brooke was presented as an example of a good patriot who put his body on the line for his country and who should be admired for it. Brooke’s loyalty to his team, his ability to keep working in the face of hardship and bad times and his commitment to the nation was clearly there for New Zealand viewers to be admired. His commitment to the nation was reiterated at the very end of the commercial when an image of the victorious South Africans was shown and Brooke commented: “a bit of an unfinished business. Yeah, we’ve got a score to settle”.

No other sport heroes were better constructed as guardians of the nation’s prestige and proof of New Zealand’s worth than the All Blacks team itself. Several commercials for Steinlager featuring the All Blacks used the global success of the rugby team to legitimate an international and therefore, as communicators seemed to think, prestigious, image for the brand. One of the commercials used the words of Welsh rugby player Gareth Edwards¹² that therefore provided an acknowledgement from the “overseas” world about the All Blacks’ strength and international fame and insinuated inferiority of the rest of the world. A global framing of New Zealanders in the world elevated the All Blacks’ myth to the eyes

of the New Zealand viewers, stimulating viewers' pride in the national team and eventually in the brand associated with it. Clearly consuming Steinlager was equated to participating in global success represented by the All Blacks team. The notion of sacrifice to the nation was also again clearly central to the message. The male voice-overs asserted that:

New Zealand male voice: All sacrifices will become worthwhile.

Welsh male voice: There's something about the blackness of that jersey (echo).

New Zealand male voice: If we can put eighty minutes together.

Welsh male voice: Sends a shudder through your heart.

The recurrence of commercials that wished to stimulate nationalistic feelings, and then capitalise on these tends to show that communicators assumed that New Zealanders "are familiar with, and care about sport as an expression of national identity" (Perry, 1994, p. 67), otherwise they would not have used national sport so commonly in their commercial messages. In particular, commercials using the All Blacks seemed to assume that the consumers fit in what Koppett called the "rooters" category, people who attach to the team the same emotions that the patriot attaches to the country (in Calhoun, 1987, p. 333). New Zealand communicators seemed to believe that because of the service rendered to their country, national sport endorsers possessed powers influencing consumers' social and moral behaviours and consuming habits. New Zealand advertising communicators presumed that sport, especially rugby situations or rugby endorsers, when re-framed into the national context, charged viewers up emotionally into communal participation or national unity, and fostered the mutation of viewers into consumers.

The rugby jersey as a sign of New Zealandness

In New Zealand television advertising, the concept of New Zealandness was articulated with a particular sign related to sport. It is well known how clothes and fashion incarnate culture (Barthes, 1967, p. 243), and how clothing works as "signs linking the wearer with certain social groupings or certain specific attitudes" (Winner 1979, p. 80). In New Zealand advertising there was an obvious recurrent sign: the rugby jersey. It may be true that in "real life" many New Zealanders wear rugby jerseys and there might indeed be an element of cultural

trendiness in wearing them. However, I suggest that in New Zealand television advertising the rugby jersey was selected on purpose to act as a metonymic “socio-national” sign. Just as Barthes (1957) noted how hair fringes work as a sign of Roman-ness in Mankiewicz’s movie *Julius Caesar*, in New Zealand television advertising the rugby jersey worked as “a flag” displayed on common New Zealanders’ bodies. Within commercials, the rugby jersey worked as a sign of New Zealandness, as a social symbol of connection between New Zealanders and carried with it a whole lot of symbolic cultural connotations that added meaning to the messages in which it appeared.

For advertising communicators, making actors wear rugby jerseys in commercials was therefore a semiotic technique to assert the specific socio-national membership of the person wearing it and also to mirror a certain New Zealand popular culture in order to connect with New Zealand viewers. The rugby jersey was chosen carefully and on purpose not only to signify that the character wearing it was in tune with the dominant values of his popular culture, but also to signify a trustworthy and friendly character whom “culturally close viewers/consumers” could join by consuming the same product. Gary McCormick, a television presenter who constantly claims his New Zealandness, was for instance pictured wearing a rugby jersey in a commercial for bed mattresses. Similarly Anchor dairy product commercials, whose nation oriented caption claimed that Anchor products were “made of New Zealand”, featured a grandfather wearing a rugby jersey rocking a baby in his arms and then participating in a friendly rugby game. Images of joy in a context of popular rugby imagery, where New Zealanders of all ages wore rugby jerseys and play the game socially in a cheerful atmosphere, reinforced notions of fraternity and comradeship between New Zealanders as a context to consume the product.

It is possible to argue that the rugby jersey as a sign carried and therefore transferred to brands/products certain values of the game of rugby itself. Sociability and comradeship drawn from the notion of fair play, fairness, as well as masculinity – as only males were portrayed wearing the jersey – were some of these values.

The rugby jersey therefore acted as a sign of fraternity and social inclusion. As Phillips (1987, p. 73) explained, the classlessness of rugby also became central to the game's mythology. Advertising communicators evidently saw in rugby a popular situation that crosses class boundaries and that did not alienate anyone, and therefore believed that the use of the rugby jersey could work for selling products to the mass of middle class average New Zealanders. As a matter of fact, in New Zealand television advertising, males of all ages wore rugby jerseys and rugby jerseys were not linked with the lifestyle of particular status groups. Rugby jerseys were worn in order to advertise all sorts of products: a client at Pizza Hut, a person contacting his insurance company, a male cooking a salmon dish for his girlfriend, a young fisherman being talked into a retirement plan, or a young boy listening to his mother at the Fisher and Paykel research centre, to cite a few. Rugby jerseys seemed to acquire a signification of equal status and opportunities between all New Zealanders. For New Zealand communicators, rugby jerseys, as signs of "popular" New Zealandness, were obviously considered as having the advantage of not alienating New Zealand viewers/consumers but rather connecting with them on a close cultural level.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the role of sport imagery in the French and New Zealand television advertising discourse. It was found that sport imagery is used because of the specific values it transfers to products or brands. It was also found that particular sports, such as rugby for instance, are clearly invested with different meanings in different cultures and that these different cultural meanings generate a cultural logic that is drawn upon in the creation of advertising messages.

Sport was not a significant theme in French television advertising; it was mainly used as a metaphor for product benefits and as a support for a discourse on health in which products were presented as the key to well being. In the New Zealand Advertising discourse, I identified sport imagery, and especially rugby situations and celebrities, as a hegemonic cultural force behind consumer culture as sport imagery was juxtaposed in many commercials in the hope it would work as a springboard to popularity for products. Unlike in France, where rugby was mainly used as a torture test because of its values of harshness, in New Zealand rugby

was seen as a potential to establish or revitalise commercial markets of any kind.

The use of sport imagery in television advertising often took part in the construction and maintenance of national identity. Many commercials presented nationalisation experiences through sport via which subject viewers learnt the specific values of their nation. Notions of commitment, dedication, and achievement were frequently framed in the context of the nation and used as a model of behaviour to national consumers. The way most national sport characters were presented taught viewers that the search for success should be done through the nation's values and that viewers as consumers could participate in these values by consuming the products attached to these values. In effect, advertising communicators created a commodification of nationalistic sport imagery and feelings by using national sporting situations or endorsers which symbolised the national community.

Through advertising, sport helps in the process of advertising and consumption but obviously, in turn, advertising also promotes sport. Indeed, advertising messages help give meaning to sport as much as they use the meanings already established in sport to transfer certain qualities to products. Without a doubt, in creating and repeating familiar images of mainstream team sports such as rugby, New Zealand television advertising played a pivotal role in the popularisation of these sports. In particular it put the two mainstream sports, rugby and cricket on a pedestal. Unless these circumstances evolve, with the appearance of totally new popular sporting events for instance, discursive change will be difficult to achieve.

Table 12: Gender of characters portrayed in sporting situations in commercials

	Commercials with females only		Commercials with males only		Commercials with both males and females		n total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
New Zealand	6	4.8	89	70.6	31	24.6	126
France	4	13.8	14	48.3	11	37.9	29

¹ This study defines sport imagery as:

- (1) Imagery of people portrayed engaged in sporting activities
- (2) Sport endorsers used in commercials (A review of the advertising endorsement process is provided in appendix E).

² “*Le rugby est fait pour la fête*” (Verdet & Iturria, 1996, p. 5)

³ “*Je suis peut être chauvin mais, très honnêtement, j’ai rarement vu des All Blacks ou des Spingboks se marrer comme des bossus*” (Verdet & Iturria, 1996, p. 5)

⁴ Interestingly, a xenophobic discursive formation shaped at the end of the 19th century in England that identifies the French as effeminate compared to the healthy manliness of real Englishmen (Chandler, 1996) is still subscribed to in countries such as New Zealand through media coverage of the French team (see Bassett, 1984). As Terret (1999) suggests, this discursive formation might not totally be based on ancestral English/French antagonism but also on the cultural interpretation of rugby in France, a country in which, according to Terret, “when men wished to impress, they were likely to choose elegance over masculine strength” and where “certain forwards even refused to participate in scrums which were less glamorous because they were more anonymous” (p. 68).

⁵ *Chaque jour avec Danone nature, entraînez votre corps à être bien. Danone, votre entraînement quotidien.*

⁶ *Ca c’est mes cheveux. Eux aussi ils ont trinqué. Le casque, le vent, la neige. Oui mais je les ai super bien entraînés.*

⁷ *Enfin, la compète, terminé. Et pour mes cheveux je continue l’entraînement!*

⁸ *Le sport plaisir prend le pas sur le sport souffrance* (p. 393)

⁹ *La vie est un sport.*

¹⁰ *Rappelez-vous. Vous étiez protégés. Et tout d’un coup ça a été ça. Et il a bien fallu se défendre, se défendre, se défendre encore, à se défendre tout le temps. Alors Bio a créé un autre bio pour aider notre corps à se protéger. Bio au casei actif, la vie est un combat que l’on gagne chaque jour.*

¹¹ *Contrex, mon partenaire minceur.*

¹² “There is something about the All Black jersey that sends a shudder through your heart” (in Bath, R. (Ed.). (1997). *The ultimate encyclopedia of rugby: The definitive illustrated guide to world rugby union*. London: Carlton Books Ltd)

CHAPTER 10

DO-IT YOURSELF IN TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter explored an important difference in the use of a specific type of imagery in each advertising discourse, this chapter stems from an important difference in terms of product category. Contrastive quantitative analysis of product categories of New Zealand and French advertising revealed a significant difference in the number of commercials for “building tools and services”. A total of 4.64% of New Zealand commercials advertised building supplies shops, or brands of tools, and a further 2.68% advertised furniture and other embellishment products for houses. When these two categories were put together, a total of 7.32% of commercials that advertised “building tools and services” was reached.

While this figure did not really reveal anything by itself, it became meaningful when contrasted with the quantitative results from French television advertising. Indeed, French television advertising hardly featured any goods or services related to do-it-yourself – or “*bricolage*” as it is called in French. Indeed, only 0.96% of French commercials advertised “building tools and services” and furniture and other embellishment products for houses.

This chapter will therefore focus on the particularity of New Zealand advertising discourse to support do-it-yourself activities through advertising building products or tools, or through using Kiwi ingenuity imagery as a support to advertise products or services. I will first of all present the discursive practices used by

communicators in order to promote “building tools and services”. Then I will explore how the myth of Kiwi ingenuity is used in do-it-yourself but also in non do-it-yourself commercials as a broad cultural communication tool to call upon feelings of national pride.

Do-it-yourself

A review of the important points about do-it-yourself in each cultural environment needs to be carried out before tackling the area of do-it-yourself and television advertising discourse. Not surprisingly, the area of do-it-yourself in relation to advertising is under-researched.

According to Mermet (1999), the development of do-it-yourself in France, and without doubt in other industrialised countries, is due to the development of industrial society and the fragmentation of work which took away the satisfaction of workers to fabricate objects from start to finish. As a result of this frustration French people looked for compensatory activities and found them in do-it-yourself activities. In the context of America, Gelber (2000), and in New Zealand, (Barnett & Wolfe, 1989), do-it-yourself can be traced back to a time when most people lived on farms, however, its significant growth is closely linked to the growth of suburbs in the 1950s because suburban life allowed homeowners to engage in fixing up their properties.

Although the number of people who engage in “*bricolage*” and “*jardinage*” is important in France – around 40 million “*bricoleurs*” of which 70% are men (Mermet, 1999) – television advertising discourse hardly provided audiences with do-it-yourself related commercials. Television advertising discourse was obviously not considered an appropriate medium to advertise do-it-yourself related products or services perhaps because they would only allow a more hard sell promotional “pornographic” discourse, which, as we saw in chapter 4 and 5, is not acceptable in France. In any case, French television advertising discourse, in not promoting do-it-yourself activities, did not foster self-expression through manual work but was rather engaged in the promotion of “already processed” products and services.

The content of New Zealand advertising discourse showed that do-it-yourself had a particular cultural importance. Literature supports this point clearly. Numerous books on New Zealand national identity reveal how do-it-yourself is a highly naturalised cultural concept in New Zealand culture, and is almost considered as part of the New Zealand genetic make up (Barnett & Wolfe, 1989; Tarling, 1995; Wilkinson, 1981; Catley, 1996). Authors such as Tarling (1995, p. 8) argued that, “fixing it up, getting it going again, keeping it on the road, are still talents widely admired” in New Zealand and that “there is nothing like the triumph of fixing, enlarging, remodelling, and building from scratch” (Catley, 1996, p. 14). Barnett and Wolfe (1989) argued that,

a growing sense of informality has encouraged open-plan living and a demand for decks, patios and pools. Their creation is often undertaken by the homeowner, who may be strapped for cash or else resent paying tradesmen’s rates. More likely, however, he or she is responding to a deep-rooted do-it-yourself urge. (p. 62).

Although Barnett and Wolfe (1989) included New Zealand women as feeling the “deep-rooted do-it-yourself urge” (see also Eisen, 1995), Gelber (2000) explained that the phenomenon of do-it-yourself is mainly a male pursuit linked to notions of masculinity. From a psychological point of view, as Gelber (2000) argued, do-it-yourself was a creation that helped men combat the emasculating effect of office work, as it allowed them to engage in after-work activities that allowed them to retain a masculine identity. Even if these do-it-yourself activities were conducted in the domestic sphere and therefore could be considered as forms of “domestic masculinity”, they also allowed men to deal with areas that had been the preserve of professional male craftsmen and therefore retained the aura of pre-industrial work-related masculinity. In a way, do-it-yourself reasserted “traditional direct male control of the physical environment through the use of heavy tools in a way that evoked pre-industrial competence” (Gelber, 2000, p. 71).

Similarly, in the context of New Zealand, it is possible to argue that the success and importance of do-it-yourself activities is also linked to notions of culturally desirable masculinity. Phillips (1996) argued that the practical and physical pioneer man is a historical mythical figure that New Zealand men have been given to admire. Just as in America, the physical and manual New Zealand male pioneer

as described in Phillips (1996) or Mackay (1992) has been the basis of a mythical discursive formation on the ideal man as strong, practical, and versatile. As Phillips (1996) noted “the colonial was perceived to be a man of common sense, a jack-of-all-trades, compared with the specialised training and book learning of the metropolitan man” (p. 282). Also as Phillips (1996, p. 282) and Sinclair (1986, p. 13) argued, New Zealand society has always encouraged the physical rather than the intellectual nature, and, for men, “to have sensitive feelings about things and to attempt to express this in poetry or painting was to risk exclusion as an effeminate ‘wimp’ ” (Phillips, 1996, p. 283). For this reason, according to Phillips (1996), modern New Zealand men, “particularly those who worked in the city, sought to affirm their masculinity in their leisure hours by digging the garden, or tramping in the bush” (p. 282), therefore developing manual rather than intellectual skills. As Barnett and Wolfe (1989) noted, for contemporary New Zealand men,

the home and garden is little short of a microcosm of the colonial estate of their forebears. With no need for actual bushcutting and clearing, today’s suburban equivalent is rampant do-it-yourselfism, especially at weekends when the whine of mowers forms a background to the whirr of skillsaws, the repetition of hammer blows and engine noise as convoys of cars and trailers proceed to the local tip. Concrete paths, fences, decks, barbeques, renovations, painting are the grist to the mill of weekend industry. (p. 64)

In this context, frequent New Zealand commercials for “tools and building supplies” materially and symbolically nourished the aspiration of the suburban person to be level with the mythical pioneer of yesteryear. Advertising discourse repeatedly presented do-it-yourself material resources and do-it-yourself social imagery to New Zealand viewers. As we will see, the code of masculinity discussed by Phillips (1996) that prescribed manual work and tough attitudes rather than intellectual work was also recreated in advertising discourse, presenting a do-it-yourself attitude and building activities and masculinity as complementary.

Kiwi ingenuity

The alleged propensity for New Zealanders to engage in do-it-yourself activities and their ability to succeed in these activities is often referred to as “Kiwi ingenuity”. Kiwi ingenuity – a term that blends notions of national pride with inventiveness – is an important cultural myth that several authors such as Eisen (1995) or Hopkins (1999) have contributed to nourish through books such as *Blokes and Sheds* or *Kiwi Ingenuity*. Authors such as Wilkinson (1981) genuinely revere “the good old N.Z. qualities of initiative and improvisation” (p. 87). Books that exhibit Kiwi inventions and also emphasise the unique ingenious nature of New Zealanders are reinforced in their cultural ideal by other media, whether it is prime-time news or other programmes, which revel in the words of “Kiwi ingenuity” whenever a New Zealander comes up with a new invention.

The nationalised notion of Kiwi ingenuity and do-it-yourself activities often overlap, as for instance in the expression “No. 8 wire factor” (Wolfe & Barnett, 2001, p. 36) which is often cited to refer to the ability of New Zealanders to achieve great things with limited material means. Kiwi ingenuity however, is also brought into play in areas other than do-it-yourself activities. The notion is indeed anchored in New Zealand’s psyche as an integral part of national attitude and identity. As revealed in the words of Jonathan Eisen, Kiwi ingenuity is naturalised as a New Zealand way of behaving, it is also a powerful collective soul defining tool for New Zealanders, a proud source of identity and distinction in the global world:

When people the world over think of New Zealand, they almost universally express positive associations. As Kiwis we are best known for the beauty of our land, sailing, rugby and racing prowess, our warmth and hospitality, and our “can do” creativity, also known as “Kiwi ingenuity”.

The legendary Kiwi can fashion literally almost anything from the proverbial “no. 8 wire”, and stirring stories about about the Kiwi’s ability to save himself, or herself – and let us not forget the ingenuity of New Zealand women – from the depredations of circumstance – with “a little ingenuity”. (1995, p. 1)

This national ego boosting discourse on ingenuity again rests on historical justifications, which claim that pioneer past is the origin of Kiwi resourcefulness (Hopkins, 1999; Wolfe & Barnett, 2001; Tarling 1995). As Eisen (1995) argues,

“necessity was probably the mother of New Zealand invention, and it is true that our location at this furthest outpost of the world has contributed to the need to improvise” (p. 1). Wolfe and Barnett (2001), although they conceded that inventiveness is by no means unique to New Zealand, nevertheless argued and therefore firmly believe that Kiwi ingenuity is linked to “the colonial ancestry thing, the bloodline running back to the resourcefulness of the first settlers, the character still shaped by isolation, self-reliance, the epic effort of creating a new country from the bush” (p. 37).

The influence of mass media or business personalities in relaying their conviction in the uniqueness of New Zealand as a place where ingenuity is “natural” should also not be neglected. Kevin Roberts, CEO of Saatchi and Saatchi worldwide, in an interview with television presenter Susan Wood, recently reiterated this idea quite clearly:

Kevin Roberts: We live in the age of the idea and New Zealand has a track record second to none of great ideas!

Susan Wood: Are you talking about a modern version of the no.8 fencing wire that we use to do everything, is that what it is?

Kevin Roberts: Absolutely, totally right, we can do it because we’ve got the right attitude, we don’t have barriers.

(www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/research/ppo/quotes_etc.asp)

In this chapter, I will show how the conviction that Kiwi ingenuity is natural is relayed, not only by nostalgic books or influential people, but also by advertising communicators, through numerous television advertising messages. Before doing so however, I will describe what discursive techniques and incentives advertising communicators used to reach New Zealand viewers.

Do-it-yourself commercials: A discourse based on rational and emotional appeals

Gelber (2000) pointed out how do-it-yourself activities, at their origin, were predominantly thought of as leisure although they were “leisure that was work-like and chores that were leisurely” (p. 75). Men in particular, appropriated a discourse that rationalised and justified their satisfaction in do-it-yourself activities as leisure, but also as “money-saving, trouble-saving, useful, psychologically fulfilling, creative or compensatory” (p. 76). As Mermet (1999)

and Barnett and Wolfe (1989) also noted, people in France and New Zealand also engage in do-it-yourself activities for the pure economic reason of saving money. Interestingly, unlike in France, do-it-yourself commercials in New Zealand advertising drew on these same notions of money-saving, trouble-saving, creativity, and psychological fulfilment, therefore evidently comforting men in their rationalisation process of these activities.

Materialistic incentives

This study found that New Zealand commercials that addressed the New Zealand viewers as “handy people” were mostly hard-sell promotional messages. These messages focused on materialistic qualities of products and pushed price with visual labels and fast “blokish” male voices as one of the main reasons to buy tools. Communicators systematically used these male voices as if toughness of the voice could convey strength and durability of products, or express a stereotypical handyman’s type of voice. This vocal device was also used in two French commercials.

Whereas do-it-yourself French commercials used actor endorsement or employed difficult-to-understand metaphors to make their point, many New Zealand commercials were merely a succession of shots of machinery or building supplies with the price superimposed. They used a linguistic discourse that simply supported the pictures. A number of these commercials verbalised details about the product advertised. In one example, a commercial for ITM building company used a rolling slide show of pictures of wood and a fast voice-over to describe them:

if it's timber you need. For plywood, round wood, decking, landscaping, fencing, flooring, finishing timbers and much more, for quality timber at the right price with expert advice there's only one place to go.

A materialistic “money-saving” discourse gave reasons for engaging in renovating activities. This was materialised through the presentation of prices as one of the main incentives for viewers/consumers. For instance Bradford Gold and Benchmark gave consumers “performance for your dollar”, and Hammer Hardware used a fast male voice-over over pictures of tools to promote their competitive price for various tools. Similarly a commercial for ITM, which

featured photos of sanders and electric drills, asserted in an amazingly fast male voice-over (221 words a minute):

Be a winner with ITM and Makita. The Makita electric drill driver, tough, dependable, and just look at the extras, a steal at only 299 dollars or the Makita dual action sander, superb finishing, trades at only 139 dollars exclusive to ITM.

Price was not the only reason given to viewers/consumers to become involved in building, renovating, and doing odd jobs. As in other promotional commercials, material incentives such as gifts were proposed, as for instance when commercials for tools told viewers to “get into Ryobi fast and get your hands on a free tough toolbox now” or when Placemakers and Pink Batts together prompted viewers to enter a draw to win prizes:

Buy Pink Batts before March 31st at Placemakers and you're in to win in the Placemakers, Pink Batts triple draw. One of 20 Sanyo cordless phones, two Acer PCs or this fabulous Nissan Patrol. Look for the entry form on every marked pack and be in to win, only with Pink Batts and Placemakers.

Interestingly, in New Zealand television advertising, do-it-yourself imagery could be used to advertise products not related to do-it-yourself. In other words, do-it-yourself imagery was considered powerful enough to transgress product boundaries and advertise products far removed from the sphere of the handyman world. A commercial for Coca-Cola illustrated this point. In the commercial, the wheels of a supermarket trolley were blocked by what was referred to by a male voice-over as a piece of “great Kiwi 4x2” wood. As the camera went up and revealed a pack of four Coca Cola bottles inside the trolley the voice-over commented: “the great Coke 4x2 litre handy value. You want to nail it down, fast!”, before the writing on the screen reiterated: “The great Kiwi 4x2L handy value pack”. As this commercial showed, values of kiwiness through do-it-yourself imagery were not reserved for New Zealand products. An American product such as Coca-Cola could also capitalise easily on local cultural myths and invite New Zealand handymen to consume the drink, perhaps while engaging in do-it-yourself activities. In a way, as Alomes (1988), following Sinclair (1983) noted, this kind of commercial “masked the multinational in the clothes of the national” and was “part of a process which has been called ‘nationalisation of the means of seduction’, by which multinationals legitimise themselves through local

references” (Alomes, 1988, p. 323). In this case, New Zealand communicators simply attached the foreign product to a local myth in order to “kiwify” it and therefore make it popular. A discourse that fostered “naturalisation” of Coca Cola and encouraged gentle assimilation of an American product, and therefore of American culture, through do-it-yourself imagery, was proposed to New Zealand viewers. And as communicators might think, this juxtaposition of product and cultural habit could make New Zealanders feel that, when they buy or drink Coca Cola, they are participating in a very New Zealand experience.

Promoting emotional involvement

Mermet (1999) noted that French people engage in do-it-yourself activities because of the satisfaction they draw from engaging in an activity that allows aesthetic self-expression. In French and New Zealand advertising discourse an important emotional discourse was articulated with the notion of building and renovation. In French television advertising discourse in particular, do-it-yourself commercials for paint suppliers portrayed the activity as an art form, portraying people engaged in personal self-expression sessions. Advertising focussed on the psychological benefits of creativity and productivity in a do-it-yourself context.

While they engaged in a more hard-sell discourse than French commercials, do-it-yourself commercials in New Zealand television advertising also promoted a real emotional involvement for handyman activities, but also for places related to these activities, such as the shed, which was defined in one commercial as “the place where Kiwi blokes do stuff”. Voices in a commercial for a book called *Blokes and Sheds* expressed the importance created for such do-it-yourself space:

Voice of handyman 1: Ah ah ah, if I didn't have the shed, I'd die.

Or

Voice of handyman 5: Any day not being in the shed is a very bad day.

And

Blokish male voice-over: Blokes and sheds, every bloke should have one.

In the many New Zealand commercials for tools or building supplies, protagonists wore large smiles obviously to signify the enjoyment found in creating, and doing

odd jobs. Building and renovating was not presented as a chore but as an experience in leisure and creativity. It was included in an emotional “feel good” discourse emphasising psychological fulfilment. A commercial for Placemakers in which men, women, and children were portrayed cheerfully participating in building a house can be taken as an example. The commercial participated in a discourse emphasising emotion and creativity, arguing that building supplies and services from Placemakers were much more than mere materials. The commercial equated building houses with the creation of an emotional haven, blending prosaic practical imagery (bench saws, bar clamps and so on) with emotion and passion signified by human imagery of happy people. It literally transformed the materialistic into the emotional using people’s psychological and social experiences as signs of happiness.

John Rhodes, Placemakers store owner: You ask me what you get from Placemakers . . . well, there’s about 11.000 product lines here . . . that’s not what you mean is it? Eh?

Ian Holm, Store owner: What I’d like to think you get from us is the place you want to live in, the place you want your family to live in.

John Rhodes: These materials what do they mean to people? They’re building something, better businesses, better lives.

Ian Holm: Look, surroundings make a difference, places you grow up, places you work, you know, places you get together, people have got to feel good in those places.

John Rhodes: That’s the whole thing about houses, a lot of money is put into it, a lot of emotion. . . .

Ian holm: We’re not cement, timber framing, bench saws, bar clamps, we’re the place you make with those things.

The commercial’s imagery emphasised the range of services and products offered, and called attention to the important financial commitment of building a house and therefore the necessity of letting Placemakers making it a success. What was also interesting was that building with Placemakers was also presented as being more than a selfish experience; it was presented as a socially fulfilling, emotionally gratifying, and useful experience. Images of private family homes being built and images of community joy constructed through signs such as a primary school swimming pool “fund thermometer” and happy people were all mixed together. The commercial promoted building as being much more than mixing cement or nailing planks together, it promoted it as an essential socio-

national activity and eventually nominated Placemakers as a community benefactor through being the helper of people's private and public lives.

A male world

French television advertising discourse presented a gender balance in the portrayal of males and females involved in do-it-yourself activities. A woman actress was used in two commercials for weed control products, a group of military men was used as protagonists in a commercial for Husqvarna garden tools, and women and men together were used in the other two commercials from the French corpus. Unlike New Zealand commercials, French commercials did not advertise building supplies at all, and it might be for this reason that commercials did not portray an excessively male world. The only French commercial that portrayed a husband handyman in action trying to assemble a kitset kitchen without success turned him into ridicule in front of his wife while male voice-over commented: "not everybody has the chance of having a kitchen assembled by Mobalpa. Mobalpa, we are here for that"¹. The message was clearly part of a discourse that disapproved of do-it-yourself and that discouraged people from emulating the brave but unsuccessful handyman.

On the other hand, in New Zealand television advertising discourse, commercials for "building tools and services" constructed a very male world. Although some commercials depicted the whole New Zealand population, including women and children, as involved in handyman's pursuits, commercials for building supplies were clearly targeted at males, therefore implying that being handy is an expected quality in a man. In most commercials emphasis on power and toughness was one of the main ingredients of messages whether it came through the imagery, the linguistic messages or the very masculine voice-overs. Voice-overs particularly emphasised buzz words such as "tough", or "power". Commercials for instance promoted "tough line trimmers" and promised a "free tough toolbox" to consumers. Personalities such as rugby players were also used to epitomise the grunt and the power of tools, as when All Black Sean Fitzpatrick promoted "power packs from Makita". In one of the commercials for Makita tools, for instance, Fitzpatrick was portrayed putting a big electric saw at the back of a utility vehicle and driving away. In a tough voice he told viewers:

Makita the workhorse in power tools brings you the opportunity to win the workhorse in utility. The grunty Ford Falcon Gli 4 litre utility, built Ford tough. Buy the power and you can get the grunt with Ford and Makita.

Clearly notions of power and grunt, were reflected in Fitzpatrick's masculinity and emphasised in his voice. As mentioned in the commercial, Makita were presented as "tools not toys" and should be reserved for a target of consumers who perceive themselves as *real* men, like Fitzpatrick. In the commercial, the famous front row's qualities as "a workhorse" of rugby were used to transfer toughness and durability qualities to the brand. His tidy appearance and nicely combed hair also inspired confidence and reliability. Hyper masculine imagery was commonplace in commercials for tools. Imagery such as the torso of a muscly man pumping his muscles and using his powerful hands to stamp promotional labels on the television screen was also, for example, used in the commercial for Placemakers and Pink batts.

In New Zealand commercials, masculinity and stereotypical handyman imagery were also blended together through the use of signs such as traditional farmer/artisan chequered shirts worn by many men. These chequered shirts seemed to be used to mirror and confirm the male characters' ties to their pioneer artisan ancestors, asserting them as culturally approved models of practicality engaging in an activity worthy of their ancestors. Other signs related to the cultural heritage of male practicality were the many very direct blokish voices and arguments used to praise the prices and reliability of tools. For instance, a commercial for Hammer Hardware signified clear matish values, featuring a Maori shop assistant wearing a yellow T-shirt and hat, who clearly acted as the consumers' mate or "bro". His casual interjection "head down to Hammer!", together with his large smile, was constructed to make the act of commerce appear as a friendly suggestion rather than an imperative and to entice handymen to come to the store through blokish behaviour.

New Zealand commercials for building supplies and tools clearly contributed to create specific and rigid subject positions for males. They led male viewers to find their place as subjects in a strong discourse on do-it-yourself and pushed them to

live up to the “historicultural” “homo habilis” image. One of the most flagrant indication of this was the recurrence of commercials proposing tools as gifts for Father’s Day, portraying males as enjoying their tools². Placemakers for instance argued that, “the best a Dad can get this year is at Placemakers...” and presented pictures of bench grinders, orbital sanders, saws and so on. In a commercial for Makita, in answering the question “What’s for Dad this Father’s Day?”, sport endorser Sean Fitzpatrick suggested: “what about one of those power packs from Makita?”. After a male voice-over had described in words the tools shown on screen “this lightweight cordless driver drill, this super fast finishing sander, or this handy four inch disk grinder”, Fitzpatrick assured viewers in his deepest voice that the most prized gift for fathers was tools: “Makita, That’s what’s for Dad”.

Another interesting and curious element about these commercials, was the involvement of children in handymen’s pursuits. As Gelber (2000) noted, in American do-it-yourself magazines from the 1950s women and children, especially sons, were often portrayed as helpers of father handymen. Whereas in French television advertising, women were never represented as engaged in do-it-yourself activities, New Zealand women were depicted as helpers or partners for their husbands and, in accordance with Victorian assumptions about female superiority in aesthetic expression, in charge of aesthetically orientated do-it-yourself such as dealing with upholstery (Gelber, 2000). In New Zealand television advertising, children and women were sometimes portrayed participating in building houses together. In the few commercials in which they were portrayed, women seemed to be engaged in handyman activities in the same way as men, wearing overalls, aprons, and hammering nails, fitted into a masculine world of practical and physical work.

For Father’s Day, one discursive technique adopted by New Zealand communicators consisted of using indirect communication in order to target mothers. Children were portrayed choosing tools, wrapping tools, or discussing tools, aligning with the handyman tradition. They were dressed in a stereotypical fashion with the inevitable handyman’s chequered shirt as a sign of their involvement in building activity. Children were clearly given the subject position

of handyman supporter; they were absorbed into the handyman tradition while at the same time being given the subject position of gift givers. In other words, as McCracken (1986) argued, in selecting and presenting goods with specific properties to individuals who may or may not have chosen them otherwise, children, as gift presenters, were “made agents of meaning transfer” (p. 78). A male voice-over in a commercial that portrayed a girl choosing tools for her father and giving him a kiss used the following selling point:

. . . and if you buy any of these tools before Father's Day, we'll give Dad a bonus junior version for the little mate, like this handyman apron for 25.95, with a bonus junior apron. Get the best for Dad at Placemakers. . .

Obviously, this kind of commercial addressed children in order to target mothers, as obviously mothers are the only ones who have the power to buy these goods for fathers. Eventually and inevitably, these commercials also constructed wives as supporters of the handyman tradition. Commercials that featured children wrapping tools and that argued “don't miss the great Ryobi deals for Dad at your local Ryobi stockist” were clearly a deceitful discursive strategy indirectly destined to wives.

It was also interesting to see how boys in New Zealand commercials were subjected to a certain masculine code of the handyman. In a commercial for Ryobi, a father was portrayed receiving an electric saw as a gift from both his little girl and little boy. At the end of the commercial the father was portrayed giving a thank you kiss to his girl. The model of thank you gesture to his boy presented in the commercial was, however, totally different. It recreated the archetype of non-emotional tacit understanding between males. The father hardly turned to his boy to say thank you and the boy blinked as if to tell his father not to worry about thanking him. Dealing with tools it seemed, was presented as the sharing of a very commonplace male experience, even between a young boy and his father. Masculinity rituals, involving covering up emotions, were emphasised, even in a situation that involved children, therefore giving potent models of traditional masculine behaviour to young and older male viewers.

Masculine rituals were also drawn upon in an interesting commercial for Carters building supplies shop, in which two boys discussed what they should give their fathers for Father's Day. In it, a face to face confrontation between these two boys was set up that revolved around who would give the best and toughest tool to their father for Father's Day. Oddly enough, toughness of the boys' behaviour seemed to mirror the toughness of the tools they were referring to. Communicators recreated a strong code of masculinity and staunchness, that boys should obey and be the best at emulating, if they wanted to please their elders. The arguments given by each boy emphasised masculine competitiveness and the intonations that they were asked to use in this commercial clearly tried to convey the toughness of the confrontation:

Boy 1: What are you giving your dad for Father's Day?

Boy 2: I don't know.

Boy 1: I think I'll get mine a king craft screw drivers set at Carters.

Boy 2: Oh I might get a Stanley electronic stud finder.

Boy 1: I'm thinking about something tough, like a Stanley metal toolbox.

Boy 2: Well I'm getting loads of Dulux paint.

Boy 1: Well how about a Makita bench grinder.

Boy 2: Well I'm getting . . .

Male voice-over: What are you getting your dad for Father's Day? Look for the Carters Father's Day catalogue in your letter box soon.

Boy 1: Well my dad is bigger than your dad.

From "homo habilis" to "clever bastard": The myth of Kiwi ingenuity

I now want to focus on commercials that used the notion of Kiwi ingenuity in order to advertise products or services not necessarily linked to do-it-yourself. The myth of "Kiwi ingenuity" was of course used to advertise building materials or tools. However, commercials using Kiwi ingenuity as a central concept did not necessarily advertise do-it-yourself products or services. Kiwi ingenuity imagery could be attached to any kind of product or services.

We have already seen how New Zealand communicators have a propensity for associating products and brands with national notions (see Chapter 6). In the following part of this chapter, I want to show how New Zealand communicators set up the "nationalised" ingenuity myth, as a way to appeal to the heart of New

Zealand viewers. This portraying of Kiwi ingenuity through characters and situations was designed to arouse a sentiment of common belonging, to prompt New Zealand viewers to think of themselves as part of an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991), but also to provoke respect, admiration, and emotion for the myth that would translate into consumption of brands or objects attached to it. In other words, communicators praised Kiwi ingenuity in order to make people who admired the national myth spend their money on brands that supported that myth.

Advertising gives models of ingenious Kiwis and Kiwi attitude

To achieve this aim, commercials constructed images that reflected stereotypical New Zealandness in terms of ingenuity. Many commercials were constructed around a hyperbolic imagery that contributed to the consolidation of a particular attitudinal myth. As I will show these specific models were constantly reiterated to New Zealand viewers. In particular, ingenious Kiwis were often constructed as creatures of excess so that viewers would not miss their brilliance.

Commercials for Instant Kiwi lottery tickets, for example, each constructed clear models of “Kiwi attitude”. These commercials among others gave viewers recognisable models of ingenious Kiwis. These models prompted New Zealand viewers to imagine their “fellow-members” (Anderson, 1991) and themselves as carrying the same attitudes and values.

One of these commercials featured clever rubbish collectors who collected organic rubbish from people and immediately transformed the rubbish into bales of compost with the help of a tractor and a combine harvester. They subsequently sold these bales for \$10 to the people who had just given their rubbish away. In this commercial, “Kiwi ingenuity” was more than simple resourcefulness, it was also clearly equated to “cheekiness”. In the commercial, the rubbish collectors’ clever recycling was made popular by their jovial behaviour. All of them wore large smiles connoting friendliness, making them popular figures. The commercial particularly used specific recognisable cultural signs as when one of the rubbish collectors used the “New Zealand English formula Giddy with a wink and characteristic quick southeast to northwest movement of the head” which

according to Kuiper (1991) is “characteristically working class, and/or rural” (p. 200).

This commercial was also interesting because it gave New Zealand viewers clear indications of who ingenious Kiwis were, and what they looked like, through creating an opposition between the ingenious and the non-ingenious, between the boring and the exciting. Two of the rubbish collectors were fit young men in their twenties wearing typical outdoors handyman’s clothing and one of them wore a cap turned backwards signifying coolness. The third ingenious Kiwi was the stereotypical farmer, driving his tractor in the middle of the road. The commercial set up a clear opposition between these three people and a man in his fifties facing them, ready to go to his boring office job, wearing the stereotypical “city slickers” black suit. In setting up this situation, the commercial emphasised specific models of kiwiness and rejected others. Through the commercial, which worked as a contrast between the ingenious Kiwi and the boring Kiwi, viewers were prompted to identify with the popular myth and reject traditional rules. It was clear that the clever farmer and young rubbish collectors were more genuinely Kiwi than the man facing them, and that ingenuity comes from blokes of modest or rural origin rather than from the “city slicker”. In fact, the final question asked by the commercial “The instant Kiwi attitude: Have you got it?” which worked for both the lotto ticket and the real social attitude, gave viewers a choice between two attitudes, one of “desirable kiwiness” by showing people who have found an indigenous identity and the other which epitomised a culturally empty life.

In New Zealand, the notion that great inventors are “characters”, unpretentious and unknown men, has been mythified by authors such as Hopkins (1999). Television advertising also used this aspect of the myth and recreated these humble but ingenious people in several commercials. The rubbish collectors in the Kiwi attitude commercial embodied this archetype, so did Gary McCormick in a commercial for Mitre Ten. In it, Gary McCormick, a television presenter obsessed with “kiwiana”, was incarnating a Roman soldier who ingeniously designed a Trojan kiwi bird to invade Troy in 1250 BC. McCormick’s character was constructed as a blend of Romaness and Kiwiness. However, although his appearance was that of an ancient soldier, his attitude was clearly that of an

ingenious Kiwi bloke as revealed by the casual linguistic register he used: “Hey guys, I’ve got an idea!”. Through the rather populist linguistic register of both the dialogue and the chorus of a little song repeating “Good on ya! Good on ya!”, the commercial reiterated popular attitudinal models of a certain blokish New Zealandness. In the commercial, Gary’s Kiwi ingenuity worked together with the stereotypical laid back attitude of the modest Kiwi bloke who designs marvels without “making a fuss” or knowing really how or why he did it.

Centurion: Great Garry, what is it?

Gary McCormick: Damn if I know!

In painting such an obvious stereotype of what is understood to be Kiwi attitude and character, New Zealand communicators hoped that every New Zealander, or at least males, would recognise the stereotype of the ingenious bloke, connect with it, and then proceed to the act of consumption.

Another commercial for the Yellow Pages also turned a simple Kiwi artisan, designer of coffee tables, into a clever secretary when a businessman telephoned and surprised him with a massive order of 300 coffee tables. In line with the traditional myth, the Kiwi craftsman was constructed for the viewers as a solitary, ingenious but humble bloke who worked at his pace in a messy shed-like working place. He was set up as a bloke who “does stuff” in his shed rather than as an efficient materialistically oriented professional. Not only could this lone artisan build very nice “unusual coffee tables” as his client put it, but he could also in a typical Kiwi ingenuity fashion, wittily come through any unexpected situation, using the yellow pages to find the right words in order to describe the physical features of his tables to his potential client. The obvious aim of such advertising message was to make viewers feel emotional about this popular model of “national figure”.

Creatures of excess

Therefore, in New Zealand television advertising, in accordance with the guidelines given by the popular myth, the ingenious Kiwi was most of the time an unpretentious “bloke” who could think outside the square. However, as illustrated by the artisan in the telecom commercial, or the Troy soldier, ingenious people in New Zealand commercials often belonged to the realm of the fabulous.

Commercials that used Kiwi ingenuity usually defied realism and created idealised supernatural imagery of ingenuity through exaggerations. For instance, a commercial for Kiwi attitude lotto tickets portrayed a young man – wearing the farmer/handyman chequered shirt – bungy jumping from a bridge and catching a trout in front of “traditional” fishermen. In another Kiwi Attitude commercial, a typical New Zealand farming bloke, distinguishable by the cultural sign of his black singlet, who was not strong enough to carry his girlfriend on the back of his bicycle solved the situation by adjusting a chainsaw to the derailleur gears of his bicycle. In this case, Kiwi ingenuity provided the Kiwi male with a clever substitute for physical strength, an answer to physical deficiency, and an access to freedom through breaking conventional thinking rules.

A particularly good example of the use of excessive Kiwi ingenuity and excessively ingenious characters in a commercial context, was a commercial for New Zealand beef and lamb that featured a group of road workers on their lunch break. In the commercial, the young and cheerful workers were portrayed looking for ingredients and using their tools in order to prepare their lunch. They were portrayed roasting capsicum with a blow torch between clamps, peeling potatoes with an electric sander, making mashed potatoes with a pneumatic drill, making wine from grapes stolen from nearby vineyards, eating their meals in the truck’s hubcaps, doing dishes in their concrete mixer and so on. A little light-hearted song accompanied these pictures:

Noel Coward was a charmer,
As a writer he was drama,
Velvet, jackets and pyjamas,
The gay divorcee and other dramas.
There ain’t ‘alf been some clever bastards, Lucky bleeders,
lucky bleeders. There ain’t ‘alf been some clever bastards,
Lucky bleeders, lucky bleeders

In this commercial the myth of ingenuity was again clearly used as a source of popular appeal. In order to appeal to consumers, communicators pushed the blokish Kiwi ingenuity imagery and linguistic register to the limit through the protagonists’ extravagant actions and the coarse language utilised in the song. The tradition of the No. 8 wire ingenuity was again recycled in a modern context for the purpose of promoting consumption, here of New Zealand meat. By including

the product within the hands of ingenious Kiwi blokes who embody the popular ingenious tradition, communicators thought they could construct and elevate the action of eating New Zealand beef and lamb as both a “traditional” and an unusual, creative, and unique Kiwi experience.

Kiwi ingenuity, global success, and consumption

The commercials discussed earlier constructed the notion of Kiwi ingenuity as a common social attitude in the New Zealand context. They portrayed New Zealand characters sharing the myth within themselves. Authors such as Billig (1995) have noted however, that the way a nation is imagined as possessing a unique identity relies heavily on the way it imagines itself as different from other nations and their identities. A sense of identity is not only established by looking inwards but by looking out of the national boundaries, making the comparisons and emphasising what the nation is not. Often, this imagining of the nation as special and different from others is done through sport events and their representations (Alabarces, Tomlinson, & Young, 2001; Hill, 1999, Maguire & Poulton, 1999; Silk, 2001). In some commercials the Kiwi ingenuity myth was re-framed within an international context, taking on a global significance, as when the notion of nation was clearly attached to it through the presence of national heroes or national events. For instance, a commercial portrayed New Zealand sailor Chris Dickson using an anchor to stop an old truck whose brakes had failed on a steep mountainous road. It therefore hinted at a certain propensity of New Zealand national sporting figures towards cleverness.

Commercials for Ados sealant also used the metaphorical wittiness and practical ingenuity of famous New Zealanders. One of these commercials showed the All Blacks scoring a try against France and an ex-All Black, Wayne Shelford, filling gaps in a fish tank in the same way as he used to fill gaps in the All Blacks defence. The other commercial showed images of the Australian boat sinking during the America’s Cup and of New Zealand sailor Russell Coutts sealing gaps on a fish tank. In both commercials, a male voice-over emphasised the wittiness and cleverness of New Zealanders, claiming that “Kiwis in the know use Ados”. In both these commercials, the national heroes’ wittiness was measured in international terms as Coutts was presented as much smarter than the Australians

and Shelford as cleverer than the French. This kind of communication reiterated to viewers/consumers the notion that New Zealand was smarter than the rest of the world; it boosted the viewers' national psyche in the hope of transforming them into consumers of Ados products.

Commercials for the TAB also used a mix of national pride and Kiwi ingenuity in order to appeal to "national consumers". One of these commercials featured the rustic character of Snowy Lupton, a horse trainer, and his horse "Kiwi". The commercial used the notion of surprise ending, performance and formidable feat and presented them as features of Kiwi character. King (1991) noted that New Zealanders have a "compassion for the underdog" (p. 18) because they have been made to feel, by the rest of the world that they are away from the centre of the world and that "what was happening on the periphery,..., was of little importance" (p. 18). In the commercial, Kiwi was indeed the humble underdog, the New Zealand farming horse that no one thought could win the prestigious Melbourne Cup. Throughout the commercial, Lupton's inarticulate comments were carefully designed to build up suspense and empathy. The commercial firstly focused on the horse's appalling start, then on the little New Zealand farming horse's win. Against all odds, the small New Zealand farm horse defied international horses and won its place in international history.

This commercial participated in an acknowledgement by New Zealand advertising communicators of a certain New Zealand way of doing things, of "Kiwi ingenuity", which in this case was equated to achieving formidable feats with limited means. The different way of training the horse, which outraged other trainers as Lupton noted in the commercial, was finally presented as a clever way of winning that no one else could imagine except New Zealanders:

He did a lot of hmm farm work, made him strong, made him pretty nippy . . . They thought that a horse had to be trained on a race course, well, that's not right, like, a chap said, I can't see how you can train a horse on a farm and he couldn't believe that yeah he chased cattle on them!

Lupton, was another potent example of the mythical Kiwi bloke. He was chosen for the commercial to represent the stereotypical rustic Kiwi farmer who,

according to the myth, is the total antithesis of the sophisticated trainer, but will nevertheless manage to challenge the international elite with his modest farm horse. Kiwi resourcefulness turned an underdog farm horse into a national and international hero which was presented by advertising communicators as a source of inspiration and a reference point for New Zealanders, and ultimately, of course, as an inspiration to gamble with the TAB.

Therefore, Kiwi ingenuity, in New Zealand television advertising discourse, was a national selling technique at the same time as being a tool for distinguishing the nation from the outside world, a way of defining it. Kiwi ingenuity and sport were particularly used to redefine the nation as was the case in a Kiwi attitude commercial that recreated a real cricket incident between New Zealand and Australia³. In the commercial, Kiwi ingenuity was presented as a way for the nation to regain national pride. The commercial was based on a notorious event in which the Australian team won a cricket game using underarm bowling. The commercial used the sporting commentary discourse and the voice of an actual cricket commentator to deliver its message:

Cricket commentator: . . . the Aussies are getting their heads together and surely not it's gonna be an underarm again is that what they're saying, I think it is. There's a little nod there, the umpires are getting together, McKechnie is looking around the ground, well this is very disappointing, here it goes again, down the wicket she goes, McKechnie's looking at it, but hang on this is err, he's putting something down on the pitch, it looks like his box, yes it is, the ball's hit the box in the air and he's heaving it down over the fence, it's gotta go all the way to the fence, it's gone all the way, this is unbelievable, that's a huge hit from McKechnie, and to be perfectly honest it serves the Aussies right.

Male voice-over: To succeed in sport you need the right attitude. If you've got it you could win 25,000 dollars with Kiwi sports.

Of course, Kiwi ingenuity, materialised by McKechnie putting the box on the pitch, was presented as fiction and in a humorous way, and there is no doubt that this message was created to appeal to New Zealanders' sense of humour, but it is also clear that behind the humorous appeal lies a strong appeal to New Zealanders' pride in their country as a first step towards consumption. For instance, the commercial used national signs, such as the New Zealand public boeing

Australians and then cheering the New Zealand team and waving New Zealand flags. Close up shots of the main protagonists revealed a confident look on the Kiwi batter's face and the diffidence of the Australian bowler. The cricket ball was also shown flying over the roof of the stadium where several New Zealand flags were positioned.

The commercial also raised several of the points noted earlier. Again, just as in other commercials that used Kiwi ingenuity, this commercial constructed popular creatures of excess. McKechnie, in particular, was reconstructed as the extraordinarily clever Kiwi. The commercial defied realism and provided viewers with a glamorised view of Kiwi identity. The commercial mingled past with present. The myth of Kiwi ingenuity allowed advertising to strip Australians of the reality of their win and reconstruct them as losers, in other words Kiwi ingenuity and advertising could rewrite history to New Zealand's advantage at the same time as promoting a commercial service.

Defying reality?

Therefore, through the Kiwi ingenuity myth incorporated in advertising, history was reversed, lost games became victories, dull reality became successful moments, and controversial techniques became a winning formula. In other words, the glory given by Kiwi ingenuity avenged the country on the symbolic level and consoled it for certain cruel aspects of history. In commercials, Kiwi ingenuity was not only a technique for selling goods by drawing on nationalistic imagery and hoping that people would adhere to it, it was also, it seemed, a way of refusing reality and defying it.

Head (1991) noted that "freedom was first expressed in New Zealand in *attitude*, otherwise known as the 'republican temper', observed in all colonies. The republican temper was a refusal to accept that your station in life was set when you were born ...[and] said to have been the result of striving against nature and winning..." (p. 24). New Zealand advertising communicators, in using the Kiwi ingenuity myth to turn everything into positive, or in changing the past to make their country glorious, fostered a national feeling – or "attitude" – that by using their clever hands and their extra Kiwi brain power New Zealanders would not be

overcome by the global world. In many ways, Kiwi ingenuity, even in commercials, can be thought of as being a national soul-searching tool. New Zealand advertising communicators' thought, and, as a consequence, the New Zealand discourse of television advertising, is embedded in a system of thought that constantly create and assert the identity of a new nation. In particular, New Zealand communicators have found in Kiwi ingenuity a tool for promoting products but also to clarify and foster national identity.

Conclusion

This chapter started with a study of commercials related to do-it-yourself tools and activities. Do-it-yourself activities and tools were basically non-existent in French television advertising, as if advertisers and advertising communicators did not consider these products or services suitable for television advertising. The dominant soft-sell French television advertising discourse might have been considered inappropriate for advertising products and services that are usually associated with a straight sell discourse.

On the other hand, New Zealand television advertising was considered a good channel for carrying commercial messages for do-it-yourself activities and tools. New Zealand advertising communicators nourished the handyman myth by promoting material and emotional incentives. Commercials were mostly targeted at males and portrayed a stereotypical male world that included signs of blokishness through matish or tough attitudes. Children and mothers were sucked into the handyman tradition. They were portrayed as involved in handyman activities and used as "salespersons" for tools.

It was also found that New Zealand television advertising did not only promote do-it-yourself products, but also used "do-it-yourself attitude", also known as Kiwi ingenuity, as an attitude to be admired and emulated as a first step towards consumption of products or services. Television advertising constantly reinvented the nation as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) that included ingenuity as one of its main pillars. As part of this process, advertising communicators gave New Zealand viewers glamorised models of ingenious Kiwis to admire before they should engage in the act of commerce. Clearly, by using national situations

or attitudes that symbolised the national community, New Zealand advertising communicators created a commodification of nationalistic mythical imagery and feelings.

¹ *Tout le monde n'a pas la chance d'avoir sa cuisine montée par Mobalpa. Mobalpa, nous sommes la pour ça.*

² In French television advertising, promotion does not crystallise around do-it-yourself related products but around clothing, grooming accessories such as shavers, *eau de toilette*, *Crèmes de soin* (beauty creams).

³ In this incident that happened during the final of the 1981 World Cricket Cup, an Australian player delivered the last ball along the ground. This underarm bowling made it impossible for New Zealand to score any run and therefore have the chance of tying the game.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

This thesis used an alternative approach for making sense of two cultural advertising discourses. It used an exploratory approach that departs from other orthodox cross-cultural empirical studies in that it put *in parallel* two *whole advertising discourses* in order to “de-naturalise” cultural/national advertising conventions and communicational habits of New Zealand and French advertising communicators. In a crudely “anthropological” fashion, I tried to stand back and look at the cultural imaginary of consumption presented by the television advertising discourse of these two countries. The approach was similar to the way one would observe two tribes with their intertwined social and material preferences, their aspirations, their rituals, their regulations, or their taboos. In this endeavour, the contrastive framework, as Giaccardi (1995) pointed out, was particularly helpful as it made possible the “de-naturalisation” of advertising representations that are usually taken for granted in a particular culture.

Blending quantitatively oriented strategies with interpretive sensitivity

This kind of approach was adopted because, as Taylor, Grubbs and Haley (1996) and Samiee and Jeong (1994) suggested, there is a need for more qualitative inductive approaches to cultural/national advertising whereby each culture is seen as unique and is not compared to another through the use of standardised American tools and values. It concurred with Taylor, Grubbs and Haley’s (1996) suggestion that, “such research would begin with a qualitative investigation of the core characteristics of advertising and the advertising process, and comparisons across cultures would be made at the higher level of analysis” (p. 2).

Accordingly, this study departed from other cross-cultural empirical advertising studies in that, as Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1986) suggested, it blended specific quantitatively oriented strategies with interpretive sensitivity in an effort to engage in a cross-cultural de-naturalisation of New Zealand and French television advertising specificities. This exploration of two television advertising discourses revealed interesting specificities peculiar to each advertising environment. The identification of major discursive objects¹ in the television advertising discourse of each country, the subsequent in-depth analysis of these discursive objects, together with insight into communicators' thinking, showed that the French and the New Zealand television advertising discourses differ both in terms of communicative approach and in terms of selection of imagery.

The thesis began with an overview of the whole project and the rationale for its angles of approach. Chapter two reviewed the tools usually used in cross-cultural studies of advertising, as well as the findings from studies that specifically examined French and New Zealand advertising. Chapter three described the approaches and methodologies used in the thesis. It explained the sampling method adapted in the study as well as the general approach of pre-analysis used to identify specificities of the corpuses of French and New Zealand commercials. It also accounted for the use of interviews with advertising communicators from both countries as a complementary technique to give insight into processes of production of advertising texts in each country. Interviews shed light on the constraints that are part of the conditions of production and that codify socio-linguistic practices of advertising in a particular cultural environment. They illuminated the views that communicators have of the communication contract (*contrat de communication*) (Charaudeau, 1994) they "feel" they have, or should have, with the cultural/national public. Interviews made it possible to decipher some of the imaginary formations that advertising communicators have between their nationally situated receptors and themselves. The chapter also focused on describing the tools used in the analysis of commercials relevant to each chapter.

French television advertising and the naturalisation of *séduction*

Two main findings emerged from this study. Chapter four and five revealed that the French television advertising discourse can be characterised by a heavy

reliance on seduction, to the point that advertising and seduction were almost fused. This reliance on seduction was illustrated in the frequent use of feminine soft signs such as female voice-overs and female seductive characters, and the strong reluctance of French communicators to use a direct communicative approach.

Interviews with French communicators interestingly revealed that their reliance on seduction – embodied in a range of texts that appeal to aesthetics, set up metaphorical or emotionally charged situations, and use female bodies and voices – was due to their being caught in strong traditional discursive formations on politeness and money that create knowledge about money and the act of selling as a shameful activity. In French television advertising, seduction was therefore used as a circumlocutory camouflage strategy, as a way of veiling the reality of the act of commerce, and as a way of challenging viewers. For French communicators, as for Baudrillard (1979), seduction was “what takes away its meaning from discourse and turns it away from its truth” (p. 77). Seductive advertising messages dodged the reality of the act of commerce, they veiled certain things – the selling contract – and evoked others with the aim of attracting consumers who, according to the imaginary formations held by communicators, could also relate to these important cultural discursive formations. In any case, I found it remarkable that advertising communicators, who work within an institution that depends on money and the concept of market economy for its survival, were still subject to these strong cultural discursive formations that radically go against the very essence of what they do in their commercial professional life.

Central in the process of seduction was French communicators’ use of female advertising characters as a modern Eve seductress whose central role was to facilitate communication and consumption. Women became seductive tools for an environment in which it is not considered acceptable to sell strongly; they were used to prompt desire through a challenge provoked by the soft signs they embodied. This representation of women was also based on communicators’ discursive knowledge on the historically accepted truth of the female as the seductive sex. Male characters, and the strong signs of assertiveness and authority they have been traditionally assigned to send, were, on the other hand, often

turned into ridicule, revealing a certain ironical treatment, and rejection, of traditional masculinity that is linked to an aversion for sending strong signs.

New Zealand directness and nationalism

In the New Zealand television advertising discourse, the act of selling was not considered as a shameful activity but was well accepted as the foundation of the communication exchange between advertising communicators and their potential viewers. As a result, New Zealand television advertising discourse did not rely as much on soft signs, on concealment, aesthetics, or on creating the illusion of emotion as French television advertising did, but used a more immediate, direct, and authoritative communication approach. This approach was embodied in the overwhelming frequency of male characters and male voice-overs used in commercials, as well as in a majority of unambiguous messages where the hallucination of explicit details rules.

The other main finding concerns the way New Zealand communicators tried to connect with their fellow citizens. As became evident in this thesis, through interviews with communicators and analysis of advertising texts, New Zealand advertising communicators believed that national unity, embodied by clear national myths, can be used as a first step in encouraging consumption of brands or products. Nation-related keywords, kiwi ingenuity, and sport were particularly presented, more or less explicitly, as unifying totems and used as tools to awaken feelings of national identity and pride, because communicators thought that nationalistic themes have a commercial value. Whereas French communicators argued categorically that explicit reference to national values was not helpful in advertising, New Zealand communicators assumed that nationalistic discourse would have a commercial value and would inspire New Zealand viewers to consume products or brands. Their usage of discourses followed a cultural logic prescribed by a strong discursive tradition on the importance of nation. As noted in chapter six, products or brands were recurrently placed within a national framework embodied in linguistic forms, and so viewers were invited to think of themselves as citizens, and to think about products or brands in terms of their socio-national universe.

The discursive technique used by New Zealand communicators aimed at flattering New Zealand citizens. Products, brands, artists, sportspeople were “stamped with their New Zealand origin” in the hope that this would trigger consumers’ pride in belonging to the same successful extended family: the nation. They used the notion of national kinship as a core value of their commercial communication.

The use of sport imagery and the notion of kiwi ingenuity were quite instrumental in supporting the nationalistic discourse. Chapter ten showed how communicators promoted ingenuity as a national attitude for viewers to emulate and subsequently engage into consumption of all sorts of products or brands. Chapter nine showed how, sport in general, and rugby in particular, were represented as unifying activities, which were assumed to have the power to transform viewers into consumers. Rugby imagery, rugby endorsers, as well as specific linguistic discourse types – such as the sport commentary – were very popular devices to promote products or ideas. Another common discursive strategy transformed the cultural values of sport and sport endorsers, such as determination, commitment, dynamism, performance, and achievement, into key values that viewers should imitate in order to succeed in the world of consumption. These notions of commitment, dedication, and achievement were frequently framed in the context of the nation to frame a model of behaviour for national consumers. The way most national sport characters were presented invited viewers to understand that the search for success should be done through the nation’s values and that viewers, as consumers, could participate by consuming the products attached to these values.

A quest for self-definition in New Zealand television advertising?

In a way, it seemed that when communicators used national keywords, rugby, or kiwi ingenuity in advertising, they took part in the quest for self-definition and international recognition which Phillips (1984), Bell (1996), King (1991), Williams (1997), or Laidlaw (1999) noted is ongoing in New Zealand. When New Zealand communicators hammered nation-related keywords in television advertising texts, presented viewers with so many examples of international success, and revelled in imagery of New Zealand heroes who have been recognised by the outside world, they were not only using a discursive technique to advertise goods, they also seemed to be caught in the periphery-versus-centre

discourse. The narcissistic and nationalistically-charged messages that enhanced New Zealand's glory recurrently proposed by communicators seemed to spring from a larger exorcism of an inferiority complex related to insecurity about New Zealand's place in the global world. Recurrent nationalism expressed through nation-related keywords, kiwi ingenuity, or sport in New Zealand advertising discourse featured so strongly and so frequently that it could be seen as a subconscious exorcism of a global inferiority complex.

The ascendancy of culture: Creativity and boundaries

The thesis's combination of the two approaches – analysis of texts and analysis of conditions of productions through interviews of advertising communicators – brought to light a further key point: that the field of advertising creative possibilities is clearly limited by the power relationships between communicators and their own culture (and various discursive formations that circulate within it). Analyses of communicators' interviews revealed that they were “dominated by the discursive formation within which [their] discourse is inscribed”² (Maingueneau, 1976, p. 84). In other words they were caught in national discursive formations that guided their thinking.

In order to be heard at a cultural/national level communicators placed themselves, not always consciously, within these popular discursive formations that, they felt, their national/cultural public could relate to. What was interesting to grasp from interviews with advertising communicators, was, firstly, how these communicators were subjects of discursive formations, and, secondly, how they sometimes had the illusion that they were at the source of meaning and knowledge through a deluding identification with the discursive formation as the only reality. Communicators were subjects speaking through discourse and the thesis contends their voice should be evaluated as drawing on and recreating discursive formations which, as Pêcheux (1982) put it, determine “what can and should be said” and, as became clear in this thesis, “how it should be said”.

Therefore it is discourse carried by discursive formations that create and structure meaning and also shape a habitus in advertising communicators. This, in turn, leads them to select and position certain discursive objects as hegemonic in the

advertising environment of each country. Discourse also gives communicators guidelines as to how they should talk about these discursive objects. Advertising communicators therefore, are subjects of their culture and communicate through the cultural/national discourses that predominate at the time. As Hall (1997) writes “it is discourse, not the subjects who speak it, which produce knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the *episteme*, the *discursive formation*, the *régime of truth*, of a particular period and culture” (p. 55). The power that communicators may have on what is presented to us in advertising texts is exercised through, simultaneously, being subject of the higher power of cultural discursive formations.

Another point needs to be noted. Because advertising communicators craft messages that are made to be consumed very rapidly and without doubt by their cultural audience, communicators are pushed to engage in discursive practices that reiterate easily-recognisable discursive formations that are easily digestible by their audience. Inevitably, as a result, communicators tend to reproduce the régimes of truth of that particular time and place. In a profession where creativity or ideas are paramount, creative messages may appear creative on the surface, but at a deep level they draw from solidly-anchored discursive formations that are part of widely accepted cultural régimes of truth. A discursive cross-cultural/national study such as this one clearly shows that advertising and culture are inextricably bound. The cultural discourses that circulate within a culture and that influence communicators have a profound effect on the conception of advertising.

¹ Surface signs that were recurrent in advertising discourse and that revealed not only the importance of these elements in a discourse, but also the knowledge and truth constructed about these elements in a specific culture.

² *le sujet ne produit pas librement du sens grâce à une combinaison d'unités de la langue douées d'une signification stable et évidente, mais il est dominé par la formation discursive dans laquelle s'inscrit son discours.*

APPENDIX A

Localisation/standardisation debate

Even though it is clear that national cultures create different environments in which advertising exists, the debate started in the 1960s on whether it is preferable for international advertisers to use standardised advertising campaigns or to design campaigns adapted to the local culture in which it will appear is continuing (Katz & Lee, 1992; Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1992). It is not the purpose here to review the arguments for the standardisation of advertising messages (Fatt, 1967; Levitt, 1983) and against (Harris, 1984); the important point we should note is that, to this day, the issue is still unresolved. Empirical research has indeed shown that standardisation of advertising is possible only in some cases and only on certain points that vary significantly from culture to culture. Ten years ago, Whitelock and Chung (1989) designed a model for measuring the standardisation of print advertisements and showed that partially standardised advertising was the most commonly found format in their corpus of magazine advertising messages from French and the United Kingdom. More recently, researchers such as Lin (2001) have argued that the artificial dichotomy between standardisation and localisation should in fact be replaced by a continuum because it appears that a certain global culture (adapted to local culture to make it appear more accessible to the public) is ever-present in advertising. Therefore, a mixing of local and global values that are increasingly difficult to disentangle is happening.

Not one single study reviewed concluded that advertising can be easily standardised. Only a few studies, such as Ha (1998), suggest that there are common characteristics in the content of services advertisements from different countries. Ha (1998) gives the example of Hong Kong and the US and suggests that a US company would not need to change its message that much to communicate effectively in Hong Kong. Similarly, Shao, Raymond, and Taylor (1999) showed that advertising appeals in Taiwan tend to be dominated more by westernised cultural values than by traditional Chinese values and that therefore a western standardised approach drawing on the popularity of western themes can be used by western firms in order to reduce advertising costs. Nevertheless, as Shao, Raymond, and Taylor (1999) argued, advertising managers should nonetheless

meet with foreign nationals to discuss what western appeals work best in each region. In other words, insight into the culture within which advertising is going to operate is nevertheless necessary.

Most studies do not recommend standardisation and tend to prove that advertising is rooted in national culture. Hong, Muderrisoglu, and Zinkhan (1987) and Zhang and Neelankavil (1997) suggested that advertising that portrays the values of the indigenous culture is more effective than advertising that ignores these values, although, as noted by the majority of other studies, cultural values portrayed and information content varies with product categories. Marteson (1987) argued that a standardised advertising approach across countries should not be recommended because of cross-cultural differences at the level of psychological motivation. According to Marteson (1987), an advertising execution has to be based on people's values and needs and might be effective in one country but unsuitable in another. Other researchers such as Tai and Chan (2001) clearly recommended advertisers to use different information cues in advertisements in Hong Kong and in the US, while Caillat and Mueller (1996) clearly showed that "the advertising of Great Britain and the United States differ enough that a standardized advertising approach among the two countries may *not* be feasible" (p. 86).

APPENDIX B

Issues in cross-cultural/national studies

Here, in order to position the approach of the study in relation to the notion of comparability I would like to tackle some issues in cross-cultural studies of advertising that relate to the comparability of national advertising environments. I will now review what these issues are.

Problem with ethnocentrism

Issues regarding regulation systems of advertising environments are prominent in cross-cultural studies so too is the question surrounding ethnocentrism. One important element in the way of objective comparison of advertising from different countries is language. Language indeed has been shown to stand in the way of coders's proper understanding of figures of speech such as metaphors (see Graham, Kamins, & Oetomo, 1993). As Cho, Kwon, Gentry, Jun, and Kropp (1999) argue, these problems in coding process "indicate that one's own cultural roots may inhibit the perception of stimuli coming from another cultural perspective" (p. 70). This idea that one cannot escape the ascendancy of culture has been noted by several authorities on culture since a long time now (Weber, 1949; Hall, 1966; Bourdieu, 1979; Oliviéri, 1996). Hall's (1966) famous words particularly emphasise the inevitability of ethnocentrism:

No matter how hard man tries, it is impossible for him to divest himself of his own culture, for it has penetrated to the roots of his nervous system and determines how he perceives the world . . . people cannot act or interact in any meaningful way except through the medium of culture. (p. 177)

This pessimism as far as attaining cultural objectivity is concerned, was shared by Weber (1949) who noted, "there is no absolutely 'objective' analysis of culture or . . . of social phenomena" (p. 72) and "all knowledge of cultural reality, as may be seen, is always knowledge from particular points of view" (p. 81). In other words, there is no point from which to stand back and perceive the social world objectively. Any discourse is stamped with its own culture. There is therefore an immense challenge in talking about a culture when immersed into a culture from which one is the product. As Carroll (1990) puts it

in cultural analysis, what I am demanding of myself is a very complex mental exercise: indeed, in order to understand the other through cultural analysis, I must at least temporarily, accept that my truth is precisely that, “my” truth, that it is not the absolute truth, but a relative truth. (p. 125)

Therefore, acculturation in both cultures, and more precisely in several aspects of both cultures under study, is crucial. As Otterbein (1972) argues, cross-national enquiries into culture should inevitably involve the investigation in matters of social structure and politics. The legal, political, technological, and economic environments, which are expected to vary across nations and that are relevant to the study, have to be given careful consideration (Johnstone, Kaynak, & Sparkman, 1987). This has been the case for this study.

Media and advertising regulation system affects the national character of advertising

Regulation systems are different from one country to another and tend to stand in the way of comparative studies of advertising. Obviously, in any cross-cultural analysis of advertising, environmental differences regarding media have to be taken into account (Samiee & Jeong, 1994; Zandpour & Harich, 1996). For example, differences in media availability and relative media importance need to be taken into account when choosing research samples (Belk & Bryce 1986; Johnstone et al. 1987; Keown, Synodinos, & Jacobs, 1989). For instance, the television channels chosen in each country need to be comparable in the content they offer so that commercials are also comparable. Comparing commercials from a French music or youth channel with a mainstream New Zealand channel would not allow valid comparability. For this reason, only mainstream network channels, comparable in content, were used to collect the samples used in this study. The name of these channels is given in chapter 3.

Many researchers point out that when engaging in advertising cross-cultural research, differences in the level of regulation of advertising that may affect the production of an advertising message need to be taken into account (Belk & Bryce, 1986; Boddewyn, 1982; Petty, 1996; Samiee & Jeong, 1994; Sethi, 1987; Tse, Belk, & Zhou, 1989; Zandpour & Harich, 1996). Weinberger and Spotts (1989) for instance suggest that “tighter regulation leads to less objective

information content to avoid claim substantiation issues” (p. 93). Therefore when an ad is created and launched in a country, the social structures that are television channel, as just noted, and broadcasting authority, will be their constrainers. These institutional constraints are areas in which the advertisements’ significance is being formed.

In both New Zealand and France, governments and voluntary industry bodies such as the CSA, *Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel*, and BVP, *Bureau de Vérification de la Publicité* in France, and ASA, Advertising Standards Authority and AAA, Advertising Agencies Association in New Zealand, exert control on several aspects of the design of advertising messages. These bodies exert control with respect to similar issues such as misleading or unfair advertising, safety of the advertised product, advertising targeted to children, comparative advertising, decency, or advertising of a specific product or service. Obviously, all these elements were taken into account in this study of two advertising environments.

One difference between French and New Zealand television advertising environments is the manner with which the amount of television advertising is regulated. Even though the two systems are different in that the French environment is regulated and the New Zealand environment is self-regulated, the amount of advertising in terms of minutes on French and New Zealand television was almost the same at the time of sampling. In France, advertising broadcast time is restricted by the government to a mean maximum of 6 minutes per hour, or 6 minutes per film (*oeuvre cinématographique*), or 12 minutes maximum per hour on hertzian channels (décret 92-280, article 15). On the other hand, in the self-regulated New Zealand media advertising landscape there is no maximum amount of advertising time on television channels. Suich (1996) reports that the amount of advertising screened on New Zealand television is on average 12 minutes per hour (source AGB MCNair). TVNZ for example (representing channels ONE and 2) guarantees that it imposes its own limit on advertisements of no more than 12 minutes per hour while it has been shown that TV3 allows up to 13.9 minutes of advertising per hour (Smith, 1996).

Other obstacles to comparability

On the whole, the differences in regulation and other institutional practices that can act as obstacles to comparability of advertising from two different cultural environments are disturbingly numerous and make comparisons an unworkable challenge.

Stage of development affects the national character of advertising

Authors such as Whitelock and Chung (1989) have argued that, to be comparable, countries compared should be at a similar stage of economic development and have similar living standards. The difficulty, which Whitelock and Chung do not elucidate however, rests in how to determine whether two countries are at exactly the same stage of economic development and have the same living standards. Clearly, too many various factors that could be contradictory could be taken into account to judge of the living standards or the stage of economic development of a country. In any case this issue does not pose a major obstacle to the comparison of the New Zealand and French environments as both countries have reached a similar enough stage of development on many levels including media availability.

Differences in management views and techniques affect the national character of advertising

Nevett (1992) points out that differences across countries in management views and techniques have been found to affect the character of advertising messages. According to Nevett (1992) for instance, the “hierarchy-of-effect model” dominant in the US and that sees advertising as “a form of process that moves consumers towards consumption” (Nevett, 1992, p. 67) affects the general character of advertising of a country. Nevett also noted that differences in pre-testing techniques, possibly influenced by the management techniques just pointed out, can favour informational advertising rather than emotional advertising techniques and consequently can shape the character of advertising of one particular country. Therefore, to be able to conduct a fair comparative study, nations which have cultural environments using similar management views and techniques and pre-testing methods should ideally be used. The problem is that, unless these issues have been investigated by previous studies in both cultural environments, it is not possible to clearly say that France and New Zealand do or

do not use the same managerial techniques and therefore are, or are not, comparable environments.

Length of commercials and pattern of commercial breaks affect the national character of advertising

Nevett (1992) also suggests that the length of commercials provides a frame that affects their content (see also Stanton & Burke, 1998). According to Nevett, “the longer the commercial, the greater its opportunity to include informational cues” (1992, p. 68). Zandpour and Harich (1996) also note that the presence or not of commercial breaks can for instance affect the essence of advertising messages. For example, in an environment where commercial breaks are allowed, messages might focus more on substance rather than drama and entertainment (Zandpour & Harich, 1996). As these authors suggest, one way to achieve a fair comparison between countries would be to compare commercials of the same length in environments where commercials breaks follow a similar pattern, because comparing commercials from dissimilar length and distributed according to different patterns could bias results. This type of selection however, would restrict research to a narrow window in terms of countries being able to be compared and the number of commercials able to be studied. French and New Zealand would not be comparable, were these rigid elements be taken into account.

Time of day affects the national character of advertising

Cross cultural comparative studies of advertising are also constrained by the fact that the content of advertising messages vary with the programme it is inserted in, the time of the day, and the channel it is broadcast on. Therefore fair comparability would be achieved if commercials were selected from the same time of day and if possible the same program across countries. Unfortunately very few similar programmes at similar times of the day on similar channels are available across countries. The time of day factor was taken into account in this study by sampling commercials from one particular time period. Commercials were all recorded during the prime time period.

Proportions of local and national advertising affects the national character of advertising

Nevett (1992) noted another factor that has an impact on the general character of advertising: the proportion of local and national advertising. Because of lower budgets, local advertising cannot achieve the level of emotion or mood of expensive creative treatments or brand building exercises (Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty, 2000). It therefore resorts to a more informative harder sell format that is less expensive to produce. Therefore, to be a fair comparison, a cross-cultural study should compare nations that ideally contain the same ratio of national and local advertising, or concentrate on one and not the other. For this study, a low number of local New Zealand commercials was identified and taken out of the corpus (n=17, possibly due to the costly prime time advertising rates for local businesses).

Product categories affect the national character of advertising

The impact of product category effect is also an important factor to take into account in comparative studies of advertising. Several studies have shown that “the ad formats used in each country are related to the products being advertised rather than being solely a function of cultural differences” (Katz & Lee, 1992, p. 78). For example, it has been argued that product categories have a strong influence on the use of informative or emotional appeals or on the values manifest in advertising (Chan, 1995; 1999) and that the information difference in commercials could be due to the different mix in products advertised in countries compared (Johnstone, Kaynak, & Sparkman, 1987). Biswas, Olsen, and Carlet (1992) noted that “it is possible that technologically demanding products as well as new products, might call for more informational advertising regardless of culture” (p. 80) and that, for cultural reasons, humour may be more acceptable for some product categories in one country rather than another. Katz and Lee (1992) also pointed out that certain product categories appear more often in one country than in another because certain industries in a particular country – such as fast food in the US – are more competitive than in another. This competitive atmosphere “might necessitate more frequent and aggressive advertising by the players in those categories in one country versus another” (Katz & Lee, 1992, p. 79).

As Katz and Lee (1992) also argue, it is also possible that advertising for a product or service primarily happens in one medium in a certain country and in another medium elsewhere, because the values of a particular society but also media availability and regulation are not similar. In France, television advertising is not allowed for alcoholic drinks of more than 1.2% alcohol, for cinema, the press, publishing companies, and retailing (décret 92-280, article 8). In New Zealand, unlike in France, alcohol advertising is allowed on television after 9 pm, as well as advertising for cinema, the press, publishing companies, and retailing. Therefore, the differences in the corpuses of this study that could spring from these differences in product categories between countries had to be considered. In particular, it is fair to postulate that the presence of retailing commercials in New Zealand (n=98), and the absence of those in France would generate a different picture of the general communicative approach studied in chapter 4 and 5 in particular, because of the tendency of retail advertising to focus on promotions and arguments such as price. For this reason, in each chapter the impact of this difference between environments was measured by conducting analysis, first with, and then without retailing commercials, in order to see whether their presence/absence was significant.

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire

The interviews are semi-structured. The questions are starting points for conversations. The objective of the questionnaire is to allow respondents to express their opinions as freely as possible on selected topics, but also on topics of their choice.

1. Leur perception de la publicité /Their perception of advertising

La publicité est-elle avant tout un outil ou un art?

Is advertising a tool or a form of art?

A part faire vendre, la publicité a-t-elle d'autres fonctions?

Apart from generating sales, does advertising have other roles?

A votre avis quelle est la fonction du langage et de l'image dans la publicité télévisée? Quelle relation y a-t-il entre les deux?

In your opinion, what are the respective roles of the words and images used in television advertising and how do they relate to each other in terms of importance?

Si vous deviez évaluer une publicité, quel critère serait pour vous le plus important? (Originalité du thème et du langage, esthétique, informativité, persuasion, impact...)

If you had to evaluate an advertisement which criterion or criteria would you consider the most important? (originality, aesthetic perspective, informativity, persuasion, impact...)

2. Certains thèmes moteurs de discours dans la publicité/Certain influential themes on advertising

Y a-t-il des thèmes récurrents dans la publicité française? (Importance de l'histoire, de la tradition, de la nouveauté, du sport...)

Are there any recurrent themes in advertising in New Zealand? (What is the importance of history, tradition, newness, sport...)

Quelle est l'importance de la masculinité ou de la féminité dans la publicité?

What is the importance of gender orientation in New Zealand advertising?

L'utilisation de notions romantiques est-elle importante?

Is the use of romance important in ads?

L'utilisation de notions sexuelles est-elle importante?

Is the use of sex important in ads?

Quel rapport y a t'il entre le cinéma et la publicité?

What kind of connection is there between cinema and advertising?

Quel rapport y a t'il entre la littérature et la publicité?

What kind of connection is there between literature and advertising?

3. Créativité/Creativity

Quel est le principal frein à la créativité en France?

What is the main curb to creativity in New Zealand?

Est-il difficile d'être original?

Do you find it difficult to be original?

Qu'est-ce qu'être original en France, qu'est-ce qui ne l'est pas?

What does it mean to be original in New Zealand? What is not considered original?

Quelle est la part de l'intuition dans le processus de création?

What part does intuition play in the creative process?

Certains produits sont associés a un certain discours. Considérez-vous dangereux de briser ce discours pour lui donner une alternative? Est-ce un signe de créativité? Est-ce trop risqué?

Certain products are associated with a certain discourse. Do you consider it dangerous to challenge an established discourse? Is it the ultimate sign of creativity? Is it too risky?

4. Perception du consommateur français/Perception of the New Zealand consumer

Comment décririez-vous l'attitude des consommateurs français par rapport à la publicité?

How would you describe the attitude of New Zealand consumers towards advertising?

Est-il facile de s'adresser aux consommateurs français? Par exemple, sont-ils faciles à convaincre?

Is it easy to address New Zealand consumers? For example are they easy to persuade?

Le ton direct et autoritaire convainc-t'il les français?

Does the direct authoritative approach persuade New Zealand consumers?

Comment pensez-vous que les consommateurs français évaluent/jugent une publicité? Quels critères utiliseraient-ils?

How do you think New Zealand consumers evaluate/judge an advertisement? What criteria would they use?

5. Francité/New Zealandness

Quels sont les traits uniques de la publicité française?

What are the unique characteristics of New Zealand advertising?

Quelles comparaisons peut-on faire entre la publicité française et la publicité anglophone?

How does New Zealand advertising compare to advertising in France?

Quelle est l'importance de la francité dans la publicité?

How important is New Zealandness in advertising?

Quelle genre de célébrité est le plus utilisé dans la publicité française?

Pourquoi?

What kind of celebrity endorsement is used most in New Zealand advertising?

Why?

Comment caractériseriez-vous le style de votre agence?

How would you characterise this agency's advertising style?

APPENDIX D

Coding Sheet (Voice-overs)

Phonation type (combinations are possible)

- Normal voice
- Breathy voice
- Whispery voice
- Creaky voice
- Falsetto voice
- Ventricular voice
- Harsh voice

Pitch ranges

- Very deep (low)
- Deep (low)
- Medium
- High
- Very high

Loudness ranges

- Very soft
- Soft
- Medium
- Loud
- Very loud

Length (duration of certain syllables)

- Long.....
- Normal.....
- Short.....

Intonation patterns

- Rise
- Fall
- Rise fall
- Fall rise
- Rise fall rise
- Fall rise fall

Tempo

- Slow
- Medium
- Fast
- Accelerations
- Decelerations

Grammatical forms of speech acts

- Interrogative
- Statement
- Imperative

Stress (Length, loudness and pitch)

- Regular stresses
- Irregular stresses

- Amplified stresses on what words?.....
.....
.....

- Amplified stresses on which part of the utterance?.....
.....
.....

Speech register

- Formal speech
- Casual speech

- Upper class
- Middle class
- Lower class

Age

- 20s
- 30s
- 40s
- 50s

Notes:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX E

The findings of the present study confirmed that, in New Zealand, celebrity sport endorsement in prime time television advertising was a very common discursive technique. Literature on celebrity endorsement in relation to sport was therefore reviewed in order to give a better foundation for the analysis of commercials that used celebrity sport endorsers.

Celebrity endorsement: A review of theories.

Research by Turner, Bounds, Hauser, Motsinger, Ozmore, and Smith (1995) showed that the use of sport celebrities to endorse products has expanded over the last 20 years and that approximately 11% of television commercials in the US used sports figures as endorsers. Turner et al (1995) also found that sports figures are used as endorsers in more than just sports programming, with athlete endorsers present in 19% of commercials for non-sport related products. While Turner et al's (1995) study is limited to an American setting of sports broadcasts and a small sample of commercials, the popularity of celebrity endorsement cannot be ignored.

McCracken (1989) defined the celebrity endorser as "any individual who enjoys public recognition and who uses this recognition on behalf of a consumer good by appearing with it in an advertisement" (p. 310). Friedman and Friedman (1979) defined the celebrity endorser as "an individual who is known to the public (actor, sports figure, entertainer, etc.) for his or her achievements in other areas than that of the product class endorsed" (p. 63), therefore arguing that endorsers do not necessarily need to be directly connected to the product category endorsed. Both these definitions highlight the fact that the endorser is well known by the public and is using this recognition to promote a good or a service.

Brooks and Harris (1998) suggested that the purpose of using a celebrity is to help build brand equity. Keller (1993) divided brand equity into two dimensions: brand awareness and brand image. As Keller (1993) explained, brand awareness is measured by the consumers' ability to recall a brand either freely or with a stimulus present whereas brand image investigates the brand associations that are

in consumers' minds. Brand image looks at the "favourability", strength, and uniqueness of associations the consumer has with the product. Brooks and Harris (1998) illustrated how celebrity endorsers influence the dimensions of brand equity. Firstly, because celebrities attract attention, advertisers hope that this attraction will draw attention to the product, thus enhancing awareness and recall of the advertisement, resulting in increase in product sales. Secondly, advertisers also hope that the celebrity can bring relevant positive associations to the brand advertised, and therefore have a positive influence on the perception of the brand's image.

Three main theories try to explain the way in which the celebrity endorsement process works. These theories are, the source credibility model (Hovland & Weiss, 1951), the source attractiveness model (McGuire, 1985), and the meaning transfer model (McCracken, 1989). The source credibility and source attractiveness models were based on social psychology research. The source credibility model suggests that message effectiveness "depends on the 'expertness' and 'trust worthiness' of the source" (Hovland et al., 1951, p. 20). The more credible the source, the more persuasive and effective the message will be. Therefore we would expect Jonah Lomu as one of the world's top professional rugby player to be a credible endorser of rugby boots.

The source attractiveness contends that sources who are good looking, known to, liked by, and/or similar to the consumer (Brock, 1965) are attractive and to this extent persuasive. Good-looking people are perceived to be more likeable, interesting and friendly and successful. According to McGuire (1985) we admire and respect good-looking people and want to be like them, and for these reasons they have a persuasive influence on us as consumers. According to this theory, an attractive cricket player could endorse a clothing brand or a brand of computers and the brand should, according to McGuire's (1985) model, gain an increase in sales because of the attractiveness of the athlete, even if there is little relationship between the attractive cricket player and computers.

From these two source models Kamins (1990) developed a product match-up hypothesis (see also Khale & Homer, 1985). The match-up hypothesis suggests

that the “endorsement will be more credible to the extent that the salient characteristic in the image of the spokesperson match up with the perceived characteristics of the product” (Martin, 1996, p. 30). Kamins (1990) showed for example that “for an attractiveness-related product, use of a physically attractive celebrity was observed to significantly enhance measures of spokesperson credibility and attitude toward advertisements” (p. 4). However, source attractiveness is not as strong a match-up factor as source credibility and Till & Busler (1998) found expertise to be “more important than physical attractiveness for matching a brand with an appropriate endorser” (p. 583). Both source models, however, offer a partial explanation as to why some celebrity endorsements work and others do not. The source models and the match-up hypothesis have been criticised (Brooks & Harris, 1998; Erdogan, 1999, McCracken, 1989) because they focus mainly on the characteristics of the celebrity without looking at the wider cultural meanings that come with both the celebrity and the product.

An alternative explanation of celebrity endorsement has been developed by McCracken (1989) who suggests that celebrity endorsers transfer cultural meanings to products or services. In a similar way as Williamson (1978) explained it for Catherine Deneuve and Chanel No. 5, McCracken (1989) argued that individual celebrities contain a vast range of cultural meanings that can be used to communicate with consumers through a meaning transfer model. According to McCracken (1989), the origins of the symbolic value of celebrities is given by the culture in which the celebrities evolve, particularly,

Celebrities draw these powerful meanings from the roles they assume in their television, movie, military, athletic, and other careers . . . the meaning that the celebrity endorsement gives to the product was generated in distant movie performances, political campaigns, or athletic achievements. (p. 315)

The meanings of celebrities spring from the culturally constituted world and these cultural meanings are carried by such distinctions as a celebrity’s class, race, gender, status, age, personality, and lifestyle (McCracken, 1989). In addition endorsers carry a range of personal meanings specifically relevant to them and their individual background, and these meanings are inevitably transferred to the product or brand in the meaning transfer process.

McCracken (1989) suggested that the advertising process should begin when “the advertiser identifies the cultural meaning intended for the product” (p. 314). Once the cultural meanings wanted have been identified, a celebrity who embodies those meanings should be looked for to take on the role of the endorser. In addition to this, Martin (1996) suggested that when using sport endorsers it is important to consider carefully the image of the sport the endorser comes from as “the more similar the image of the product is to the image of the sport, the more positive the consumer response is to the endorsement” (p. 39). The next stage of McCracken’s process sees the consumer accept and claim the meanings for themselves or reject these meanings. As McCracken suggested (1989) consumers claim the meanings from the endorser because the celebrity has successfully achieved what the consumer wants to do, “created the clear, coherent, and powerful selves that everyone seeks” (p. 318).

As became clear in this study, celebrity sport endorsers in New Zealand and French advertising were not necessarily used for their expertise but rather because of their diverse cultural meanings – which we could call their cultural currency value. The low number of celebrity sport endorsers in French television advertising (n=3) did not allow an in-depth research of their cultural currency value. In New Zealand advertising, on the other hand, the number of celebrity sport endorsers (n=37) was much more important than in France and allowed an investigation of their “cultural” use by communicators. In this study, the cultural meanings of rugby players and their use in commercials to promote a discourse of consumption was constantly questioned and incorporated in the overall analysis of sport imagery.

REFERENCES

- Abhijit, B., Olsen, J. E., & Carlet, V. (1992). A comparison of print advertisements from the United States and France. *The Journal of Advertising*, 21(4), 73-81.
- Abratt, R., Clayton, B. C., & Pitt, L. F. (1987). Corporate objectives in sports sponsorship. *International Journal of Advertising*, 6(4), 299-311.
- Adole, J. (2002). *Mon sac de rugby*. Bayonne, France: Editions Atlantica.
- Agacinski, S. (1998). L'universel masculin ou la femme effacée. *Le Débat*, 100, 149-157.
- Agacinski, S. (1999, February 6). Contre l'effacement des sexes. *Le Monde*, p. 1.
- Agger, B. (1992). *Cultural studies as critical theory*. New York: Falmer Press.
- Agger, B. (1990). *The decline of discourse: Reading, writing, and resistance in postmodern capitalism*. New York: Falmer Press.
- Alabarces, P., Tomlinson, A., & Young, C. (2001). Argentina versus England at the France '98 world cup: Narratives of nation and the mythologizing of the popular. *Media, Culture & Society*, 23(5), 547-566.
- Alexander M. (1998, November 15). All Blacks and cars toxic mix. *Sunday Star-Times*, p. A7.
- Alexander, M. W., & Judd, B. Jr. (1986). Differences in attitudes toward nudity in advertising. *Psychology: A Quarterly Journal of Human Behavior*, 23, 27-29.
- Allport, G. W., & Cantrill, H. (1934). Judging personality from voice. *Journal of Psychology*, 5, 37-55.

Allwood, G. (2001). Popular conceptions of gender and the parity debate. In J. Marks, & E. McCaffrey (Eds.), *French cultural debates* (pp. 8-22). Melbourne, Australia: Monash University in association with University of Delaware press.

Al-Olayan, F. S., & Karande, K. (2000). A content analysis of magazine advertisements from the United States and the Arab world. *Journal of Advertising*, 29(3), 69-82.

Alomes, S. (1988). *A nation at last? The changing character of Australian nationalism 1880-1988*. North Ryde, Australia: Angus & Robertson Publishers.

Amalou, F. (2001, January 12). Le gouvernement s'attaque aux publicités sexistes. *Le Monde*, p. 8.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andreff, W., & Nys, J. F. (2001). *Economie du sport*. Collection Que sais-je? Paris: PUF.

Andrews, D. L., Carrington, B., Jackson, S., & Mazur, Z. (1996). Jordanscapes: A preliminary analysis of the global popular. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13, 428-457.

Andrews, J. C., Lysonsky, S., & Durvasula, S. (1991). Understanding cross-cultural student perceptions of advertising in general: Implications for advertising educators and practitioners. *Journal of Advertising*, 20(2), 15-28.

Appelbaum, U., & Halliburton, C. (1993). How to develop international advertising campaigns that work: The example of the European food and beverage sector. *International Journal of Advertising*, 12(3), 223-241.

Arens, W. F. (1996). *Contemporary advertising* (4th ed.). Chicago: Irwin.

- Aronovitch, C. D. (1976). The voice of personality: Stereotyped judgements and their relation to voice quality and sex of speaker. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 99, 207-220.
- Atkinson, J. (1994). Structures of television news. In P. Ballard (Ed.), *Power and responsibility* (pp. 43-74). Wellington, New Zealand: Broadcasting Standards Authority.
- Autain, C. (2001). *Alter égaux: Invitation au féminisme*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont.
- Bach, K., & Harnish, R. M. (1979). *Linguistic communication and speech acts*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Bailey, K. D. (1994). *Methods of social research* (4th ed.). New York: The Free Press.
- Bairner, A. (2001). *Sport, nationalism and globalisation*. Albany, NJ: State University of New York Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). *Speech genres and other late essays* (V. W. McGee, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Barbour, W. (Ed.). (1994). *Mass media: Opposing viewpoints*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Bardin, L. (1989). *L'analyse de contenu* (5th ed.). Paris: PUF.
- Barker, C. (1997). *Global television: An introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Barnett, S., & Wolfe, R. (1989). *New Zealand! New Zealand!: In praise of kiwiana*. Auckland, New Zealand: Hodder & Stoughton.

- Bartels, R. (1982). National culture-business relations: United States and Japan contrasted. *Management International Review*, 22(2), 4-13.
- Barthel, D. (1988). *Putting on appearances: Gender and advertising*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Barthes, R. (1957). *Mythologies*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Barthes, R. (1970). *S/Z*. Paris: Editions du seuil.
- Barthes, R. (1973). *Le plaisir du texte*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Barthes, R. (1977). Rhetoric of the Image (S. Heath, Trans.) In S. Heath (Ed.), *Image-music-text* (pp. 32-51). London: Fontana.
- Barthes, R. (1967). *Système de la mode*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Bassett, G. (1984). Screen play and real-play: Manufacturing sport on television. *Sites*, 9, 5-31.
- Bassett, G. (1987). Discourse, ideology, and the delivery of audience: Television's representation of one day cricket. *Sites*, 14, 57-72.
- Bath, R. (Ed.). (1997). *The ultimate encyclopedia of rugby: The definitive illustrated guide to world rugby union*. London: Carlton Books Ltd.
- Baudrillard, J. (1968). *Le système des objets*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Baudrillard, J., (1970). *La société de consommation*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Baudrillard, J. (1979). *De la séduction*. Paris: Editions Galilée.
- Baudrillard, J. (1989). Politics of seduction. Interview with Baudrillard. *Marxism Today*, January, 54-55.

Becker, B. W. (1998). Values in advertising: A methodological caveat. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 38(4), 57-60.

Belk, R. W., & Bryce, W. J. (1986). Materialism and individual determinism in US and Japanese television advertising. In R. J. Lutz (Ed.), *Advances in consumer research*, 13, (pp. 568-572). Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research,

Bell, C. (1996). *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday myths of pakeha identity*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

Benstock, S., & Ferriss, S. (Eds.). (1994). *On Fashion*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (Ed.). (1990). *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

Bignell, J. (1997). *Media semiotics: An introduction*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.

Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.

Biswas, A., Olsen, J. E., & Carlet, V. (1992). A comparison of print advertisements from the United States and France. *Journal of Advertising*, 21(4), 73-81.

Blain, N., & O'Donnell, H. (1998). European sports journalism and its readers during Euro 96: 'Living without the sun'. In M. Roche (Ed.), *Sport, popular culture and identity* (pp. 37-56). Aachen, Germany: Meyer & Meyer Verlag.

Boddewyn, J. J. (1982). Advertising regulation in the 1980s: The underlying global forces. *Journal of Advertising*, 46, 27-36.

Bonitzer, P. (1976). *Le regard et la voix*. Paris: Union générale d'éditions.

- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La distinction*. Paris: Editions de minuit.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Sur la télévision*. Paris: Liber éditions.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Langage et pouvoir symbolique*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Bouzinac, F. (1994, July 4). Sadourny: "L'essai de ma vie". *L'Equipe*, p. 2.
- Boyle, R., & Haynes, R. (2000). *Power play: Sport, the media and popular culture*. Harlow, England: Longman.
- Brassington, F., & Pettitt, S. (1997). *Principles of marketing*. London: Pitman Publishing.
- Bretl, D., & Cantor, J. (1988). The portrayal of men and women in US television commercials: A recent content analysis and trends over 15 Years. *Sex Roles*, 18(9/10), 595-609.
- Brock, T. C. (1965). Communicator-recipient similarity and decision change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1, 650-654.
- Broadfoot, P. (2000). Interviewing in a cross-cultural context: Some issues for comparative research. In C. J. Pole, & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Cross-cultural case study* (pp. 53-65). Amsterdam: AI.
- Brook, B. (1999). *Feminist perspectives on the body*. London: Longman.
- Brooks, C. M., & Harris, K. K. (1998). Celebrity athlete endorsement: An overview of the key theoretical issues. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 7(2), 34-44.
- Brownmiller, S. (1984). *Femininity*. New York: Linden Press.

Caballero, M. J., Lumpkin, J., & Madden, J. (1989). Using physical attractiveness as an advertising tool: An empirical test of the attraction phenomenon. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 29, 16-21.

Caillat, Z., & Mueller, B. (1996). Observations: The influence of culture on American and British advertising: An exploratory comparison of beer advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 36(3), 79-88.

Calhoun, D. W. (1987). *Sport, culture, and personality*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers.

Callan, M. (1976, October). Women copywriters get better, but male chauvinism in ads rolls on. *Advertising Age*, 47, 76.

Caroll, J. B., Davies, P., & Richman, B. (1971). *The American heritage frequency book*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Caroll, R. (1990). *Cultural misunderstandings: The French-American experience* (C. Volk, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Cashmore, E. (1996). *Making sense of sports* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Cathelat, B., & Cadet, A. (1976). *La publicité: De l'instrument économique à l'institution sociale*. Paris: Payot.

Catley, C. C. (1996). *Xenophobe's guide to the Kiwis*. Horsham, England: Ravette Publishing Ltd.

Chan, K. W. (1995). Information content of television advertising in Hong Kong and China, *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 6(4), 213-244.

Chan, K. W. (1999). Cultural values in Hong Kong's print advertising, 1946-96. *International Journal of Advertising*, 18(4), 537-553.

Chance, M. R., & Jolly, C. (1970). *Social groups of monkeys, apes and men*. London: Cape.

Chandler, T. J. L. (1996). The structuring of manliness and the development of rugby football at the public schools and Oxbridge, 1830-1880. In J. Nauright, & T. J. L. Chandler (Eds.), *Making men: Rugby and masculine identity* (pp. 13-31). London: Frank Cass.

Chandler, T. J. L., & Nauright, J. (1996). Introduction: Rugby, manhood and identity. In J. Nauright, & T. J. L. Chandler (Eds.), *Making men: Rugby and masculine identity* (pp. 1-12). London: Franck Cass.

Charaudeau, P. (1983). *Langage et discours: Eléments de sémiolinguistique (théorique et pratique)*. Paris: Hachette Université.

Charaudeau, P. (1994). Le contrat de communication de l'information médiatique. In T. Lancien (Ed.), *Le Français dans le monde* (pp. 8-19). Paris: EDICEF.

Charaudeau, P. (1993). Des conditions de la mise en scène du langage. In A. Decrosse (Ed.), *L'esprit de société* (pp. 24-38). Liège, Belgium: Mardaga.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In R. M. Emerson (Ed.), *Contemporary field research: A collection of readings* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little Brown.

Cheng, H., & Schweitzer J. C. (1996). Cultural values reflected in Chinese and US television commercials, *Journal of Advertising Research*, 26(3), 27-44.

Cho, B., Kwon, U., Gentry, J. W., Jun, S., & Kropp, F. (1999). Cultural values reflected in theme and execution: A comparative study of U.S. and Korean television commercials. *Journal of Advertising*, 28(4), 59-73.

Chodorow, N. (1978). *The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Clark, T. (1990). International marketing and national character: A review and proposal for an integrative theory. *Journal of Marketing*, 54, 66-69.

Coakley, J. J. (1998). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies*. Boston: Irwin/McGraw-Hill.

Collins, C. (Ed.). (2000). *Sport in New Zealand society*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Cook, G. (1992). *The discourse of advertising*. London: Routledge.

Cormansky, A. (1994). Mise en scène, mise en sens: Approche contrastive de publicités américaines et françaises. In T. Lancien (Ed.), *Le Français dans le monde* (pp. 143-149). Paris: Edicef.

Cornut-Janin, M. (1998). *Féminin et féminité*. Paris: PUF.

Cosnier, J. (1987). *Destins de la féminité*. Paris: PUF.

Courtney, A. E., & Whipple, T. W. (1983). *Sex stereotyping in advertising*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Craig, S. R. (1992). The effect of television day part on gender portrayals in television commercials: A content analysis. *Sex Roles*, 26(5/6), 197-211.

Craik, J. (1994). *The face of fashion*. London: Routledge.

Crawford, S. A. G. M. (1985). The game of glory and hard knocks: A study of the interpretation of rugby and New Zealand society. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 19(2), 77-91.

Cruttenden, A. (1986). *Intonation*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1997b). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Culley, J. A., & Bennett, R. (1976). Selling women, selling blacks. *Journal of Communication*, 26, 168-178.

Cutler, B. D., Javalgi, R. G., & Erramilli, M. K. (1992). The visual components of print advertising: A five-country cross-cultural analysis. *European Journal of Marketing*, 26(4), 7-20.

Daddario, G. (1994). Chilly scenes of the 1992 winter games: The mass media and the marginalization of female athletes. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11(3), 275-288.

Dallmann, K. M. (2000). Targeting women in German and Japanese magazine advertising: A difference-in-differences approach. *European Journal of Marketing*, 35(11/12), 1320-1339.

Day, P. (1999). Sport, the media and New Zealand. In B. Patterson (Ed.), *Sport, society and culture in New Zealand* (pp. 93-102). Wellington, New Zealand: Stout Research Centre.

Dayan, D. (1992). Les mystères de la réception. *Le débat*, 71, 146-162.

De Beaugrande, R. A., & Dressler, W. U. (1981). *Introduction to text linguistics*. London: Longman.

De Beaugrande, R., & Dressler, W. (1992). *Introduction to text linguistics*. London: Longman Paperback.

- De Beauvoir, S. (1976). *Le deuxième sexe 1: Les faits et les mythes*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Deighton, J., Romer, D., & McQueen, J. (1989). Using drama to persuade. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(3), 335-343.
- De Vaus, D. A. (1995). *Surveys in social research*. North Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Dispenza, J. E. (1975). *Advertising the American woman*. Dayton, OH: Pflaum Publishing.
- Dominick, J., & Rauch, G. (1971) The image of women in network TV commercials. *Journal of Broadcasting*, 16, 257-265.
- Dowling, G. R. (1980). Information content in US and Australian television advertising. *Journal of Marketing*, 44(4), 34-37.
- Dru, J. M. (1996). *Disruption: Overturning conventions and shaking up the marketplace*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Duncan, M. C. (1990). Sport photographs and sexual difference: Images of women and men in the 1994 and 1988 Olympic games. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 7(1), 22-43.
- Duthois, S. (1996). Les règles de la séduction publicitaire. *Communication et Langages*, 109, 33-50.
- Duthois, S. (2000). Les Etats Unis et le Japon vus à travers leurs discours publicitaires. *Communication et langages*, 126, 60-73.
- Dyer, G. (1982). *Advertising as communication*. London: Methuen.

- Eady, S. J. (1982). Differences in the Fo patterns of speech: Tone language versus stress language. *Language and Speech*, 25(1), 29-42.
- Eastman, S. T., & Billings, A. C. (2000). Sportcasting and sports reporting. *Journal of Sports and Social Issues*, 24(2), 192-213.
- Eisen, J. (1995). Publisher's introduction. In B. Riley (Ed.), *Kiwi ingenuity: A book of New Zealand ideas and inventions*. Auckland, New Zealand: AIT Press.
- Elueze, R., & Jones, R. L. (1998). A quest for equality: A gender comparison of the BBC's TV coverage of the 1995 world athletic championships. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, 7(1), 45-67.
- Erdogan, B. Z. (1999). Celebrity endorsement: A literature review. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 15, 291-314.
- Etchegoyen, A. (1997). *Eloge de la féminité*. Paris: Arléa.
- Evans, J. (1999). Nation and representation. In D. Boswell, & J. Evans (Eds.), *Representing the nation: A reader* (pp. 1-8). London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fatt, A. C. (1967). The danger of 'local' international advertising. *Journal of Marketing*, 31 (January), 60-62.
- Federico, S. (1998). Sexe et publicité à la française. *Communication et Langages*, 117, 4-11.

Feder-Kane, A. M. (2000). "A radiant smile from the lovely lady": Overdetermined femininity in "ladies" figure skating. In S. Birell, & M. G. McDonald (Eds.), *Reading sport: Critical essays on power and representation* (pp. 206-233). Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.

Fieldhouse, P. (1986). *Food and nutrition, customs and culture*. London: Chapman & Hall.

Fields, E. E. (1988). Qualitative content analysis of television news: Systematic techniques. *Qualitative Sociology*, 11(3), 183-93.

Fiske, J. (1987). *Television culture*. London: Routledge.

Flower, J. E. (1997) *France today* (8th ed.). London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Ford, J. B., LaTour, M. S., & Honeycutt, E. D. (1997). An examination of the cross-cultural female response to offensive sex role portrayals in advertising: A research note. *International Marketing Review*, 14(6), 409-424.

Ford, J. B., LaTour, M. S., Honeycutt, E. D., & Joseph, M. (1994). Female sex role portrayals in international advertising: Should advertisers standardize in the pacific rim? *American Business Review*, 12(2), 1-10.

Foucault, M. (1969). *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard.

Foucault, M. (1971). *L'ordre du discours*. Paris: Gallimard.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. In B. Wallis (Ed.), *Art after modernism: Rethinking representation* (pp. 417-432). New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art.

Fougere, G. (1989). Sport culture and identity: The case of rugby football. In D. Novitz, & B. Willmott (Eds.), *Culture and identity in New Zealand* (pp. 110-122). Christchurch, New Zealand: GP Books.

France, P. (1992). *Politeness and its discontents: Problems in French Classical culture*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Freedman, R. (1986). *Beauty bound*. Lexington, MA: Heath/Lexington Books.

Friedan, B. (1965). *The feminine mystique*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Friedman, H., & Friedman, L. (1979). Endorser effectiveness by product type. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 19(5), 63-71.

Frith, K. T., & Wesson, D. (1991). A comparison of cultural values in British and American print advertising: A study of magazines. *Journalism Quarterly*, 68(1/2), 216-223.

Frustier, P. (2000). Les 3 Suisses connaissent la chanson. *Communication et Langages*, 123, 17-27.

Furnham, A., Babitzkow, M., & Ugucioni, S. (2000). Gender stereotyping in television advertisements: A comparative study of French and Danish television. *Genetic, Social & General Psychology Monography*, 126(1), 79-104.

Furnham, A., & Bitar, N. (1993). The stereotyped portrayal of men and women in British television advertisements, *Sex Roles*, 29(3/4), 297-310.

Furnham, A., & Farragher, E. (2000). A cross-cultural content analysis of sex-role stereotyping in television advertisements: A comparison between Great Britain and New Zealand. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 44(3), 415-436.

- Furnham, A., Mak, T., & Tanidjojo, L. (2000). An Asian perspective on the portrayal of men and women in television advertisements: Studies from Hong Kong and Indonesian television. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30*(11), 2341-2364.
- Furnham, A., & Mak, T. (1999). Sex-role stereotyping in television commercials: A review and comparison of fourteen studies done on five continents over 25 years. *Sex Roles, 41*(5/6), 413-437.
- Furnham, A., & Skae, E. (1997). Portrayals of men and women in British television advertisements. *European Psychologist, 2*, 44-51.
- Furnham, A., & Voli, V. (1997). Gender stereotypes in Italian television advertisements. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 33*, 175-185.
- Fuss, D. (1994). Fashion and the homospectatorial Look. In S. Benstock, & S. Feriss (Eds.), *On fashion* (pp. 211-232). New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Gallop, J. (1987). French theory and the seduction of feminism. In A. Jardine, & P. Smith (Eds.), *Men in feminism* (pp. 111-115). London: Methuen.
- Gamman, L., & Makinen, M. (1994). *Female fetishism: A new look*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Gane, M. (1991a). *Baudillard's bestiary: Baudrillard and culture*. London: Routledge.
- Gane, M. (1991b). *Baudrillard: Critical and fatal theory*. London: Routledge.
- Gelber, S. M. (2000). Do-It-Yourself: Constructing, repairing, and maintaining domestic masculinity. In J. Scanlon (Ed.), *The gender and consumer culture reader* (pp. 70-93). New York: New York University Press.

Gerbner, G. (1977). Comparative cultural indicators. In G. Gerbner (Ed.), *Mass media policies in changing cultures* (pp. 199-205). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorelli, N. (1986). Living with television: The dynamics of the cultivation process. In J. Bryant, & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Perspectives on media effects* (pp. 17-40). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Giaccardi, C. (1995). Television advertising and the representation of social reality: A comparative study. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 12, 109-131.

Gibson, J. H. (1993). *Performance versus results: A critique of values in contemporary sport*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Gilly, M. (1988). Sex roles in advertising: A comparison of television advertisements in Australia, Mexico, and the United States. *Journal of Marketing*, 52, 75-85.

Gildea, R. (1997). *France since 1945*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Girling, J. (1998). *France: Political and social change*. London: Routledge.

Glanville, P. (1991). *An introduction to French pronunciation*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender advertisements*. Cambridge, England: Harvard University Press.

Goldman, R. (1992). *Reading ads socially*. London: Routledge.

Goshorn, K. A. (1994). Baudrillard's feminist provocations. In D. Kellner (Ed.), *Baudrillard: A critical reader* (pp. 254-291). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Gottdeiner, M. (1985). Hegemony and mass culture: A semiotic approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 90(Fall), 979-1001.

Grace, V. (2000). *Baudrillard's challenge: A feminist reading*. London: Routledge.

Graham, J. L., Kamins, M. A., & Oetomo, D. S. (1993). Content analysis of German and Japanese advertising in print media from Indonesia, Spain, and the United States. *Journal of Advertising*, 22(2), 5-15.

Grésy, B. (2002). L'image des femmes dans la publicité: Rapport à la secrétaire d'état aux droits des femmes et à la formation professionnelle. *Rapport officiel* 0981-3764.

Gunter, B. (1995). *Television and gender representation*. London: John Libby.

Gunter, B. (1987). *Poor reception*. Hillsdale, NH. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Guttman, A. (1996). *The erotic in sports*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ha, L. (1998). Advertising appeals used by service marketers: A comparison between Hong Kong and the United States. *The Journal of Services Marketing*, 12(2), 98-112.

Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. New York: Anchor Press.

Hall, E. T. (1966). *The hidden dimension*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Hall, S. (1980). Cultural studies at the centre: Some problematics and problems. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, media, language* (pp. 15-47). London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd.

Hall, S. (1984). The narrative construction of reality. *Southern Review*, 17, 2-17.

Hall, S. (1993). Encoding, decoding. In S. During (Ed.), *The cultural studies reader* (pp. 90-103). London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who needs identity? In S. Hall, & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1-17). London: Sage publications.

Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13-74). London: Sage publications.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1970) *A course in spoken English: Intonation*. Oxford: Oxford University press.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halmos, P. (1969). *The sociology of mass-media communicators*. Keele, England: University of Keele.

Han, C. M. (1988). The role of consumer patriotism in the choice of domestic versus foreign products. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 28(3), 25-32.

Hargreaves, J. (1986). *Sport, power and culture: A social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Harris, G. (1984). The globalization of advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 3(3), 223-234.

Harris, P. R., & Stobbart, J. (1986). Sex-role stereotyping in British television advertisements at different times of the day: An extension and refinement of Manstead & McCulloch, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 155-164.

- Hartmann, R. R. K., & Stork, F. C. (1972). *Dictionary of language and linguistics*. London: Applied Science Publishers Ltd.
- Hayes, S. (2001). America's national pastime and Canadian sporting nationalism. *Culture, Sport & Society*, 4(2), 157-184.
- Head, L. (1991). Culture on the fault line. In M. King (Ed.), *Pakeha: The quest for identity in New Zealand* (pp. 23-34). Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books
- Helfrich, H., & Wallbott, H. G. (1986). Contributions of the German "expression psychology" to nonverbal behavior research part IV: The voice. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, 10(3), 187-204.
- Hill, J. (1999). Cocks, cats, caps and cups: A semiotic approach to sport and national identity. *Culture, Sport & Society*, 2(2), 1-21.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1983). Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In E. Hobsbawm, & T. Ranger (Eds.), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 263-307). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1999). Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In D. Boswell, & J. Evans (Eds.), *Representing the nation: A reader: Histories, heritage and museums* (pp. 61-86). London: Routledge.
- Hoffman, P. (1995). *La femme dans la pensée des lumières*. Genève: Slatkine Reprints.
- Hoffman, S. (Ed.). (1992). *Sport and religion*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.
- Holland, J. L., & Gentry, J. W. (1997). The impact of cultural symbols on advertising effectiveness: A theory of intercultural accommodation. In M. Brucks, & D. MacInnis (Eds.), *Advances in consumer research*, 24, 483-489.

Hong, J. W., Muderrisoglu, A., & Zinkhan, G. M. (1987). Cultural differences and advertising expression: A comparative analysis of Japanese and US magazine advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, 16(1), 55-62.

Hope, W. (2002). Whose All Blacks? *Media, Culture & Society*, 24(2), 235-253.

Hopkins, J. (1999). *Inventions from the shed*. Auckland, New Zealand: Harper Collins Publisher Ltd.

Horne, J., Tomlinson, A., & Whannel, G., (1999). *Understanding sport: An introduction to the sociological and cultural analysis of sport*. London: Routledge.

Hovland, C. I., & Weiss, W. (1951). The influence of source credibility and communication effectiveness. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 15(Winter), 635-650.

Howorth, J., & Ross, G. (1987). *Comtemporary France: A review of interdisciplinary studies*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Howorth, J., & Ross, G. (1988). *Comtemporary France: A review of interdisciplinary studies, Volume 2*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Howorth, J., & Ross, G. (1989). *Comtemporary France: A review of interdisciplinary studies, Volume 3*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Iijima Hall, C., & Crum, J. C. (1994). Women and "body-isms" in television beer commercials. *Sex Roles*, 31(5/6), 329-337.

Inness, S. A. (1999). *Tough girls: Women, warriors and wonder women in popular culture*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Irvine, S. (1996, October). What makes a woman irresistible? *Elle Australia*, p. 146-150.

Jackobson, R. (1960). Concluding statement: Linguistics and poetics. In T. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in language* (pp. 350-377). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jamet, M. (1998). Changing patterns of sporting practice in France. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 33(2), 183-187.

Jeffries, S. (2001, May 19-20). No sex please-we're French. *Weekend Herald*, p. E4.

Jobling, I. F. (1991). Sport and the state: The case of Australia and New Zealand. In F. Landry, M. Landry, & M. Yerles (Eds.), *Sport . . . The third millenium/le troisième millénaire, proceedings of the international symposium, Québec city, Canada, May 21-25, 1990*, (pp. 251-259). Sainte-Foy, Canada: Les presses de l'université Laval.

Johnstone, H., Kaynak, H., & Sparkman, R. H. (1987). A cross-cultural/cross-national study of the information content of television advertisements. *International Journal of Advertising*, 6(3), 223-236.

Joseph, W. B. (1982). The credibility of physically attractive communicators: A review. *Journal of Advertising*, 11, 15-24.

Kahle, L. R., & Homer, P. M. (1985). Physical attractiveness of the celebrity endorser: A social adaptation perspective, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 11(March), 954-961.

Kaiser, S. (1990). *The social psychology of clothing: Symbolic appearances in context*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Kamins, M. (1990). An investigation into the match-up hypothesis in celebrity endorsement. *Journal of Advertising*, 19(1), 4-14.

Kane, M. J., & Greendorfer, S. L. (1994). The media's role in accommodating and resisting stereotypes images of women in sport. In P. J. Creedon (Ed.), *Women*,

media, and sport: Challenging gender values (pp. 28-44). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kane, M. J., & Parks, J. B. (1992). The social construction of gender difference and hierarchy in sport journalism – few new twists on very old themes. *Women in Sport and Physical activity Journal*, 1(1), 49-83.

Khale, L. (1983). *Social values and social change: Adaptation to life in America*. New York: Praeger.

Katz, H., & Lee, W. N. (1992). Oceans apart: An initial exploration of social communication differences in US and UK prime time television advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 11(1), 69-82.

Kellehear, A. (1993). *The unobtrusive researcher: A guide to methods*. St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Keller, K. (1993). Conceptualizing, measuring, and managing customer-based brand equity. *Journal of Marketing*, 57, 1-22.

Keown, C. F., Synodinos, N. E., & Jacobs, L. W. (1989). Advertising practices in northern Europe. *European Journal of Marketing*, 23(3), 17-28.

King, M. (1991). Being pakeha. In M. King, (Ed.), *Pakeha: The quest for identity in New Zealand*, (pp. 9-22). Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.

Knill, B. J., Pesch, M., Pursey, G., Gilpin, P., & Perloff, R. M. (1981). Still typecast after all these years? Sex role portrayals in television advertising. *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 4(5), 497-506.

Koivula, N. (1999). Gender stereotyping in televised media sport coverage. *Sex Roles*, 41(7/8), 589-604.

- Kramer, E. (1964). Personality stereotypes in voice: A reconsideration of the data. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 62, 312-319.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. London: Sage Publications.
- Kroeber-Riel, W. (1990). *Strategie und technik der werbung: verhaltenswissenschaftliche ansatze*. Stuttgart, Germany: Auflage.
- Kuiper, K. (1991). Sporting formulae in New Zealand English: Two models of male solidarity. In J. Cheshire (Ed.), *English around the world: Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 200-209). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Laidlaw, C. (1999a). *Rights of passage*. Auckland, New Zealand: Hodder Moa Beckett.
- Laidlaw, C. (1999b). Sport and national identity: Race relations, business, professionalism. In B. Patterson (Ed.), *Sport, society and culture in New Zealand* (pp. 11-18). Wellington, New Zealand: Stout Research Centre.
- Langholz Leymore, V. (1975). *Hidden myth: Structure and symbolism in advertising*. London: Heinemann Educational.
- Lannon, J., & Cooper, P. (1983). Humanistic advertising: A holistic cultural perspective. *International Journal of Advertising*, 2(3), 195-213.
- Lapierre, J. W. (1984). L'identité collective, objet paradoxal: D'où nous vient-il? *Recherches Sociologiques*, 15(2-3), 155-164.
- Laponce, J. A. (1980). The city centre as conflictual space in the bilingual city: The case of Montreal. In J. Gottmann (Ed.), *Centre and periphery: Spatial variations in politics* (pp. 149-162). London: Sage publications.

Laroche, M., Toffoli, R., Zhang, Q., & Pons, F. (2001). A cross-cultural study of the persuasive effect of fear appeal messages in cigarette advertising: China and Canada. *International Journal of Advertising*, 20(3), 297-317.

Laskey, H. A., Day, E., & Crask, M. R. (1989). Typology of main message strategies for television commercials. *Journal of Advertising*, 18(1), 36-41.

Lass, N. J., Barry, P. J., Reed, R. A., Walsh, J. M., & Amuso, T. A. (1979). The effect of temporal speech alterations on speaker height and weight identification. *Language and Speech*, 22, Part 2, 163-171.

Lass, N. J., Mertz, P. J., & Kimmel, K. L. (1978). The effect of temporal speech alterations on speaker race and sex identifications. *Language and speech*, 21, part 3, 279-290.

LaTour, M. S., Pitts, R. E., & Snook-Luther, D. C. (1991). Female nudity, arousal, and ad response: An experimental investigation. *Journal of Advertising*, 19, 51-62.

Laver, J. (1968). Voice quality and indexical information. In J. Laver, & S. Hutchesson (Eds.), *Communication in face to face interaction* (pp. 189-203) Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Laver, J. (1994). *Principles of phonetics*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Laver, J., & Trudgill, P. (1979). Phonetic and linguistic markers in speech. In K. R. Scherer, & H. Giles (Eds.), *Social markers in speech* (pp. 1-32). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Legras, J. M., & Clément, M. (1993). Sport et société, tome 1: Sport et éducation, sport et insertion. Paris: Editions du CNFPT.

Leigh, T. W., Rethans, A. J., & Reichenbach Whitney, T. (1987). Role portrayals of women in advertising: Cognitive responses and advertising effectiveness. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 27, 54-63.

Leiss, W., Kline, S., & Jhally, S. (1986). *Social communication in advertising: Persons, products, and images of well-being*. New York: Methuen.

Leonard II, W. M. (1998). *A sociological perspective on sport* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Levitt, T. (1983). The globalization of markets. *Harvard Business Review*, 61(May-June), 92-102.

Lin, C. A. (1997). Beefcake versus cheesecake in the 1990s: Sexist portrayals of both genders in television commercials. *Howard Journal of Communication*, 8, 237-249.

Lin, C. A. (1998). Uses of sex appeals in prime-time television commercials. *Sex Roles*, 38(5/6), 461-475.

Lin, C. A. (2001). Cultural values reflected in Chinese and American television advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, 30(4), 83-94.

Lips, H. M. (1981). *Women, men, and the psychology of power*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall.

Lips, H. M., & Colwill, N. L. (1978). *The psychology of sex differences*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995). *Analysing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Loret, A. (1991). Le sport en France: De l'utilité publique à l'utilité ludique. In F. Landry, M. Landry, & M. Yerles (Eds.), *Sport . . . The third millenium/le troisième millénaire, proceedings of the international symposium, Québec city, Canada, May 21-25, 1990*, (pp. 741-744). Sainte-Foy, Canada: Les presses de l'université Laval.

Loret, A., & Allouis, X. (1994). *Sport et société, tome 2: Sport et médias, sport et argent*. Paris: Editions du CNFPT.

Lumer, C. (1995). Rules and moral norms in sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 30(3/4), 263-281.

Lovdal, L. T. (1989). Sex role messages in television commercials: An update. *Sex Roles*, 21, 715-724.

Loveday, L. (1981). Pitch, politeness and sexual role: An exploratory investigation into the pitch correlates of English and Japanese politeness formulae. *Language and Speech*, 24(1), 71-89.

Lumby, C. (1994). Feminism and the media: The biggest fantasy of all. *Media Information Australia*, 72, 49-54.

Maccoby, E. E. (1987). The varied meanings of "masculine" and "feminine". In J. Machover Reinisch, L. A. Rosenblum, & S. A. Sanders (Eds.), *Masculinity/femininity: Basic perspectives* (pp. 227-239) Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Mackay, D. (1992). *Frontier New Zealand: The search for Eldorado 1800-1920*. Auckland, New Zealand: HarperCollins Publishers.

MacLachlan, J. (1979). What people really think of fast talkers. *Psychology Today*, 13(6), 112-117.

Maguire, J., & Tuck, J. (1998). Global sports and patriot games: Rugby union and national identity in a united sporting kingdom since 1945. In M. Cronin, & D. Mayall (Eds.), *Sporting nationalism: Identity, ethnicity, immigration and assimilation* (pp. 103-125). London: Frank Cass.

Maguire, J., & Poulton, E. K. (1999). European identity politics in Euro 96. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 34(1), 17-29.

Maingueneau, D. (1976). *Initiation aux méthodes de l'analyse de discours*. Paris: Classiques Hachette.

Maingueneau, D. (1996a). *Les termes clés de l'analyse de discours*. Paris: Seuil.

Maingueneau, D. (1996b). *Aborder la linguistique*. Paris: Seuil.

Marecek, J., Piliavin, J.A., Fitzsimmons, E., Krogh, E. C., Leader, E., & Trudell, B. (1978). Women as TV experts: The voice of authority? *Journal of Communication*, 28(1), 159-168.

Mar'i, S. K. (1976). Toward a cross-cultural theory of creativity. *The Journal of Creative Behavior*, 10(2), 108-116.

Martenson, R. (1987). Advertising strategies and information content in American and Swedish advertising: A comparative content analysis in cross-cultural copy research. *International Journal of Advertising*, 6, 133-144.

Martin, J. (1996). Is the athlete's sport important when picking an athlete to endorse a nonsport product? *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 13(6), 28-43.

Mattellard, A. (1989). *L'internationale publicitaire*. Paris: La Découverte.

May, T. (1997). *Social research: Issues, methods and process* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

- Mazella, C., Durkin, K., Cerini, E., & Buralli, P. (1992). Sex role stereotyping in Australian television advertisements. *Sex Roles, 26*(7/8), 243-259.
- McArthur, L. Z., & Resko, B. G. (1975). The portrayal of men and women in American television commercials. *Journal of Social Psychology, 97*, 209-220.
- McCarty, J. A., & Hattwick, P. M. (1992). Cultural value orientations: A comparison of magazine advertisements from the US and Mexico. *Advances in Consumer Research, 19*, 34-38.
- McConnell, R., & Edwards, M. (2000). Sport and identity in New Zealand. In C. Collins, (Ed.), *Sport in New Zealand society* (pp. 115-129). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- McCracken, G. (1986). Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods. *Journal of Consumer Research, 13*(1), 71-84.
- McCracken, G. (1989). Who is the celebrity endorser? Cultural foundations of the endorsement process. *Journal of Consumer Research, 16*(3), 310-321.
- McCrone, D. (1998). *The sociology of nationalism*. London: Routledge.
- McGhee, P. E., & Frueh, T. (1980). Television viewing and the learning of sex stereotypes. *Sex roles, 6*, 179-188.
- McGregor, J. (1994). Media sport. In L. Trenberth, & C. Collins (Eds.), *Sport management in New Zealand: An introduction* (pp. 115-129). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- McGregor, J. (1999). The mass media and sport. In C. Collins (Ed.), *Sport in New Zealand Society* (pp. 187-200). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

McGregor, J., & Melville, P. (1993). The invisible face of women's sport in the New Zealand Press. *Metro (Film, Television, Radio, Multimedia)*, 96, 35-39.

McGuire, W. J. (1985). Attitudes and attitude change. In L. Gardner, & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology*, 2 (pp. 233-346). New York: Random House.

McRobbie, A. (1982). Jackie: An ideology of adolescent femininity. In B. Waites, T. Bennet, & G. Martin (Eds.), *Popular culture: Past and present* (pp. 263-283). London: Croom Helm.

Merlant, P. (1983). Naissance d'une critique. In Barthelemy, & Tilliette, B. (Eds.), *La pub: Son théâtre, ses divas, l'argent de la séduction* (pp. 136-142). Paris: Editions Autrement.

Mermet, G. (1996). *Francoscopie 1997: Comment vivent les Français*. Paris: Larousse-Bordas.

Mermet, G. (1999). *Francoscopie 1999: Comment vivent les Français*. Paris: Larousse-Bordas.

Mermet, G. (2000). *Francoscopie 2001: Comment vivent les Français*. Paris: Larousse-Bordas.

Messner, M. A., & Sabo, D. F. (1994). *Sex, violence and power in sports: Rethinking masculinity*. Freedom, CA: The crossing press.

Metz, C. (1968). *Essais sur la signification au cinéma*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Miller, D. (1995). *On nationality*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Monday mourning. (1999, November 1). *Waikato Times*, front page.

- Morley, D. (1993). La réception des travaux sur la réception. *Hermès*, 11-12, 31-46.
- Morgan, E. (1972). *The descent of woman*. London: Souvenir Press.
- Morin, E. (1962). *L'esprit du temps*. Paris: Grasset.
- Muchielli, R. (1988). *L'analyse de contenu des documents et des communications* (6th ed.). Paris: Les éditions ESF.
- Mueller, B. (1996). *International advertising: Communicating across culture*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Mueller, B. (1987). Reflections of culture: An analysis of Japanese and American advertising appeals. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 27(3), 51-59.
- Mundy, J. (1975). Women in rage: A psychological look at the helpless heroine. In R. K. Unger, & F. L. Denmark (Eds.), *Woman: Dependent or independent variable?* New York: Psychological Dimensions.
- Murdock, G. (1996). Making Tracks. *Moving Image Centre*. Retrieved February 28, 2000, from <http://www.mic.org.nz/13art2.html>
- Mwangy, M. (1996). Gender role portrayed in Kenyan television commercials. *Sex Roles*, 34, 205-214.
- Myers, G. (1994). *Words in ads*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Myung-Soo, J. (1998). Contingency and contextual issues of ethnocentrism-pitched advertisements: A cross national comparison, *International Marketing Review*, 15(6), 447-457.

Nauright, J. (1996a). Sustaining masculine hegemony: Rugby and the nostalgia of masculinity. In J. Nauright, & T. J. L. Chandler (Eds.), *Making men: Rugby and masculine identity* (pp. 227-243). London: Franck Cass.

Nauright, J. (1996b). Colonial manhood and imperial race virility: British responses to post-boer war colonial rugby tours. In J. Nauright, & T. J. L. Chandler (Eds.), *Making men: Rugby and masculine identity* (pp. 121-139). London: Franck Cass.

Nauright, J., & Black, D. (1996). 'Hitting them where it hurts': Springbok-All Black rugby, masculine national identity and counter-hegemonic struggle, 1959-1992. In J. Nauright, & T. J. L. Chandler (Eds.), *Making men: Rugby and masculine identity* (pp. 205-226). London: Franck Cass.

Nauright, J., & Black D. (1994). It's rugby that really matters: New Zealand-South Africa rugby relations and the moves to isolate South Africa, 1956-1992. In R. C. Wilcox (Ed.), *Sport in the global village* (pp. 165-183). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology.

Neto, F., & Pinto, I. (1998). Gender stereotypes in Portuguese television advertisements. *Sex Roles*, 39(1/2), 153-164.

Nevett, T. (1992). Differences between American and British television advertising: Explanations and implications. *Journal of Advertising*, 21(4), 61-71.

New Zealand Government (1998). *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1998* (101st Edition). Statistics New Zealand. Wellington, New Zealand: GP Publications.

Nixon II, H. L., & Frey, J. L. (1996). *A sociology of sport*. Belmont, CA Wadsworth Publishing Company.

O'Donohoe, S. (1994). Advertising uses and gratifications. *European Journal of Marketing*, 28(8/9), 52-75.

O'Guinn, T. C., Allen, C. T., & Semenik R. J. (2000). *Advertising 2* (2nd ed.). Cincinnati, OH: South-Western college publishing.

Oliviéri, C. (1996). La culture cultivée et ses métamorphoses. *Le Français dans le Monde*. January, 8-18.

Olson, B. (1989). Wie werbung wirkt: Narrative und argumentative werbung im vergleich. *Werbeforschung und Praxis*, 4, 135-136.

O'Sickey, I. M. (1994). Barbie magazine and the aesthetic commodification. In S. Benstock, & S. Ferriss (Eds.), *On fashion* (pp. 21-40). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., Montgomery, M., & Fiske, J. (1994). *Key concepts in communication and cultural studies*. London: Routledge.

Otterbein, K. F. (1972). *Comparative cultural analysis: An introduction to anthropology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Øyen, E. (1990). The imperfection of comparisons. In E. Øyen (Ed.), *Comparative methodology: Theory and practice in international social research* (pp. 1-18). London: Sage Publications.

Parlebas, P. (1986). *Elements de sociologie du sport*. Paris: PUF.

Patterson, B. (Ed.). (1999). *Sport, society and culture in New Zealand*. Wellington, New Zealand: Stout Research Centre.

Pêcheux, M. (1969). *Analyse automatique du discours*. Paris: Dunod.

Pêcheux, M. (1982). *Language, semantics and ideology: Stating the obvious* (N. Harbans, Trans.). London: Macmillan.

- Pêcheux, M. (1990). *L'inquiétude du discours, textes de M. Pêcheux choisis par D. Maillardier*. Paris: Edition des Cendres.
- Perry, N. (1994). *The dominion of signs: Television, advertising, and other New Zealand fictions*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Petty, R. D. (1996). The law of misleading advertising: An examination of the differences between common and civil law countries. *International Journal of Advertising*, 15(1), 33-47.
- Phillips, J. (1987). *A man's country?* Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.
- Phillips, J. (1996). *A man's country?* Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.
- Picard, D. (1996). La ritualisation des communications sociales. *Communications et Langages*, 108, p. 44-67.
- Pierce, K. (1995). Socialization messages in seventeen and teen magazines. In C. M. Lont (Ed.), *Women and media: Content, career, criticism* (pp. 79-86). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Pirinen, R. M. (1997). The construction of women's positions in sport: A textual analysis of articles on female athletes in Finnish women's magazines. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 14, 290-301.
- Pittam, J. (1994). *Voice in social interaction: An interdisciplinary approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pollay, R. W. (1986). The distorted mirror: Reflections on the unintended consequences of advertising. *Journal of Marketing*, 50(2), 18-36.
- Pollay, R. W. (1987). On the values of reflections on the values in 'the distorted mirror'. *Journal of Marketing*, 51(3), 104-109.

Pollay, R. W., & Gallagher, K. (1990). Advertising and cultural values: Reflections in the distorted mirror. *International Journal of Advertising*, 9, 359-372.

Ramaprasad, J., & Hasegawa, K. (1992). Creative strategies in American and Japanese TV commercials: A comparison. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 32(1), 59-67.

Rauch, A. (2000). *Le premier sexe: Mutations et crise de l'identité masculine*. Paris: Hachette Littérature.

Renforth, W., & Raveed, S. (1983). Consumer information cues in television advertising: A cross-country analysis. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 11, 216-225.

Resnik, A., & Stern, B. L. (1977). An analysis of the information content of television advertising. *Journal of Marketing*, 41(January), 50-53.

Rey, J. P. (1997). *Qu'ont-ils fait de notre rugby?* Paris: Editions Solar.

Rigby, B. (2001). Intellectuals and popular culture in contemporary France: The writings of Paul Yonnet. In J. Marks, & E McCaffrey (Eds.), *French cultural debates* (pp. 134-144). Melbourne, Australia: Monash University with Delaware Press.

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York: Free Press.

Sabo, D., & Jansen, S. (1992). Images of men in sports media. In S. Craig (Ed.), *Men, masculinity and the media* (pp. 169-184). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Samiee, S., & Jeong, I. (1994). Cross-cultural research in advertising: An assessment of methodologies. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*. 22(3), 205-217.

Sansot, P. (1990). *Le rugby est une fête*. Paris: Plon.

Saturday night fever. (1999, July 24-25). *The New Zealand Herald*, p. C1.

Scherer, K. R. (1979). Personality markers in speech. In K. R. Scherer, & H. Giles (Eds.), *Social markers in speech* (pp. 147-209). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Schmitt, B., & Simonson, A. (1997). *Marketing aesthetics: The strategic management of brands, identity and image*. New York: Free Press.

Schneider, K. C., & Schneider, S. B. (1979). Trends in sex roles in television commercials. *Journal of Marketing*, 43, 79-84.

Schudson, M. (1984). *Advertising, the uneasy persuasion: Its dubious impact on American society*. New York: Basic Books.

Servan-Schreiber, P. (1994). *La féminité: De la liberté au bonheur*. Paris: Editions Stock.

Sethi, P. S. (1987). Advocacy advertising: A novel communication approach to building effective relations with external constituencies. *International Journal of Advertising*, 6, 279-298.

Settle, R. B., & Golden, L. (1981). Attribution theory and advertiser credibility. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 13(May), 174-186.

Shao, A. T., Raymond, M. N., & Taylor, C. (1999). Shifting advertising appeals in Taiwan. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 39(6), 61-69.

Sharma, S., Shimp, T. A., & Shin, J. (1995). Consumer ethnocentrism: A test of antecedents and moderators. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 23(1), 26-37.

Sheridan, T. (1968). *A Course of lectures on elocution*. Menston, England: The Scolar Press. (Original work published 1762)

Silk, M. (2001). Together we're one? The place of the nation in media representations of the 1998 Kuala Lumpur Commonwealth Games. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 18(3), 277-301.

Silverman, D. (1993). *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: Sage Publications.

Simon, J. L. (1971). *The management of advertising*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Simon, J. L. (1970). *Issues in the economics of advertising*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois.

Simon, R. L. (1991). *Fair play: Sports, values, and society*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Simonton, A. J. (1995). Women for sale. In C. M. Lont (Ed.), *Women and media: Content, careers, criticism* (pp. 143-164). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Sinclair, J. (1983). Television advertising and taste transfer in Mexico. *Footscay Institute of technology Occasional paper*.

Sinclair, J. (1987). *Images incorporated: Advertising as industry and ideology*. New York: Croom Helm.

Sinclair, K. (1986). *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for national identity*. Wellington, New Zealand: Allen & Unwin.

Smith, A. D. (1993). The nation: Invented, imagined, reconstructed? In M. Ringrose, & A. J. Lerner (Eds.), *Reimagining the nation* (pp. 9-28). Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Smith, P. (1996). Shooting the Paymaster. In P. Smith (Ed.), *Revolution in the air* (pp. 151-164). Auckland, New Zealand: Longman.

Snyder, E., & Speitzer, E. (1983). *Social aspects of sport* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Soley, L. C., & Kurzbard, G. (1986). Sex in advertising: A comparison of 1964 and 1984 magazine advertisements. *Journal of Advertising*, 15, 46-54.

Soulages, J. C. (1994). Les imaginaires socioculturels et le discours publicitaire. In T. Lancien (Ed.), *Le Français dans le monde* (pp. 55-61). Paris: Edicef.

Spencer, P., & Wollman, H. (2002). *Nationalism: A critical introduction*. London: Sage.

Sport and Recreation New Zealand (2002). *Our vision, our direction*. Wellington, New Zealand: Sport and Recreation New Zealand

Stanton, J. L., & Burke, J. (1998). Comparative effectiveness of executional elements in TV advertising: 15- versus 30-second commercials. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 38(6), 7-14.

Starkweather, J. A. (1978). Measurement methods for vocal information. In G. Gerbner et al (Eds.), *The analysis of communication content* (pp. 313-317). New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing.

Star, L. (1993). Macho and his brothers: Passion and resistance in sports discourse. *Sites*, 26(Autumn), 54-78.

- Steinbrugge, L. (1995). *The moral sex: Woman's nature in the French enlightenment*. (P. E. Selwyn, Trans.). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Stern, B. L., Krugman, D. L., Resnick, A. J. (1981). Magazine advertising: An analysis of its information content. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 21(2), 39-44.
- Suezle, M. (1970). Women in labor. *Trans-action*, 8, 50-58.
- Suich, M. (1996). *Benchmarking public broadcasters: How TVNZ compares with other state-owned broadcasters in Australia, Britain and Canada*. Auckland, New Zealand: TVNZ.
- Swerts, M., & Geluykens, R. (1994). Prosody as a marker of information flow in spoken discourse. *Language and speech*, 37(1), 21-43.
- Tai, S. H. C., & Chan, R. Y. K. (2001). Cross-cultural studies on the information content of service advertising. *Journal of Services Marketing*, 15(7), 547-564.
- Tansey, R., Hyman, M. R., & Zinkhan, G. M., (1990). Cultural themes in Brazilian and US Auto ads: A cross-cultural comparison, *Journal of Advertising*, 19(2), 30-39.
- Tarling, N. (1995). *The essential pocket kiwi*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Taylor, I. A. (1976). Psychological sources of creativity. *The Journal of Creative Behavior*, 10(3), 193-202.
- Taylor, R. E., Grubbs, H. M., & Haley, E., (1996). How French advertising professionals develop creative strategy. *The Journal of Advertising*, 25(1), 1-14.
- Taynton Crawford, B. (1988). Women and communicative power: A conceptual approach to communication strategies. In C. A. Valentine, & N. Hoar (Eds.),

Women and communicative power (pp. 77-83). Annandale, VA: Speech Communication Association.

Tebbel, C. (2000). *The body snatchers: How the media shapes women*. Sydney, Australia: Finch Publishing.

Terret, T. (1999). Learning to be a man: French rugby and masculinity. In T. J. L. Chandler, & J. Nauright (Eds.), *Making the rugby world: Race, gender, commerce*, (pp. 62-87). London: Frank Cass.

Thomas, R. (2002). *Sociologie du sport*. Paris: PUF.

Thomas, R. (1993). *Le sport et les médias*. Paris: Editions Vigot.

Thompson, S. M. (1988). Challenging the hegemony: New Zealand women's opposition to rugby and the reproduction of a capitalist patriarchy. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 23(3), 205-212.

Thoveron, G. (1987). *How women are represented in television programmes in the EEC; part one: Images of women in news, advertising, series, and serials*. Brussels, Belgium: Commission of the European Communities.

Till, B. D., & Busler, M. (1998). Matching products with endorsers: Attractiveness versus expertise. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 15(6), 576-586.

Tolson, A. (1996). *Mediations: Text and discourse in media studies*. London: Arnold.

Toncar, M. F. (2001). The use of humour in television advertising: Revisiting the US-UK comparison. *International Journal of Advertising*, 20(4), 521-539.

Tranel, B. (1987). *The sounds of French: An introduction*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

- Trujillo, N. (1995). Machines, missiles, and men: Images of the male body on ABC's Monday Night Football. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 12, 403-423.
- Tse, D. K., Belk, R. W., & Zhou, N. (1989). Becoming a consumer society: A longitudinal and cross-cultural content analysis of print ads from Hong Kong, the People Republic of China, and Taiwan. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15(1), 457-472.
- Turner, E. D, Bounds, J., Hauser, D., Motsinger, S., Ozmore, D., & Smith, J. (1995). Television consumer advertising and the sports figure. *Sport Marketing Quarterly*, 4(1), 27-33.
- Ullman, S. (1960). *The principles of semantics* (2nd ed.). Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.
- Van Berzooijen, R. (1995). Sociocultural aspects of pitch differences between Japanese and Dutch women. *Language and Speech*, 13(3), 353-265.
- Vanden Bergh, B. G., & Katz, H. (1999). *Advertising principles: Choice, challenge, change*. Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books.
- Verkatesen, M., & Losco, J. (1975). Women in magazine ads. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 15(5), 49-54.
- Van Meurs, L. (1998). Zapp! A study on switching behavior during commercial breaks. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 38(1), 43-53.
- Van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist media studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Verdet, P., & Iturria, M. (1996). *T'as compris le coup?* Biarritz: J & D editions.
- Verhoeven, J. C. (2000). Some reflections on cross-cultural interviewing. In C. J. Pole, & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Cross-cultural case study* (pp. 1-20). Amsterdam: AI.

Viallon, P. (1996). *L'analyse du discours de la télévision*. Paris: PUF.

Vilar, E. (1972). *The manipulated man* (E. Borneman, Trans.). London: Abelard-Schuman Ltd.

Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Weber, M. (1949). *The methodology of the social sciences* (E. A. Shils, & H. A. Finch, Trans.). New York: Free Press.

Weigel, R. H., & Loomis, J. W. (1981). Television models of female achievement revisited: Some progress. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 11, 58-63.

Weiller, K. H., & Higgs, C. T. (1999). Television coverage of professional golf: A focus on gender. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, 8(1), 83-100.

Weinberger, M. G., & Spotts, H. E. (1989). A situational view of information content in TV advertising in the US and UK. *Journal of Marketing*, 53(1), 89-94.

Weiss, O. (1996). Media sport as a social substitution: Pseudosocial relations with sports figures, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 31(1), 109-118.

Wells, W. D. (1989). Lectures and dramas. In P. Cafferata, & A. Tybout (Eds.), *Cognitive and affective responses to advertising* (pp. 13-21). Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Wells, W., Burnett, J., & Moriarty, S. (1998). *Advertising principles and practice* (4th ed.). New York: Prentice Hall.

Wells, W., Burnett, J., & Moriarty, S. (2000). *Advertising principles and practice* (5th ed.). New York: Prentice Hall.

Wernick, A. (1991). *Promotional culture: Advertising, ideology and symbolic expression*. London: Sage Publications.

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1988). Discourse analysis and the identification of repertoires. In C. Antaki (Ed), *Analysing everyday explanation: A casebook of methods* (pp. 168-183). London: Sage Publications.

Whelean, I. (1995). *Modern feminist thought: From the second wave to 'post-feminism'*. New York: New York University Press.

Whitelock, J., & Chung, D. (1989). Cross-cultural advertising: An empirical study. *International Journal of Advertising*, 8, 291-310.

Whitelock, J., & Jackson, D. (1997). Women in TV advertising: A comparison between the UK and France. *European Business Review*, 97(6), 294-305.

Whitelock, J., & Rey, J. C. (1998). Cross-cultural advertising in Europe: An empirical survey of television advertising in France and the UK. *International Marketing Review*, 15(4), 257-276.

Wierzbicka, A. (1997). *Understanding cultures through their key words: English, Russian, Polish, German and Japanese*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Wiles, C. A., Wiles, J. A., & Tjernlund, A. (1996). The ideology of advertising: The United States and Sweden. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 36(3), 57-66.

Wilkinson, V. F. (1981). *The New Zealand way*. Christchurch, New Zealand: V.W. Publishing.

Williams, M. (1997). Crippled by geography? New Zealand nationalisms. In S. Murray (Ed.), *Not on any map: Essays on postcoloniality and cultural nationalism* (pp.19-42). Exeter, England: University of Exeter Press.

- Williams, R. (1988). *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. London: Fontana.
- Williamson, J. (1978). *Decoding advertisements: Ideology and meaning in advertising*. London: Marion Boyars.
- Winner, T. G. (1979). Some fundamental concepts leading to a semiotics of culture: An historical overview. In P. Winner, & J. Umiker-Sebeok (Eds.), *Semiotics of culture* (pp. 75-82). The Hague, Holland: Mouton Publishers.
- Winship, J. (1985). 'A girl needs to get street-wise': Magazines for the 1980s. *Feminist Review*, 21(winter), 25-46.
- Wolfe, R., & Barnett, S. (2001). *Kiwiana! The sequel*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books.
- Wyckham, R. G. (1984). The language of advertising: Copywriters versus pop grammarians. *International Journal of Advertising*, 3, 301-310.
- Yonnet, P. (1993). *Voyage au centre du malaise français: L'antiracisme et le roman national*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Zandpour, F., Chang, C., & Catalano, J. (1992). Stories, symbols, and straight talk: A comparative analysis of French, Taiwanese, and US TV commercials. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 32, 25-38.
- Zandpour, F., & Harich, K. R. (1996). Think and feel country clusters: A new approach to international advertising standardization. *International Journal of Advertising*, 15(4), 325-344.
- Zhang, Y., & Neelankavil, J. P. (1997). The influence of culture on advertising effectiveness in China and the USA: A cross-cultural study. *European Journal of Marketing*, 31(2), 134-149.

Zuckerman, M., & Driver, R. E. (1989). What sounds beautiful is good: The vocal attractiveness stereotype. *Journal of Nonverbal Behaviour*, 13(2), 67-82.