

How do Brands Affect National Identity?

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Abstract

The broad objective of this thesis is to extend understanding of how consumers use brands in ways that impact on their social selves and their connections with others, with a focus on the consumption of brand narratives. While brand narratives, in the general form of advertisements, are widely accepted as impacting on national identity by cultural theorists, a review of the relevant marketing and consumer research literature on brands, self and social identity and national identity demonstrates a lack of knowledge about national identity as it relates to brand experiences. It is proposed that there is a significant theoretical gap in the literature regarding how brands affect national identity. More particularly, consumers' lived experiences of brand and national identity represent a gap in the literature that is worthy of investigation. To address these gaps this thesis adopts an interpretive narrative approach to investigate the role that brand experiences play in national identity and to develop theory that expands our understanding of brands as experiential entities for use in national identity projects. A series of activities are conducted, including the generation of autobiographical life-history narratives, depth interviews with friendship pairs of consumers and the production of co-created narratives in response to familiar television advertisements, using a hermeneutic approach to analysis and sense making. The findings show that national identity is experienced by consumers via imagery and narratives of national identity provided by brand communications. Four different social processes, where consumers utilise brand resources to affect national identity were evident in the findings. These findings are presented in detail and discussed in relation to the literature and theory derived from several different disciplines. The study concludes that brands impact on the formation of one's national identity, and that this can occur without brands necessarily being experienced firsthand by the personal self. Through their stories, brands become active cultural agents of national identity. Brands are potentially more powerful resources than previously imagined.

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Overview.....	1
1.2 Background.....	1
1.3 Theoretical Framework.....	3
1.4 Research Objectives and Questions.....	5
1.5 Overview of Methodology.....	5
1.6 Importance and Potential Contributions.....	6
1.7 Chapter Summary.....	7
1.8 Structure of Thesis.....	8
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review.....	9
2.1 Introduction to Literature Review.....	9
2.2 Foundational Concepts.....	9
2.2.1 Consumers.....	9
2.2.2 Marketing Communications.....	10
2.3 Brand Constructs.....	12
2.3.1 Introduction to Brands Literature.....	12
2.3.2 Background to Brands.....	13
2.3.2.1 <i>Functional Dimensions of Brands</i>	14
2.3.2.2 <i>Symbolic Dimensions of Brands</i>	15
2.3.2.2 <i>Psychological Dimensions of Brands</i>	17
2.3.3 Contemporary Perspectives on Brands.....	19
2.3.3.1 <i>S-DL and Brand Value Creation</i>	19
2.3.3.2 <i>Experiential Dimensions of Brands</i>	20
2.3.3.3 <i>Social Model of Brand Creation</i>	23
2.3.3.4 <i>Brands as Narratives</i>	24
2.3.3.5 <i>Iconic Brands</i>	25
2.3.3.6 <i>Brand Culture Perspective</i>	27
2.3.4 Summary of Branding Literature.....	28
2.4 Self and Social Identity.....	28
2.4.1 Introduction to Self and Social Identity Literature.....	28

2.4.2	Self Concept and Self Identities.....	29
2.4.3	Brands, Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self.....	31
2.4.4	Evolving Resources Shaping Self and Identity.....	33
2.4.4.1	<i>Narratives and Identity</i>	34
2.4.4.2	<i>Myth and Identity</i>	35
2.4.4.3	<i>Nostalgia and Identity</i>	36
2.4.5	Social Selves, Tribes and Communities.....	37
2.4.6	Summary of Self and Social Identity.....	39
2.5	National Identity.....	40
2.5.1	Introduction to National Identity Literature.....	40
2.5.2	National Identity Definitions.....	40
2.5.2.1	<i>Conceptualising the Nation</i>	40
2.5.2.2	<i>Conceptualising National Identity</i>	42
2.5.3	Reproduction and Negotiation of National Identity.....	44
2.5.4	Acculturation and National Identity.....	47
2.5.5	Intergenerational National Identity Effects.....	48
2.5.5.1	<i>Families, Children and NID</i>	49
2.5.5.2	<i>School, Children and NID</i>	50
2.5.5.3	<i>Mass Media, Children and NID</i>	50
2.5.6	National Identity and National Cinema.....	51
2.5.7	Relevance of National Identity Construct.....	52
2.5.8	Nation and National Identity in Marketing and Advertising.....	56
2.5.8.1	<i>Nation Brands</i>	56
2.5.8.2	<i>Patriotism in Advertisements</i>	57
2.5.8.3	<i>Advertisement Country of Origin</i>	58
2.5.8.4	<i>National Identity in Advertisements</i>	59
2.5.8.5	<i>National Identity and Icons in New Zealand Advertising</i>	59
2.5.9	Linking National Identity and Brands.....	61
2.6	Summary of Literature Review.....	62
2.7	Research Questions.....	63

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology.....	65
3.1 Introduction to Methodology.....	65
3.2 Research Objectives and Questions.....	65
3.3 Methods.....	67
3.3.1 Overview of Methods.....	67
3.3.2 Development of National Identity Categorisation.....	67
3.3.2.1 <i>Myths</i>	68
3.3.2.2 <i>Collective Values and Rituals</i>	70
3.3.2.3 <i>Psychological Characteristics and National Stereotypes</i>	70
3.3.2.4 <i>Attachment to Place</i>	71
3.3.2.5 <i>Popular Symbols</i>	72
3.3.3 Brand Advertisement Selection.....	73
3.3.3.1 <i>Secondary Data on Brands</i>	74
3.3.4 Participant Selection Criteria.....	74
3.3.5 Participant Recruitment Strategy.....	76
3.3.6 Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Forms.....	78
3.3.7 Participant Compensation.....	78
3.3.8 Use of Two-part Interview Method.....	79
3.3.8.1 <i>Life History Narrative Interview</i>	80
3.3.8.2 <i>Friendship Pair Interviews</i>	81
3.3.8.3 <i>Interview Pretesting</i>	85
3.3.9 Logistical Details of Data Collection.....	86
3.3.9.1 <i>Research Journal</i>	87
3.3.9.2 <i>Member Checking Processes</i>	87
3.3.9.3 <i>Issues Relating to Data Collection</i>	89
3.3.9.4 <i>Issues Relating to Conversation Transcription</i>	90
3.3.10 Data Analysis.....	91
3.3.11 Narrative Analysis.....	92
3.3.12 Visual Rhetoric.....	93

3.4 Methodology	94
3.4.1 Discourse Analysis.....	95
3.5 Introspection	96
3.5.1 Guided Introspection.....	97
3.5.2 Interactive Introspection.....	97
3.5.3 Reflexivity within Research.....	99
3.5.4 Researcher Introspection.....	101
3.5.5 Abduction from Introspection.....	102
3.6 Theoretical Perspective	102
3.6.1 Hermeneutics.....	103
3.6.2 Introspection and Narrative Construction.....	107
3.7 Epistemology	108
3.8 Research Trustworthiness, Rigour and Quality	110
3.9 Summary of Methods Chapter	112
CHAPTER FOUR: Findings	115
4.1 Overview	115
4.2 Profiles of Research Participants	115
4.3 Raw Summaries of National Identity Themes	117
4.4 Key Themes of National Identity	117
4.5 Brand Ads and Experiences of NID Themes	119
4.6 Successfully Operationalising New Zealandness in Ads	139
4.7 Brands and New Zealandness	141
4.7.1 Brand Usage, Heritage and Nostalgia.....	142
4.7.2 Brand Reputation Linked to Brand New Zealand.....	143
4.7.3 Brand Ads and Place Imagery.....	144
4.7.4 Brand Ads and Kiwi Music.....	145
4.7.5 Brand Ads and NID Myths, Values and Practices.....	145
4.7.6 Brand Ads and New Zealand Celebrity Endorsers.....	146
4.7.7 Memorable Experiences Consuming Brand Ads.....	147
4.7.8 Brand Placement in Iconic New Zealand Movie.....	147
4.7.9 Brand Stories Imitate Life Experiences or Vice Versa?.....	148
4.8 Buying or Using Brands that have New Zealandness	148

4.8.1	Why Not Use or Buy Brands with New Zealandness?.....	149
4.8.2	Other Reasons for Buying or Using Brands.....	150
4.8.3	New Zealandness in Brands Affects Buying and Usage.....	152
4.8.3.1	<i>Iconic New Zealand Brands</i>	152
4.8.3.2	<i>Brand Rituals</i>	154
4.8.3.3	<i>Brands that Epitomise Brand New Zealand</i>	154
4.8.3.4	<i>Sentimental Attachment to Locally Owned Brands</i>	155
4.8.3.5	<i>Powerful Brand Sponsorships</i>	156
4.9	Social Processes: Linking People through Brands	157
4.9.1	Examining Brand Ads and Social Experiences.....	157
4.9.2	Brand Ads as Conversational Resources.....	159
4.9.3	Sharing Consumption of Brands.....	160
4.9.4	Mothers and Children Talking about Ads.....	161
4.9.5	Intergenerational Transfer of National Identity.....	163
4.9.6	Usable Past: Social Memories Using Brand Ad Stories.....	164
4.9.7	Sustaining National Identity Using Brand Ad Stories.....	165
4.9.8	Acculturating New Immigrants Using Brand Stories.....	169
4.9.9	Maintaining National Identity Boundaries.....	170
4.9.10	Competency and Performance of National Identity.....	170
4.10	Summary of Findings Chapter	172
CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion		173
5.1	Overview	173
5.2	Experiences of NID in Brand Marcoms	173
5.2.1	NID Myths in Brand Marcoms.....	174
5.2.2	NID and Values and Rituals in Brand Marcoms.....	175
5.2.3	NID and Psychological Characteristics in Brand Marcoms.....	176
5.2.4	NID and Attachment to Places in Brand Marcoms.....	178
5.2.5	NID and Popular Symbols in Brand Marcoms.....	179
5.2.6	Consumption of Brand Narratives and Images.....	180
5.2.7	Experiential Dimensions of Brands.....	180
5.2.8	NID Categorisation Framework Discussion.....	181
5.2.9	Answers to Research Question 1: How do consumers	

experience national identity in brand communications?.....	181
5.3 Social Processes Affecting NID through Brands.....	182
5.3.1 Discursive Reproduction and Negotiation of NID via Brands.....	182
5.3.2 Intergenerational Transfer of NID via Brands.....	184
5.3.3 Acculturation and NID via Brands.....	185
5.3.4 Maintenance of NID Boundaries via Brands.....	186
5.3.5 Social Processes and Linking Value.....	187
5.3.6 Answers to Research Question 2: What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?.....	189
5.4 National Identity and Brand Marcoms.....	189
5.4.1 Generation Specific National Identity.....	191
5.5 Brand Consumption Rituals.....	192
5.6 Iconicity and Brands with Consumption Heritage.....	194
5.7 Narratives, Nostalgia and the Usable Past.....	196
5.8 Methodological Issues.....	199
5.5 Summary of Discussion Chapter.....	201
CHAPTER SIX: Conclusions.....	203
6.1 Overview.....	203
6.2 Conclusions.....	203
6.3 Theoretical Contributions.....	207
6.4 Methodological Contributions.....	210
6.5 Implications for Practitioners.....	213
6.6 Limitations.....	216
6.7 Future Research.....	218
6.8 Final Conclusions.....	220
APPENDICES.....	223
REFERENCE LIST.....	321

List of Tables

Table 1. Abridged Summary of Brand Eras, Relevant Literature, and Fundamental Ideas.....	14
Table 2. Definitions of Nation.....	41
Table 3. Kiwi Personality Types.....	61
Table 4. Use of Discourse Analysis in Marketing Studies.....	96
Table 5. Summary of Research Methodology.....	113
Table 6. Profiles of Research Participant Pairs.....	116
Table 7. Key Themes of New Zealand National Identity.....	118

List of Figures

Figure 1. Conceptual Model of the Research.....	4
Figure 2. Structure of Thesis.....	8
Figure 3. Social Model of Brand Creation.....	23
Figure 4. Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self.....	32
Figure 5. Summary of Principles for Interpretive Research.....	105

List of Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Guide.....	223
Appendix 2. Consumer Participant Information Sheet.....	227
Appendix 3. Consumer Consent Form.....	229
Appendix 4. Participant Donation to Charity Form.....	231
Appendix 5. Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement.....	233
Appendix 6. Scripts and Production Details for Brand Advertisements.....	235
Appendix 7. Raw Key Theme Summaries of Autobiographical Narratives.....	255
Appendix 8. National Identity Categories Illustrated with Text Units.....	301

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter provides an introduction to the thesis by outlining the background which motivates this study, and dealing with why the topic is important. It gives the main purpose of the study, introduces aspects of the theoretical framework relevant to the research, describes the research objectives and research questions, overviews the methodology, briefly summarises the main contributions of the research, and details the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Background

Despite the fact that there is little mention of nations or national identity in marketing literature, it is striking to note that advertising is regarded as playing a central role in conceptualising the nation (see, for example, Askew and Wilk 2002; Frosh 2007; Millard, Riegel, and Wright 2002; Moreno 2003; Prideaux 2009). Writers in the fields of cultural studies, political science, journalism and mass-communication are in no doubt: “*advertisements sell more than products; they sell values, ways of life, conceptions of self and ‘Other’*” and ideologies including capitalist consumerism, imperialism, racism and patriarchy (Hogan 2005, p.193). Given that brands are typically the sponsors of such advertisements¹ and that brands are partially consumed and experienced via their advertisements, the question is asked, what is the relationship between brands and national identity?

Branding is an area of study which is theoretically underdeveloped (Keller 2003). Brands are known to be used by consumers for purposes other than the persuasive and mostly commercial ones intended by brand owners (Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998; O'Donohoe 1994; Ritson and Elliott 1999). There is strong evidence to suggest that consumption of

¹ The terms commercial, advertisement and ad are used interchangeably

brands and the cultural symbolism surrounding brands has a role to play in the expression of self-identity and in fostering community (Cova 1997; Firat and Dholakia 1998; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2005; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). However, while there is a body of research relating to the role of brands in so-called brand communities (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001) there are very few studies, apart from Kates (2004), addressing how brands impact on other forms of community—and there is little to suggest how brands affect national identity.

There are calls in the marketing literature for research to develop a greater understanding of brands (Ballantyne and Aitken 2007; Brodie, Glynn, and Little 2006; Jevons 2007) especially using new perspectives (and those relating to consumers' experiences rather than producers' intentions). This study takes up that challenge by taking a consumer research approach to the study of brands. That is to say, the central preoccupation of this thesis is with brand consumption, or more particularly, with consumer experiences of brand consumption. By taking a consumer focus, both the social experiences of brand consumption and national identity may be examined in connection with each other.

National identity is a construct that is little studied in the field of consumer research. Despite this, a review of the literature in several specialist journals devoted to the study of nations and identity points to numerous contemporary contexts where national identity is being actively negotiated, and is relevant and important to consumers. While processes such as globalisation suggest that consumers increasingly have an external focus and a global outlook (see, for example, Levitt 1983), these very processes are partly responsible for an apparent increase in the importance and significance of local identities. As one overarching type of local identity, national identity is a creditable and relevant contemporary form of personal and community identification. The literature suggests that a well developed and strong sense of national identity has the power to be a productive and enabling force within society (Aldridge 2002). In a number of nations, administrations have made defining national identity a key issue. Thus, this research has direct relevance to government policy makers as they address strategic priorities of advancing national identity.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Prior research on consumer identity and consumption draws on interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives to address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace and cultural meanings. Within this Consumer Culture Theory tradition (Arnould and Thompson 2005), the interplay between identities and brands is modelled in a seminal article by Elliott and Wattanasuwan (1998). Drawing heavily on sociology and social identity theory, their model of ‘Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self’ conceptualises brands as symbolic resources used in identity projects. Lived experiences of brands (brand purchase and usage experiences) and mediated brand experiences (brand advertisement and other marketing communications consumption) both play a part in the symbolic project of the self (Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998). Their model conceptualises brands as symbolic resources that impact on the individual self and contribute to the identification and realisation of social selves through conversations.

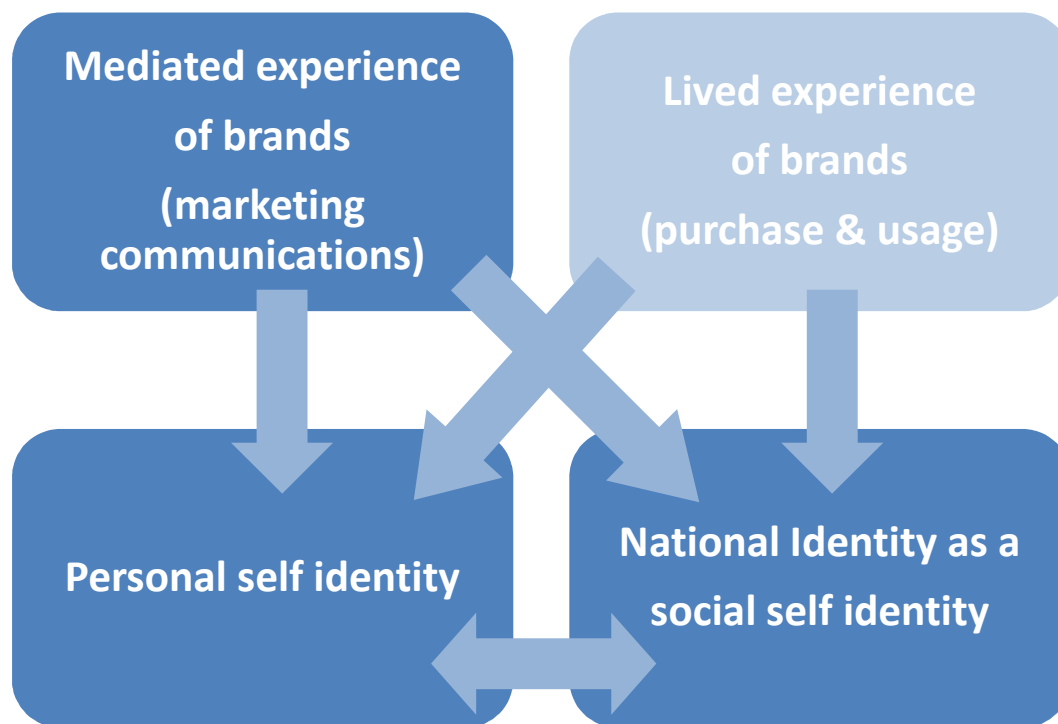
The strength of Elliott and Wattanasuwan’s (1998) model is in acknowledging the integrated impact of brand stories (provided by marketing communications) and supplementary brand consumption experiences on personal and social selves. What this thesis seeks to do, is to concentrate on one part of their model, taking into account the social uses aspect of advertising (Ritson and Elliott 1999), and focusing particularly on brand consumption experience that impacts on the social self. The idea is to further explore the brand fostered ‘communitas’ (Arnould and Price 1993) generated between those with shared social selves—Cova (1997) calls this ‘linking value’—as a result of various brand consumption experiences. Such an approach would extend understanding of brand impact on the social self, taking into account the conceptualisation of the social self as shared, consensual and normative, independent of the personal self. Of particular importance is the expectation that brands, through their marketing communications, directly impact on ‘others’ and on the formation of one’s social identities without being experienced firsthand by the personal self. This thesis addresses the social aspect of social identity, considering consumers in a social context rather than the more commonly studied individual context.

The conceptualisation of national identity in this thesis draws on self concept, collective identity and social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979). National identity is a form of

social self. As a socially constructed phenomenon, national identity is characterised by the belief that there are commonalities which unite members of a nation (Kirloskar-Steinbach 2004). Those commonalities are not simply shared culture; national identity is also the *feeling* of belonging (Grimson 2010).

The literature informing this thesis has been selected to highlight elements of the conceptual model set out in Figure 1. The conceptualisation of shared national identity linking people together is combined with the conceptualisation of brands as resources used in identity projects. Thus, the focus of this thesis is on consumer experiences of brand marketing communications as a particular resource for the construction of national identity, and as playing a role in social processes that link consumers together in national communities.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model of the Research



1.4 Research Objectives and Questions

A review of the relevant literature on brands, self and social identity and national identity demonstrates a lack of knowledge about national identity as it relates to brand experiences. It is proposed that there is a significant theoretical gap in the literature regarding how brands affect national identity. More particularly, consumers' lived experiences of brand and national identity represent a gap in the literature that is worthy of investigation. The gaps in the literature lead to the exposition of two specific linked research objectives:

1. To understand the role that brand experiences play in national identity.
2. To develop theory that expands our understanding of brands as experiential entities for use in national identity projects.

These objectives are addressed through two linked research questions:

1. How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?
2. What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?

1.5 Overview of Methodology

The aim of this research is to study consumer narratives relating to lived experiences of brand and national identity, using an interpretivist theoretical perspective. The methodology in this exploratory consumer research is essentially qualitative since the aim is to gain rich contextualised descriptions that facilitate understanding of consumer experiences and of social processes. The research objective of understanding the role that brand experiences play in national identity is addressed in this study through a series of activities which includes the generation of autobiographical life-history narratives, depth interviews with friendship pairs of consumers and the production of co-created narratives in response to familiar television advertisements, using a hermeneutic approach to analysis and sense making. Inter-connected communal and singular constructions of national identity are produced by twenty middle aged female consumers over a period of months. In addition, narratives are produced by other people acting in various roles, including the researcher and her supervisor; Film, Television and Media expert panellists; various advertising industry practitioners; and, friends and colleagues engaged during the snowball recruiting process. Finally, another type of narrative collection is employed, using a member checking and follow-up process, where reflections on

previously generated narratives are elicited, adding to the depth and range of experiences available for analysis. Interviews are digitally audio-taped and transcribed. Subsequent analysis is facilitated using NVivo8 qualitative data management software.

The study of consumers' lived experiences of brand and national identity is conducted with a focus on 'everyday' for-profit goods and services brands within the New Zealand national context. This is a setting where national identity is of contemporary importance to government policy makers (as will be discussed later) and is a matter of general public interest. It is intended that the findings will be theoretically generalisable and have relevance in other national settings.

1.6 Importance and Potential Contributions

This research takes a fresh approach to the primary field of study, branding, and is informed by theory derived from several different disciplines. Fundamentally, this is a study of how consumers use brands for their own purposes. The importance of studying what consumers do with brands has been emphasised by the Association for Consumer Research for some years. In synthesising the ACR conference first special session on 'Consumers and Brand Meaning: Brands, the Self and Others,' John Sherry states "*Business students and academic researchers need to pay more attention to what consumers do with brands*" (Muñiz 1997, p.309).

When approaching this area of research, which has been identified as important for the ongoing development of brand knowledge and consumption phenomena, the researcher has chosen to utilise a strategy of "*poach[ing] and cross-fertiliz[ing] ideas, methods, and contexts from a variety of theoretical conversations that differentially address core topics*" (Arnould and Thompson 2005, p.869). The importance of this approach is in utilising established theory and making theoretical links to well researched areas, such national cinema and social identity. In this new area of enquiry into national identity such extant theory provides a strong framework in which to work.

The potential contribution of this study encompasses a range of theoretical issues, including the development of theory regarding brand experiences affecting national identity and feelings of belonging through specific social processes; conceptualisation of brands as repositories of national stories and as active agents of national identity; expansion of iconic

brands conceptualisation to include family consumption heritage and intergenerational usage influences; elaboration of Elliott and Wattanasuwan's (1998) model, specifically relating to brand consumption experiences that impact on the social self; elaboration of what consumers do with brands; elaboration of how brand consumption rituals affect national identity; confirmation that imagery and narratives of national identity are provided by brand resources; providing evidence that national identity is experienced by consumers of brand imagery and narratives; providing evidence that foreign brands can provide local national identity narratives and imagery; providing evidence that brand marcoms function as a script for consumer experience; and, generation of a five part categorisation of national identity framework.

This potential methodological contribution of this study includes the articulation of theory building using introspective narrative methods; the development of a two-part interview procedure and the use of friendship pairs in-depth interviews. This study also has potential implications for practitioners and policy makers. There are prospects of providing insights for brand owners into leveraging brands; conclusions for brand marcoms creators, regarding the potential benefits of utilising socio-cultural readings of brands; recommendations for brand owners to consider aspects of national identity and the power of their brand stories used in other markets; and, insights for 100% Pure New Zealand² campaigns. Finally, implications for Governments, policy makers and institutions looking toward nation building exercises are expected when the role of brands as active cultural agents of national identity is recognised.

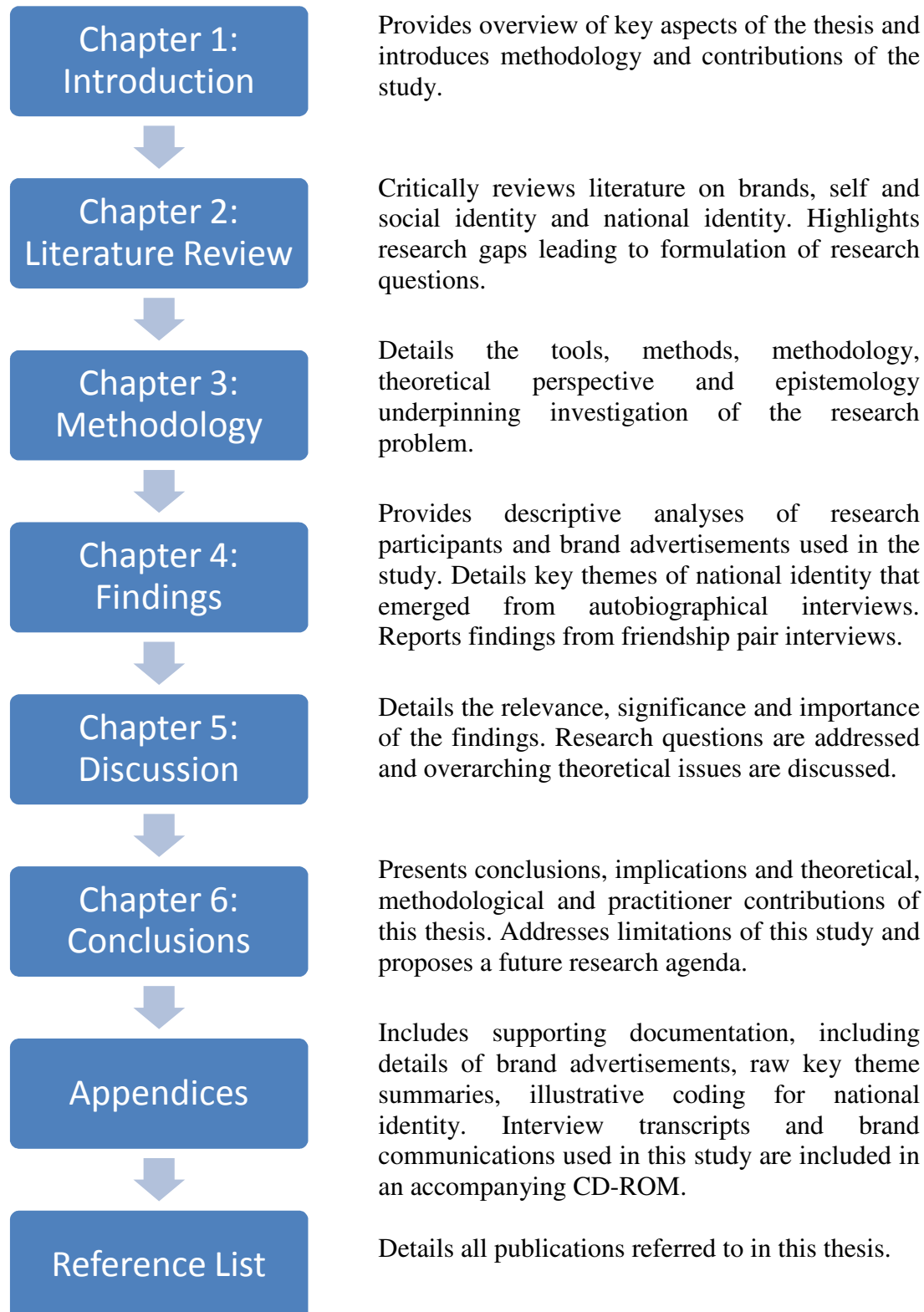
1.7 Chapter Summary

An outline of relevant theoretical issues in the literature has been presented to frame the study of consumers' lived experiences of brand and national identity within the New Zealand national context. The chapter also provides a brief summary of the research approach, objectives and questions and the consequent contributions that the research makes. The structure of the thesis is also laid out on the following page.

² 100% Pure New Zealand is the ongoing marketing campaign used by Tourism New Zealand over the past 10 years

1.8 Structure of Thesis

Figure 2. Structure of Thesis



Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction to Literature Review

The chapter that follows reviews three major topic areas pertinent to consumers' lived experiences of brands and national identity: brands; self and social identity; national identity. Preceding these topics is a brief exposition of foundational concepts that underpin this study. The review aims to summarise relevant literature and demonstrate the need for further research into the role that brand experiences play in national identity, and in the understanding of brands as experiential entities in the context of the ongoing creation of national identity. Two existing models that are pertinent to understanding social negotiation of brand meaning and symbolic projects of the self (as they relate to brand consumption) provide a framework for the development of the study of brands as they affect national identity. The chapter closes with a statement of two research questions.

2.2 Foundational Concepts

2.2.1 Consumers

In this thesis the term consumer is conceptualised as a positive construct, building on the assertion that consumers are people who live in a specific social and historical situation "*in a co-dependent relationship with commercial culture*" (Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007, p.4). A broader conceptualisation of consumption, beyond the narrow, reductionist logic of the market, posits that consumers consume in a 'lifeworld' and social space beyond the reach of the market (Firat and Venkatesh 1995). The consumer is understood as the co-creator (producer and consumer) of symbols, meanings and experiences through activities such as viewing, consuming, producing and recreating within their social milieu. Cova et al. (2007, p.4) also suggest that "*consumers are consumers in that they primarily take commercial*

identities as important parts of themselves and their collectives, that they use these identities to relate to themselves, to other people and to the world around them.” This conceptualisation of the consumer, not constructed by the market, but as an active constructor within society underpins the literature review and the research questions which follow. Various dimensions of this conceptualisation are captured in more detail in later sections of the literature review.

2.2.2 Marketing Communications

Marketing communications (marcoms) is an all-encompassing term that includes traditional forms of promotion—advertising, sales promotions, personal selling, public relations etc—and other (mostly digital) tools—utilising social media and user generated content, brand websites, advergames, SMS marketing, e-mail based viral marketing etc. In this thesis television brand advertising is particularly highlighted and utilised in fieldwork because it is an easily observable, ubiquitous and deliberately constructed form of marketing communication. However, the reader should bear in mind that all types of brand marcoms, such as those listed above, are implicated in answering the question of how brands affect national identity.

Conceptualisations of the role of individuals participating in advertising communication processes have been dominated by a single model of communication whose limitations have become more apparent in recent research. In the late 1940s Shannon and Weaver proposed a model of communication where messages are transferred from the sender to receiver, in an essentially one-way path, disrupted by noise and by potentially mismatched encoding and decoding processes (refer to Belch and Belch 2001, p.139). However, the underlying metaphors of transmission and receipt, while having popular currency, do not accurately capture the complex processes involved in advertising. Advertisements do not work as parcels of information that can be delivered to a passive audience.

Insights into advertising and communication were obtained from cultural anthropology when McCracken (1986) advanced the view that advertising works by bringing the product and a representation of the culturally constituted world together in an advertisement. In his theoretical account of the structure and movement of cultural meaning McCracken (1986) suggested that meaning flows to goods and on to the consumer aided by advertising and the

fashion system. The advertising viewer completes the work of the advertising producer and is the ‘final author’ of the brand advertisement (McCracken 1986), acting as bricoleur (Lévi-Strauss 1962). This type of thinking and development of ideas involves manipulating and making resourceful use of materials, irrespective of their original purpose. In summary, the meaning and interpretation approach is especially insightful because it moves away from the notion of information and stimulation (McQuarrie and Mick 1996).

Later studies of advertising audience competency and literacy highlighted other weaknesses in traditional models of advertising. The model of advertising literacy proposed by Ritson and Elliott (1995) suggests that viewers work with advertisements to produce their own interpretation that may not exactly mirror the intentions of the advertiser. In particular, Ritson and Elliott (1995, p.1036) present a view of the advertising audience “*as not passive, homogenous receivers of ads containing pre-specifiable, intended meanings but as active co-creators of meaning who display an ability to read, co-create then act on polysemic meanings from ads that they view*”. The viewer is not given meaning but actualises the meaning (presupposing that they make assumptions and have the knowledge to make texts meaningful) (Mick and Buhl 1992). Furthermore, from one advertisement may emerge multiple different interpretations, experienced by individuals as they consume ads on different occasions or, by different audience groups as they employ relevant and specific sub-cultural knowledge (Puntoni, Schroeder, and Ritson 2010). The process of advertising meaning co-creation, mediated by the influences of the individual and social realm (including the editorial or programming media context), is dependent on the person’s unique life experiences and plans and the uses a person has for the interpreted meaning (Mick and Buhl 1992; Puntoni et al. 2010).

In the post-modern era, consumers experience television advertising as a fragmented collage of images and narratives interpolated into an incredible variety of programming. By channel switching, subscribing to satellite and cable services, fast forwarding through pre-recorded shows, replaying feeds from simultaneously recorded channels and accessing programme content via the web, the consumer has an almost infinite range of possible contexts in which to view advertisements. However, while there is much consumer information about access to programmes, advertising continues to be unpredictable and unknowable—a veritable lucky dip. Furthermore, the advertising viewing context “*unintentionally juxtaposes the*

irreconcilable” (Grenz 1996, p.35) and blurs boundaries between times and places. With so much personal and contextual variation, it is clear to see how consumer experiences and interpretations of advertising are idiosyncratic and uncontrollable.

In this thesis advertising is conceptualised not just as a type of communication that does things to people, but as a narrative and visual cultural resource that people do things with—that they consume. Most importantly, consumers have a use for, and an engagement with advertising, based on conditions independent of the advertising medium and the creative strategy. In the past brand advertising has commonly been conceptualised as a highly motivated type of communication designed to enhance sales of certain products or services. Much of the marketing literature has focused on individuals perceived as customers. Advertising researchers have studied consumer responses to advertisements as if people were without identities and whose sole purpose in interpreting advertising was to judge brands (McQuarrie and Mick 1992). However, as Ritson and Elliott (1999, p.274) suggest, *“irrespective of its managerially relevant role as a promoter of products, advertising represents a phenomenon that is often consumed in its own right and its exploration and conceptualisation should be regarded “as an end in itself” within consumer research (Holbrook 1995, p.15)”*. Nevertheless, relatively few researchers have studied consumers of advertising as interpreters with non-purchase intentions (Folkes 2002). In summary, brand marcoms are interpreted and used by people in their own ways for their own purposes.

2.3 Brand Constructs

2.3.1 Introduction to Brands Literature

“Branding is a core activity of capitalism” (Holt 2006b, p.300) and brands are central to scholarship in marketing. Yet, there are calls in the literature for a greater understanding of brands (Ballantyne and Aitken 2007; Brodie et al. 2006; Jevons 2007). As Keller (2003) and others suggest, there are significant gaps in our knowledge of branding. The section that follows provides a general overview of branding scholarship with the aim of exposing the dominant foundational concepts. It is followed by an analysis of contemporary perspectives on brands, with particular emphasis on brands research that has a consumer rather than managerial orientation. Overall this brands section highlights that the branding literature is underdeveloped with respect to consumer experiences of brands, and is especially lacking in

studies that consider consumers in a social context (including, interacting with their viewing companions, as discussed by Puntoni et al. 2010) rather than the more commonly studied individual context.

2.3.2 Background to Brands

Firstly, what are brands? As the New York Times headlined recently, brand can be a noun (*Google*), an adjective (*Google search engine*), or more powerfully, a verb (*to Google*) (Cohen 2009). Marketing practitioner definitions of brand typically rely on traditional producer economics concepts of reputation signals; for example, the American Marketing Association (2005) defines a brand as “*a name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller’s good or service as distinct from those of other sellers*”. This underpins the ideas of differentiation and brand equity, and the concept of brands as valuable assets to be managed. Other disciplines approach the study of brands from different angles; sociology—brands as trust mechanisms; psychology—brands as heuristic frames; and cultural disciplines—brands as symbols (Holt 2006a).

The scope of branding is extensive. Brands are ubiquitous. The concepts of brands have been applied to goods and services, organisations, people, places, events and ideas, in both profit and not-for-profit settings. Along with fast moving consumer goods, charities and cities, branding has also been utilised by individuals—Tom Peters (1999) coined the term *Brand You* when writing about the ‘employee self’ gaining competitive advantage and surviving in the changing labour market. Yet, despite being pervasive, brands are not usually considered to affect society in any significant way. Certainly, brands are not commonly credited with contributing to productive and enabling forces within society, and in the popular media little is heard about any positive contributions that brands make to society in general.

The concept of brands has evolved since it was first introduced into the marketing literature in the early 1900s (Merz, He, and Vargo 2009). Various marketing scholars have offered classification schemas addressing the components of brands, and definitions of how brands are conceptualised in the literature (see, for example, Jevons 2007; Merz et al. 2009; Stern 2006). An abridged version of the summary of brand eras, relevant literature, and fundamental ideas constructed by Merz et al. (2009) is provided in Table 1 below. As this and other classification systems suggest, there is broad agreement on brands having dimensions

that are functional and symbolic, with the label of ‘psychological dimensions’ accommodating most of the other constructs. The sub-sections that follow outline key brand dimensions using this three-part rubric.

Table 1. Abridged Summary of Brand Eras, Relevant Literature, and Fundamental Ideas (source, Merz et al. 2009, p.331)

Timeline and Key Literature	Fundamental Ideas
1900s - 1930s: Individual Goods-Focus Brand Era Copeland (1923); Low and Fullerton (1994); Strasser (1989)	Brands as Identifiers
1930s - 1990s: Value-Focus Brand Era <i>*Functional Value-Focus Branding</i> Brown (1950); Jacoby, Olson and Haddock (1971); Jacoby, Szybillo and Busato-Schach (1977); Park, Jaworski and MacInnis (1986) <i>*Symbolic Value-Focus Branding</i> Gardner and Levy (1955); Goffman (1959/2006); Levy (1959)	Brands as Functional Images
	Brands as Symbolic Images
1990s - 2000: Relationship-Focus Brand Era <i>*Customer-Firm Relationship Focus</i> Aaker (1991); Blattberg and Deighton (1996); Kapferer (1992); Keller (1993) <i>*Customer-Brand Relationship Focus</i> Aaker (1997); Fournier (1998) Gobé (2001) <i>*Firm-Brand Relationship Focus</i> Berry (2000); de Chernatony (1999); Gilly and Wolfinbarger (1998); King (1991)	Brands as Knowledge
	Brands as Relationship Partners
	Brands as Promise
2000 and Forward: Stakeholder-Focus Brand Era Ballantyne and Aitken (2007); Ind and Bjerke (2007); Jones (2005); McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig (2002); Muñiz and O’Guinn (2001); Muñiz and Schau (2005)	Brands as Dynamic and Social Processes

2.3.2.1 Functional Dimensions of Brands

One of the most straightforward aspects of brands is the use as a differentiating device for the purposes of identification (see, for example, de Chernatony and McDonald 1992; Kotler 1980), and as a legal identifier (Kapferer 1997). Brand differentiation grew out of the need to distinguish between competing commodity items—hence, the use of the word brand in animal husbandry (as a mark used to establish identity or proof of ownership) has relevance

in the marketing context. Brand also fulfils a role certifying product functionality—for example *Intel inside* provides assurance that computer systems which carry the brand are powered by the latest technology. A linked role of brands is to provide a sustainable means of communicating values and consequently, to maintain competitive advantage over the long term (Jevons 2007).

2.3.2.2 Symbolic Dimensions of Brands

There is a well established literature on the symbolic role of consumer goods (see, Belk 1988; Bourdieu 1994; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981), and further literature that specifically conceptualises brands as inherently symbolic, starting with Levy's (1959) landmark article *Symbols for Sale*. At its simplest, the brand is a signifier of identity. Brands offer symbolism, which implicitly involves communications and interactions between consumers and brands. This also implies consumer interpretation, associations and perceptions of the symbolism and therefore also allows for interactions between consumers and other consumers.

The meanings assigned by consumers to brands perform a major function in key social and psychological activities. Consumption is essentially a symbolic activity (Douglas and Isherwood 1979) and brands are consumed, in part at least, for the role they play in mediating and communicating meaning such as identity formation, the maintenance of kin relations, belongingness and class structure (Jackson 2004). This type of social signalling, as manifested by conspicuous consumption, was first reported by Veblen (1899/1998). He noted that the social significance represented by using, wearing or eating/drinking a product overshadowed the traditional use value. Symbolic social signalling can also be observed in everyday activities, such as drinking a favoured brand of beer with friends (Pettigrew 2002) and in consumption rituals, such as those observed at special occasions like weddings (Otnes and Scott 1996). Image management through consumption is maintained through scripted behaviours that hold special meaning for the participants and unique consumption practices ranging from gift giving to the use/wearing of particular brands, objects and clothing (Otnes and Scott 1996).

The brands and goods one consumes help define the self and therefore can help in the quest to be someone different and to be part of a group (Schouten and McAlexander 1995). The

depth and power of a consumed brand's symbolic meaning within a social group can be seen when teenagers insist on wearing particular branded trainers that symbolise their desired personality, characteristics and reference group affiliation (Chaplin et al. 2005; Elliott 1994). Car brands have highly developed symbolic meanings that confer a sense of social status, sexual prowess, personal power and freedom on the car owner/driver (Jackson 2004). Similarly, in sub-cultures of consumption, including the often cited Harley-Davidson owners group (HOG), brand consumers authenticate their identity by performing a role and sharing experiences within a particular community of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander 1995).

The phenomenon of brand community, as theorised by Muñiz and O'Guinn (2001), has become one of the most widely reported and influential studies in marketing and consumer research in recent times. Brand community is conceptualised as being a special type of community based on social relationships that arise as the result of shared attachments to a brand (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001). Groups of individual consumers who have similar experiences and emotions, and form some kind of interconnected community, have also been referred to as postmodern tribes (Cova 1997). A more detailed discussion of communities and the linkages between individuals fostered by brands is presented later in this chapter.

The symbolic properties of brands and non-branded goods are not stable because meaning evolves according to context. Consumer researchers indicate that the meanings consumers ascribe to brands are not just the result of a projected brand identity (Ligas and Cotte 1999; Muñiz 1997; Oakenfull et al. 2000; Underwood 2003); there are differences across social and geographic locations so that "*brands become inscribed with the local meanings associated with a community or social grouping*" (Kates and Goh 2003, p.60). Kates and Goh (2003, p.66) illustrate this fact, noting that Harley-Davidson "*is consumed by multiple social groupings—Dykes on Bikes, Outlaws, Rich Urban Bikers and Moms and Pops*"—that realise different brand images and inscribe different meanings on the brand. In referring to studies of gays and lesbians, Kates (2006) further asserts that brands can assist communities other than those whose focus is consumption, helping in the outward expression and celebration of key values. Brand meaning evolves through interaction with others in a community, by way of a variety of social and institutional processes and relations.

2.3.2.3 *Psychological Dimensions of Brands*

Much academic research on consumers and brands addresses the psychological role of brands and the mental processes and behaviours that relate to brands. In this context brands are conceptualised in a number of ways—as a short hand, simplifying device or heuristic cue (Maheswaran, Mackie, and Chaiken 1992) to assist the establishment of relevant memories and associations (Keller 2003), which ultimately reduce consumer risk during selection and purchase processes; as entities that aspire to attain exclusive, prominent and positive meaning (Kapferer 1997) that influence the minds of buyers (Nedungadi 1990); and as a means of value creation and delivery. Brands are mechanisms through which consumers form a sense of trust and belonging (Arvidsson 2005). Other psychological dimensions of brands include the concepts of brand equity, brand personality, brand image, brand identity and brand relationships and these are discussed next.

The term brand equity has been used in the advertising industry since the 1980's to denote the value consumers place on a brand relative to others (Barwise 1993). Aaker's (1991) landmark article outlined five components of brand equity—brand loyalty, name awareness, perceived quality, brand associations in addition to perceived quality, and intellectual properties such as trademarks etc. High levels of brand equity may reflect the ability of a mature brand to spawn successful brand extensions (Aaker and Keller 1990). From a financial point of view, brand equity is a measure of the value of a brand to a firm, arising from positive associations and consumer recognition (Aaker 1992). Although brand equity is intangible, it may be assessed according to relatively higher selling prices (and lower price sensitivity) compared to competitors, and/or measures of positive attitudes. Brand equity research generally avoids any consideration of the ways that brands are appropriated by consumers for their own purposes.

Brand personality sums up the unique interior psychological traits of a brand as if it was an animate being (Stern 1993). Marcoms and packaging reveal what kind of 'person' a brand would be if it were human. The quality of the connection a consumer has with a brand-as-person depends on the personality of the brand—the personality provides depth, feelings and liking to the relationship (Aaker 1996). Since contact with others plays an essential part in the lives of consumers, a brand with a distinctive personality might play some useful part in meeting human needs for connections. The brand as a friend might be exciting and dangerous

or, like a different friend, staid but utterly reliable. The assumption made by marketing practitioners is that strong brand personalities foster brand loyalty since friendships imply commitments; feeling 'at home' with a brand engenders a level of ownership and pride leading to a stronger relationship; deeper relationships imply greater levels of emotion and trust in a brand.

Consumers develop multi-dimensional and personal connections with brands which impact on the success of a brand. A logical extension of the brand personality concept is the brand relationship. One metaphor used to conceptualise the consumer brand connection is the personal partnership. Fournier's (1998) landmark paper championed the use of relationship theory for understanding the roles brands have in the lives of consumers. Fournier conceptualised a range of one-to-one active consumer-brand relationships, allied to human relationships, ranging from marriages to obsessive emotional dependencies. She posited that the metaphor of a relationship is strongest when applied to the perceived goal compatibility between the two partners in the brand-self relationship. Fournier's (1998, p.367) interviewees made sense of their daily life by fostering relationships with brands that satisfied "*abstracted, goal-derived and experiential*" needs.

An alternative metaphor for the relationship and interactions between brands and consumers was proposed by Heilbrunn (1995), who explored the role of brands as characters, equivalent to dramatis personae in literary texts. His work, based on the brand personality literature, suggests that the various stages of interaction and experience with a brand operate like narrative in a story, where the role of the brand is, for example, as a hero or helper to the consumer. An extension of the notion of brand-as-a-character is embedded in the concept of the 'lovemark', where consumers have emotionally charged connections with brands, that are, like romantic relationships, mysterious, sensual and intimate (Roberts 2004). Consumers not only trust the brand, and forgive its failings but they feel loyalty beyond reason (Beckmann 2006).

Brand image is a term that, according to several authors (Dobni and Zinkhan 1990; Reynolds and Gutman 1984), refers to a variety of understandings regarding the mental picture the consumer has of the brand. Early studies used the term interchangeably to refer to brand symbolism, meanings or messages, cognitive or psychological elements of the brand and the

personification of the brand. However, the various constructs of brand image and brand personality are poorly conceptualised and operationalised, according to Azoulay and Kapferer (2003), and are merely part of a larger, more broad-reaching construct of brand identity. Azoulay and Kapferer (2003) proposed a model of a six sided prism to represent brand identity, with the internal and external facets incorporating physical qualities, personality, culture, relationships, reflections and self-image. However, such models, which have emerged from researchers focused on brand strategy and management, do not account for the role of brands in consumer lives.

2.3.3 Contemporary Perspectives on Brands

An analysis of contemporary perspectives on brands reveals a number of new threads of thought being woven together. Brand value creation has become a new area of interest, particularly influenced by the Service-Dominant logic (S-DL) proposed by Vargo and Lusch (2004). New fields of consumer enquiry have emerged with respect to experiential and social dimensions of brand consumption, brand creation and brand meaning. Scholars such as Cova, Elliott, Arnould, Thompson, Muñiz and O'Guinn have highlighted the value derived from brand consumption experiences and how consumers actively rework and transform symbolic meanings encoded in brands for their own purposes. Researchers with grounding in other disciplines have offered fresh insights by applying, for example, historical analysis and literary theory to the study of brands (see Stern 2006). Brands have increasingly been conceptualised as narratives. In the same vein, Holt (2004) conceptualised iconic brands as deriving their power from cultural myths and stories. Indeed, the importance of cultural, social and historical contexts have been recognised as critical to brand enquiry (see Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006). These new threads of scholarship are analysed in more detail below.

2.3.3.1 S-DL and Brand Value Creation

A review of recent conference and working papers points to the subject of brand value creation and destruction being investigated in a wide range of contexts, including B2B and service brands, with more interest than ever on corporate brands. Brand value creation, or co-creation, is a developing field of study, which received a kick-start from the initial S-DL proposal (see Vargo and Lusch 2004), although as Brodie et al. (2006) claim, S-DL pays little

attention to branding. One of the basic ideas of S-DL is that the customer is always a co-creator of value, in contrast to traditional views that value is created in the manufacturing process and embedded in a good. Jones (2005) builds on this and addresses the realisation that brand value is a diverse construct derived from a variety of important relationships with stakeholders, such as distribution partners, suppliers, employees, managers, governments, NGOs, media, consumers and competitors, and affected by public opinion.

In critiquing Vargo and Lusch's thesis, Schembri suggests that the S-DL is underpinned by "*rationalistic philosophy, which inadequately accommodates the experiential meaning of services for consumers*" (Schembri 2006, p.381). She goes on to propose that researchers should focus on the customer's experience as a starting point for a new service orientation within marketing (Schembri 2006). In an even more broad ranging assessment of the S-DL, Peñaloza and Venkatesh stress that value is "*constituted by marketers and consumers in their activities and discourses via an enacted process, a social construction that takes place prior to, during and after the actual exchange and use(s) take place*" (2006, p.303).

In summary, two points arise from this sub-section: 1) the brand value creation perspective does not impact significantly on the issues of brands and national identity central to this thesis. 2) brands and markets are both socially constructed and the socially situated experience of brand consumption is a research area worthy of further examination.

2.3.3.2 Experiential Dimensions of Brands

The general subject of consumer brand experiences has gained popularity in the past 25 years and an influential argument put forward by Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) proposed that subjective consumption experiences are a worthy subject of research—the experiential view takes account of hedonic meanings, symbolic responses and aesthetic criteria as aspects of consumption. From a marketing management perspective, getting customers to "*sense, think, feel, act, relate to your company and brands*" has become popular (Schmitt 1999). This idea gained momentum to the point where Pine and Gilmore (1999) suggested that experience has become a foundation for the economy. They posited that consumers buy an experience and pay to spend time enjoying the staging of a memorable event, whether they are active/passive and participating/immersed consumers of the experience. This is particularly highlighted in research into the leisure, entertainment and retail sectors—see for example, staged

experiences in a Santa theme park in Finland (Haahti 2003; Haahti and Yavas 2004); flagship brand stores such as ESPN zone Chicago (Kozinets et al. 2004); tourist experiences of Las Vegas (Firat 2001); river rafting magic (Arnould and Price 1993); museum encounters (Goulding 2000). Recent scholarship has also attempted to conceptualise and measure brand experiences and to distinguish experience dimensions across a range of goods and services brands (Brakus, Schmitt, and Zarantonello 2009).

In their review of the consumption experience concept, Carù and Cova (2003) note that experiences of consumption are not one-off, isolated and momentary but occur as an unfolding narrative, over time—and importantly, a brand can function as a script for this narrative. Carù and Cova summarise Arnould, Price and Zinkhan's (2002) thesis on consumption experience stages as follows:

- The *pre-consumption experience*, which involves searching for, planning, daydreaming about, foreseeing or imagining the experience
- The *purchase experience*, which derives from choice, payment, packaging, the encounter with the service and the environment
- *The core consumption experience*, including the sensation, the satiety, the satisfaction/dissatisfaction, the irritation/flow, the transformation
- The *remembered consumption experience* and the *nostalgia experience* activates photographs to relive a past experience, which is based on accounts of stories and on arguments with friends about the past, and which moves towards the classification of memories (Carù and Cova 2003, p.271).

The role of the brand is not merely functional, symbolic or psychological. Brand is central to the consumption experience. Earlier in this review the reader was introduced to the role of consumption in signalling between individuals and to the communal projects of co-creating brand meaning. Cova (1997) developed this idea further by pointing to the 'linking value' of products and services (and by default the brands that wrap around them); "*this refers to the product's, or service's, contribution to establishing and/or reinforcing bonds between individuals*" (Cova and Cova 2001, p.70). In this conceptualisation, brand experiences in some way permit and support social connections and the building of community. Thus,

brands are able to unite consumers within communities and to assist them in developing a sense of belonging; brands impact on identity.

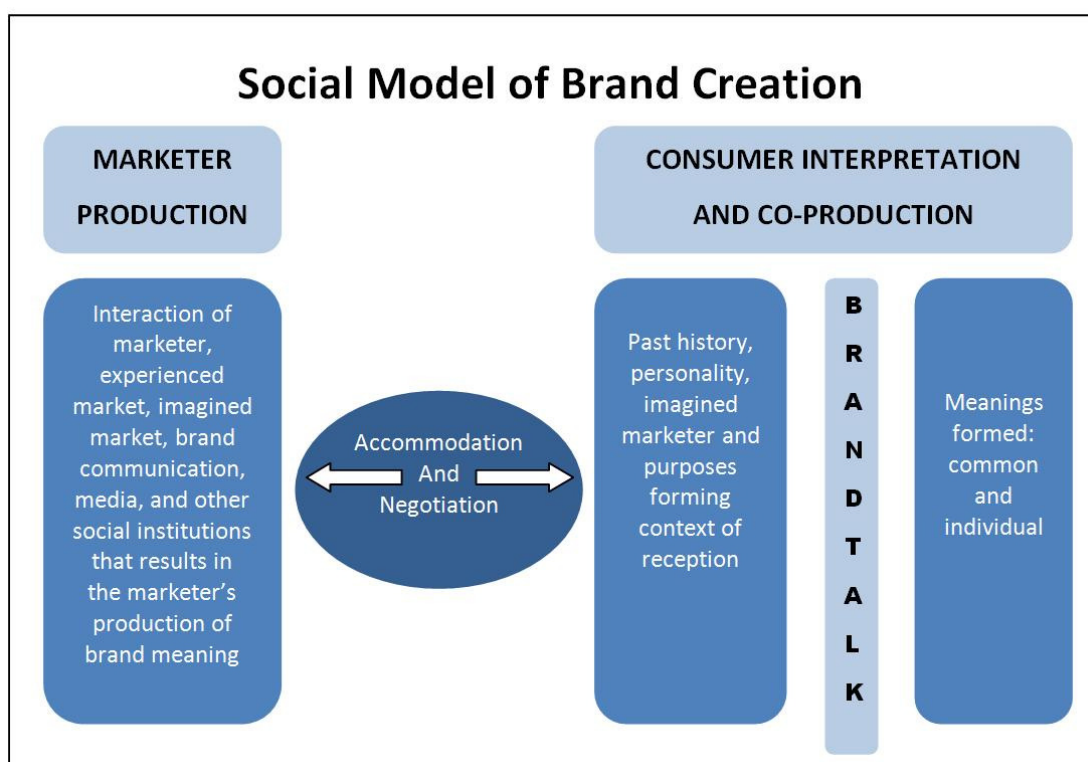
In a stream of work emphasising brand advertising effects, the social consumption and identity aspects of brand experiences were also articulated by Richard Elliott and co-researchers (see, for example, Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998; Ritson and Elliott 1995, 1999). Later, literatures on consumer identity and consumption were drawn together by Arnould and Thompson (2005) within the catchall of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT). CCT seeks to unite various theoretical perspectives, and addresses the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace and cultural meanings. Importantly, it adds weight to the view of brands as resources and conceptualises the ways that consumers forge feelings of solidarity through the pursuit of common consumption interests. Amongst other topics, CCT is concerned with:

“the co-constitutive, co-productive ways in which consumers, working with marketer-generated materials forge a coherent, if diversified and often fragmented sense of self (Belk 1988; McCracken 1986). The corollary premise is that the marketplace has become a pre-eminent source of mythic and symbolic resources through which people construct narratives of identity (Belk 1988; Holt 2002; Levy 1981), including those who lack resources to participate in the market as fully fledged consumers (Hill 1991, Hill and Stamey 1991). In this work, consumers are conceived of as identity-seekers and makers. Consumer identity projects are typically considered to be goal driven (Mick and Buhl 1992; Schau and Gilly 2003), although the aims pursued may often be tacit in nature (and vaguely understood) (see Arnould and Price 1993; Thompson and Tambyah 1999) and marked by points of conflict internal contradictions, ambivalence, and even pathology (Hirschman 1992; Mick and Fournier 1998; Murray 2002; O’Guinn and Faber 1989; Otnes, Lowrey, and Shrum 1997; Thompson 1996). (Arnould and Thompson 2005, p.871)

2.3.3.3 Social Model of Brand Creation

Further insights into brands have been gained by consumption researchers with an interest in brand communities. Muñiz and O’Guinn (2005) used their knowledge of how brand communities display, use and talk about brands to develop a model of brand marketing communication. Their aim was to accommodate the fact that *“brands take their shape becoming something negotiated in the space between marketer and consumer. In fact, brands are meaningless outside a notion of social construction and mediated communication”* (Muñiz and O’Guinn 2005, p.64). Their Social Model of Brand Creation (see Figure 3), based on Anderson and Meyer’s (1988) Accommodation Theory, recognises the impact of meaning negotiation with the marketer through larger publics, and develops several existing ideas, including flow of cultural meaning through advertising (McCracken 1986), co-creation of meaning through advertising (Ritson and Elliott 1995) and social uses of advertising (Ritson and Elliott 1999).

Figure 3. Social Model of Brand Creation (source, Muñiz and O’Guinn 2005, p.80)



One aspect of their model of particular relevance to this thesis is the nature of ‘brandtalk’ between members of a community. Muñiz and O’Guinn’s (2005) emphasis was on information (true or otherwise) that may have a bearing on brand meaning and the dissemination of rumours within strong, online brand communities. Word-of-mouth, and other consumer communications (where people talk to each other about the experiential dimensions of products and services), have been recognised as underestimated but highly influential factors in brand marketing (Hogan, Lemon, and Libai 2004) and research in this area is undergoing a renaissance. (For an overview of this research area the reader is referred to recent literature reviews; see for example Brown, Broderick, and Lee 2007; Kozinets et al. 2010). However, talk between consumers facilitated by brands (and brand resources), that does not have explicit or immediate relevance to marketers has rarely been studied. In summary, consumer conversations and communally co-created brands and stories that build on meanings supplied by brand marketers, and used by consumers for their own contextually relevant reasons, are under-theorised and worthy of further investigation.

2.3.3.4 Brands as Narratives

In recent times brand consultants and practitioner focused publications have increasingly talked about brands in new ways. Arvidsson (2006, p.188) notes that pop management books encourage managers to “*take the brand beyond its existence as a mere symbol of the product and to make it interact with customers in a multiplicity of sensory, intellectual or even quasi-religious ways.*” Others have more straight-forwardly spoken of brands in terms of being compelling stories—see for example, DDB Worldwide Communications Group’s paper on Brand Narratives (DDB 2008). This Marcoms industry approach has been fuelled by recognition of the active involvement and influential voice of consumers in making a brand what it is. The realities of interactive interfaces, social networking and the fragmented media environment have left the industry in no doubt that consumers are co-authors of brand meanings and of brand narratives.

Recent research into narrative and persuasion in fashion advertising has offered a new angle on the variety of consumer experiences derived from brand stories (Phillips and McQuarrie 2010). They strongly argue against the case put by Green and Brock (2000), and provide evidence that advertisements, just like non-commercial stories, can engender powerful experiences. However, this storied approach is not quite so new. Barbara Stern and other

academics studying advertising effects have pointed to narrative as being central to brands for many years (see, for example, Scott 1994; Stern 1991b, 1993, 1994a). As Twitchell (2004, p.484) suggests, brands are no more than a cultural “*story attached to a manufactured object*”.

The conceptualisation of brands as narratives is introduced in this brands literature section because it underpins the idea of brands providing materials/resources for consumers to use in various projects, the main thrust of this thesis. Plot, characters, climax, narrator/storyteller, narrative style, story grammar, composition, inclusion of rhetorical devices and mythic narrative elements all combine to form a rich source of material for consumers of brands to use, as per Stern’s (1994b) analysis of television advertising dramas. Further discussion and reference to these important elements of brand narratives (as they relate to consumer identity projects) is made in section 2.4.4.1 and later in chapter 3, in the context of narrative analysis.

2.3.3.5 Iconic Brands

Mythic narrative elements form the foundation for Holt’s (2004) conceptualisation of iconic brands. In an extension of the literature regarding brands and narratives, Holt (2004) used the term iconic brands to capture the essence of highly successful, instantly recognisable brands that are embedded in culture and whose status transcends their functional benefits. Rather than inventing their own unique stories from scratch, successful iconic brands appropriate existing cultural myths and integrate them into their brand identities (Holt 2006a). Furthermore, Holt suggests that consumers utilise iconic brand symbolism, offered by brand marcoms, to concretise their identities and “*to enact basic status and affiliation processes*” (Holt 2006a, p.357). In the case of Jack Daniel’s Tennessee whiskey, Holt (2006a) indicates that success is due to the appropriation of the enduring gunfighter frontiersman myth of the heroic man that forged a living in the Wild West of America. The fact that this myth has a certain cachet, and is widely articulated in movies and television programmes (and in advertisements for other brands such as Marlboro) adds to its strength. Furthermore, the link between the brand and the myth has the ring of authenticity since whiskey is portrayed as a necessary accessory to a gun-fighting life in the movies that first valorised Wild West men.

Underpinning Holt’s thesis is the assessment that iconic brands have succeeded despite the best efforts of brand managers to steer them in other directions; those brands lucky enough to

be ‘worked on’ by creatives with a more highly developed sense of the importance of cultural stories have been the lucky few, according to Holt (2004). He conceptualises iconic brands as mobilisers of myths and suggests that only iconic brands can narrate the imagined nation and have national resonance—“*iconic brands help to change culture at a deeper level, influencing how people understand themselves in relation to the nation’s ideals*” (Holt 2004, p.85). This view downplays the incorporation of national mythic elements in lesser brands’ marcoms, and Holt’s position may be construed, at best, as only acknowledging a secondary, accidental role for national myths in non-iconic brand marketing campaigns. However, other researchers have found evidence of national identity myths embedded in brand marcoms—see, for example, the study of Wal-Mart advertising flyers discussed later in section 2.5.8.2 (Arnold, Kozinets, and Handelman 2001).

Holt (2006a) further developed his thinking on iconic brands, taking a particular view that brands completely, knowingly and cynically exploit cultural myths, making them their own. Overall, his work refers to the exception rather than the rule—the result of a study of the historical records of legendary US brands. However, the same term, iconic brands, is used in a more general way by marketing practitioners and the popular press. Books such as *Made in New Zealand: Stories of Iconic Kiwi Brands* (McCloy 2008) document more than 70 iconic brands (including some small regional brands that I had not heard of). Similarly, a simple Google search reveals dozens of New Zealand websites whose brands claim to be iconic; nevertheless, while well-known and highly trusted, they could not truthfully be classified in the same category as Holts’ iconic brands—e.g. Apple, Nike, Harley-Davidson, VW, Coke and Budweiser. This is not just some quirk of the New Zealand market—British brands as diverse as Waitrose, Oxo, Wall’s, Dunlop Tyres and Opal Fruits are claimed as iconic brands, although they too would mostly seem to fall short of Holt’s definition.

The dimensions that make brands iconic in common parlance have not been well explicated in the literature. One type of iconicity comes from heritage brands, those with a heritage story to tell, such as Swiss watch company Patek Philippe, ‘since 1839’ (Urde, Greyser, and Balmer 2007). Iconicity, potentially, encompasses those brands each of us grew up with and recount in stories, as part of our family, cultural and even national heritage (although there is little mention in the literature of such qualities). This dimension would take into account consumer and consumption heritage as distinct from corporate heritage. Another term, in

some ways interchangeable with the popularly understood meaning of iconic brands, is lovemarks—those highly loved and respected brands referred to earlier. Certainly, many lesser brands which are commonly labelled iconic can be found on the official lovemarks lists at <http://www.lovemarks.com/>. In summary, Holt documented the mythic narratives and cultural connections of legendary brands, but there is still much to be learned about consumer experiences of the brands that they judge as iconic.

2.3.3.6 Brand Culture Perspective

The final contemporary perspective on brands in this section helps tie together the diverse aspects of brands by acknowledging the powerful range of historical, social and cultural factors that impact on brands and brand consumption. The Brand Culture approach developed by Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling (2006) paves the way for understanding that visual representations and narratives of identity (even national identity) may be embedded in brands through their marcoms, and at every point of contact and experience the consumer has with the brand. The Brand Culture framework explicates how brands create value and meaning through the cultural dimensions or codes of brands—history, images, myths, art, and theatre—that influence brand meaning in the marketplace (Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006).

Neither managers nor consumers are the sole authors producing brand meaning (Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006). Brands are constantly co-created, situated in time and place, and located within society and culture. Consumers produce socially shared meanings of a brand (Elliott 1994), and jointly participate with others in generating the experience. Brands play out in the real lives of consumers in diverse settings and occasions, both for the solitary consumer and for consumer groups. However, perversely, there is too little brand research that takes cognisance of the consumer as inherently embedded in a social world and culture—brand consumers are typically studied as lone actors in a one-woman/man show with no scenery and few props.

The Brand Culture concept allows that brands of all types might contribute to (and draw on) national identity. Using this perspective, the reader can be left in no doubt that brands provide stories and imagery that reflect society and commonly held values, showcasing beloved geographic locations and personalities, highlighting myths and representations of the way a

national community is (and used to be), because marcoms draw on existing cultural resources and utilise the unifying experiences of a nation.

2.3.4 Summary of Branding Literature

The foundational and current perspectives on brands presented above have highlighted that the branding literature is underdeveloped with respect to consumer experiences of brands, and is especially lacking in studies that consider consumers in a social context rather than the more commonly studied individual context. A clearer understanding of branding issues will potentially be of real value to marketing practitioners who are still desperate to “*improve their understanding of branding*” given the highly competitive, globalising business environment (Keller 2003, p.595). Researchers have yet to gain significant holistic insights into how consumers use, feel, think and act towards brands. In the sections of the literature that follow, consideration is given to other issues that impact on brands—in particular, the relationship between brands and self/social identity, and finally national identity and the proposed link with brands.

2.4 Self and Social Identity

2.4.1 Introduction to Self and Social Identity Literature

In this section various constructs of identity, self and community are discussed with the object of justifying the study of the role of brands in creating and re-creating a sense of self and belonging. Other important functions of this section are to identify the evolving factors that shape identity and to provide the theoretical basis that underpins the conceptualisation of national identity which is introduced in the final section of this chapter.

It is difficult to find widely accepted definitions of the self, although the notions of identity, ego and self have been the subject of scholarship from Aristotle’s time. Within social psychology the self is conceptualised in different ways. Distinctions are made between the personal self and social self, and there are several answers to the question of where the self comes from. The section that follows reviews self-concept and the personal self, the social self and social identity theory, narrative, myth, nostalgia and resources impacting identity, a model of consumption and the symbolic project of the self, and the literature on tribes and communities as important sources of identity.

2.4.2 Self Concept and Self Identities

Self-concept refers to a person's own mental image, implicit theory or perception of him/herself as an object that is unique, special and different. The need to be acceptable to oneself and to other people in society is driven by one's self concept. The predominant view in the literature—the personality perspective—construes self-concept as “*stable individual differences, relatively fixed cognitive and personality structures, interpersonal orientations and styles, and enduring motives and predispositions*” (Turner and Onorato 1999). Flowing from the self-concept are the ideas of personal self and social self, self identity and social identities, conceptualised in different ways according to various disciplinary research traditions. One of the key differences revolves around the question of whether the self, by definition, remains the private perception of the individual alone or whether it can be shared with others—as a collective self. Theories of self-categorisation and social identity theory suggest that social selves are shared, consensual, normative and context dependent forms of self (Turner and Onorato 1999). Individuals choose to self-categorise and take on group identities/social selves in common with others when there is benefit in doing so (Turner and Onorato 1999). These issues are addressed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

The self is socially constructed; we understand ourselves in relation to others around us, and because of the similarities or differences between ourselves and others (Mead 1934). Interaction with a wider range of society presents opportunities for a wider range of the self to become apparent. Individuals engage in activities and interactions with others in society and those social experiences are essential to the development and reconstruction of identity; thus, according to Mead's (1934) perspective, self-concept is not static. The idea that a person's identity shifts across time—which features in the dramaturgical perspective offered by Goffman (1959/2006)—also implies that different social identities provide individuals/actors the possibility of taking on roles and identities that suit the circumstances, depending on the salience of any particular social identity.

In simple terms, the social self takes into account the social groups a person belongs to and the personal self can be considered as the idiosyncratic aspects of the self (Tyler, Kramer, and John 1999). At the most basic level, personal identity may be conceptualised in terms of I/me unique criterial attributes and self descriptions (e.g. birth date, name, uniquely recognisable voice and body) and self diagnosed adjectival traits (e.g. loyal, quick-witted and tall) relating

to interpersonal characteristics, values, abilities and physical features (Turner 1984). Social identity (we/us) is based on the internalised awareness that one belongs to a group. The social self encapsulates all relevant categories of group membership, ranging from sports and social clubs, political interest groups, occupational, organisational, family, neighbourhood, caste, tribal and ethnic groupings to national groups. This list incorporates both interpersonal and collective identities, where the bonds between people may range from the personal e.g. family, to the more impersonal e.g. national groups (Brewer and Gardner 1996). Individuals generally desire to enhance their social selves; group membership is important to healthy psychological functioning (Simon 1999). However, it must be noted that social selves also encompass membership of low status, disadvantaged, stigmatised and minority groups.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner 1979) was developed to understand intergroup discrimination. It assumes that membership of multiple social groups is possible and this leads to the existence of not one, 'personal self', but rather several selves. According to SIT there is an individual-based perception of how we/us is defined in relation to any internalised group membership. Self-categorisation theory (Turner et al. 1987) suggests that when individuals define themselves in terms of shared group membership they redefine themselves, moving away from unique and individual attributes towards more shared and collective stereotypes. Individuals participate in a process of self-comparison (not merely interpreting reflections from others) but looking for similarities and differences between the self and the in-group. Individuals consequently favour the in-groups they belong to in contrast to the out-groups that they do not belong to (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

In addition to cognitive activities of self-categorising, awareness of the self as belonging to a social group (and knowledge of out-groups and beliefs about typical characteristics of the in-group), there are also evaluative and affective dimensions to social identity (Ellemers, Kortekaas, and Ouwerkerk 1999; Tajfel and Turner 1979). The emotional aspect of identity includes subjective salience of the social identity, degree of attachment to the social identity, sense of belonging to the social group, social emotions of group pride, shame, embarrassment and self-esteem etc (Zuo 2000). All of these factors impact on whether an individual values a particular social identity and is motivated to identify as being part of an in-group.

2.4.3 Brands, Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self

Individuals adopt, manage and negotiate multiple, contextually relevant identities. Taking up these identities provides stability and flexibility to fit in to different situations and the means to maintain a sense of belonging in diverse contexts. For example, this is demonstrated in the strong attachment to city and regional identities connoted by demonyms such as Londoner, Southlander and Hoosier (from Indiana). The processes of identity modification that are undertaken by individuals are of relevance and interest to marketers for a number of reasons; they are reviewed in this section.

Firstly, the concept of ‘possible selves’ (Markus and Nurius 1986)—what we might become—provides an explanation for the integration of brands into one’s self concept (Escalas 2004) and for choices of products or services on the basis of their role in creating hoped-for selves and avoiding feared selves (Patrick, MacInnis, and Folkes 2002). Discrepancies between an individual’s multiple possible selves provide incentives for future behaviour. Secondly, the assertion that any action or cognition which improves social identity will also likely improve self-image has implications for purchasing products that have a social-symbolic role. According to Dittmar, Beattie and Friese (1995, p.507), “*by displaying a recognised masculine symbol, such as strutting around in a black leather motorbike suit, a young man can compensate for not feeling ‘masculine’ enough. He uses the object to tell both himself and others that he is indeed ‘masculine.’*” This kind of ‘symbolic self-completion’ (Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982) is central to maintaining self-identity.

Symbolic self-completion refers to the use of whichever suitable symbolic resources are available to help maintain and develop an acceptable self—acceptable both externally and internally (Jackson 2004). Jackson also draws together evidence from the literature and posits that the range of resources available for this continuous project includes the symbolism attached to certain occupations and skill sets, mythical social roles and narratives, and the consumption of material goods.

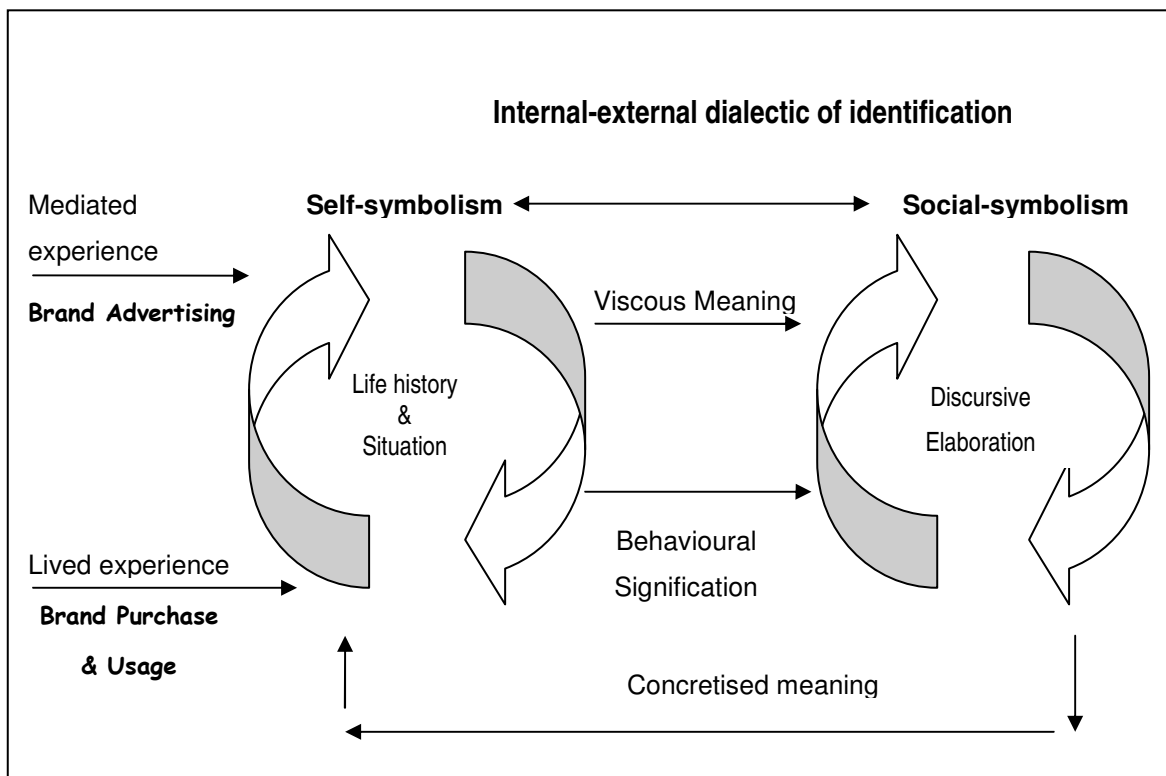
The process of creating, maintaining and revising various selves has been called by Giddens (1991) the ‘reflexive project of the self’. There is an ongoing to and fro process of constructing and re-negotiating identity which Jenkins (1996) calls the internal-external dialectic of identification. Jenkins’ thesis, building on the foundational sociological and social anthropological works of Mead, Goffman and Barth, is that the “*self is an ongoing,*

simultaneous synthesis of (internal) self definition and the (external) definitions of oneself offered by others” (Jenkins 1996, p.20). However, of even more importance to my study is the extension of Jenkins’ thinking about the highly interactive process of self identification. In later work, Jenkins (2004) extends his thesis by suggesting that things, as well as other people, influence the project of the self.

One of the things that influence the project of the self is consumption of brands. Brand marketing communications potentially provide a fresh and self-replenishing reservoir of symbolic resources, both for the construction of identity and the negotiation of symbolic meaning within communities. The interplay between identities and brands is addressed by Elliott and Wattanasuwan’s (1998) model of ‘Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self’ built on Jenkins (1996) original work; brands are conceptualised as symbolic resources used in identity projects. Lived experiences of brands (brand purchase and usage experiences) and mediated brand experiences (brand advertisement and other marketing communications consumption) both play a part in the symbolic project of the self.

Figure 4. Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self

(source, Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998, p.138, adapted from Jenkins 1996)



The model conceptualises brands as symbolic resources that impact on the individual self and, depending on personal contextual factors, may contribute to the identification and realisation of social selves through conversations. Elliott and Wattanasuwan's model is shown in Figure 4 above.

The strength of Elliott and Wattanasuwan's (1998) model is in acknowledging the integrated impact of brand stories (provided by marketing communications) and supplementary brand consumption experiences on personal and social selves. What this thesis seeks to do, is to concentrate on one part of their model, taking into account the social uses aspect of advertising (Ritson and Elliott 1999), and focusing particularly on brand consumption experience that impacts on the social self. The idea is to further explore the brand fostered 'communitas' (Arnould and Price 1993) generated between those with shared social selves—Cova (1997) calls this 'linking value'—as a result of various brand consumption experiences. Such an approach would extend understanding of brand impact on the social self, taking into account the conceptualisation of the social self as shared, consensual and normative, independent of the personal self. Brands may directly impact on 'others' and on the formation of one's social identities without being experienced firsthand by the personal self.

2.4.4 Evolving Resources Shaping Self and Identity

Development of satisfying, meaningful identities and connections through social group membership is an ongoing and active process. Contemporary life has given rise to new existential problems "*for selfhood and collective community*" (Arnould and Price 2000, p.140) such that individuals are searching for novel ways to negotiate and rebuild identities. The post-modern literature conceptualises these problems as flowing from the condition of fragmentation, whereby "*traditional institutions which formally provided the basis of identity disintegrate*" (Goulding 2003, p.154). Consequentially, the insignificance of individuals' lives, stemming from a sense of disconnectedness from traditional communities, gives rise to a need for greater self-fulfilment. CCT posits that consumption activities become intertwined with making and seeking identity, in the process of trying to resolve this state of disjunction (Arnould and Thompson 2005).

Personality psychology suggests that life stories, integrating "*the remembered past, the experienced present and the anticipated future,*" (Baumgartner 2002, p.286) are one of the

major dimensions of a person's identity (McAdams 1993). Self-identity is "*reflexively understood by a person in terms of her or his biography*" and is contingent upon the ability to keep the narrative of self going (Giddens 1991, p.53). A person tries to validate the factual events that have shaped the self so far and to craft a meaningful life story. Thus, using this perspective, identity is grounded in culture; it is contingent on, and constituted by, socio-historical constructions in which both images (Schroeder 2002) and language are central (Barker 1999). Diverse social relationships, contexts and sites of interaction including "*spaces and relationships of work, family and friends, but also the global resources of television, email and travel*" contribute to multiple narratives of identity (Barker 1999, p.30). Various resources for identity construction are provided by marketer generated materials, as elaborated in CCT (Arnould and Thompson 2005).

Identity is impacted by changes in the socio-cultural context and the way that identities are mythologised. In particular, the way that the past is constructed and reconstructed through "*the efforts of advertisers, brand strategists, tourist promoters, and other marketing agents*" (Thompson and Tian 2008, p.596) has a role to play in influencing identity. Commercial activities may offer nostalgic and revisionist views of the past, celebratory connections to a by-gone age and re-affirmations of traditions, providing narrative resources for identity projects. Thompson and Tian (2008) focus on the influence of magazines (and their editors) in the diffusion of identity myths. They highlight competitive, historical and ideological influences that shape the telling of regional identity stories in their analysis of commercial mythmaking in the (US) South. Such mythmaking extends into commercial and artistic endeavours of all sorts, including movies, television programming and advertising. These activities and resources which impact on the construction of popular memory (and are implicated in identity projects) are discussed in more detail in the sub-sections that follow.

2.4.4.1 Narratives and Identity

Narratives serve a variety of roles in consumers' lives. Sharing, listening to and telling stories are activities essential to maintaining, producing and reproducing identity (Czarniawska 2000). People also exchange stories because they need to communicate; create social memory; transmit information; test reality and stimulate fantasy and emotions (Levy 2006). At the most fundamental level, narratives are "*powerful products that affect consumers as*

they internalise them and fashion them into their personalities, philosophies and sources of action” (Levy 2006, p.459).

Brand narratives are a resource for reinforcing identity and building communities. Through their various marketing communications, brands tell stories and articulate loosely constructed thoughts about the brand (Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998). Brand narratives operationalise identities that are recognisable to viewers, such as the confessor, teacher or dramatic character (Stern 1991b). Stories provided by a brand may help consumers construct the story of their own lives and thus, help them construct their identity(s). The social function of brand narratives is powerful—a function recognised by the advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi, who suggest on their website, “*Stories build community. Stories create communities, bringing the listener and the storyteller together as well as the community of listeners. The smart way is to change the value of the product by telling a story about it*” (Stark 2003, p.1). The inferences drawn and the characters employed in brand narratives may be incorporated in consumer lives and used for purposes unrelated to the advertised product or service.

2.4.4.2 Myth and Identity

Myths are stories that, for various reasons, demonstrate the inner meaning of the universe and human life (Hirschman 1987). Societies have created myths that perform different functions relating to human concerns including: metaphysical—to help understand human existence; cosmological—to conceptualise the universe and creation; sociological—to establish and validate social order and morality; psychological—to provide models for personal conduct (Campbell 1970, cited in Hirschman 1987). Myths are employed by story tellers, including advertisers, to add depth and significance to their tales—a myth is a social dream (Tsai 2006). The use of standardised stories, in the form of myths, is widespread in all societies in order to provide a sense of continuity and meaning in a changing, and at times difficult, world (Jackson 2004).

Cultural myths and narratives provide the foundation for traditional stories, contemporary movies, television programmes and other texts including advertising. Holt (2004, p.57) refers to the US national ideology conveyed through various American myths which feature in film, music, politics and commercials, such as “*the self-made man, the frontier and the melting pot.*” Myths appear in consumer narratives about consumption experiences—such as

celebrating American Thanksgiving (Wallendorf and Arnould 1991)—and are embedded in advertising stories although they may not be classified as being part of the ‘main message’ (Stern 1995). Advertising themes embody mythic patterns and elements that echo the values, lifestyles and feelings of the viewer (Johar, Holbrook, and Stern 2001). This point is illustrated by the use of beer-related myths in contemporary advertising stories that repeatedly show the use of beer in gaining social acceptance, as a reward for hard work and in conferring manliness (Parker 1998). Communities are sustained by such stories that profile identity and highlight critical characteristics.

Authenticity of myths in advertising stories is particularly important to consumers and challenging to marketers, and has attracted the attention of researchers in recent years (Stern 1994a). The literature suggests that consumers look for genuine emotional sustenance and authenticity in advertising stories; Holt (2002, p.83) notes that “*post-modern consumers perceive modern branding efforts to be inauthentic because they ooze with the commercial intent of their sponsors*”. Brand stories may incorporate either legitimate mythology or invented appropriated mythology to establish a unique competitive difference (Tobin 2001). However, the degree to which story lines and myths resonate with consumers is linked to the “*identity projects most salient to a brand’s core customers*” (Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006, p.62). Brands need to tell authentic stories that make an important link between consumers and their communities, and that blend with their life stories and memories (Thompson et al. 2006).

2.4.4.3 Nostalgia and Identity

Views of the past are important resources for identities; social groups are built and sustained through collective memory (Halbwachs 1992). Thus, nostalgia is implicated in identity projects, particularly in collective reaffirmations of identity where individuals maintain a sense of self-identity and connectedness to others. Nostalgia is of particular relevance in this study since it is one type of appeal commonly used by brands in their advertising and other marketing communications.

The literature conceptualises nostalgia as an “*emotional state in which an individual yearns for an idealised or sanitised version of an earlier time period*” (Stern 1992a, p.11). Nostalgia may relate to events, times, places, culture, way of life, values and artefacts. The way that an

individual evaluates the past impacts on how they evaluate the way they are and the way they were. Personal nostalgia (Stern 1992a), the content of an individual's memories, what they remember about their personal past and their point of view/perspective on the past, has implications for how the past affects the present (Wilson and Ross 2003). This type of nostalgia is autobiographical and refers to the way *I* was—a somewhat idealised and exaggerated “*personal best*” portrait of the self” (Stern 1992b, p.389). Nostalgic views of the past are typically used to create favourable views of present selves and circumstances. Understanding one's roots gives a perspective on where one is now.

Intertwined with personal nostalgia is what Stern (1992a) calls historical nostalgia. This relates to views of “*the way 'it' was*” (Stern 1992a, p.13)—that is, events, times and places that are personally unknown. Advertisers evoke the shared past using archival materials and recreations of easily recognised scenes, relying on the audience's imagination to complete the story—see, for example, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEHFBfVGvrI&feature=related>, Holden Ute Evolution television commercial (TVC) where the car and setting in semi-rural Australia (circa 1951) move through the years and morph into a contemporary model utility vehicle in an urban context. These nostalgic stories provide an opportunity to remind viewers how their identities have evolved as individuals, families and as a nation. Consumers of such historical constructions use them to locate social selves within a long term context by comparing then and now, who we were and who we are now (where *we* might be ‘working class men’ or any other social/group/community identity).

2.4.5 Social Selves, Tribes and Communities

Tribes and communities are social groups that help define an individual within society; the concepts of tribes and communities are logical extensions of the concept of self identity. Communities and tribes are commonly referred to in the marketing literature and are discussed in turn below. Although the traditional use of the word community implies a fixed location anchored by place, for example a small village community, this is not a necessity. The term *imagined community* was coined by Anderson (1983) to describe the sense of community sustained by imagination where the members are mostly unknown to each other—for example, members of the Catholic community. An important point is made by Anderson (1983, p.15) that “*the style in which communities are imagined*” is the key aspect in their definition. Community implies a consciousness of kind where there is a collective

sense of difference from others not in the community. The concept of community is also underpinned by a sense of solidarity or mutual concern, belonging and freedom from both injustice and exploitation (Mason 2000). Thus, the presence of shared rituals, traditions and a sense of moral responsibility characterise communities (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001).

Nearly all contemporary communities are, in practice, imagined communities. In the consumption literature, Boorstin (1974) described the phenomenon of invisible new communities, termed 'communities of consumption', essentially constructed by advertisers. He proposed that lifestyle images, presented in advertisements, help to create and preserve the illusion of an idealised community of consumers with an aspirational standard of living. Muñiz and O'Guinn (2001, p.412) proposed the existence of brand communities—*“specialised, non-geographically bound communities based on a structured set of social relations among admirers of a brand”*. Such brand communities are often consumer generated although brand sponsored communities may be set up and fostered by marketers for commercial reasons.

The types of social selves that are possible, and the communities that one may belong to are diversifying. Marketplace based collectivities, characterised by dense social networks and shared interest in brands, products and activities, play an increasingly important role in people's lives (Henry and Caldwell 2007). Virtual online communities have developed since the advent of communication technologies that facilitate social networking through web-based contact. User driven technologies, such as blogs, and internet platforms, such as YouTube, Twitter and Facebook, provide a growing opportunity for social interaction and community building. One critical feature of these new forms of community is that members opt in and make a choice to belong, unlike more restrictive geographically determined communities (Bagozzi and Dholakia 2002). Furthermore, unlike explicitly commercial online brand communities many of these types of groups are based on friendship ties and shared consumption practices (Bagozzi and Dholakia 2006).

Post-modern consumption and marketing commentators have noted that extreme individualism has led to social recomposition in the form of tribalism and a search for social links (Cova and Cova 2002; Maffesoli 1996). The existence of such tribes is seen in social aggregations, for example, forming around cult objects and activities, fan clubs and gamer groups (Cova et al. 2007). According to Cova and Cova (2002), tribalism is distinguished

from community perspectives in that it implies non-rational and archaic bonds, and the existence of shared emotion and passion. This nuanced interpretation designates the construct of community as simply implying shared interests. In contrast to this, post-modern tribes are conceptualised by Cova and Cova (2002) as rallying around locality (amongst other things) and participating in the 're-enchantment of the world' (see Berman 1981; Maffesoli 1996). While national tribes are not referred to in the literature, it is possible to envisage such entities. Certainly, New Zealanders are loosely united in an almost spiritual celebration of their raw, powerful landscapes and a passion for their fantastic, primitive, natural world (which featured as Middle Earth in the *Lord of the Rings* movie trilogy).

The ability to establish and re-create one's identity and to make choices about which communities to participate in, is central to the views on questing for self and community held by Arnould and Price (2000). With so much travel, easy international communication, migration and opportunity to work and study abroad, individuals of today potentially have complicated issues of identity, with global cosmopolitan trans-nationality and flexible citizenship unlike any generation before them (Chan 1998). Making choices about which tribal and community identities are attractive, and which ones are congruent with self-identity may be amongst the most important decisions made by an individual. Tribes and community are important facets of social identity and useful units of analysis for consumer researchers.

2.4.6 Summary of Self and Social Identity

In this section a link has been established between brands and the drive to establish identities. Consumer culture necessarily implies a role for brands in creating and re-creating a sense of self and therefore personal purpose and belonging. Brand generated narratives, myths and nostalgia have been shown to shape identities. Research has begun to illustrate the use and integration of brand resources into an individual's self concept and the creation of hoped-for selves. Tribes and community have been introduced as important units of analysis for consumer researchers. While the use of brands in providing a link between community members has been proposed, the relationship between brands and particular types of community/social identity, such as national identity, has yet to be fully accounted for.

2.5 National Identity

2.5.1 Introduction to National Identity Literature

The power of mass media to both constitute nations and draw communities together is widely accepted in cultural studies, political science, journalism and mass-communication literature (Askew and Wilk 2002; Frosh 2007; Millard et al. 2002; Moreno 2003; Prideaux 2009). These researchers are in no doubt that advertising produces nationalism and informs the process of conceptualising a nation. In essence, other literatures suggest that advertisements contribute to national identity. However, researchers in consumer research and marketing have not yet investigated the logical extension of this argument; that is, if brands typically sponsor such advertisements, then how do brands affect national identity?

In the following section national identity is presented as a particular form of community. National identity is examined and an argument is made as to why national identity has relevance to brands. The over-riding purpose of the discussion presented here is to highlight a gap in the literature regarding the relationship between brands and the development of community in the form of national identity.

2.5.2 National Identity Definitions

National identity is a term which has entered the lexicon in modern times (since the development and conceptualisation of nation in the 18th and 19th centuries) and is used indiscriminately to mean all sorts of things. Before continuing, definitions of nation are tabled to illustrate the richness and diversity of this construct in the literature.

2.5.2.1 Conceptualising the Nation

Appreciation of national identity flows from an understanding of what constitutes a nation, that is, ethnic or cultural communities as opposed to political entities that are states. Various definitions of nation are provided in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Definitions of Nation (adapted from Teel 2010)

Two things constitute the soul, the spiritual principle [of the nation] – one is the past, the other the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of remembrances; the other is the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage which all hold in common (Renan 1882)
A nation is an imagined political community [that is] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. Nations are distinguished from each other by the stories they tell about themselves. (Anderson 1983)
Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognise each other as belonging to the same nation (Gellner 1983)
A socially mobilised body of individuals, believing themselves to be united by some set of characteristics that differentiate them (in their own minds) from outsiders (Haas 1986)
A named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members (Smith 1991)
Any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a 'nation' (Hobsbawm 1992)
A group of people who feel that they are ancestrally related (Connor 1994)
A nation is a community (1) constituted by shared belief and mutual commitment, (2) extended in history, (3) active in character, (4) connected to a particular territory, and (5) marked off from other communities by its distinctive public culture (Miller 1995)
A community whose members share feelings of fraternity, substantial distinctiveness and exclusivity (Tamir 1995)
A collective of people ... united by shared cultural features (myths, values, etc) (Barrington 1997)

Anderson's (1983) conceptualisation of the nation has particular resonance in this study. The *imagined community* concept (Anderson 1983) recognises the nationally unifying power of communication technologies (particularly the print media) that allow geographically dispersed people to feel part of a single, united group. The media provides the means for circulating the stories that nations tell about themselves, and that distinguish one nation from another (Anderson 1983). Cultural studies scholars have also considered the nation, with particular emphasis on television as a site of popular knowledge and the leading resource for identity projects. However, there are doubts as to whether television can continue to be the unifier of the nation given the globalising influences on programming (Barker 1999).

While the role of programmes becomes increasingly complex and contradictory (especially in nations like New Zealand where there are multiple TV channels and relatively little local content), brand television advertisements (usually chosen because of their suitability for local

audiences) may provide some sort of link between members of a nation. Certainly, New Zealand statistics provided by the Ministry of Social Development indicate that total local content programming on free to air channels in 2008 was as low as 16% Entertainment, 9% Children's, 6% Drama and Comedy; the greatest proportion of local content, at a surprisingly low 32%, was in News and Current Affairs programming (Ministry of Social Development 2009). While directly comparable statistics were not available to the authors of the MSD report, they note that data from 1999 indicates 90% local content in USA programming, 55% (mandated) in Australia and similar figures for many EU members (Ministry of Social Development 2009). However, industry sources suggest that based on commercial approvals statistics, 20-30% of television commercials are supplied directly from offshore sources. While this figure does not account for how frequently those TVCs are aired, it does appear to support anecdotal reports that point to the predominance of locally commissioned/reversioned brand advertising on New Zealand television screens. Despite rapidly changing media consumption habits, television advertising may be a primary resource for nationally relevant stories.

2.5.2.2 Conceptualising National Identity

Amongst scholars, national identity is used differently in various academic disciplines. In history and political studies it is used to denote one form of national consciousness, along with ideologies such as patriotism, nationalism and the idea of national character (Mandler 2006). The Oxford English Dictionary online definition reflects this nuanced understanding of national identity *n.* a sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by (the maintenance of) distinctive traditions, culture, linguistic or political features, etc. It is also conceived of as a negotiated construct that balances an internationally perceived national image and internal national pride in, for example, levels of democracy and political influence in the world (Rusciano 2003).

Within this study national identity is considered a socially constructed phenomenon that assists the individual to understand his/her place in the world and is characterised by the belief that there are commonalities which unite members of a nation (Kirloskar-Steinbach 2004). National identity is not just about shared culture; it is about the *feeling* of belonging (Grimson 2010). Thus, the conceptualisation of national identity in this thesis draws on the theories of psychology and sociology, of self concept and collective identity—in particular

Social Identity Theory, as discussed previously in section 2.4.2. In the paragraphs that follow, dimensions of national identity that are relevant to this study are teased out.

National identity refers to a shared perception of self within a national group, and necessarily emphasises similarities and differences between people. de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999, p.153) suggest that national identity is a “*complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes ... of related emotional attitudes ... and similar behavioural dispositions ... [that are] internalised through ‘national’ socialisation*”. National identity is a form of collective identification that serves the purpose of binding people together within a community, giving them a sense of membership of a group. However, while collective national identity implies significant commonality, the similarities between members of such a community are somewhat vague and potentially illusory.

An essential aspect of the concept of national identity is the ability to imagine being part of a national community (Hunsaker 1999) and self-categorisation is an important facet of national identity. Jenkins (2004, p.5) suggests that identity is “*our understanding of who we are and of who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people’s understanding of themselves and of others*”. National identity is not a fixed view of tangible characteristics but a self view of the nation (Connor 1994). It is an act of imagination, such that it is most unlikely that a group of fellow community members will imagine exactly the same thing—there is “*no such thing as the one and only national identity*” (de Cillia et al. 1999, p.154). Thus, within a nation, alternative national identities develop which may claim to express the same national past but in fact envisage it in different ways.

National identity is ‘flagged’ in banal everyday life because it is embodied in habits of thinking and using language, thus providing a continual background for political discourses, cultural products and the media (Billig 1995). National identity may be characterised by perceived faults and virtues, and may be expressed in diverse ways. Identity maybe objectified or articulated in terms of institutions, customs, practices, rituals, ceremonies, artistic and literary products, and other forms of artefact (Yoshino 1998). National identity is made visible though common myths, historical memories and common mass culture—these are objectified in postage stamps, coins, uniforms, monuments, anthems and flags that serve to remind community members of their common heritage and cultural kinship. More informal symbols that invoke national identity can be found in “*national recreations, the countryside,*

popular heroes and heroines, forms of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts, modes of town planning, legal procedures ..." (Smith 1991, p.77).

Multiple quests by consumers for local, trans-national and global identities are explained by the post-modern perspective. Firat and Dholakia (2004) suggest that the chaotic fragmented lives that people lead give rise to a desire for meaning and substance. "*The consumer transforms from someone who belongs to a culture, society or a lifestyle to someone who actively negotiates one or more communities—an active cultural constructor*" (Firat and Dholakia 2004, p.10). According to this view, national identity is a dynamic collaboration between community members that is not reliant on tradition but is built using resources from the imagined present. It is assumed that people hold multiple identities and utilise each as required, so that simultaneous membership of nations within nations, ethnic and racial groups is not discounted. There is no necessity to commit oneself to a single way of being; individuals take on identities at different times and situations as it suits their needs.

2.5.3 Reproduction and Negotiation of National Identity

National identity is reproduced, negotiated and sustained by a number of processes and resources available to a community. Many of the resources have been mentioned already in the previous section and, as will be discussed further, television programming, cinema and public artworks also contribute narratives and imagery to national identity projects. This thesis contends that brand marketing communications are also a pervasive resource of narratives and imagery used to negotiate and affirm national identity. The narrative content of brand advertisements naturally paves the way for them to be read as short stories or fairy tales (Meijer 1998), soap operas or other types of literary genre (Stern 1991a). This reading is irrespective of the commercial success and persuasiveness of the brand campaign. Furthermore, the intentions of the brand advertiser are, to all intents and purposes, irrelevant in this argument; what is important is that the brand acts as a vehicle which facilitates the co-creation of relevant stories.

The processes used by a national community in reproducing national identity rely on speech and language. Ultimately, national identity, as an imagined social identity, is "*discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed*" (de Cillia et al. 1999, p.153). Identity maintenance involves conversations,

governed by interactional conventions, that allow fellow community members to recognise each other and, in turn, to be recognised themselves (Barth 1969). These so-called identificatory performances, which involve others, are what Elliott and Wattanasuwan (1998) referred to as ‘discursive elaboration’ in their representation of the symbolic project of the self (see section 2.4.3). Particular discursive strategies are used in national identity ‘impression management’ to ensure a positive image is generated and to deflect potential charges of prejudice and racism; these “*include the use of overt disclaimers, apparent denials of prejudice, avoidance strategies, mitigation, understatement and euphemism*” (Condor 2000, p.176).

Public discourse helps to reinforce national identity when myths are repeated in conversations and referred to as facts in media discourse. Digital storytelling projects that capture personal “*stories that have previously been shared only with family and friends*” (Meadows 2003, p.190) engender community identity in what Bromley (2010, p.20) develops as “*the idea of a country talking to itself*”. In political rhetoric, clichés (which convey taken for granted, implicit knowledge), careful sentence construction and frequent use of us/we/our helps to reproduce national identity (Billig 1995). Wodak et al. (2009) studied the public construction of national identity extensively and noted the importance of officially sanctioned attempts to unify the nation through narratives of collective forgetting or remembering. This contemporary fashion of commemoration culture is made visible through anniversaries, exhibitions and documentaries (Wodak et al. 2009), such as the recent tribute programmes celebrating 50 years of New Zealand television, the Prime Minister’s annual Waitangi Day³ speech, and museum displays marking the 25th anniversary of the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*⁴. Such commemorations generate much news media coverage and serve to retell the nation’s stories and provide consensual narratives and images of history. New facets of national identity are revealed in fresh stories and new constructions of history, and through retellings of common myths in mass culture.

³ Waitangi Day is a public holiday to commemorate the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand’s founding document.

⁴ The Greenpeace vessel *Rainbow Warrior*, which had been protesting against French nuclear testing in the Pacific, was attacked by French agents while moored in Auckland, provoking widespread public outrage.

The reproduction and negotiation of national identity is a dynamic process that utilises, amongst other things, collective memories and a shared sense of the past. Halbwachs (1992) proposed that social groups actively construct and sustain a sense of unity and cohesion by reproducing collective and cultural memories. Collective forgetting and remembering involves reconstructing histories that serve to unite the nation and emphasise defining moments of the past, thus creating a ‘usable past’ (Brooks 1915). More recently, the usable past has been conceptualised as what we ought to elect to remember, signalling the “*desire to make sense of national experiences in ways that unify rather than separate us*” (Carnegie Council 2001, p.1). Thus, identities change as the usable past changes. Jenkins (2004, p.97) illustrates this point, suggesting that “*to be German now involves emphasising or de-emphasising different things than being German before reunification*”. National identity is constructed by each individual member and by the group as a whole, and changes over time as events and experiences are reworked, building and updating perceptions of the community.

The imagined present also figures in reproduction and negotiation of national identity. Current experiences of reality are used to reinterpret the past and bring it into conformity with the present (Berger and Luckman 1967). Contemporary visions of reality, depicted, for example, in locally made television shows such as *Shortland Street* and *Outrageous Fortune*, contribute to national identity. The feeling of belonging and having shared national identity is reinforced through experiences of everyday life, during interactions with other people, consumption of mass media, and participation in activities within society. Yu and Kwan (2008) describe how everyday Taiwanese life experiences, including confrontations with outsiders such as Dutch, Portuguese, Japanese and Mainland Chinese, have gradually contributed to two distinct and conflicting ‘national’ identities in Taiwan today—a Chinese consciousness and a Taiwanese consciousness. The imagined present of ‘them and us’ in Taiwan, impacts on the construction of self as part of one or other national group.

Acts of community affirmation help define the moving boundaries of national identity beyond which out-groups belong, and these boundaries are more clearly brought into focus during interactions with those whose national identity is different. Sociologists have proposed that there are symbolic boundaries which separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership (Lamont and Molnár 2002) and ‘boundary work’ has received a lot of attention in studies on identity construction and group commitment

(Pachucki, Pendergrass, and Lamont 2007). Scholars studying particular types of group identity construction note that “*the main way groups develop strength is through creating distinct identity*” based on the insight that “*conflict with outside groups can strengthen the ingroup*” (Yukich 2010, p.173). The mechanisms, rituals and practices by which boundaries are defended, such as the use of names/labels, consumption of particular symbolic foods/music/art, participating in group recognised activities and so forth have received attention in recent studies (Pachucki et al. 2007). However, there are calls for more research to identify certain types of boundary processes and the conditions under which they occur with respect to national groups and various other in-group/out-group dyads.

Studies of travel narratives highlight that the experiences of travel offer clarity to the imagined present; exposure to otherness helps to make national identity visible and more clearly defined (Bell 2002). In telling travel stories and critically reflecting on home and abroad “*the traveller becomes radically aware of where he ends and all else begins*” (Ziff, 2000, cited in Kilbride 2003, p.553). In summary, the literature suggests that national identity is reproduced, negotiated and sustained in mundane conversations, in public discourse, in reworkings of the past and in contemporary visions of the present, in popular culture and in private reflections on otherness.

2.5.4 Acculturation and National Identity

Compared to those who are born and socialised into a national identity, development of new national identities necessarily takes on different dimensions for immigrants and their children. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979) provides an explanation for why immigrants are motivated to attain in-group status and national identity in a new country, as more positive (host) identities boost self-esteem (Phinney et al. 2001). Membership and acquisition of a new host national identity involves feelings of belonging to, and attitudes toward, society and confers social resources/advantages and security. Research suggests that adult migrants do not entirely take on new national identity in their country of settlement (Phinney 2006). However, those children born to immigrants in a new country typically assume the host national identity and retain other cultural identities to some extent (Phinney 2006).

The acquisition of a new national identity by immigrants involves acculturation. Acculturation is understood to be various processes, involving the multiple domains of language, behaviour and identity (Birman 2006), that occur when people of different cultural backgrounds have ongoing contact. Everyday activities bring opportunities for those from different backgrounds to participate in and learn about culture, norms, conventions and meaning frameworks of new social groups within which they live. Consumption experiences are also part of the acculturation process (Peñaloza 1994). However, having contact does not guarantee that new identities are assumed; depending on social and personal factors, and motivations for cultural maintenance, contact and participation, acculturation may result in either assimilation, integration, separation or marginalisation (Berry 1997).

Exposure to mass media is important for immigrants who are learning about a host society, and such sources are especially used by children to facilitate integration into local youth culture (Elias and Lemish 2008). Advertising is also theoretically important in acculturation (O’Guinn, Lee, and Faber 1986) but marketing literature is sparse in this area. There are studies that consider advertising as a source of information used in acculturation, but they tend to focus on measuring susceptibility and attitudes towards advertising (see, for example, Lee 1993). In historical studies of Canadian identity formation since World War Two, Iacovetta (2000) suggests that food advertisements played a significant role in teaching immigrant women what Canadian identity was. She identifies the provision of conventional images of “*traditional middle class femininity*”, of table presentation, grocery shopping behaviour, food and recipes that provided a powerful national identity resource for thousands of new Canadians arriving as refugees or immigrants from Britain and war-torn Europe in the years after 1945 (Iacovetta 2000, p.15). In the context that Iacovetta studied, it is interesting to note that Canadians were encouraged to embrace newcomers and teach them Canadian values and ideals. While it seems entirely likely, there is little published evidence that confirms that individual members of host societies use advertising as a resource to assist outsiders in acculturating and to instruct on aspects of national identity.

2.5.5 Intergenerational National Identity Effects

The processes by which children acquire national identity are still poorly understood and the literature examining the development of national identity during childhood is sparse. Rather, studies report either comparative findings, such as at what age a child has knowledge and

beliefs relating to national identity and prefers his/her own nationality over other specific national identities (see, for example Barrett, Lyons, and del Valle 2004, p.179), or at a broader level, investigate identity development and the social self, influenced by both cognitive-developmental changes and socialisation processes. In general, socialisation theories suggest that childhood identity development is driven by influences in the social environment, particularly families, mass media and school experiences. It seems likely that these contexts and locations play a part in the development of national identity (NID) in each generation, as discussed in more detail below.

2.5.5.1 Families, Children and NID

Studies relating to the development of childhood identities other than national identity are more common in the literature. Sociological studies of identity transmission in families have examined the social construction of a child's identity with respect to matters of political and religious faith, norms and goals of family life, family rules, criteria governing hierarchy, and economic/property/inheritance issues (Kellerhals, Ferreira, and Perrenoud 2002). Clearly, families reinforce particular beliefs, rituals, traditions and values, and thus, shape identity formation. Intergenerational identity production also occurs through the performance of ancestral stories, songs and cultural artefacts, especially in tribal and traditional communities (Strang 2000).

Children hear their parents' stories and make the stories their own, integrating them with independent experiences from the community. Irish studies of long-term generational changes in ethno-national identity illustrate this and point to the sense of continuity provided by family histories when negotiating changes in identity (Todd 2006). Scholars of children's literature have also noted the influential role of parents in national identity development (Meek 2001). The choice of books read to children (or that children read themselves) contributes to learning about national identity; for example, Hunt (1992) suggests that myths of English national identity are sustained by books such as *The Wind in the Willows*, *The Lord of the Rings* and *Watership Down*. However, it is unknown whether parents use these stories as the basis for further conversations and commentary on national identity. There is little research that theorises intergenerational national identity processes as a result of reading these books.

The role of women/mothers in developing a sense of national identity in children is alluded to in some literature; for example, critical commentaries on the role of women in Muslim societies suggest they are central to efforts to construct a national identity (Moghadam 1994). Indeed, the literature on identity generally suggests that primary responsibility for the education and formation of important attitudes in the next generation rests with women. Cultural messages are reportedly embedded in daily parent-child interactions (Dunn and Brown 1991), but details of national identity development processes are rarely reported.

2.5.5.2 School, Children and NID

Foundational texts on national identity highlight the practice of formally teaching each generation about heroic patriots and the glorious past. Smith (1991) claims that by the 19th century European children were taught to revere national heroes and geniuses, such as Shakespeare (Britain), Vercingetorix (France), Alexander Nevsky (Russia), Lemminkäinen (Finland) and Stefan Dušan (Serbia). The education literature, especially relating to the teaching of history, is much concerned with challenges to schools in their traditional role of shaping national identity (Nichol 2000). Although national identity socialisation processes through schooling are peripheral to this study, it is apparent that teachers, peers, the school curriculum and school textbooks are all of interest to national identity researchers.

2.5.5.3 Mass Media, Children and NID

National identity is represented and constituted by stories brought to life through mass media (Barker 1999)—national memories of the past have never been as accessible as they are today with the advent of mass media and digital technologies (Gillis 1996). Nevertheless, while Benedict Anderson (1983) and Marshall McLuhan (1962) theorised that widely disseminated, standardised stories consumed in common serve to unite people, their focus, like most other commentators, was on the adult world. The role of mass media in national identity socialisation of children is the subject of relatively few studies, although there is much written about television, children and cultural identity. As an example, Barker (1997) suggests that television programmes become a site for discussion (about relationships and cultural taboos) amongst children and a point of contact between children and adults.

There are sporadic accounts in the literature of parents using media in identity and citizenship projects; for example, Wheeler (2000) reports that in Kuwait “*watching foreign programming*

with one's children gives parents the opportunity to explain why in Kuwait we do things differently.” Likewise, British researchers have noted the role of pre-school television animations, such as *Postman Pat* (Horton 2008) and *Bob the Builder*, in representing aspects of national cultures and rehearsing the child in some norms of citizenship (Northam 2005). However, the most common focus of research in this field is on globalising forces of communications, media and the arts that are believed to bring a cosmopolitan character to the world of the child as they develop their identity.

2.5.6 National Identity and National Cinema

Although research that focuses specifically on children, mass media and national identity is limited, there is a substantial body of literature on national cinema and construction of the nation/national identity (see, for example, Hjort and MacKenzie 2000; Kinder 1993; Richards 1997). The term national cinema is used to distinguish the cinema tradition and style of a country (in contrast with Hollywood and the cinema of the United States). National cinema is both inward and outward looking, *“reflecting on the nation itself, on its past, present and future, its cultural heritage, its indigenous traditions, its sense of common identity and continuity ... and asserting its difference ... proclaiming its sense of otherness”* (Hjort and MacKenzie 2000, p. 67). Literature on national cinema is of interest in this study because the most common type of brand story is the television commercial, a highly compressed filmic text, which utilises cinematic strategies, devices and techniques. Also, from a practice perspective, in many countries national cinema and brand commercials are closely linked since they are often directed, filmed and produced by the same people.

Research into national cinema mostly takes the view that national identity may be apprehended in the narratives, iconography and recurring motifs of popular culture (Elsaesser 2005). In addressing how national cinema expresses national identity in the French context, Hayward (2005) proposes seven typologies—narratives (where the narrative is an adaptation of an indigenous text); genres (certain types are characteristic of particular nations); codes and conventions (production practices become typical); gesturality and morphology (intonations, attitudes and postures are rooted in a nation's culture); the star as sign (actors embody national cultural codes); cinema of the centre and of the periphery (mainstream, heartland cinema contrasts with its less conventional, avant-garde and narrow-interest films); cinema as the mobiliser of both the nation's myths, and, the myth of the nation (the texture of

society is reflected in cinema as political, social and economic changes occur). These typologies, which offer insights into elements of cinematic texts, also provide a useful framework for analysing television advertisements with respect to national identity. Such a framework might be beneficial in the analysis of which elements of brands reveal national identity.

2.5.7 Relevance of National Identity Construct

The relevance of national identity, as a valid contemporary consumer construct, needs to be examined and justified, since it is subject to both indifference and outright criticism in some scholarly writing. There are claims that national identity is becoming weaker (Ohmae 1995) and in some quarters there is a sense that national identity is an obsolete and limiting construct (Broun 2004). National identity (in Britain at least) became unfashionable in the 1960s according to Richards (1997, p. xi), because of “*19th century overtones of race, empire and hierarchy*”. And, within US based publications, national identity, unlike patriotism, has not been a highly popular topic for study in recent times. As Billig (1995, p.10) notes, “*American theories of ‘society’ have frequently ignored the ways that American nationhood is flagged.*”

Social identities, such as national identity, are subject to powerful globalising forces and are reportedly becoming more fragmented, and increasingly disembedded and rootless (Giddens 1991). Stalnaker (2002) and other globalisation commentators argue that national identity is now almost irrelevant, since many consumers (at least in advanced economy countries) have an external focus and global outlook. However, globalisation scholars are divided as to whether there is increasing homogeneity, or perhaps more diversity and/or hybridisation in identities (Hogan 1999). One view is that the very processes of globalisation are partly responsible for an apparent increase in the importance and significance of ethnic and national identities. In a more globalised world, paradoxically, consumers would have multiple allegiances, simultaneously having a heightened sensibility of national identity (Featherstone 1995) and belonging to a stateless global class of consumer (Levitt 1983). As discussed next, there is evidence to suggest that this is, indeed, what is happening.

A review of the literature in several specialist journals devoted to the study of nations and identity, including *National Identities*, *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and*

Ethnicity and Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture, points to numerous contemporary contexts where national identity is being actively negotiated and is relevant and important. Furthermore, seminal texts, such as the newly updated *Discursive Construction of National Identity* grounded in the Austrian context, show significant changes in the substance of public and semi-public discourse of national identity as time passes and circumstances change (Wodak et al. 2009). Many national communities are struggling to reach agreement and fully develop their collective national identity, unlike the US, whose people share a binding loyalty to a defined set of foundational, core values (Mitchell 2007). In various situations national identity is being revised and updated as communities grapple with issues of colonisation and indigenous populations, recent establishment and linkages with other nations or economic communities, ethnic diversity and the effects of biases in immigration policies—including in this are the European Union countries and others once part of the USSR and Yugoslavia, many African nations and countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand which are part of the (British) Commonwealth. The literature, particularly in the journals named above, provides strong evidence that national identity is a project of relevance to many peoples and thus, potentially of significance to marketers as they strive to understand what is important to consumers.

National identity is a creditable form of identification. National identities are essential for maintaining self-respect, belonging, a sense of security (Nielsen 1999) and giving people meaning in their lives. Furthermore, a well developed and strong sense of national identity has the power to be a productive and enabling force within society, providing positive social capital, with benefits such as improved cooperation with others, improved information flows and more effective, better functioning government and other democratic institutions (Aldridge 2002).

With this in mind, government policy makers in many countries are actively looking for opportunities of building social capital by way of developing some shared sense of national identity and common talking points. The 'Picturing America' Program made available to schools and libraries across the United States through the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is one such initiative. Through this scheme high quality reproductions of notable American art, including paintings, sculpture, architecture, fine crafts and photography are used as a catalyst for the study of America offering "*insights into the character, ideals*

and aspirations” of the country (<http://picturingamerica.neh.gov/>). In other countries strategies such as 1) better funding public service broadcasting and the development of local programming and 2) expanding and enhancing the museum and library sectors to develop insights into national identity (including digital strategies for creation, preservation and protection of content) have been deployed in an attempt to assist community members to define who they are, what they believe in, and why they live in the place that they do (see, for example, National Library of New Zealand 2006). Ultimately, these strategies are underpinned by the provision of relevant narratives and imagery and by facilitating discourse within society—a default role that is played by brand communications.

National identity is the subject of considerable discussion and debate in New Zealand. Contemporary popular discourse ranges across a number of views, and a selection of stories is reproduced below, to illustrate the nature of discussions. Firstly, New Zealand identity is talked about as becoming more mature, confident and distinct (Keith 2008), although, there is a sense that “*we’re a settler society but nothing is quite settled*” (Hill 2010, 13 May). The Gallipoli campaign⁵ in World War One is seen as having been instrumental in fostering a definite sense of New Zealand national identity for the first time (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2008). Furthermore, a common view is that, when Great Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, and erected trade barriers with New Zealand, this finalised the break with British identity (Liu et al. 1999). Post-colonial cultural cringe is seen as gradually receding as New Zealanders start to believe in themselves as a national community to be proud of (Johnston 2001). Successes in arts, culture and creative industries (such as film making) have been used as evidence of a distinctive cultural identity, vital for developing national identity (Skilling 2005). Maori culture is increasingly credited as forming part of national identity, since it is unique to New Zealand, and the aspect of national identity most visible to the rest of the world (Ministry of Social Development 2009). Achievement of any sort in the sporting arena continues to feed the underdog, world beating, feisty, ‘David versus Goliath’ view of New Zealand national identity. This was evident in the vast amount of talk surrounding the All Whites team performance in the FIFA (Fédération Internationale

⁵ The grievous failures of the Allies against the Turkish defenders lead to the deaths of 2721 New Zealanders and military defeat on the Gallipoli peninsula. This landmark event in New Zealand history is commemorated each year on ANZAC Day.

de Football Association) World Cup, and the subsequent offering of a t-shirt through viral email, emblazoned with *New Zealand: The only unbeaten team not to win the 2010 World Cup*. Likewise, the following headline featured in the *Otago Daily Times* (one of the major reputable daily newspapers) ‘All Whites’ success could see shift in national identity’ (McNeilly 2010, 22 June) referring to soccer football as possibly upstaging the historical following of rugby football as a national pastime. In short, national identity is a matter of interest, and a worthy topic of conversation amongst New Zealanders.

The importance of national identity varies between people and is more heightened in some circumstances. In this study of brands and national identity, there is no attempt to measure the relative strength of national identity. Nor is there any critical commentary on the implications of having strong or weak national identity. It is not the intention to analyse the distinctiveness of New Zealand national identity or to evaluate the success or otherwise of government policies to advance national identity projects. New Zealand debates regarding bi-culturalism and post-colonial effects are not entered into. Contestability and critiques of homogeneous, singular unified narratives of national identity are put aside for the purposes of this research. Connotations of strong nationalist tendencies as mechanisms of exclusion and oppression are not the subject of this study. In summary, national identity is not problematised as a potentially negative construct. National identity is engaged with simply as an academically interesting form of social identity, affected by brands, and relevant to consumers in many parts of the world.

The arguments presented in this section have justified national identity as an important dimension of contemporary consumer life. Even if national identity is not consciously activated every day this thesis assumes that it constitutes a significant dimension of the social self. Communities where national identity is a matter of interest and concern provide greater potential for the study of brands as a resource for the construction and negotiation of national identity. By studying national communities that are in the process of developing a confident sense of identity (for example, New Zealand), researchers might expect to find richer insights into the issues of national identity construction.

2.5.8 Nation and National Identity in Marketing and Advertising

Although there are few studies in the marketing literature that claim to be examining national identity *per se*, there are a number of loosely connected areas of research, as well as the extensive country-of-origin and ethnocentrism literature. In the following sections an overview of some of this literature is provided. However, none of the studies cast much light on the issues of consumers' experiences of brands and national identity, and thus, the paucity of marketing and consumer research directly relevant to this thesis is demonstrated.

2.5.8.1 Nation Brands

In contrast to the preceding discussions of individual's consumption of brands and the effects that might have on their own sense of belonging and national identity, there is a literature on nation brands, the way that a place is perceived, especially by outsiders. The term nation brand has been applied to countries in order to develop and improve their corporate identity for various purposes. Studies suggest that nation brand strength differs between countries, conferring benefits that might be considered as competitive advantage (Anholt 2005a; Fetscherin 2010). Olins (2002, p.243) notes that nations reshape (re-brand) their identities "*because their reality changes and they need to project this real change symbolically to all the audiences, internal and external, with whom they relate*". Nation branding is undertaken by national/federal administrations using advertising campaigns designed to develop tourism, immigration and trade benefits in conjunction with export promotion organisations, investment agencies, and national tourism organisations (Dinnie et al. 2010).

Country-as-a-brand is of particular relevance to commercial enterprises and is of special concern to place marketers in managing destination branding (Pike et al. 2010). National airlines and other organisations who wish to develop in-bound national tourism strategies, and those seeking to attract investment and business to a geographic region utilise branding principles when communicating the merits of a country (Kotler and Gertner 2002). Country-as-a-brand is also significant for international business ventures; for example, New Zealand wine industry export organisations developed a coherent national brand critical to sustaining a high value proposition in the face of aggressive competition (Lewis 2008).

There is a reported connection between how a nation is perceived externally and its most famous brands. Research suggests that brands may be vectors of national image, so that, for

example, “*children [in the US] know Japan as Sony, Nintendo, Hello Kitty and Pokémon*” (Anholt 2005b, p.134). Anholt (2005a) also suggests that ‘brand America’ is substantially founded on Coke, Disney, Pepsi, Levi’s, Nike and Marlboro. A recent study, published in a special issue of *International Marketing Review* devoted to nation branding, also investigated the use of country names embedded in brand names, such as Mozambique Cellular, Singapore Airlines and British Paints (Lee et al. 2010). However, this study of brand preference is conceptually grounded in the ethnocentrism literature and, like the other nation brand studies, does not contribute anything useful to the question of how consumer identities are affected by brands.

2.5.8.2 Patriotism in Advertisements

Appeals to patriotism is a small area of advertising scholarship. Patriotism is defined as “*strong feelings of attachment and loyalty to one’s own country, but without corresponding hostility towards other nations*” (Balabanis et al. 2001, p.160) and is conceptually different but related to ethnocentrism. (For a comprehensive overview of ethnocentrism in the literature, the reader is referred to Balabanis et al. 2001; de Ruyter, van Birgelen, and Wetzels 1998; Shankarmahesh 2006). Research on patriotism has centred on the success (or lack thereof) of advertising practices in relation to marketing strategy. There was a reported upsurge of patriotism in the US post September 11, and researchers commented on the dilemma for advertisers in either ignoring such strong widespread sentiments or focusing on company patriotism, at the expense of other more pertinent product benefits (Gelb 2002; McMellon and Long 2004).

Interestingly, US patriotic trademark applications increased immediately after the events of 9/11, and there were reported increases in requests to use images of soldiers, the American flag and ‘patriot’ trademarks (Anon 2004). Patriotic appeals reported in the literature tend to be no more than overt statements of corporate support for political administrations and wartime activities (notably, for the Bush administration and activities in Iraq and Afghanistan). The use of more sophisticated embedded symbolism and iconography in patriotic appeals is rarely mentioned in the literature.

One notable mention of patriotic imagery is made in a semiotic analysis of Wal-Mart advertising flyers conducted by Arnold, Kozinets and Handelman (2001). Their analysis

suggests that the growth of the retailer Wal-Mart is directly attributable to their deliberate strategy of symbolically linking the Wal-Mart brand to dominant ideologies of American life—including imagery of patriotism, notably the frequent use of the Stars and Stripes flag in advertising material. However, while the flag is easy to categorise as a patriotic symbol, many of the other powerful elements that Arnold et al (2001) identified might alternatively be deemed to relate more to the identity of American people rather than the state. The strength of the Wal-Mart campaign comes from interlinked imagery that is connected with American life and that extends beyond simple patriotism to a complex blend of cultural values that have appeal to working class, rural and small town family women.

2.5.8.3 Advertisement Country of Origin

There is a vast literature on country of origin effects as they relate to marketing in general and the reader is referred to studies and reviews of the literature in this area (see, for example, Dinnie 2004; Pappu, Quester, and Cooksey 2007; Peterson and Jolibert 1995; Verlegh and Steenkamp 1999). Linked to country of origin of products and brands research, are studies of the perceived place of origin of advertisements. O'Donohoe (1999) found that young adults in Scotland used 'localness' as an organising category when sorting groups of commercials. Advertisements for brands that were locally manufactured and/or that had 'seeped into the fabric' of local culture were classified as Scottish, as well as those commercials using authentic regional settings combined with iconic characters/popular national acting talent (O'Donohoe 1999).

O'Donohoe found that reactions to particular caricatures of Scottish identity were strong, as participants disapproved of brands that tried too hard to establish their Scottish credentials and made glaringly obvious appeals to national pride. Brands whose advertising resonated well with the participants' sense of national identity used fewer, more subtle elements, such as local band music, familiar backdrops and even a native bird (O'Donohoe 1999). Conversely, a sense of 'otherness' was perceived in some commercials, where the pace of life, the glamour, pushiness and daringness (and high production values) spoke of what the Scottish identity was not. However, O'Donohoe concluded that the level of Scottish affiliation varied such that participants were comfortable with generic British or even European identification sometimes but at other times felt bitterness that Scottishness was marginalised.

2.5.8.4 National Identity in Advertisements

Within the popular culture literature MacGregor (2003) analysed why a Canadian beer television commercial *Molson* 'I am Canadian' had such widespread impact. MacGregor suggests that the question of national identity is of great concern to Canadians who, like New Zealanders, live alongside a similar but larger and powerful nation. While the advertisement referred to iconic national symbols such as the maple leaf and the beaver, explicit statements about perceived *values* formed the most important part of the rhetorical impact. This unique advertisement certainly provided resources to the television viewing public and to brand supporters for use in confirming what it is to be a member of a community or a nation.

2.5.8.5 National Identity and Icons in New Zealand Advertising

The use of visual coding and recognisable national and cultural markers in brand advertising is widespread in New Zealand. In an ethnographic and semiotic exploration of Australian and New Zealand advertisements Denny et al. (2005) suggest that, "*given the predilection [in New Zealand and Australia] for including advertising into the discourse of understanding national identity (unlike the U.S.) it has the potential to play a significant role, even while selling us something*". Advertisements employing nationalistic sentiments are used by brands in many other national markets although the blatant use of patriotic appeals to stimulate buying behaviour is distasteful, as reported by O'Donohoe (1999). However, according to Desmarais (2005, p.21), the drive to present national identity in advertising is far stronger in New Zealand than France. He suggests that using national identity and national characteristics in appeals that "*go straight for the nationalist heartstrings*" to create "*an imagined community and elicit respect, admiration and emotion*" is a small country effect (Desmarais 2005, p.21). Studies of Wal-mart fliers in the US might suggest otherwise (Arnold et al. 2001) but despite his assertion about small and large countries, Desmarais' findings lend support to Elliott and Wattanasuwan's (1998) model of the construction of self and social identity from the mediated experience of brands, at least in the New Zealand context.

Local practitioners believe that overt appeals to national pride and the use of prominent New Zealand iconography may provide comfort to advertising consumers. Lawrence (1998) posits that, after exposure to (sometimes) unpleasant reality in the local news, positive New Zealand brand associations in advertisements restore some sense of national unity and belonging.

Lawrence (1998) cites a selection of television campaigns that have a Kiwi⁶ ‘feel good’ factor and unashamedly appeal to a New Zealand sense of national pride. While the appeal of his selected advertisements is obvious, it is my view that other brand campaigns, such as those employed by low cost general merchandise retailer *The Warehouse* and do-it-yourself (DIY) retailer and building material merchant *Benchmark Building Supplies* also speak strongly of what it is to be a New Zealander using more subtle means, as implied by Billig’s (1995) concept of banal nationalism. These subtle means include the use of ethnically representative talent, ‘the common man/woman’ as non-celebrity endorsers, and minor celebrities (such as aging local pop stars), use of familiar settings, inclusion of distinctive local vernacular language, celebration of values such as rugged masculinity, informality, DIY and giving a helping hand in community activities.

New Zealand national identity is operationalised in a number of high profile brand campaigns on a level that is more sophisticated than a simple ‘country of origin’ effect in advertising. Displays of national identity are not limited to local brands seeking patronage justified on the basis of parochial issues. Brands with a well-known foreign heritage such as Japanese based *Toyota* have successfully encapsulated powerful elements of New Zealand national identity in their advertising campaigns, ranging from the umbrella brand commercials for ‘Everyday people’ to the controversial *Hilux* ‘Bugger’ and ‘Bulls’ farm themed advertisements.

Part of the appeal of embedding national identity in advertisements lies in the strong emotional connections that can be made with viewers and in the ability to demonstrate that a product is well-suited to the needs of potential consumers. More importantly, the advertiser can provide both lifestyle and social context that informs the viewer about who they become when they consume the brand and who the other consumers are (Leiss et al. 1986). Categories of consumption are made visible through advertising (Otnes and Scott 1996), therefore national community practices may be demonstrated.

The resonating icons and heroes that drove national pride in New Zealand advertising in 1998 were captured in a commercial research project and linked to six “Kiwi Personality Types”. This research is presented in Table 3. Future research into New Zealand national identity

⁶ Kiwi (*adj.*) means characteristic of New Zealand or New Zealanders (Source: NZ Oxford Dictionary)

might reasonably expect to reveal updated icons and heroes linked to broadly similar Kiwi identity characteristics.

Table 3. Kiwi Personality Types (adapted from Lawrence 1998, p.36)

Kiwi Personality type	Dominating characteristic	Resonating Icons & Heroes
Intrepid	Need to be free & liberated	Sir Edmund Hillary Lucy Lawless Queenstown
Powerful	Need to stand out and be seen as a world beater	All Blacks Sir Peter Blake Auckland
Worldly	Want to be effective, informed, intelligent & seen as in control in the world	Dame Kiri Te Kanawa Wellington
Gentle	Want to feel caring, secure, protected & safe	Dame Whina Cooper Koru ⁷ Native bush Ferns, Kiwi
Family	Need to feel part of a community	Fred Dagg Heartland/Gary McCormick
Easy-Going	Seek to feel part of shared experience; sociable & playful	Billy T James BBQ Auckland or Queenstown

2.5.9 Linking National Identity and Brands

From both brand researcher and practitioner perspectives there are a number of compelling reasons for taking an interest in national identity. National identity has been shown to be relevant to contemporary consumers in many places, as discussed earlier. The potential for brands to contribute to identity projects has already been proposed in the literature, notably by Elliott and Wattanasuwan (1998). According to the Brand Culture perspective (Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006) cultural processes affect brands; consumers, surrounded by and in association with brand culture, co-produce brand experiences and meaning, (re)-creating and affirming identities (such as a global consumer identity, Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 1999).

⁷ Koru is a spiral shape symbolising new life and growth, integral to Maori art

The role of brands in creating identities is also developed by Cayla and Eckhardt (2008) who studied new trans-national identities in the Asian context. Drawing on Anderson's (1983) ideas of imagined communities, they investigated the role of brands in creating connections between people living in different countries across Asia and the shared sense of belonging and consciousness of a pan-regional identity. While Cayla and Eckhardt's study is particularly focused on the brand management activities of regional brands that are trying to divorce themselves from any specific national connections, it is clear that brands live as stories in the minds of consumers and contribute to "*the range of identities that people can use to think of themselves*" (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008, p.226).

Having established that brands are used by consumers to create identities and that national identity is an over-arching, relevant and contemporary form of social identity then it must be assumed that brands also have the potential to contribute resources to that type of identity. However, a review of trade literature indicates that national identity is an issue that has not yet been given much consideration in the brand marketing practitioner arena. Furthermore, there is a gap in the academic literature when it comes to linking brands and national identity. Published studies to date have not considered the potential of brands as playing a part in consumer national identity projects or in providing the link between consumers who share national identity.

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

The literature reviewed in the preceding sections has been used to inform the primary research objective of understanding the role that brand experiences play in national identity. Several important points have been established and gaps in the literature have been identified. Firstly, there is a paucity of studies that elaborate the role of brands in consumer's lives and capture the consumer experience of brands within a social context. Secondly, little research has been done to theorise the way that consumers utilise brand narratives for their own purposes. Thirdly, a useful model of brands as resources used in the ongoing project of construction and updating self and social identity has been proposed in the literature and warrants further exploration. Fourthly, the desire to create and re-create a sense of personal purpose and belonging within a group, and the potential brands have to contribute to community projects has been established. Fifthly, brandtalk and other social processes have

been alluded to in studies of brands and community but there is little research explicating exactly what these processes entail. Finally, the significance of national identity as one type of social identity that draws on brand resources in co-creating community has been identified as important but remains unexplored in the literature.

2.7 Research Questions

Gaps in the literature have been exposed and thus the research questions that this study will address are now presented in summary:

1. How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?
2. What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction to Methodology

This chapter utilises a particular structure detailing the tools, methods, methodology, theoretical perspective and epistemology underpinning investigation of the research problem identified in the literature review. Taking heed of Crotty's (1998) advice, that in laying out the justification of a research project one may proceed in any direction so long as the reader is provided with a useful structure, this chapter generally progresses from specific tools and methods towards more philosophical issues. After an exposition of the research objectives and questions, particulars regarding data collection and analysis are described and justified. From there the reader is provided with a discussion of philosophical issues arising from the methodology employed, particularly relating to introspection and narrative construction. To complete the justification of the entire methodology adopted in this thesis, the epistemology is identified, explained and justified. Finally discussions about research design integrity and quality measures are presented.

3.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The research objectives and questions that guide this study correspond with the gaps identified in the literature. At the broadest level, this is a study of consumers' lived experiences of brand and national identity or more particularly, how brands affect national identity. The two specific linked objectives of this study are:

1. To understand the role that brand experiences play in national identity.
2. To develop theory that expands our understanding of brands as experiential entities for use in national identity projects.

As the literature review indicates, the role that brand experiences play in national identity has not been the subject of reported studies. Thus, it is appropriate in this under-developed research area to guide the study with research questions that are as open as possible and that allow findings to emerge independently of the researcher's prior assumptions drawn from the literature. The research questions are re-stated and explained in more detail below.

The first research question that this study addressed was:

1. How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?

This question was fundamental to the overall research objective of understanding the role that brand experiences play in national identity. As a first step in the project it was essential to understand which elements of brands reveal national identity. Secondly, it was important to benchmark contemporary experiences of how national identity is operationalised by brands in marketing communications. Furthermore, the study has been operationalised in such a way as to capture consumer experiences of brand communications that both overtly and subtly affect national identity. The first research question was intended to generate deeper understanding of specific brand experiences that impact on national identity, the authenticity of such resources and the degree to which they resonate with brand consumers. Given that the study has been conducted in the New Zealand context, this question was designed to reveal experiences of how New Zealand national identity is experienced in brand communications.

The second research question was designed to examine the processes affecting national identity and the effect of brand experiences on social linkages between consumers (in particular on shared national identity) as envisaged by Cova (1997).

2. What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?

It pre-supposes that the personal self is informed by interactions with others and thus, national identity is comprehended communally and singularly. The question was intended to generate a deeper understanding of the mechanisms whereby common national identity meanings are formed by groups of consumers (refer to Muñiz and O'Guinn 2005) and social identity is affected as a result of brand experiences (refer to Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998). Most importantly, it was intended to investigate the group processes of a national community as they utilise brand stories.

3.3 Methods

3.3.1 Overview of Methods

In brief, the research objective of understanding consumers' lived experiences of brands and national identity was addressed in this study through a series of activities which included the generation of autobiographical life-history narratives, depth interviews with friendship pairs of consumers and the production of co-created narratives in response to familiar television advertisements, using a hermeneutic approach to analysis and sense making. Inter-connected communal and singular constructions of national identity were produced by twenty middle aged female consumers over a period of months. In addition, narratives were produced by other people acting in various roles, including the researcher and her supervisor; film, television and media, cultural and advertising researchers who constituted the expert panel; various advertising industry practitioners; and, friends and colleagues engaged during the snowball recruiting process. Finally, another type of narrative collection was employed, using a member checking and follow-up process, where reflections on previously generated narratives were elicited, adding to the depth and range of experiences available for analysis. Interviews were digitally audio-taped and transcribed. Subsequent analysis was facilitated using NVivo8 qualitative data management software.

Details of the methods and tools used in this study are presented next. More complex dimensions of the production of multiple narratives, contributing to a single overall narrative, for use in building theory in this project are discussed separately. The section proceeds in chronological order, starting with advertisement selection and the expert panel phase, and then progressing to participant recruitment, specific interview techniques and analysis. The rationale for the choice of method ends this section.

3.3.2 Development of National Identity Categorisation

In preparation for evaluating brand advertisement suitability for inclusion in the study regarding their richness in aspects of New Zealand national identity, the researcher developed a five point categorisation of New Zealand national identity. The categories derived from the literature were myths; collective values and rituals; psychological characteristics and national stereotypes; attachment to place; and popular symbols. In the following discussion the five interlinked elements of national identity are elaborated and examples of each of the

categories are provided. These examples represent the ‘second cut’, that is to say, the understanding achieved by the researcher from the literature, further enhanced through consultation with another person, the research supervisor, and refined after further personal reflection.

3.3.2.1 Myths

The first category, myths, informs most of the other categories but stands alone, representing the well-spring of stories that we (I speak of myself as a New Zealander) tell about New Zealand identity to ourselves, our children, each other and outsiders seeking a glimpse of New Zealandness. (New Zealandness is a widely used term, defined by Meredith 1998, as “who we are as New Zealanders”). These myths may be considered the nation’s foundational narratives, the ones that are mobilised in national cinema as discussed earlier. Bell (1996) refers to a variety of inherently positive myths of Pakeha identity which include:

- Discovery of *Arcadia* by Captain Cook.
- Safe, secure insular home nestled in an unspoiled natural paradise.
- Hardy colonial heroes and tough pioneering people who had to be physically superior to survive.
- Backyard geniuses who are self-sufficient, resourceful, multi-skilled and ingenious when facing challenges, developing such innovations as HamiltonJet and enterprises such as Weta Workshop.
- Egalitarian, classless society, with a friendly, casual approach where mateship and the crew approach, mucking in to help are typical. Other commentators suggest that this is manifested in a strong sentiment of anti-intellectualism, where academic pursuits are equated with becoming superior (Pearson 1952). Simmons (2007, p.7) attributes anti-intellectualism to pioneers “*favouring pragmatic action over thought and imagination.*”
- Golden age where a great way of life in the past is nostalgically celebrated, albeit a sanitised, simplified and re-envisaged past where New Zealand was prosperous, had a very high standard of living and strong social indicators.
- Idyllic, wholesome and stable small town life.
- New Zealanders are winners. We can be proud. We are doing well.
- Greatest travellers, separated by most distance from the rest of the world.

- Comfortable, liberal, racially harmonious, anti-racist, sports loving people who don't make a fuss.
- Rugged masculinity, where men are undemonstrative, suspicious of emotional attachments, self reliant, outsiders in their own land, and alone in the world, in the manner articulated in John Mulgan's (1939) novel *Man Alone*.
- Communal celebrations are mainly rituals involving males and sport.

Scholars refer to a wide variety of other New Zealand myths in the literature, (see, for example, Dow 1995; Martin 1989; Morris 2005) including:

- Decent and fair-minded citizens, not corrupt, law-abiding descendants of British Protestants. A foundation of the best stock, not based on convicts, ensures that New Zealanders are more refined than Australians.
- Do-it-yourselfers, with a 'can-do', never-say-die attitude. Live life with a work hard, play hard attitude which spills over into sporting activity and athletic prowess.
- For a small country in a big world we punch above our weight, against the odds. Examples include Hillary, Lovelock, Lange and the Oxford Union debate, and the contribution of disproportionately large numbers of servicemen and women to world wars.
- The national character was forged and proved in World War 1 and again in World War 2, especially with ANZAC soldiers and the Maori Battalion.
- New Zealanders are enlightened, early adopters of social advances, who do the right thing. Evidence of this includes giving the vote to women, eight hour working days and other labour laws, Plunket nurses and social welfare programmes.
- Community prosperity has been built from the fat of the land. High standards in the farming sector are supported by good organisations, ingenuity, strong science and technology.
- We are wholesome, good strong healthy people due to the advantages of (nuclear free) fresh air and sunshine, high quality locally grown produce, good standards of education for all and strong traditions of exercise and organised sport for girls and boys.
- Everyone can have a place to call their own. In Austin Mitchell's (1972) commentary *The Half Gallon Quarter Acre Pavlova Paradise*, he highlights the importance of home ownership and having your own land.

- There has been a good state of race relations by world standards, made easy because Maori were more advanced than other indigenous groups (particularly in comparison to Australian aboriginals). Maori were conceived as typically happy-go-lucky, friendly, musical, and non-materialistic.
- Quiet self confidence, with a well grounded, no nonsense “She’ll be right” attitude.
- Wariness of authority and having sympathy for the underdog.
- A community foundation of capable women who deal with all eventualities, exemplified by farming women who feed the shearers, and individuals such as Sonja Davies, Aunt Daisy and Helen Clark.

3.3.2.2 Collective Values and Rituals

The collective values and rituals category elaborates New Zealand culture and community behaviours. In this category are the group activities and social norms that are motivated by specific customs, institutions, rituals and myths that create social identities (Capie and McGhie 2005, p.231). Community is enacted through signs and meanings that characterise group life and permanent ritual. This category includes the following values: Maori values and culture; small town life and values; rejecting unnecessary restrictions; doing the right thing; giving a hand; DIY; unhurried slow pace; informality; anti intellectualism; tall poppy syndrome; healthy and hearty; high quality of life; clean and green; desire for world acceptance; the ANZAC spirit; and practices such as impromptu community activity; backyard barbeques; overseas experience (OE); intrepid travel; inevitable return to New Zealand and battle with Aussies (Australians).

3.3.2.3 Psychological Characteristics and National Stereotypes

National identity is expressed through the socially oriented activities outlined above and also through generalised aspects of individual self identity. Selfhood includes images of individuality and distinctiveness held and projected in relations with others. Nationally distinctive personal psychological characteristics and stereotypes are perpetuated through repeated telling of stories and Perry (1994) refers to essential defining attributes and characteristics that can be mapped in the New Zealand context. Stories are built around national character with reference to rugged masculine individualism, tenacious self-determination, utilitarian ingenuity tempered by ironic, self-deprecating egalitarianism and

individual and collective brilliance in problem solving in social and pragmatic spheres (McCreanor 2005, p.55). One prominent stereotype is the Kiwi bloke whose life is simplified as loving rugby, racing and beer. Other commonly cited personal characteristics are: good humoured; quirky sense of humour; prone to understatement; casualness; friendliness; not brashness, forwardness or pushiness; reticence; self-doubting; emotionally stunted (men)—tough but soft hearted; capable women—domestic monsters.

3.3.2.4 Attachment to Place

Attachment to place is a category of New Zealand identity of particular significance to this study, because of the important role that location plays in visual imagery within the New Zealand advertising context. Desire for attachment to place is evident in the powerful myth New Zealanders tell the outside world, that we are a kind of unspoiled Garden of Eden at the bottom of the world. The propagators of this myth consider it a great blessing to live in harmony with the wild and sacred natural world of New Zealand (Bell 1996). Relph (1976, p.43) suggests that virtually everyone has a deep association with, and consciousness of, the places where they were born and grew up, where they live now or where they have had particularly moving experiences; *“this association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security.”* This is especially true in New Zealand, where researchers have found a spiritual and soulful relationship with the land and *“New Zealanders’ sense of self-definition is heavily bound up with love of the natural world”* (Clifton 2010).

Studies of New Zealand self image suggest that conceptions concentrate on landscape and lifestyle (Bell 1996, p.11). There is an implicit connection between nature and nationality, and New Zealanders claim a unique identity by way of reference to particulars of the natural landscape and endemic plants and animals; turning to nature is one way of accounting for distinctiveness (Bell 1996, p.8). Landscape is conceived of as being romantic and sublime, and thus man is humbled in the presence of such majestic natural phenomena. Attachment to and reverence for places is expressed in the following ways: making a place your own—backyard, neighbourhood, city or region; the bach (a modest holiday home which symbolised the beach holiday lifestyle that became more accessible to the middle class during the 20th century, Phillips 2009); ancestral and family places where spectacular scenery is the backdrop to everyday life; sublime and often untouched world of native bush, snow

mountains, beaches, rivers, harbours, volcanic cones, farmland; open spaces; clear skies and sunshine. While New Zealanders are not unique in claiming ‘God’s own country’—this epithet is also used in connection with Kerala (India), Yorkshire (England), Australia and for many years in Rhodesia—New Zealanders have an overriding sense of belonging in Godzone, a sentiment reinforced by Rudyard Kipling who in 1891 epitomised the beauty of Auckland in the lines “*Last, loneliest, loveliest, exquisite, apart.*” A contemporary rendering of this paradise myth is also captured in the phrase ‘a slice of heaven,’ lyrics made famous in the 1986 movie *Footrot Flats*.

3.3.2.5 Popular Symbols

Distinctive, quintessential symbols of the nation are recognised by those who share national identity. Familiarity with the codes and meanings confers insider status within the national group. An instant sense of New Zealand is achieved by kiwiana (Bell 1996, p.179)—icons including the kiwi (bird) and tiki⁸, along with branded goods and pop culture items generally seen as a form of kitsch. Similarly, buildings, signage, statues and symbolic artefacts link the whole nation (Bell 1996, p.103). References to popular history, heroes, current events and issues also serve as a sign of identity, and reinforce the sense of *what is ours*. This ensures that Kiwi music, Maori waiata⁹ and haka¹⁰, certain voices, local accents in speech and other aspects of language are recognised as distinguishing features of New Zealandness. Similarly, symbols of rugby players, the All Blacks’ uniform, and the familiar look of a mixed group of typical New Zealanders with mostly British, Maori and Pasifika heritage play a part in determining who we recognise as *us*. (In New Zealand, Pasifika is a term which refers to people with genealogical connections to islands scattered throughout the Pacific Ocean, particularly those in Polynesia, and to a lesser extent Melanesia and Micronesia).

⁸ A tiki is a figure in Maori carving representing a human embryo (Source: NZ Oxford Dictionary)

⁹ Waiata is a Maori song (Source: NZ Oxford Dictionary)

¹⁰ Haka is a traditional warlike Maori posture dance with chanting (Source: NZ Oxford Dictionary)

3.3.3 Brand Advertisement Selection

With the assistance of members of the Communication Agencies Association of New Zealand (CAANZ), the researcher evaluated a range of television advertisements with a view to selecting a short list of approximately 20 brand television commercials (TVCs) that may be relevant to New Zealand identity, either directly or indirectly. The selection was then assessed by a panel of experts.

After analysing current relationships between agencies and their clients' brands advertised in New Zealand, the researcher successfully contacted all of the local advertising agencies aligned to the top four global advertising groups and a selection of the larger independent agencies. A total of 16 agencies supplied the researcher with DVD copies of recent TVCs deemed to have some possible relevance to the project. The selection of possible TVCs from the agencies' collections proceeded in several different ways according to what suited the organisations. This ranged from the researcher gaining complete access to digital archives at an agency, to meetings and discussions with key personnel about their client list and suggestions of material that might be suitable, to the researcher requesting material relating to pre-identified brand campaigns. The whole process was characterised by much goodwill on the part of advertising agency staff and the researcher gained the cooperation of all agencies that were approached. 180 unique television commercials representing 73 different brands were collected.

A short list selection of advertisements was generated using the national identity categorisation framework, with the intention of generating a selection of advertisements that offered different signs of New Zealand identity, variation in execution styles, and different categories of products and services with at least some being non-New Zealand based brands. The chosen advertisements must have screened in New Zealand, had not been judged in breach of the Advertising Code, and were intended for adult rather than child audiences. As this was a study of branding from a consumer perspective, social marketing campaigns, television programme trailers, political and public service message advertising were excluded so that the focus stayed exclusively on for-profit goods and services that could easily be recognised by participants as brands.

An expert panel of three senior Marketing and Film, TV and Media Studies academics was used to more fully assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of the short listed

advertisements. As a group, the panellists had a deep knowledge of branding, advertising, New Zealand cinema, film and cultural theory. The researcher met with the expert panel and gave a briefing on the nature and objectives of the proposed research project. She also presented the five point categorisation of New Zealand national identity for discussion and approval before proceeding. Viewing of the short listed advertisements followed, and the commentary about each brand advertisement was structured using the categorisation framework that had been agreed on. Extensive written notes were taken at the meeting and form the basis of the expert analysis of advertisements reported in section 4.5. In essence, the expert panel identified many elements of New Zealand national identity, as per the categorisation, in every brand advertisement. The expert panel did not reject any of the short listed brand advertisements as being unsuitable for the study.

After this selection process had been completed, compilation disks were made by Digital Media Services in the University of Auckland Business School. In this process the files were standardised and saved in both DVD video and WMV video format. The advertisements could then be played on almost any type of PC or laptop computer as required.

3.3.3.1 Secondary Data on Brands

Once the brand advertisement selection process was complete the researcher gathered secondary data regarding the specific brand campaigns. Information was sourced from trade publications, press releases and web pages sponsored by brands, the advertising industry, regulatory bodies, consumer interest groups and bloggers. The secondary data provided useful supplementary material and often gave a point of comparison between official intentions of the brand communications, the opinions of other parties and those derived during the study.

3.3.4 Participant Selection Criteria

A central feature of this study was the deliberate recruitment of participants whose profile broadly matched that of the researcher. In order to take a more tightly focused approach to the study of the issues, the research was confined to a study of people who had several aspects of their life experience in common—namely that they were women, approximately in the 40-50 year old age group, New Zealand born OR had permanent residency in New Zealand, spoke English and, most importantly, considered themselves to have a New Zealand

national identity. However, within these boundaries the study explored the experiences of various participants in order to capture contrasting views that help define the limits for generalising the findings (Eisenhardt 1989).

There were both theoretical and practical advantages in using these selection criteria. Firstly, the participant profile broadly matched that of the researcher, which facilitated openness during the interviews to some extent, as reported by Song and Parker (1995) who found that assumptions about the interviewer's cultural identity may fundamentally affect what participants disclose and the manner in which it is done. The justification for using women participants also took into account the literature which suggested that same gender interviewee and interviewer pairs facilitate personal conversations relating to lived experiences—although it is over-simplistic to suggest that because of shared gender alone the interviewer necessarily has a superior interpretation of the participants' experiences (Riessman 1991). In his book on focus group research Fern (2001) summarises a number of studies relating to gender differences in self-disclosure and reciprocity. In particular he reports that women usually divulge more personally relevant information than men, particularly relating to interpersonal issues, feelings and personal problems. Furthermore, because of a tendency to match the level of disclosure of a discussion partner, Fern notes that all-female focus groups (or interviews) lead to very high levels of disclosure about a topic. Women have also been found to disclose more to both strangers and acquaintances than men. In another study Burns, Williams and Maxham (2000, p.185) found that women are more expressive than men and recommend that *“using males exclusively or using a disproportionate number of males may decrease the richness of the narrative text generated by these informants.”*

At a more prosaic level there was a close fit between the participant profile and the target market for many brand communications—middle aged household shoppers. Thus, the use of these selection criteria enhances the value of the study in terms of practitioner relevance. Since the aims of the study were to investigate brands as they affect national identity in the New Zealand context, it was essential to recruit New Zealand born or permanent residents who consider themselves to have a New Zealand national identity. The reason for recruiting English speakers was an entirely practical one given that English is the mother tongue of the researcher and 88% of the population in the Auckland region speak English (Statistics NZ

2006a). Finally, from a cost and convenience perspective there were advantages in conducting the study in a single geographic region, Auckland, which represents 32.8% of the New Zealand resident population according to the 2006 census provisional statistics (Statistics NZ 2006b).

3.3.5 Participant Recruitment Strategy

A purposive sampling technique was used in this study because there was a predefined group sought for the study based on the premise that interviewing those people would maximise chances of uncovering insights on important experiences of brand and national identity. Experienced qualitative researchers report that some participants are 'richer' than others and that greater insights and understanding would be anticipated from those people purposively selected as most suitable for a specific study. Conversely, randomly selecting participants to participate was unlikely to be very productive in an in-depth small scale study such as this.

There are a number of purposeful sampling strategies that can be used in qualitative research. Patton (2001) identifies at least 15 such strategies including extreme/deviant case sampling, intensity sampling, typical case sampling, maximum variation sampling, stratified purposeful sampling, homogeneous sampling, critical case sampling, snowball/chain sampling, criterion sampling, theory-based/operational construct sampling, confirming/disconfirming case sampling, purposeful random sampling, politically important sampling, convenience sampling, and opportunistic sampling. In this study the goal was to analyse experiences that were common and typical of the people in a heterogeneous group of society, rather than to document extreme and atypical experiences. Hence a snowball mechanism was used to recruit twenty women.

Acquaintances of the researcher were asked to refer a pre-prepared written call for participants to whomever they considered typical New Zealand women that might be interested in the study. The researcher suggested that the most suitable women would be those in the 40-50 age group, living in the wider Auckland region, who were either born in New Zealand or had lived here since childhood and considered themselves to be New Zealanders. The potential participants were also required to be prepared and willing to talk about themselves and their lives. Those who expressed definite interest in participating either contacted the researcher directly or provided a phone number and asked for the researcher to

contact them. Each volunteer was asked to recruit another woman, who met the same criteria as nearly as possible, to make up a friendship pair. During this recruitment process the researcher screened each of the potential participants during a telephone conversation to ensure that the people were comfortable and able to take part in an interview and tell their story. Finally, participants were invited to nominate suitable times and quiet locations for interviews to take place. None of the participants was known to the researcher prior to the study.

Snowballing was useful in this context because the technique yielded a sample based on referrals made by people who shared or knew others who presented the characteristics that were of research interest. This technique has been successfully deployed before in the social sciences to study sensitive topics, rare traits, personal networks, and social relationships (Bernard 2000) and is particularly relevant to a social constructionist epistemology as will be discussed later. While this research was not concerned with marginalised persons or rare conditions, the use of snowballing via personal networks and social relationships greatly facilitated the recruitment of willing and suitable people with strong communication skills to take part in this study and to generate rich information.

This snowball technique was valuable as a practical means of making contact with people who met certain criteria and who were articulate and interested in the research topic. However, it was also useful as a method of sampling in the formal sense, so that a variety of people, with different consumption philosophies, media usage patterns and ethnic heritages etc, who represented typical cases but were not part of the immediate social network of the researcher were sampled. Another benefit of this personal referral technique was that it added to the credibility and trustworthiness of the researcher. Potential participants knew and trusted the referees as they in turn vouched for the researcher's credibility (Ger and Sandikci 2006).

Because snowball sampling is specifically identified by The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) as posing potential ethical risks, special care was taken to ensure that the Privacy Act (1993) was not contravened and that the other issues of concern to UAHPEC were avoided. The researcher did not make requests for participation from any organisation or its employees or directly to any woman—all requests were made by intermediate persons to private acquaintances at their own pace and at their own discretion.

The number of participants in this research was determined as the study proceeded and comprised 20 women—i.e. ten friendship pairs. According to Patton (2001), within qualitative inquiry, rules for sample size do not exist. The decision of sample size depends on several of factors, notably the research question and the purpose of the study, the richness and variety of experiences captured and what can be managed effectively within a time and resources (Patton 2001). In this study theoretical and convenience factors prevailed as the aim was to collect sufficient data that might explain certain theoretical concepts, processes and events described in the literature. A decision to stop recruitment was made during the study when no new themes emerged from the interviews—what Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to as theoretical saturation. This also accords with Spiggle's (1994) framework regarding data collection and iterative processes used in analysis and interpretation of qualitative data in consumer research.

3.3.6 Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Forms

Ethical approval was granted for this research by the UAHPEC in accordance with University of Auckland regulations, reference number 2008/275. The Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Forms as approved by UAHPEC are included in Appendices 2 and 3.

3.3.7 Participant Compensation

In recognition of the time commitment required for this study the researcher made \$100 donations to charity as nominated by each participant. Each participant was asked to choose a charity from a list of ten registered charities and was sent a letter verifying that the \$100 donation had been made in her name as specified. The purpose of the donations was to show gratitude to the participants, particularly in view of the time commitment required for the interviews. (Refer to Appendix 4). It remained the absolute right of participants to withdraw themselves or their information from the research up to 28/08/09 without giving any reason, irrespective of whether or not a donation had already been made. Details of these arrangements were described in Participant Information Sheets as required by UAHPEC. Refreshments at the interview sessions were provided by the researcher as a simple courtesy and acknowledgment of the commitment made by the participants.

3.3.8 Use of Two-part Interview Method

A two-part interview method was designed for this study. First, in an initial interview session, autobiographical narratives were elicited from participants. Individual participants told their own story of being a New Zealander and the things and experiences that were important to their New Zealand identity. Biographical narrative approaches have the advantage of focusing on issues in terms of the implications and experiences of individual consumers with important findings flowing from detailed analyses of particular life-histories (Firkin 2004).

In the second, follow-up interview, friendship pairs of participants (previously interviewed alone) discussed brands and national identity with each other and the researcher. After an opportunity for comparison and comment on each other's key themes from the first session, participants were shown six well known local television brand communications with good quality sound and high resolution video on a laptop computer. The advertisements were used to focus their discussions on brands and the way that brands affect national identity.

Part one, where autobiographical narratives were elicited, was intended to generate insights into self and national identity. In the analysis phase these insights were compared with those generated in the second part, where participants experienced brands together and discussed national identity in relation to brand advertising. Thus, inter-connected communal and singular constructions of national identity were teased apart and examined separately and together in an iterative process of developing understanding, according to the principle of the hermeneutic circle which is discussed in more detail in 3.6.1. Both interviews were followed up with a comprehensive member-checking process, the importance of which is discussed in 3.3.9.2.

The rationale for this choice of two-stage interview method was that a qualitative, depth interview allowed the topic to be explored openly and allowed participants to express their experiences in their own words, so that their point of view was able to be understood. The interview method also offered the researcher pragmatic benefits with respect to time, cost and convenience compared to ethnographic methods, where prolonged engagements within a community would have been required.

The two-part research design provided the means of answering the two research questions: *How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications? What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?*

3.3.8.1 Life History Narrative Interview

In recent years psychologists have adapted notions of story and narrative, concepts from dramaturgical and literary discourses, to the study of identity (McAdams 2001). Using a narrative approach, identity takes the form of a personal life story that is developed by reconstructing the past in a meaningful way by reference to events and experiences which contribute to identity. Life histories are a form of self-presentation, where a particular personal-social identity is claimed by the narrator, providing a rich account of factors shaping identity. Furthermore, different individuals from the same generation share and report similar influential environmental forces on identity which can be examined and compared—see, for example, Thompson and Tian’s (2008) analysis of how reconstructions of historical and other conditions impact contemporary Southern regional identity. Thus, life histories account for the continually negotiated socio-historical context of human experience and are an improvement on identity studies of individuals as isolated entities (Strauss 1959, cited in Houkamau 2010).

The Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) is a particular approach used in social research that employs a ‘single question aimed at inducing narrative’ rather than a series of questions prompting a conversation (Wengraf 2001). While the whole of this approach was unnecessary for this study (given that issues of identity are secondary to the main construct of brand experience), it was used to provide a useful starting point for eliciting individual stories regarding national identity.

The autobiographical narrative provided a useful means of eliciting individual stories regarding national identity. These stories provided a baseline for later interviews regarding experiences of brands and national identity. At the time the interview arrangements were made the researcher briefed each person on what to expect and asked them to be ready to tell the story of their life as it illustrated (or ran counter to) typical New Zealand life. The single question aimed at inducing narrative (Wengraf 2001), posed at the start of each autobiographical interview, was:

Tell me your story of being a New Zealander and the things and experiences that are important to your New Zealand identity. Start wherever you like. Please take the time you need. I won't interrupt. I'll just take some notes for afterwards.

This question was intended to prompt an initial narrative. Since the process was unlike other market research 'question and answer' sessions that participants may have been familiar with, it was sometimes necessary for the researcher to support and encourage people in telling their story and producing a narrative (Firkin 2004). Once participants had finished their initial story the researcher then followed up with a series of probes which were structured to draw out more narratives, focusing on points of interest and clarifying anything that was unclear with respect to experiences of national identity and fitting into a New Zealander mould. Firkin (2004) notes that the ongoing interview continues to seek narratives, and questions should incorporate the actual words of the participant. The interviews concluded with an invitation for the participants to add any further comments and to reflect on issues that the interview process may have provoked. At this point the researcher also collected more detailed demographic data from the participants in the few cases where the information had not been disclosed during the interview. Refer to Appendix 1 for Interview Guide.

3.3.8.2 Friendship Pair Interviews

The use of friendship pairs of participants—that is, two people who were well known to each other offers benefits and challenges, particularly related to interviewing two people simultaneously. There are many types of pairings, or dyads, where a partner's actions and experiences are markedly influenced by the other's actions, views and experiences in the relationship—spouses, siblings, parent-child pairs, master-servant relationships etc. This study, which focuses on same-sex female friendship pairs, has the advantage of combining interviews with two people with related consumption characteristics and similar world views as they continue to deepen their knowledge of each other. Friendship pairs were employed because they provide “*an effective means through which to ensure a more natural setting within which to negotiate identity talk*” (Banister and Hogg 2004, p.857).

The technique of interviewing pairs of adult consumers together, although used in commercial market research and sometimes known as affinity pair interviewing, has rarely been used in academic studies of consumers and marketing issues (other terms that relate to

two-person interviewing include dual interviews, paired depth interviews and joint, conjoint or dyadic research). There appear to be only three reported studies in the marketing literature that employ friendship pairs (or any other type of pairing) in studies of adults and these are briefly discussed. Bayley and Nancarrow (1998) recruited eight friendship pairs for depth interviews in a study of impulse purchasing. The very close friends included pairs of males and females and mixed pairs, across a range of life stages. Banister and Hogg (2001, 2004) in research into negative symbolic consumption recruited 15 same gender friendship pairs, aged from 18-30 years. Before they participated in loosely structured interviews, each pair of consumers knew each other to have similar attitudes to clothing, fashion retailers and brands. In a commercial market research project Hindmarch, Wells and Price (2005) conducted 38 paired depth interviews amongst mothers of babies under one year, regarding experiences of motherhood and infant feeding practices. Their paired approach was especially designed to investigate the role played by peer groups in influencing feeding decisions. Apart from the research reported in the marketing literature there are studies using pairs in the wider academic business literature—see, for example, the study of multi-generation family businesses (Hamilton 2006), which used two person interviews to reveal the complexity of joint experiences and the construction of participants' understanding of experiences in narrative terms.

Clearly, the friendship pair interview approach differs from focus group approaches where strangers (not friends) are recruited, under the assumption that people will speak about an experience more thoroughly, and self-censor less, when talking among strangers than amongst those they know. However, the use of friendship pair interviews combined several advantages—firstly they provided a small social context for participants to experience brands and national identity. Virtually all previous studies of brand experience investigated individual consumers isolated from any meaningful social context. In asking a single consumer about a social experience process a researcher may wrongly conclude that the social process was being studied, rather than the individual's *experience* of the social process. Secondly, the number of people involved in the discussion was small enough to allow the researcher in-depth contact with participants and to fully experience interactions and responses to each other. Furthermore, the presence of two participants helped in accessing the diverse experiences of each person. Thirdly, the comfort of participants was maximised since they were with a chosen friend, as suggested by the literature—for example, Burns, Williams

and Maxham (2000) found that in narrative texts generated about critical incidents, more is disclosed to friends than to strangers. Most paired participants were noticeably more relaxed and less guarded than they were in their solo interview, probably because they had a familiar person with them and also because they had met the researcher and had more certainty as to what to expect in the second session.

The process of interviewing a friendship pair is very different from traditional 'single person' interviewing and results in a form of shared narrative and construction of reality; that is, meaning is socially constructed. In reports of studies in other disciplines, researchers suggest that when interviewed together, pairs of people "*negotiate in conversation, engage in a dialogue about what can be told and how, finish each others' sentences, interrupt, contradict, add more information, tease and question each other*" (Hamilton 2006, p.264). The joint interview necessitates a process of negotiation and mediation in order to produce a single collaborative account for the interviewer, which can provide material or insights that would be difficult to identify in a one-on-one interview (Valentine 1999). Banister and Hogg (2004) also note that joint interviews create a supportive feeling and assist in generating rapport between the parties in the research setting. Furthermore, commercial researchers suggest that studies with friendship pairs offer greater openness and honesty and less posturing because friends know each other so well and can easily call each other's bluff (Greenfield 2004).

There are a number of possible reasons for this technique not being widely used in academic marketing research. Clearly, this approach is designed to investigate shared lived experiences and provide rich holistic accounts of a phenomenon, and as such would not suit the needs of researchers who seek to reflect some objective reality of an individual (Bayley and Nancarrow 1998). At a more mundane level, paired interviews provide some practical problems in terms of recruitment, coordinating sessions that suit all parties, gaining consent and maintaining involvement of both parties throughout the research process. They are also subject to the difficulties of interviewing dominant/subordinate pairs, creating equal opportunities to participate and of developing rapport with both participants. The researcher/interviewer must have skilful interview techniques to be able to manage and follow the complexity of dialogue between two participants and be quick thinking enough to follow-up with appropriate questions. The use of paired participants would not be suitable for all research topics, particularly when disclosure of secret, illegal and/or deviant behaviours

might adversely impact on one or other of the friends. Finally, the presence of two participants may in some circumstances lead to collusion and deliberate obfuscation that might be avoided if either focus groups of strangers or individual depth interviews were employed.

In this study, friendship pair interviews were designed to be very relaxed and only loosely structured. Participants were briefed in advance to expect a short joint review of the earlier interviews and a discussion based around viewing several advertisements on the researcher's laptop computer. A funnel approach (Cavana, Delahaye, and Sekaran 2001) was employed, starting with broader issues of advertising, imagery and national identity themes before venturing into more specific enquiry regarding brands. The general format was intended to uncover shared and unique experiences of New Zealand national identity; experiences of how national identity was operationalised by brands; identification of brand resources that contributed to national identity and a detailed understanding of how brands affected national identity in the New Zealand context.

The interviews started by giving each participant the key themes summary from their friend's story (key themes summaries are discussed in the following pages). This served to focus thoughts on their own story and elicited additions to their own key themes summary and, of course, stimulated conversations and storytelling as they compared notes. It also set the scene for the interview by stimulating thinking about national identity and initiating relatively relaxed interaction between the two friends. The interview continued with the researcher playing six television brand advertisements—the selection was tailored for each pair, as discussed later. Participants were invited to discuss if and how national identity was operationalised in the advertisements displayed, to consider how well the brands conformed to their expectations of what New Zealand national identity was and whether advertisers attempts at evoking New Zealand themes had been successful. Once these experiences had been broadly canvassed, the discussions turned to more in-depth conversation about any particular elements of the brand communications that affected their sense of national identity. This extended to a discussion of their feelings and personal experiences when viewing brand communications that incorporate such elements. Attention was paid to views on whether the brand advertisements conform to prevailing expectations of national identity. Aberrant decoding of the television commercials and discussions of whether the advertisements

portray out of date or emergent aspects national identity were closely monitored. Furthermore, the participants were asked about their experiences of sharing views about brand communications and national identity with other people. The general topic of social conversations about advertising was probed before moving on to whether, when and why participants discussed brand stories from advertisements with others.

In the later part of the interview the researcher guided the conversation towards brands. The friends were asked explicitly about which brands helped them feel the way they did about New Zealand national identity. This was designed to elicit commentary about brand stories that were affected by and, more particularly, that affect national identity, either augmenting, modifying or in some way changing the emphasis on aspects of local identity. The pairs were then asked about the *brands* already nominated, with particular reference to the purchase and use of branded products/services based on sense of national identity engendered by brand experiences.

3.3.8.3 Interview Pretesting

Pretesting was used to prepare for the actual research sessions, to refine the wording of questions and to practice interviewing skills such as the careful use of probes. Authorities on interviewing technique note the importance of appropriate probing behaviour such as the use of silence, minimalist probes such as *Uh-huh* and nodding, *What else?*, reiterating or rephrasing the question if necessary, and the use of *Describe* and *Tell Me About...* directives (Gittelsohn et al. 1998). Likewise, the interviewer needed to be able to formulate open questions that avoided frequent use of interrogatives such as *Why*.

The first interview, where autobiographical narratives were elicited, required quite different skills to the second, where the pairs of friends discussed their ideas of New Zealand identity, advertisements and eventually brands. Practice interviews of both types were conducted using willing friends and colleagues. The sessions also assisted in fine-tuning the procedure using the digital voice recorder, laptop computer, using the augmented sound system and playing advertisements saved as media files. There is no definitive advice in the literature on how to use such television advertisements in research sessions but in their article on the photo elicitation interview technique Heisley and Levy (1991) suggest limiting photos per session to a pretested number that is productive. Thus, the first session with participants became a

sensitising interview that helped to confirm the workable number of brand advertisements that could be used (six) and the scope of the fieldwork. It also guided subsequent interviews and sensitised the interviewer to emerging themes.

Following the pretesting, the researcher devised a rotation strategy so that all 20 advertisements were used equally across the ten pair interviews. For each pair the researcher attempted to select some brand advertisements that clearly matched key themes arising in the individual interviews and some whose main themes had not been mentioned. Another objective of the selection process was to ensure that at least one non New Zealand brand was included and that there was a variety of branded products, services and advertising styles amongst the six selected brand advertisements.

3.3.9 Logistical Details of Data Collection

The researcher travelled to the interview locations nominated by participants. Interviews were convened in quiet familiar social settings, rather than in university interview rooms, in order to be as conducive as possible to informal discussion. The researcher interviewed all twenty participants in their own homes which were spread across the newly created Auckland Super City region—formerly Auckland City, Manukau City, North Shore City, Waitakere City, and on the city fringe in semi-rural neighbourhoods and rural lifestyle blocks in Rodney and Franklin. Each session began by completing the formalities regarding informed consent and getting comfortable before starting the digital audio recording. The various participants differed in the amount of forethought and preparation for the autobiographical interview, some having made extensive written or mental notes on what they wanted to say, others having apparently little preconceived idea what they might say. However, almost all of the participants were quite talkative and once they got started, after a bit of prompting if necessary, the storytelling interviews ran, on average, for 1 hour 14 minutes. All interviews were transcribed using a professional transcription service. Appropriate Transcriber Confidentiality Agreements were used to protect the participants' rights—see Appendix 5.

3.3.9.1 Research Journal

After each interview the researcher wrote notes in a research journal that documented her impressions from the interviews (Silverman 2000). This included both practical issues and aspects of the social encounter experienced during an interview especially the inclusion of comments about “*how well I felt the interview had gone and what I felt throughout the interview; what the dominant themes were*” and “*any anomalies or contradictions, along with ideas about the methodological and theoretical implications these may have*” (Nadin and Cassell 2006, p.211). Importantly, interpretation of stories involves all kinds of sensory inputs regarding the performer and their performance. The researcher, as an embodied being rather than an investigative machine, reacted and responded not only to what was *said* during an interview but to what was *shown* in an utterance (Shotter 1998, p.48) and made sense from “*the unique, first-person expressions in which people express themselves*” (Shotter 1998, p.34). By recording feelings and perceptions when they were fresh, the researcher was able to access them later and consider their significance.

The researcher continued to add to the journal after all data collection was completed and the journal ultimately provided an audit trail of the research process from data collection through to the end of the analysis activities, functioning as an organisational aid but also becoming part of the data. Most importantly, the research journal was a tool to enhance reflexivity, where the researcher thought about her own thinking and thus, better understood how the process of doing research shaped its outcomes (Holland 1999).

3.3.9.2 Member Checking Processes

As soon as practicable after each autobiographical interview, the researcher listened to the audio recording. A summary of key themes relating to national identity and New Zealandness arising in the interview, fitting on one sheet of A4 paper, was compiled by the researcher for each participant. Aggregations of short text units taken directly from the interviews were used to construct each theme in the participant’s own words; in many cases the themes combined anecdotes and opinions not necessarily connected together by the participant during the story telling. Personal names were excluded from the text units. The key themes summary allowed the researcher to feed back emergent interpretations to the participants, as well as offering the opportunity to discuss, edit or expand on their original contributions. These summaries were

posted to each participant with an explanatory covering letter and were followed up with a phone call. Feedback was elicited and amendments made accordingly.

Participants expressed surprise and pleasure in seeing how some sense was made of their ‘ramblings’ and commented on how the storytelling process had stimulated more thought on the topic after the interview. A number of participants decided that they did not wish to see particular verbatim comments within key themes because on reflection, and considering future scrutiny by their friend, the views were too strident or politically incorrect when appearing in written form. After toning down the language in some cases, the summaries were then updated to account for the latest refinements in their thinking. Each person confirmed that she approved of her amended summary. Thus, the process of negotiating national identity had begun, with the participants and me ‘accentuating the positive and eliminating the negative’, as the song exhorts (*Mister in Between*, Johnny Mercer/Harold Arlen, 1944).

Qualitative researchers are exhorted to use *member checking*, that is, to solicit feedback from participants about the emerging coding system and interpretations of the interviews. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.314), “*the member check, whereby data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions are tested with members of those stakeholding groups from whom the data were originally collected, is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility*”. However, in marketing and consumer research studies this procedure is rarely reported—one exception is Belk and Costa’s (1998) work on the Mountain Man Myth—and, at best, researchers undertake simple member checks designed to verify transcription accuracy and completeness. Member checking as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is an integral part of good research etiquette, showing genuine respect for the views and experiences of participants, and paying them the courtesy of revealing how their information contributes to the overall research project.

Secondly, following completion of the professional transcription process, individuals were posted a complete copy of their pair interview and offered the opportunity to verify transcription accuracy and completeness. When the researcher called each person to discuss this she also solicited their thoughts about the paired interview and reflections on their combined contributions—regarding both individuals singly and the pair together. These introspective comments were often amalgamated reflections on the initial interview narrative,

on their latest personal input and the impact of telling their story in conjunction with their friend. Privileging and constraining activities were particularly evident at this point as each person could redefine their story as either similar or different to their friend. The benefits of this procedure included extending the process of introspection as well as showing respect for the contribution of the participants.

3.3.9.3 Issues Relating to Data Collection

Although interviewing in a home setting was very convenient, and allowed for greater levels of comfort and sense of control for participants, there were some practical drawbacks. The first issue has to do with the audio recording quality. Unlike recording studios or rooms designated for conducting research interviews, the residential spaces varied in the degree of echo derived from the presence or absence of soft furnishings and high ceilings. Ambient noises were captured remarkably well by the microphone and in this study these included distant traffic noise, aircraft, lawnmowers, washing machines, sounds from cleaners and trades people, telephones and answering machines, and of course, other people, particularly children playing games in the neighbourhood. At least one of the interviews was conducted on a very hot summer's day under an umbrella beside a pool. Even though it was not particularly noticeable to the interviewer at the time, the sound of cicadas in the background of the recording was unmistakable and loud. Similarly, recorded sounds of rain on a roof were almost deafening—much worse than perceived by the human ear. These noises, at times, made it difficult to hear the participants' voices in the recording and slowed down the professional transcription process considerably.

Despite conducting pretests using the recording equipment to assess the optimum settings for recording two and three person interviews, the preparation did not eliminate the variation that came when recording two friends sitting close together who had very different voices, varying in pitch, loudness, speed and style of laughter. Despite her best efforts, the interviewer was sometimes the most easily heard voice in the recording, with one of the friendship pair being difficult to transcribe accurately. This effect was exacerbated when the friends were talking at once, laughing before the other had finished speaking and speaking *sotto voce*. One aspect of the two person interview that was not fully tested was the use of the laptop computer combined with the digital audio recorder. The researcher had certainly practised playing brand advertisements on the laptop, set up with an augmented sound

system, with willing colleagues assisting as interviewees. However, it was only after several interviews had been recorded that the transcribers and researcher discussed an unusually loud and intermittent sound that had been captured. It was identified as the internal fan system of the laptop which cut in and out as required and which was almost unnoticeable in the context of a conversation. The digital voice recording did not allow for simultaneous sounds to be comprehended and prioritised as easily as multiple live sounds are comprehended. Transcripts contain all discernable conversation and where words could not be heard the transcripts were annotated with [not intelligible].

The second issue relating to interviewing in homes is that the hostess participant was subtly in control of the interview with respect to the duration and ending of the session. As a guest in a home, the interviewer was obliged to follow the lead set by the hostess. Despite agreeing to be available for at least 90 minutes, some participants clearly had very busy timetables and the interview was squeezed in between other duties such as collecting children, going to work, cooking meals, packing for a family vacation, and generally managing household affairs. The researcher was sensitive to subtle (and overt) messages about concluding interviews as soon as possible if the hostess indicated that this was her preference. This reversal of the typical balance of power between researcher and participant(s) lead to some interviews being hurried through the final stages, when ideally more probing and depth questioning was desired by the researcher. In some cases fatigue, and being unaccustomed to participating in sessions that call for in-depth thinking, were plausible explanations for why participants were reluctant to extend their conversations any longer than necessary.

3.3.9.4 Issues Relating to Conversation Transcription

In this study, where the co-creation of meaning between two friends was a key feature, the researcher became increasingly aware of the richness of conversational speaking patterns that were not captured by simply recording the words that were spoken. The professionally transcribed interviews were produced following instructions to use *intelligent verbatim* to record all words except *um* and *ah*. Pauses and laughter were noted in the transcripts. Interruptions and side conversations with those not involved in the interviews were noted but not transcribed. Once the researcher compared the transcripts with the audio files it became evident that the richness of conversational language had not been fully captured in the written form. It was also noted that participants adopted different voices and personas during speech,

taking on other character's voices and at other times simply quoting other people. Participants sometimes sang advertising jingles, made sound effects and quoted memorable lines from advertisements. Speech was addressed alternatively to the interviewer, the friend or both. At times the participants talked aloud to themselves, commenting on their own performance, asking questions and berating themselves for not being able to recall things etc. Finally, the emphasis given to particular words and the degree of enthusiasm injected into exclamations was notably absent in the transcripts prepared by the transcription service.

Academic discourse analysis and, more particularly, conversational analysis involves the use of particular transcription conventions that allow analyses of phenomena relating to the sequence, structure and coherence of conversations, and how speakers manage their conversational interactions. These conventions (see, for example, Jefferson 2004) capture features such as a shift into especially high pitch voice, sounds that are relatively much louder than the prior talk, prolongation of sounds, measurement of time elapsed in pauses, stresses on words, the absence of a break between stretches of talk, rising and falling intonation. Analyses of these features are beyond the scope of this study, although clearly, there is potential to enhance the transcripts for more detailed study in future research projects.

3.3.10 Data Analysis

The process of making sense of how brands affect national identity began before the first consumer interviews were conducted. The brand communications were analysed using a visual rhetoric approach, as discussed in a following sub-section. In general, narrative analysis underpinned the whole project and a discussion of this follows. The formal process of data analysis was highly iterative, following the general approach advocated by Miles and Huberman (1994). After all transcripts were completed, the qualitative data management software programme NVivo8 was used to organise data and facilitate repeated coding, abstraction and systematic comparisons. When the project started the analysis emphasis was discovery oriented, exploratory and descriptive in flavour, with a focus on the key themes of New Zealand national identity and the stories surrounding the 19 selected brand advertisements. The analysis involved constant comparison, axial and selective coding procedures as the results emerged.

3.3.11 Narrative Analysis

Narrative theory argues that people produce accounts of themselves that are ‘storied’ so that analysis of narrative can be used to evaluate how people make and use their stories to interpret the world. Narratives are interpretive devices through which people represent themselves, and analysis of how their story is constructed offers insights into identity. *“Stories are concerned with human attempts to progress to a solution, clarification, or unravelling of an incomplete situation. Narrative transforms a mere succession of events and actions into a coherent whole in which these happenings gain meaning as contributors to a common purpose”* (Polkinghorne 1997, p.13).

The study of narrative may be approached in a number of different ways—for example, structural analysis with a focus on story grammar (Mick 1987); basic narrative actions and turning points can be identified in simple stories, as demonstrated by Vladimir Propp who interpreted folk tales in terms of the basic units of action (Chandler 2000); the identification of who is telling the story, the textual persona (Stern 1994a). Alternatively, sociologists have used narrative analysis to gain insights into cultural, historical and political contexts—for example, analysis of which stories can be told to whom may prove useful in understanding societal issues such as family violence. Another approach to narrative analysis focuses on the function or role of particular stories in people’s lives.

Within the psychology literature, Bruner’s (1990) thesis is that stories serve the function of helping individuals make sense and meaning out of their lives, so that narrative analysis is an important tool in understanding different facets of the self, social relationships and place in the world. It is this approach to narrative analysis that was most relevant to this study of experiences of brand and national identity. A narrative approach was useful in understanding the ways people construct meaning about their experiences and identity because of the active nature of narrative in identity construction (Denzin 2001).

In this study a variety of different narratives was generated—including individual life histories that placed experiences of New Zealand national identity in a storied form and friendship pair shared narratives and constructions of reality. Escalas and Bettman (2000) call for consumer researchers to place greater emphasis on analyses of narratives and suggest that such an approach would show in greater details how consumers use consumption for self-creation. Deep analysis of the narratives provided an understanding of the ways brands and

their marketing communications were ritualised (Kates 2006), as Ritson and Elliott (1999) reported in their study of adolescents. Thorough examination of the transcripts allowed discovery of “*the stable storytelling, rituals and traditions that relate to the commercial text*” (Kates 2006, p.101).

3.3.12 Visual Rhetoric

In this study, which has television brand advertising as its main focus, the visual elements of brand communications were of particular interest. Television is the overarching global marketing communications medium and the visual aspect is an important and complex part of the text which strongly contributes to the meaning of brand advertising. Hence, a visual rhetoric approach which offers an important means of analysing how brands affect national identity was used.

Advertising can be conceptualised as a form of rhetoric (McQuarrie and Mick 1996) where the advertiser tries to use the most effective devices for informing, reminding and persuading the target market. More importantly, the persuasive use of symbols, including pictures, may be conceptualised as visual rhetoric (McQuarrie and Mick 1999; McQuarrie and Phillips 2008; Scott 1994), where the advertising consumer has to *think into it* (Phillips 1997). Hence, a television or print brand advertisement is a pictorial field with marks and symbols arranged for the primary purpose of persuasion (Scott 1994) with the specific arrangement of the elements and the stylistic delivery of them contributing to the rhetorical impact. As discussed earlier, brand communications are embedded with visual representations and narratives which form part of the visual landscape (Schroeder 2002; Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006).

The concept of visual rhetoric has gained wide acceptance as scholars strive to understand the power of visual persuasion in ‘texts’ such as paintings, films and commercial websites. Visual rhetoric may be described as a form of communication that uses images for creating meaning or constructing an argument. Hence, an analysis of visual rhetoric considers how images work alone and collaborate with other elements to create an argument designed for moving a specific audience. A study of the design and function of a brand advertising text and how its visual elements work (choice of props, actors, colour, placement and order of presentation) contributes to understanding the persuasive arguments.

A visual rhetoric approach also acknowledges that, where pictures and language are combined, visual communication affects linguistic communication and may have rhetorical consequences. Studying visual themes and noting how they are used within particular advertisements and mapping their relationships with similar or opposing themes, is a means of gaining insights into the meaning of the brand advertising text as a whole. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, the Brand Culture approach developed by Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling (2006) paves the way for understanding that visual representations and narratives of national identity may be embedded in brands through their communications, and at every point of contact and experience the consumer has with the brand.

3.4 Methodology

The methodology in this study was essentially qualitative since the aim was to gain thick descriptions that facilitate understanding of human experiences (Geertz 1993). The objective was to create an emic account of how brands affect national identity, that is, one which is culture-specific and couched in terms meaningful to the participants. Qualitative research implies richness and contextualisation but within the qualitative tradition the way that a study should be conducted is not prescribed. Studies are “*guided by particular philosophical stances that are taken by the researcher in relation to each phenomenon*” (Neill 2003, p.1). However, there are a number of common features of qualitative research.

According to Miles and Huberman (1994, pp.5-7) qualitative research is

- *Conducted through concentrated personal contact with participants*
- *Intended to provide a holistic overview of the situation or process being studied*
- *An attempt to capture the essence of the phenomenon from the inside*
- *A type of inquiry in which the data is maintained in its original form*
- *Used to explain the ways people think and act in certain situations*
- *Characterised by the possibility of multiple interpretations, some of which are more compelling than others*
- *Not conducted using standardised or multi-purpose instruments*
- *Mostly involved with the analysis of words*

This study of how brands affect national identity involved uncovering meanings relating to brand communications, as well as considering discourse relating to consumers and their experience of brands and national identity. This section provides a discussion of the chosen qualitative methodology of discourse analysis. It is followed by a detailed analysis of the key role of introspection in this research.

3.4.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a term used to characterise approaches to analysing spoken or written texts and is used in a variety of academic disciplines including linguistics, sociology and psychology. Discourse analysis implies an interest in language, based on issues beyond grammar, such as the particular constructions and rhetorical techniques employed in the text. While there are a number of distinct approaches to discourse analysis underpinned by different assumptions, the common theme is that language is analysed with a view to gaining insights into the meaning of texts such as conversations, arguments and speeches. Discourse analysis is involved with how individuals use language in specific social contexts to frame their world, and create positions of power or compliance. Language is viewed as social interaction or a form of social practice; thus, discourse analysis is concerned with the social contexts in which discourse is embedded. One example of this can be seen in the style of discourse analysis espoused by Foucault (1972) in which the relations between language, structure and agency are investigated in order to focus on societal level issues such as gender.

Within the wider marketing literature, which includes consumer research and advertising, discourse has been analysed in a number of ways and the term discourse analysis has been used to denote various approaches to analysing different types of texts. In his foundation article on the potential application of discourse analysis in marketing, Elliott (1996, p.66) noted the recent development of the “*social psychological methodology*” (as detailed by Fairclough 1990; Potter and Wetherell 1987) and outlined a number of ways of conducting analysis ranging from “*fine-grained study of linguistic features in texts*” to a focus on “*dominant themes*” in discourse. The intention in this study was to focus more on dominant themes and macro discourse rather than micro, context-specific discourse as indicated on the continuum proposed by Alvesson and Kärreman (2000). This same approach to discourse analysis, with a focus on dominant themes, has also been used in published marketing research, examples of which are summarised in Table 4.

The types of texts used in the studies range from interview transcripts, news media stories and postings from an on-line environment. The contents of the table are illustrative of how discourse analysis has been used in the context of research in the marketing discipline. One of these published studies has a number of features in common with this thesis research. The research into overt sexuality in advertising (Elliott et al. 1995) utilises discourse analysis to

understand responses to visual texts and this thesis research has some similarities to it. While both studies are concerned with aspects of visual texts, it is the discourse that surrounds them that is of primary importance.

Table 4. Use of Discourse Analysis in Marketing Studies

Marketing context	Example
Consumer responses to overt sexuality in advertising	(Elliott et al. 1995)
Ad agency and client power and politics in the development of advertising campaigns	(Hackley 2001)
Construction of the nation in tourism marketing	(Pritchard and Morgan 2001)
Consumers virtual worlds	(Catterall and Maclaran 2002)
Analysis of controversy in social marketing	(O'Sullivan 2007)
Shopping experiences as an ongoing construction of identity	(Sitz 2008)

Discourse analysis is particularly useful in understanding lived experiences and reality since it assumes that texts—meaning the whole gamut of texts, including written, conversational and, of course, visual texts—construct reality and that “*language is used to make sense of and construct the social world*” (Catterall and Maclaran 2002, p.234). Furthermore, discourse analysis provides a means of examining how consumers construct and perform their identities, and their versions of their world by their use of language (Catterall and Maclaran 2002). In this study, discourse analysis was used to understand how national identity is constructed and to illuminate the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences.

3.5 Introspection

Introspection, in one form or another, was embedded in all aspects of the data collection and theory building in this thesis research. Introspection was not a linear, bounded activity, but rather a vast network of intertwined layers, connecting the introspections of various people, at various times, regarding national identity in the autobiographical sense, constructions of national identity in the context of friendship pairs, and at the broadest imagined community level of the nation. The many and varied introspective narratives (texts) were subject to an introspective interpretive process, so that understanding of the overall text was established by

referring components to the whole and the parts to each other—a hermeneutic circle where the text’s meaning was found within its context.

The national identity introspection texts unfolded over time and incorporated the narratives of various people, acting in different capacities at different times, invoking a range of self and social identities. In order to better understand the various strands of introspection in this thesis, it is useful to consider Wallendorf and Brucks’ (1993) five part categorisation of introspection. They categorised introspection based loosely on the role of introspector and relationship with researcher; *researcher introspection*, where the researcher is the informant for the study; *guided introspection*, where the researcher conducts other people in their introspection about themselves; *interactive introspection*, where common circumstances between the researcher and participant(s) are the focal point of joint introspection; *syncretic forms*, where data independently collected from both participant(s) introspection and researcher introspection are combined; and, *reflexivity within research*, where, for example, journals of self-observation in field work are kept and used to enrich the process of developing understanding of the research topic (Wallendorf and Brucks 1993). Their categorisation is used as a loose framework to tie together various elements of narrative production already detailed in the methods section and to guide the discussion regarding the types of introspection contributing to this study.

3.5.1 Guided Introspection

A significant part of the study involved the researcher conducting other people in their introspection about themselves in a form of guided introspection. Both the life history narrative interviews and the friendship pair interviews encouraged thinking about how national identity was operationalised by brands and gave participants practice at introspecting about their own national identity in connection with brands. Most significantly, these activities generated introspection and co-created narratives that captured a joint, more communal expression of national identity.

3.5.2 Interactive Introspection

Interactive introspection was also a feature of the study. The common cultural identity and demographic profile of the participants and researcher became the focal point of joint introspection at certain times during the interviews. Immediately prior to starting life history

interview sessions, the researcher observed social niceties, introducing herself and offering a small gift of food to eat with coffee. Since recruitment had been through a snowball procedure, it was entirely natural to discuss the chain of mutual acquaintances. The researcher, who was unknown to all participants, deliberately offered an outline of her own life, establishing some simple facts such as age of her children and herself, her family's move from a provincial town to the city during her school years, and brief mention of her early working life and employment prior to becoming an academic. However, she avoided mention of specifics which might more fully signal her achievements, social class and status.

Standard advice about conducting interviews warns the researcher not to be tempted to jump in with her own stories, in order to keep the focus on the interviewee (Esterberg 2002). However, by interacting with a participant and responding to her story by affirming common experiences, a shared narrative was produced. For example, a brief acknowledgement of having had childhood holidays in the same remote beach township led to a rich trip down memory lane. A few of the researcher's memories were offered in response to the participants' experiences which further stimulated the introspective process. In return, particular care was taken by participants in fully articulating the essence of those common life experiences.

Periodically, participants addressed the researcher, pointing out likely common experiences and, at times, interrogating her about people, places and events. This stimulated more interactive introspection as the story unfolded. On one occasion a participant talked about a recent experience with her friend and their teenagers at a drug and alcohol free music festival and asked if the researcher and her children had been. This led to further participant stories about hitherto forgotten festival experiences which highlighted key national identity themes of outdoor lifestyles, important links with places and landscapes, and characteristics of 'roughing it,' making do and not complaining. The use of interactive introspection increased the richness of the collected narratives and led to a more thorough interpretation of the lived experience of New Zealand national identity. Without the interactive introspection involving the participant and researcher together it is unlikely that such stories would have been accessed.

3.5.3 Reflexivity within Research

Many reflexive research disciplines were used in this study. The research journal used to stimulate critical thinking and review assumptions made by participants has already been described (Nadin and Cassell 2006). Metacognitive introspection, thought watching and self-monitoring were crucial to managing this research project and many such introspective thoughts were recorded in the journal which formed part of the data set; critical analysis and active control over the processes of thinking are central to all research. When conducting an interview the researcher was constantly monitoring herself and managing the directions her thoughts were going in, since she was aware her prompts, clarifying questions and body language could facilitate the telling of some stories. Alternatively, her actions could have had the effect of subtly side-lining some stories, possibly because they reflected life outside her own experience.

The researcher recorded concerns about both privileging some aspects of participants' stories because she could truly relate to them, but also using her power to change tack if narratives seemed boring or off track, perhaps because they did not conform to the academically derived views developed prior to the fieldwork. On reflection this concern also highlighted the difference between academic reflexivity and personal reflexivity, where codified knowledge and intellectual expectations are different from the multi-faceted organic experiences of the embodied researcher.

As well as monitoring herself, the researcher monitored the participants—sensitive to subtle signs of fatigue, reticence, boredom and impatience. It was also important to consider the relationship between the researcher and participants and how meaning was made when something was not said. Some of the participants were very familiar with introspecting, perhaps influenced by their careers and professional training, and were comfortable taking long pauses to think before resuming speaking. Others appeared unused to the practice of thinking of their experiences as a subject worth examining, or of interrogating themselves. They seemed unnerved by pauses in the interviews and commonly signalled that they had exhausted all thinking on a topic, possibly because of the context, difficulty with a concept, lack of experiential knowledge or because they considered it too hard to think about things anymore. Particular thoughts the researcher had relating to the flow of the interviews were recorded for consideration after the sessions. Silences in conversations may point to

significant unspoken issues, since they may indicate a challenge to ideas about the familiar sense of self and place. Deliberate introspection by the researcher, prompted by re-reading these sorts of observations, added value to the overall process of building theory to account for consumer experiences of brands and national identity.

Metacognitive introspection was also purposely employed to account for the impact on the researcher of unfamiliar interview locations and challenging interview content. The participants' home environment, style of furnishings, displays of possessions, evidence of hobbies, household members and other visible signs of life added to the impression of interviewees and interpretation of interviews. It was important for the researcher to question herself about assumptions regarding the life stories, made as a result of exposure to living environments—in each case, what would have been different if the interview had been conducted in a research facility at the university? The researcher's response to the physical site and life context of the interviewees created an extra dimension to the study and reflections on the effect of venue added another layer of text to the project. In reviewing the interview transcripts, the researcher revisited her feelings during the interviews, such as when participants chose to disclose mistreatment in childhood. Similarly, there were occasions where views were expressed that the researcher found distasteful, for example a racially intolerant outlook, or comments relating to party politics that she did not support. Standing back and examining her own responses at a later time and in a different context assisted in making sense of the participant's original story.

There were many other triggers for reflection. The researcher's insights developed after each successive autobiographical interview, on listening to and reading the transcripts, and in preparation of the key themes summaries. Furthermore, the researcher's supervisor was an integral part of the reflective process, reviewing each key themes summary and keeping up to date with the researcher's reflections via a weekly debriefing session. For example, reflecting on whether the autobiographical narratives were what had been anticipated revealed more clearly what the original assumptions were regarding richness and detail in the stories, and the proportion of focus on micro/personal issues versus macro/generalised issues. By questioning the researcher regarding the interview process, on what was working and what was not, the supervisor triggered more introspection and therefore more refinements in conceptualising the experience of national identity in brands. Each debriefing discussion was

informed by the supervisor's thinking, experiences of brands and New Zealand identity and all the introspection and other interview activities that had preceded it. These weekly joint reflections were part of many introspective activities that contributed to the construction of theory around brands and national identity.

3.5.4 Researcher Introspection

It is understood from previous studies that the term 'researcher introspection' includes data generated by activities ranging from the metacognitive to the narrative (Gould 2006). It accounts for the researcher's subjective self and objective self, being alternatively the observer and the observed. However, there are boundaries between what is considered acceptable and unacceptable—the public and the private. In most studies the private stories of the researcher are not revealed and yet they make a significant contribution to the study. This is well illustrated in this research.

In order to make sense of the stories being told, the researcher needed to tell her own story to herself—her story of being a New Zealander, highlighting her own ideas of national identity. In anticipation of the first interview, the researcher mentally prepared her own story, recasting it in different ways—chronological, with reference to ancestors, and by themes such as national characteristics, values, favourite places and experiences. After hearing others' stories, this internal narrative was refined, reshaped and refocused, using previously forgotten or unrecognised elements prompted by the interactions with others. The researcher merged and blended the various narratives with her own and repeatedly rehearsed the story, at times finding that it was bubbling up spontaneously and telling itself while she was driving or trying to sleep. In essence, the researcher's unconscious self is somehow embedded in the data set. Despite not being written down, her narrative informs the whole study and thus, it is argued, the researcher is a key informant of the study. This point is significant and highly underexplored in reports of research in the marketing discipline.

3.5.5 Abduction from Introspection

In this study I have used introspective field experiences as a source of re-thinking and theory generation. This form of theory generation is known as abduction. Charles Sanders Peirce coined the term abduction to describe a thinking process that begins with observation and seeks a theory to explain the facts. This is in contrast to the logic of deduction, where *b* is a formal consequence of *a* (all brands have logos, therefore if this is a brand, it must have a logo), or induction, where *b* is inferred from *a* but the conclusion is not guaranteed (all New Zealand children in a sample love Marmite, therefore all New Zealand children in the population love Marmite). Scholars in business research (see, for example, Dubois and Gadde 2002; Van Maanen, Sørensen, and Mitchell 2007) have noted the potential of an abductive approach in theory development, taking a surprising fact and generating the most plausible explanation, or new theory, that might account for the previous theoretically unexpected finding.

3.6 Theoretical Perspective

An interpretive theoretical perspective frames this research. The ‘interpretive turn’ label is used in social sciences to group approaches that analyse the ways people make sense of their everyday activities and surroundings. Three prominent streams within the interpretivist approach to human enquiry are symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and hermeneutics (Crotty 1998). This study employed the hermeneutic mode of understanding which is addressed in more detail below.

An interpretive approach is one where the researcher, through her interactions with participants, is an inherent part of the sense making process as a participant, rather than as a detached objective observer. Within an interpretive approach, the world is always an experienced world, so that knowledge is constituted through lived experiences of reality. Thus, interpretive research takes into account the everyday life context and perspectives of participants regarding social phenomena, as well as the role and influence of the researcher on the research process. The researcher is involved in a process of interpretation and reconstruction of reality based on her experiences of texts at the time of data collection and later in the continuing process of engaging with the various texts under consideration. When conducting research the interpretation that emerges is the product of cognitive processing as

well as sensing and feeling that is sometimes impossible to articulate (Guba 1996) so that, ultimately, the researcher is an agent through which knowledge is perceived or experienced (Lee 1992).

Interpretive research is founded on the belief that human responses must be explained with reference to the cultural context (Scott 1994). Using interpretive methods the researcher looks for key patterns or relationships in order to discover consumer-based constructs and theories (Hirschman and Thompson 1997). The specific situation determines the form and direction the interpretation will take—“*an interpretation is always context bound*” (Bohman, Hiley, and Shusterman 1991, p.12). Interpretive perspectives have been widely used in consumer culture studies that investigate the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings (see, for example, Arnould and Thompson 2005; Hirschman 1989).

The interpretive approach provided a useful context for research into how brands affect national identity because it assumed that cultural context was central to any interpretation of lived experience. It also allowed for rich texts to be collected by the researcher through exposure to participants, and for in-depth insights into their lived experiences to be generated through researcher co-production of those texts. This interpretive study aimed to build theory that “*accounts for the real world and that is both bounded and perceptually laden*” (Miles and Huberman 1994, p.4).

3.6.1 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is a philosophy as well as a particular means of analysis (Myers 2004) and emphasises that all understanding is linguistic (Arnold and Fischer 1994). In his discussion of approaches to meaning and understanding, Crotty (1998) discusses the characteristics of hermeneutic theories. The discussion that is offered here is based on Crotty’s explanations. Hermeneutics is a disciplined approach to interpreting and understanding texts that contain experiences, beliefs and values. Written texts, conversations, body language or anything that may be treated as a text-analogue such as human artefacts, actions, organisations and cultures may be the object of hermeneutic study (Myers 2004). Essentially, a hermeneutic approach is concerned with finding the meaning of a text.

Importantly, texts have meaning beyond mere semantics and provide a link between individuals and or communities. *“It has now become commonplace to say that we all ‘interpret’. However, hermeneutics—the critical theory of interpretation—is the only current in western thought that has made this issue its own, notwithstanding its presence in both Marxism and that so-called science of phenomena, phenomenology. Through hermeneutics, interpretation has become part of our cultural self-understanding that only as historically and culturally located beings can we articulate ourselves in relation to others in the world in general”* (Rundell 1995, p.10 cited in Crotty 1998). The purpose, intention and context of the text’s author and the subsequent relationship between the author and the interpreter all have a bearing on the understanding of the text. Furthermore, through hermeneutic enquiry implicit assumptions and intentions that the author may scarcely have been aware of may be uncovered. Meaning is not revealed in a single flash of insight. Rather, the literature refers to the concept of the hermeneutic circle whereby an iterative process is used to gain understanding. Parts of the text are analysed and meaning of the whole increases as the parts are compared, updated, developed and understood. The process is repeated as new understandings are brought to bear on the preconceived or originally interpreted components.

Klein and Myers (1999), in addressing questions from researchers, editors and reviewers about how to conduct and evaluate interpretive field research, proposed seven principles of hermeneutics based on the practice of anthropological research and other research of a hermeneutic nature. Klein and Myers’ summary is reproduced in an abridged form in Figure 5. A systematised and standardised approach to introspective research, conceptualised as an interpretive endeavour, can be derived from understanding hermeneutic principles. This is demonstrated by taking each of the seven principles and relating them to introspection and introspective thought used in this research.

Firstly, the fundamental principle of the hermeneutic circle underpins all introspection, and was clearly illustrated in this project as the shared constructions of national identity emerged as a complex whole from the many interactions between participants, the researcher and other contributors. During interviews, where friendship pairs and individuals were guided in their introspection, participants appropriated ideas from the researcher and vice versa (Klein and Myers 1999). Even as a solitary exercise, introspection by a single researcher in narrative

mode is socially constructed, as thoughts are drawn from within a cultural and historical context.

Figure 5. Summary of Principles for Interpretive Research (source, Klein and Myers 1999, p.72)

<p>The Fundamental Principle of the Hermeneutic Circle</p> <p>This principle suggests that all human understanding is achieved by iterating between considering the interdependent meaning of parts and the whole that they form. This principle of human understanding is fundamental to all the other principles</p>
<p>The Principle of Contextualization</p> <p>Requires critical reflection of the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged.</p>
<p>The Principle of Interaction Between the Researchers and the Subjects</p> <p>Requires critical reflection on how the research materials (or "data") were socially constructed through the interaction between the researchers and participants.</p>
<p>The Principle of Abstraction and Generalization</p> <p>Requires relating the idiographic details revealed by the data interpretation through the application of principles one and two to theoretical, general concepts that describe the nature of human understanding and social action.</p>
<p>The Principle of Dialogical Reasoning</p> <p>Requires sensitivity to possible contradictions between the theoretical preconceptions guiding the research design and actual findings ("the story which the data tell") with subsequent cycles of revision.</p>
<p>The Principle of Multiple Interpretations</p> <p>Requires sensitivity to possible differences in interpretations among the participants as are typically expressed in multiple narratives or stories of the same sequence of events under study. Similar to multiple witness accounts even if all tell it as they saw it.</p>
<p>The Principle of Suspicion</p> <p>Requires sensitivity to possible "biases" and systematic "distortions" in the narratives collected from the participants.</p>

The principle of contextualisation suggests that in order for the intended audience to make sense of the final interpretation, introspective narratives should be framed as being set in a particular context. In this study narratives were offered by consumer participant pairs and individuals with birth country, gender, age and stage of life in common, and the researcher contextualised divergent narratives with reference to, for example, having lived abroad for a

long time, having a rural upbringing or having childhood experiences that were (in their time) considered atypical. Explicating the context of introspection was necessary given that “*people are active makers of their physical and social reality*” (Orlikowski and Baroudi 1991, cited in Klein and Myers 1999, p.73).

The principle of interaction between the researcher and the subjects identifies that social interactions and processes used to collect introspective narratives (from the self or from others) necessarily affect the stories that are told. The embodied researcher reacts and responds to the text in a holistic sense and uses reflexive skills to generate a critical view. The principle of abstraction and generalisation also applies to introspective research, where particular individualised narratives are read as texts contributing to a more generalised and universal text. As the iterative process continues apparently contradictory stories are reconciled and a contextualised, more universal interpretation is made. Through processes of analysis and abstraction the researcher links the specific and personal to theoretical concepts, such as performativity, embodiment and belonging.

The principle of dialogical reasoning is founded on the understanding that “*effective individual thinking is rather like having a good conversation inside your own head*” (Wegerif 2000). Interrogating oneself and effectively debating controversial issues provides a healthy form of *post hoc* quality control. Reflexivity is part of the responsibility of interpretive research, and is essential to generating nuanced readings of the text where consideration is given to power and privilege in the process of telling the best story. The principle of multiple interpretations becomes obvious when introspective narratives are collected from several sources regarding a single text, such as a brand advertisement. National identity was experienced differently in brands according to personal, lived experiences of national identity. Finally, introspective research is guided by the principle of suspicion. Critical reflexive activities are useful in highlighting constraints and making apparent what is affecting the researcher when building theory.

This interpretive approach employing the hermeneutic mode of understanding had *appeal* to me—an important factor according to Goulding (1999), who notes the value of choosing a research approach that fits the researcher, her style of working, who she is and how she thinks—and was well suited to understanding texts generated for the purposes of studying consumers’ lived experiences of brands and national identity.

3.6.2 Introspection and Narrative Construction

Building theory, essentially, is a process of generating a coherent single narrative that accounts for the matters of interest. In a study such as this, there are formal collections of narratives from the participants recruited specifically to tell their stories. However, input into the final narrative starts much earlier than that. Of course, a review of literature (in this case particularly the cultural, film and media studies analyses of New Zealand national identity) provided a foundational narrative, constructed from a series of complementary and contradictory voices, actors and stories. In the very preliminary phase of the study, friends and colleagues were asked to suggest brand advertisements that for them offered stories of New Zealand identity. The emailed responses from both local born and recent immigrants provided a range of anecdotes, opinions and emotional responses, adding to the overall narrative. In reflecting on the participants' choices the researcher filtered their stories through her own, updating the narrative as it stood so far.

Another important source of narratives was the advertising agency industry, the gatekeepers and facilitators who gave access to suitable television brand advertisements for use in the study. When requesting assistance from these organisations the researcher briefed them on the purpose of the study and some individuals expressed considerable interest in the topic. These people and the others that the researcher negotiated with in advertising agencies played a powerful role in allowing or forbidding the use of certain material for use in the study, once again privileging some stories and suppressing others. The researcher also met with a senior executive at three agencies and they each discussed the project, gave a personal historical overview of brands important to New Zealand identity, their experiences of advertising, with respect to identity, and personal anecdotes of what characterised New Zealand identity.

The expert panel provided yet another source of narratives. Undoubtedly, the experts blended their objective professional judgments with their own personal experiences of consuming brand advertising and sense (or absence) of New Zealand national identity. On reflection the researcher noted that, conventionally, expert narrative tends to be privileged over other contributions, such that intellectual input appears more valuable than lived experiences.

Overall, the final narrative comes from repeated study of the many different texts, not just those narratives formally collected during interviews. Meaning was inter-subjectively created and the process of understanding experiences of brands and national identity was iterative—

the interpretation of the whole was progressively understood from studying the parts. Reflections evolved as the texts looked different each time around, gradually revealing a meta-narrative and making the researcher more aware of the personal and disciplinary constraints on creating the most honest story for constructing theory.

3.7 Epistemology

The underlying epistemology in this study is social constructionism (as distinct from constructivism). It is important to clarify how these terms are being used here, since the terminology in the literature is “*far from consistent*” (Crotty 1998, p.57). Constructivism is the epistemological consideration when the matter under discussion is the unique experiences of people and the focus is on the meaning making of the individual mind (Crotty 1998, p.58). Central to that epistemology is the independence of each individual’s constructions.

Contrastingly, in the social constructionist view espoused by Crotty, all meaningful reality is socially constructed by people as they engage with others in the world they are interpreting and see the world through the lens of their own culture (Crotty 2003). That is to say, meaning is conceptualised as jointly created within the social constructionist perspective, as opposed to being formed through purely private cognitive processes (Hackley 1998). Social reality is constructed, supported and reproduced through social life and is a function of shared meanings (Crotty 2003).

The term social constructionist utilises the word social to emphasise the social mode of meaning generation however, it is not necessary for the objects of interest to be social objects such as kinship, law, finance or nationalism (Crotty 1998). For social constructionists, meaning and truth relating to social phenomena, and natural and physical realities do not exist independent of the human context. Social constructionism is used when the focus is on the collective generation and transmission of meaning (Crotty 1998).

The social constructionist approach assumes that social life is constituted through language and discourse (Hackley 1998) and thus, mutual construction of meaning and the collective processes involved in generating discourse are highlighted by the social constructionist approach. In illustrating this point, Hackley (1998) suggests that advertising creativity is not an entity that subsists in the universe, but is only socially constructed from the ways that people talk about it. Meaning is constructed through the social processes and intentional

discursive strategies of suppressing and actively selecting what to say and how to express experiences. Crotty (2003, p.47) suggests, “*What constructionism drives home unambiguously is that there is no true or valid interpretation. There are useful interpretations to be sure, and these stand over against interpretations that appear to serve no useful purpose.*”

A social constructionism approach entirely underpins the way that the major constructs of interest in this study are conceptualised and have been discussed in the literature review. Brands, marketing communications and national identity are constituted through social activities and do not exist as ‘facts.’ Brands are conceived of as symbolic and experiential entities that exist only with the conceptual and social recognition of those consumers that recognise them as brands.

Marketing communications are social constructions that operate within a social context. Advertisements and other types of communications do not portray objective reality in their images, dialogue and copy. Neither do they send pre-specified universal messages—it is the advertising consumer who, in conjunction with the creators of the advertisement, determines the message at an individual level. Each advertisement is polysemic and thus, does not have one unique and bounded meaning—multiple meanings arise from culturally bound variations in interpretations of language and imagery. As previously discussed, meaning in advertising is co-created, mediated by the influences of the social and individual realm. Meaning of advertising is not independent of the consumer’s unique life experiences and plans, or the social uses a consumer has for the interpreted meaning (Ritson and Elliott 1995).

Sense of self is socially constructed through discourse—“*who one is depends on the moment-to-moment movements in conversation*” (Gergen 1999, p.80). Social identities, such as identification as an environmental activist, cricket expert or benefactor of the arts, rest on there being social agreement about what these identities mean—social identities cannot be conceived without a socially constructed understanding of what these identities entail. National identity, as has already been discussed, is an inherently social imaginary, and does not have any basis in the natural world as a characteristic that can be observed or measured independent of the joint activities of people who categorise themselves and others into such in and out groups.

In summary, the objective of the research is founded on the epistemological premise that experiences of brands and national identity are both socially constructed. Accordingly, the epistemology of social constructionism provides a meaningful basis for exploring experiences of brands and national identity.

3.8 Research Trustworthiness, Rigour and Quality

The fundamental assumptions that underpin a post-positivistic social constructionist approach are that individual realities and experiences vary across time and place according to engagement with others in the world and the lens of their own culture. With this foundation, it is understood that research takes a perspectival view because reality is socially and subjectively construed (Cavana et al. 2001). The interpretivist researcher is concerned with arriving at the meaning of an experience and creating an environment for participants to tell their story. The written report of those stories must be convincing, with accounts being authentic, plausible and critical (Golden-Biddle and Locke 1993). Furthermore, the researcher is inherently part of the process of enunciating participants' experiences—the interviewer, not the interview schedule is the research tool. Thus, relevant methods must be used to ensure that research processes are trustworthy and defensible so that research findings may be presented with confidence (Golafshani 2003; Lincoln and Guba 1985). The following discussion summarises the measures taken in the study to ensure trustworthiness, rigour and quality throughout the research process, including the research design, the research process, the final analysis and findings. These practices have been listed earlier in this chapter but are discussed here in the context of establishing that good research has been conducted.

Trustworthiness of the researcher is the first issue to consider—in particular, accuracy and faithfulness in observing, reporting and interpreting encounters with participants (Cavana et al. 2001). The researcher is responsible for maximising the “*extent to which the interviews investigate the meaning of the life-world themes of the interviewed*” (Kvale 1984, p.191). Pretesting was conducted in several preliminary, sensitising interviews so that the researcher increased proficiency in questioning, probing and clarifying techniques, and developed standardised procedures for selecting and viewing brand advertisements. Ethical observances were met in all dealings with participants, including recruitment procedures, ensuring informed consent was obtained, maintaining rights of withdrawal, explicit consent for audio

recording, protection of anonymity, maintaining respect for privacy and confidentiality (particularly with respect to paired participants). Audio recording and the use of a professional transcription service facilitated the preparation of precise and complete records of all interviews. Journal entries were made regarding each interview encounter, especially noting important aspects of sessions not captured through audio recording.

Regarding the analysis, formal and informal reflexive practices were used extensively to allow for evaluation by the researcher, of the researcher and of the analysis in order to ensure that the true experiences of the participants were reported. The quality of interpretive research is dependent on the creation of an overall narrative which best vivifies the experiences affecting consumers and/or businesses. What is important is that the researcher alleviates constraints that affect narrative production and interpretation, so that more useful outcomes may be obtained in communicating the most vivid realities and constructing theory. Researcher self-awareness and consideration of the layers of experiences that contribute to the final outcome are all part of the iterative hermeneutics of introspection. Reflexive practices continued throughout the phases of the study including consideration of writing issues such as whether and why *“you are quoting more from one respondent than another”* and contemplation of whether *“you agree with one person’s sentiment or turn of phrase more than those of another”* (Ahern 1999, p.409). The study benefited from a planned approach to doing researcher introspection and from other systematic and ad hoc applications of introspection in the course of the data collection process, analysis and writing.

Verification practices were used as another means of ensuring accuracy and replicability. Various forms of triangulation were employed in this study. The use of two sessions with each participant, employing different interview approaches increased rigour and improved the quality of the data. Using verbatim transcripts and conducting extensive member checking also helped to provide a more rigorous data set. Eisenhardt (1989) supports this approach and suggests that triangulation, made possible by multiple data collection methods (two types of interviews, two researchers, secondary data, follow-up member checks and the researcher’s journal), provides stronger substantiation of constructs and hypotheses. As already discussed, triangulation with another researcher was an important feature of the development of emergent themes during the autobiographical interview phase of data collection.

Other rigorous approaches were embedded in the research design; for example, the appropriate recruitment of research participants and selection of advertisements for use in this study, as has already been discussed. The use of real brand communication campaigns ensured high production values, contributing to greater levels of, what has traditionally been called, external validity.

As suggested by many qualitative researchers, this thesis includes, 1) a full explanation of the basis for the study and, 2) an acknowledgement of subjectivity and bias through a declaration of relevant interests, gender, race, socio-economic status. The study methods and procedures used in this research are explicitly documented to ensure that the reader has adequate background information (Miles and Huberman 1994). Overall, the aim is to show that *“results are supportable and not casually derived”* but not that they are objective or that they are exhaustive, since others might see other things that the lone researcher has omitted (Hopkinson and Hogg 2006, p.162). Finally, interview transcripts are available from the author on request and brand communications used in this study are included in a CD-ROM for other researchers to scrutinise.

3.9 Summary of Methodology Chapter

This chapter has detailed the qualitative research methods used to investigate specific research questions regarding the role that brand experiences play in national identity and the use of brands as experiential entities for use in national identity projects. The research design, participant selection and recruitment criteria, interview protocol, brand advertisement selection, logistics of data collection, analysis methods, integrity and quality measures have all been detailed and justified. The research methods were intended to generate thick descriptions that facilitated understanding of consumer experiences of brands and national identity and create an emic account of how brands affect national identity. The theoretical perspective of interpretivism deploying a hermeneutical approach and the epistemological stance of social constructionism that underpins the whole study have been discussed. Finally, the extensive use of introspection and introspective thought in narrative construction, central to building theory has been critically discussed. A summary of the research tools and methods used in this study is provided in Table 5.

Table 5. Summary of Research Methodology

Tools	Brand advertisement DVDs Digital audio recording Personal journal NVivo8
Methods	Life history narrative interviews Friendship pair interview Narrative techniques Visual rhetoric Theme identification
Methodology	Discourse analysis
Theoretical Perspective	Interpretivism Hermeneutics
Epistemology	Social constructionism

Chapter Four

FINDINGS

4.1 Overview

The purpose of chapter four is to present the findings that address the research questions ‘How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?’ and ‘What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?’ Firstly, the reader is provided with descriptive analyses of the unique and particular contextual setting of the research participants. Secondly, key themes of national identity that emerged from autobiographical interviews are detailed. Thirdly, the reader is introduced to the brand advertisements used in the study. Each brand advertisement is profiled, a summary of the expert panel analysis of key themes is tabled and text units that illustrate the main national identity themes recognised by the pairs of participants are cited. Then the other findings from the pair interviews are reported. Thus, this chapter forms the foundation for chapter five, a discussion of the findings in the context of the extant literature.

4.2 Profiles of Research Participants

A summary of the 20 research participant’ profiles highlighting age, connection to places, family situation and occupation follows in Table 6. The participants have been allocated alphabetised pseudonyms, with pairs of friends grouped together for ease of comparison in the table. All of the women considered themselves Kiwis, having been raised and schooled in New Zealand. As discussed in chapter three, the intention of the researcher was to recruit participants whose profiles were somewhat similar to my own. At the time of the participant interviews I was a 48 year old woman, born and raised in a small New Zealand town and later settled in Auckland.

Table 6. Profiles of Research Participant Pairs

Name	Age	Connection to places	Family situation	Occupation
Ann	47	Australian parent Lived in NZ towns & cities	Married 2 daughters	Formerly banking industry Mother & runs lifestyle block
Belinda	42	UK born Lived in 1 NZ city	Married 2 daughters	Formerly hairdresser Mother & runs lifestyle block
Cathy	49	Lived in small NZ settlements & 1 city	Single	Healthcare sector
Donna	40	Maori parent Lived in 1 NZ city	Married 2 daughters	Healthcare sector Mother
Elaine	40	UK immigrant parents Lived in NZ town & city Lived in UK	Married 2 daughters	Childcare & education sector Mother
Fiona	43	Lived in 2 NZ cities	Married 1 daughter 1 son	Librarian Mother
Georgina	43	UK parent Lived in 1 city Long OE & lived in USA	Married 1 daughter 2 sons	Formerly sales & marketing Stay at home mother
Helen	44	Part of Croatian community Lived in 1 NZ city	Married 3 sons	Formerly fashion industry Stay at home mother
Ingrid	47	Rural upbringing Long OE & lived in USA	Married 1 son 2 daughters	Healthcare sector Mother
Jackie	52	South African born German Jewish parents Lived in 2 NZ cities	Married 1 son 1 daughter	Formerly teacher Professional counsellor Mother
Karen	37	Rural upbringing Lived in 2 NZ cities Extensive OE	Married 2 sons 1 daughter	Formerly science technician Small business owner & work from home mother
Lana	36	Rural upbringing Lived in USA Lived provincial NZ town	Married 1 daughter 1 son	Office worker in advertising & design sector Mother & part time worker
Marcia	45	Lived in 2 NZ cities	Divorced 2 daughters	Office worker in tourism sector Mother & part time worker
Nicola	44	UK born parent Lived mostly in 1NZ city	Single 1 son	Hairdresser & salon owner Mother
Olivia	51	Dutch immigrant parents Lived in 2 NZ cities Long OE	Married 1 daughter 1 son	Formerly pharmacist & business owner Invalid & stay at home mother
Pippa	57	Long OE & lived in Canada Lived in 1 NZ city	Single	Formerly sales & marketing Retired. Voluntary worker
Sharon	39	Lived in NZ town & cities	Married 2 daughters	Formerly banking industry Mother. Part time office worker
Tess	38	Lived mostly in 1NZ city	Married 1 daughter	Formerly office worker Stay at home mother
Virginia	43	UK & Ngai Tahu Maori ancestry OE and lived in Fiji Lived NZ towns & cities	Married 2 daughters	Formerly clerical worker in state sector Home-schooling mother Part-time property manager
Waverley	47	Lived in 2 NZ cities Long & repeated OE	Single 1daughter	Formerly sales rep. Mother Childcare & education sector

I was a student resident in Palmerston North for four years and have not lived overseas or embarked on a typical OE (overseas experience). My New Zealand born parents have English and Scottish ancestry. My English born husband and I have two teenage sons. My occupations prior to becoming an academic were firstly, food technologist, later brand manager in the food industry and lastly, full-time stay at home mother for four years.

4.3 Raw Summaries of National Identity Themes

Raw summaries of individual's key themes of national identity were produced after each autobiographical narrative interview by aggregating short verbatim text units. Tabular comparisons of these raw summaries of how New Zealand identity was experienced by the two women in each friendship pair are presented in the Raw Key Theme Summaries for Friendship Pairs in Appendix 7. Aspects of New Zealand national identity revealed in the autobiographical interviews or in the process of member-checking form the basis of these summaries. Text in italics denotes those comments that arose later during the paired interviews, either as a result of examining each other's key themes or while discussing how national identity was experienced in the particular brand advertisements.

4.4 Key Themes of National Identity

The process of refining key themes of national identity from the 20 autobiographical narrative interviews involved repeated readings, constant comparison and the development of thematic codes within the framework of the researcher's previously established categorisation of New Zealand national identity. Iterations of this process continued until modifications to the coding system were complete and every interview was coded. A summary of key themes from the 20 research participants follows in Table 7, with themes ranked according to the number of individual participants who mentioned them unsolicited in their autobiographical interview and/or who especially identified them as key themes worthy of inclusion during the pair interview. Explanations of these national identity themes (organised by category) with text unit illustrations providing more detail are available in Appendix 8.

Table 7. Key Themes of New Zealand National Identity

(Ranked by number of participants who mentioned at least once N=20)

Key Themes of National Identity	No.	Key Themes of National Identity	No.
Active/sports orientated	19	Adventurous/self reliant/pioneering spirit	12
Holidays/ritual escape to the wild	19	Inevitable return home	12
OE travel/interest in the world	19	Multicultural society	12
Importance of the beach	19	National pride	12
Informality	19	Open access to places	12
Friendly/helpful/decent	18	Used to be better	12
Ingenious/DIY/creative	18	Aware that violent underbelly exists	12
Family values/staying in touch	18	Landscapes of distinction	12
Comparisons with Australians & Americans	18	Benefits of team sport	11
Still feel connected to other countries	18	Opportunities	11
Small town quality of life/simplicity	18	Punch above our weight/underdog	11
Community volunteering/neighbourliness	17	Wars have shaped who we are	11
Outdoor life/BBQ/great outdoors	17	Unsophisticated	10
Hard working/mentally tough	16	Versatile/flexible	10
Sense of humour	16	Idolising sportspeople	10
Discovering the country/tiki touring ¹¹	16	Speech/accent distinctiveness	10
Clean green/100% pure paradise	16	Free ranging childhood	9
Rugby mad	16	Shared recognition of iconic products/brands	9
Can do attitude	15	Avoids confrontations/laidback	8
Humble	15	Owning your own home	8
Awareness of Maori people & culture	15	Maori grievances/racism	8
Link with the land	15	New age man & woman	7
Mixed society/status not important	15	NZ was once isolated	7
Safety/golden age	15	Two degrees separation/connections	7
Shared recognition of Maori symbols	15	Work life balance	6
Shared recognition of native flora & fauna	15	Camaraderie when overseas	6
Fitting in/tall poppy	14	Songs/music distinctiveness	6
Mates & friends	14	Male dominated	5
Connections to special places in NZ	14	Classes apparent in Auckland society	5
Beer/drinking alcohol	13	Loss of identity through immigration	5
Rugged masculinity/'Man Alone'	13	Nuclear free	4
Value character building experiences	13	Anti-intellectual/practical & sporty	3
Young generation is different	13	Need external affirmation	3
Shared recognition of kiwiana icons	13	All Blacks as icons	3

¹¹ Tiki touring is a New Zealand term which refers to an extensive or comprehensive journey of inspection (Source: NZ Oxford Dictionary)

4.5 Brand Ads and Experiences of NID Themes

This section of the findings is arranged by brand, so that reader is provided with an overview that combines data from several different sources. Firstly, the brand name, product or service type, and the title of each advertisement are documented for all 19 brands. Then a simple scene description for each brand advertisement is provided along with a brief brand history and details of any linkages with other nations. (Scripts and production details are presented in Appendix 6 and digital files of the commercials are provided on a CD-ROM which accompanies this thesis.) As discussed, an expert panel analysed the selected brand advertisements with reference to the researcher's five part categorisation of New Zealand national identity. This analysis of themes with reference to the categories is tabled. Finally, a few text units that illustrate typical pair interview responses to the brand marcoms are documented. The key themes of national identity, identified from autobiographical narratives, provided a benchmark for the participants to evaluate the brand marcoms. The participant quotes are intended to convey to the reader that national identity themes were recognised in each brand commercial, in many cases echoing the more extensive range of themes identified by the expert panel tabled on the same page.

In addressing the research question, 'How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?' participants were shown six TVCs and asked firstly, "Are any of your key themes in that ad?" Clearly, from the participants' perspective key themes of national identity were present in the brand communications. All pairs of participants recognised at least some of their own (and/or their friend's) key themes in each advertisement shown by the researcher. The average number of key themes evident to participants in each of the 19 television commercials ranged from 4.3 per pair (for NZI *Stealing your stuff*) to 11.3 per pair (for Mainland *Four seasons*), with an average score of 7.4 key themes per pair over the entire selection of advertisements. However, average scores such as these do not tell the whole story and the quotes provide a contextualised view of how the themes were recognised and discussed by participants.

Air New Zealand (airline): *Amazing journeys - grandfather*

This advertisement showcases New Zealand's landscape through breathtaking aerial shots. It creates powerful dreamlike sequences and encourages viewers to have a romantic connection with, and sense of pride in their country. The opening shots show a tearful teenaged school girl, standing in the doorway of her boarding school, being dumped by her boyfriend. As a haunting waiata starts, the girl takes off on an amazing journey, apparently flying out of the city and over different scenery including stunning snow mountain landscapes, eventually arriving at a remote beach place. She makes her way to the only person that can be seen—a fisherman walking from a simple house towards the beach—and is emotionally reunited with her elderly Maori grandfather, who receives her with a loving hug. The Air New Zealand brand name has been used since 1965 and the company is registered on the New Zealand Stock Exchange.

<p>Expert Panel: <u>Myths</u> Permanence of landscape versus urban distress and heartbreak of the city Back to nature living West Coast subsistence life Whenua – the unity of the land and the people that come from it</p>	<p><u>Values and Rituals</u> Maori family values Intrepid travellers Quality of life Clean and green Return to home</p>
<p><u>Place</u> Beach Open spaces Places with ancestral connections Whole gamut of landscape types and large geographical spread</p>	<p><u>Popular Symbols</u> Toe toe (swamp grass) seed heads and foliage Maori people Waiata & te reo Maori (Maori language)</p>

Participants: *It's got special places here and I think that girl was, had a special place she wanted to go to, so. I think it's a really beautiful ad. And we've said here about family land and that, so. (Donna)*

Well I think you've got your culture in there ... Both with the character and the song that's playing in the background. (Elaine)

Yeah, for me that's the Maori spirituality, that Maoriness that you find that makes us unique, in a way that establishes us from every other country that, around us. We are who we are because of that. And the variety of the landscape too. (Fiona)

And the freedom too, there's the flight, there's the, I don't know, there just sort of a sense of, just freedom, it's there, it's a land that's there for the taking kind of, I don't know, there's sort of a journey, going on a journey discovering it. (Elaine)¹²

¹² In order to economise on space, the symbol // will be used (only in this themes summary section) to signify when various comments by one participant have been combined in one place.

Bell Tea: *Bach*

This advertisement opens with time lapse shots of a typical Kiwi bach as it moves from being closed up, to being occupied, with beach towels hanging outside and picnic table and chairs on the lawn, signalling Kiwi bach lifestyle. As people arrive there is a reunion between a mother and adult daughters who have come from overseas. A boy assists his father in cleaning freshly caught fish on an outdoor bench. In a flashback sequence, the nostalgic mother recalls past times when her daughters were children and enjoying bach life. It becomes obvious that a new generation will soon join the family as one of the daughters is heavily pregnant. The advertisement closes with the whole family sitting together at the picnic table enjoying a cup of Bell tea. Bell was started in Dunedin in 1928 and continues to be New Zealand owned.

<p>Expert Panel: <u>Place</u> Bach with family connections Beach Open space Reference to other places overseas</p>	<p><u>Popular Symbols</u> Bach furnishings Outdoor furniture Snapper fish Intertextual reference to movie <i>Rain</i> (2001)</p>	<p><u>Values and Rituals</u> Family values Intrepid travellers Quality of life Healthy and hearty Overseas experience Return to New Zealand BBQ is men's work Women supporting a pregnant woman</p>
<p><u>Myths</u> Golden age Great place to bring up kids Retro combination of the past and present</p>	<p><u>Personal Characteristics</u> Friendly Casual Capable women</p>	

Participants: *Oh definitely beach, family gatherings. (Helen)*

Yeah, lack of formality. Yep. (Georgina)

That was, well, yeah just a relaxed, family. (Helen)

Different generations all wanting to do the same thing, all just happy to chill out together.

Yep. (Georgina)

Yeah, all about summer holidays and fishing and baches and boats and family getting together... And trying to keep all the generations connected... And people coming from overseas, we've got things about overseas, so that's people, we expect that people from our family are going to live overseas but we'll always welcome them home. // Good place to bring up kids, that's, that's what that's implying. // Spending time. It's not about spending the money, obviously it would cost for people to get there, and the duty free, but it's about spending the time together. It's just cheap plastic furniture.

(Virginia)

...We're sport and outdoors people. And, caravanning, free camping in a clearing or campground. Meeting up, and other families camping, or meeting other families. Weekends away exploring. (Waverley)

DB Export Gold (beer): *Over the fence*

This advertisement is about youthful optimism and promotes the brand as the quintessential flatmates' beer. It revolves around three mates—a fit, muscular and wholesome Pacific Island guy, a slightly overweight jokester and a casual, smiley, good looking guy—and opens with them relaxing in the backyard of their suburban villa on a hot, sunny afternoon. They have just opened bottles of beer when their attractive female neighbour and her sunbathing girlfriends beckon the guys to join them. This they do without hesitation, taking a chilly bin of Export Gold with them. The highly implausible action that ensues depicts a neighbourhood gathering that steadily grows as the day progresses—the crowd increasing with every new invitation issued from yet another welcoming neighbour to cross the next adjoining fence and join them. Eventually they all end up back at the boys' flat until after darkness falls. The advertisement closes with the slogan “Export Yourself”. Dominion Breweries was started in Auckland in 1930 and is owned by Asia Pacific Breweries, Singapore.

Expert Panel: Myths Mateship Kiwi ingenuity	<u>Values and Rituals</u> Informal Egalitarian Impromptu community activity	<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Self-deprecating Quirky humour Friendly Casual Emotionally stunted men
<u>Place</u> Suburbia - local place	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Student flat with beer fridge New Zealand music featuring rock band <i>Steriogram</i> Reference to the trials and quest for the holy grail of acceptance	

Participants: *Yeah. I think it should be [referring to alcohol and beer theme]. Mixing with people from all walks of life, although they tended, they were more the same. // I love that, you know, like I think Kiwi's have got a really good sense of humour. (Ann)*
They had, the whole things of younger people, it didn't have any older people. I've got here typical Kiwi men. They are different. Like beer, motorbikes, vehicles, loyalty to each other, and I see that in that ad... And sports mad. So they're doing, they've got the cricket, they've covered the whole thing there, and no snobbery, I would say that's there. (Belinda)
But that's very, you know, friendly, everyone's getting on and, you know, come over to my place over the back fence... That time for me was, encompasses the beach holiday attitude, you know, you kind of, you are like that when you're on holiday at the beach. (Lana)
Definitely has the laid back thing there, there's certainly no touch of class in that one, everyone just pops over to the next one, to the next one, to the next one. (Karen)

Dulux Colours of New Zealand (paint): *Big decision*

This advertisement launched a new paint colour range, where each colour is named after, and inspired by, a location or landmark in New Zealand, and includes ocean blues, alpine whites, and vibrant urban hues. It opens with a young couple standing in their home considering their DIY painting renovation plans. The woman is leading the conversation as they consider which colours in the Dulux palette would suit one particular room. As they flick past various named places, the couple are transported to each location for a few moments—thus visiting Evans Bay, Karangahape Road, Lake Wakatipu, Howick, Mt Aspiring, Oriental Bay, Pencarrow and Sandfly Point (where they have to fight off the insects). The closing sequence shows the freshly painted room as they discuss the next room in their DIY painting plans. The advertisement ends with the Dulux Old English Sheepdog and the slogan “Worth doing, worth Dulux”. Dulux was originally a UK based brand, is sold internationally, and has a long history in New Zealand.

Expert Panel: <u>Popular Symbols</u> Transvestites on Karangahape Road (one of Auckland city’s main red light districts) Intertextual reference to New Zealand movies <i>Goodbye Pork Pie</i> (1981) and <i>The Seekers</i> (1954)	<u>Myths</u> Unproblematic fit between the natural world and Karangahape Road Myth of Karangahape Road integrated into mainstream society	<u>Place</u> Mountains Beaches Other named places Variety of landscapes throughout both the North and South Islands
	<u>Values and Rituals</u> Do-it-yourself Informal Egalitarian	<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Capable women Casual Quirky humour

Participants: *So you’ve got the DIY side of it as well. (Sharon)*

A lot of it of mine that home ownership thing, you know obviously they’re in their own home, doing up their own house, referring also, you know how DIY, Kiwis are big on that home ownership thing. (Tess)

That’s the whole, here, motivated [people]. (Sharon)

I think even in the, you know, they’ve got the bowling which is sort of the, I mean we haven’t got that [written on the list], but it’s sort of activities. (Jackie)

And I’ve got hardworking, practical... Laidback just do it, not too hooked up on the issues, so you know, they aren’t employing a colour consultant to come and do it. (Karen)

I mean the scenery’s awesome, they’ve used that, you know with picking their colours they could have used anything to pick colours, but you know, they’ve chosen places. (Sharon)

New Zealand’s a beautiful place and sort of thing. They showed a lot of that clean, green, beautiful... (Tess)

Hellers 100% New Zealand Bacon: *Manuka smoked*

This vox pops style of advertisement opens with a recognised media personality, ‘That Guy’ Leigh Hart, in front of a small tent pitched in a remote alpine valley, surrounded by snowy mountains. He is cooking bacon in a pan and the two rashers form the shapes of the North and South Island. The next sequence of shots shows him offering samples of the cooked bacon to passersby in the Auckland Viaduct precinct, a popular attraction for residents and tourists. Each of the people makes a favourable comment about the taste, particularly the manuka smoked flavour. ‘That Guy’ conducts the tasting with humorous banter, reinforcing the New Zealand origins of the product, and finishes with a pun involving the brand name and a popular saying—“Sure as hell is (Hellers)”. Hellers is a local company based in the Christchurch area and starting manufacture in the early 1990s.

Expert Panel: <u>Place</u> Mountains Sunshine and clear skies Variety of landscapes both metropolitan and alpine	<u>Values and Rituals</u> Informal Healthy and hearty Egalitarian
<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Friendly Casual Quirky humour Self-deprecating	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Map of New Zealand (made of bacon) Sky Tower Viaduct precinct ‘That Guy’ Leigh Hart from Sports Cafe and Herald on Sunday Ordinary, middle New Zealand people

Participants: *Manuka*¹³. *That’s the only thing I think was Kiwi, apart from the scenery and the fact they mentioned manuka (Marcia)*

The camping thing even, you know, that could have been out in the friggin’ Rockies. (Nicola) ... Understated and humble. I mean I love both those words in that, because it’s not gushy, we don’t, we’re not kind of, again, and I guess I’m [thinking that] Americans that sort of say, “Oh,” like, about their own country and their history and it almost sort of feels forced and a bit false. Whereas, yeah, it is what it is and that’s it. Do you know what I mean? // Well there’s the map, the barbeque, the outdoors, that sort of clean green 100% New Zealand made that I think comes through. (Elaine)

And also that really being interested in what people think of us. I haven’t put this here, but, yes I have, something about wanting, how we, Kiwis are always interested to know what people think, well my observation is. // Yeah, strong sense of national pride. (Fiona)

¹³ Sawdust from the native manuka tree is commonly used to smoke foods

Interislander (ferry service): *Filmed by the Maaka family of Petone*

This advertisement is part of a campaign to return the Interislander to its place as a loved Kiwi icon. Research showed that people had wistful memories of how New Zealand life used to be—that is, everyone took January off, we wouldn't dream of holidaying overseas until we had seen our own country first and Kiwis really did 'kick back' and relax. The advertising agency followed a plan to "let the people make the ads". Thus, this is a short documentary filmed by one family with young children, on their day trip from Petone across the Cook Strait on the Interislander. It features shots of the drive-on embarkation process, views of Wellington receding in the distance, beautiful scenery in the Marlborough Sounds, candid shots of the family relaxing and having fun on board, standing on the deck and finally leaving the boat at the end of the day. The Interislander brand, launched in 1989, is part of Kiwirail, a State Owned Enterprise.

Expert Panel: <u>Myths</u> Great place to bring up kids Golden age	<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Friendly Casual	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Recognisable setting of Wellington and the Interislander ferry Ordinary New Zealand people with Maori heritage – The Maaka family from Petone
<u>Place</u> Sea Mountains Bush clad hills Sunshine and clear skies	<u>Values and Rituals</u> Intrepid travellers Family values Informality Quality of life Do-it-yourself Small town values Cataloguing family life	Well known music " <i>Maybe tomorrow</i> " by Golden Horse Intertextual reference to New Zealand movies <i>Goodbye Pork Pie</i> (1981) and <i>Runaway</i> (1964)

Participants: *Yeah, I think just going on holidays overseas, going on holidays during the school holidays and things like that 'cause you'd have to jump on the Interisland ferry to cross the island. You know, taking your kids with you and making it a family orientated thing. You know, the water, land and sea is very close and that, so I think it's relevant. (Cathy)*
I think New Zealand is in the song really. The song really affects it. (Donna)
You got, the music got you straight away 'cause you knew it was kiwiana, so you like the ad, I think you like the ad straightaway 'cause of that probably. And then you just watch and I mean and it did flick a bit to the background and that but, you know, just think, "Oh we actually do live in a beautiful country," and yeah. (Cathy)
Travelling, holidaying. (Marcia)
Family, yeah family. (Nicola)

Kiwibank: *It's ours*

This develops the idea of the bank as a Kiwi hero and a serious competitor to some of the bigger banks. The hero of this advertisement is an eye-catching lime green Smart car with four monstrous speakers strapped to the roof. The brand character speaks to its competitors through the humorous and recognisable voice of John Clark aka Fred Dagg. Underlying the voice is a whistled version of the New Zealand national anthem. The car travels through Wall Street, past the Bank of England and on to Sydney, pointing out how it more than measures up to them in important ways. The car travels through New Zealand, passing a range of recognisable symbols of the Kiwi way of life, reinforcing its claim to be a true Kiwi bank. Kiwibank, is wholly-owned by the State Owned Enterprise New Zealand Post Limited and was launched in 2002.

Expert Panel: Values and Rituals Desire for world acceptance Battle with Australians Egalitarian Family values Small town values Doing the right thing	Myths Punch above our weight	Popular Symbols Giant kiwi sculpture Municipal rose gardens Marching girls, Green countryside Bungy jump New Zealand national anthem
Place Mountains Rivers Contrasts with the canyons of commerce Overtones of Empire	Personal Characteristics Self deprecating Quirky humour Not pushy or forward Friendly Casual	Kiwi accent Vernacular speech

Participants: *The can-do attitude. (Pippa)*

Yeah. The tall poppy thing was there and they were going, "We can, we can hack it with you tall poppies," kind of thing and it was, I don't know whether that's part of we've said.// The travel... And the fact that we all recognise these places... The green theme (Olivia)

Well instantly the rivalry with Australia was there. And the proudness of the fact it was a Kiwi bank. (Pippa)

Yep. And the accent of the guy. (Olivia)

Well I straight way thought of the OE thing, 'cause I mean, so many Kiwis go over to England and seeing all the big London, and all those sort of icons, if you like, of typical London, it's just, but having this kind of voice over of this Kiwi guy sort of, bit tongue and cheek really. I think that's quite cool. (Elaine)

...We've got a particular, kind of what, of humour haven't we, if you compare us with the Brits or even. (Fiona)

Not being dictated to by the whole PC stuff, it might be. It's still that freedom of like just saying what you think. (Elaine)

L&P (soft drink): *Bombs*

This advertisement was shot on super 8 film, to evoke the feel of the 1970s and edited to appear like a nostalgic documentary. The setting is summer in New Zealand where a group of school aged children are enjoying a visit to the local school swimming pool out of school hours. Droll commentary on how things were ‘back in the day’ is provided by the distinctive voice of Jemaine Clements, who is currently famous for his role in the cult comedy duo *Flight of the Conchords*. The highlights of this ‘look back in time’ include memories of access to the pool key, the clothing and food of the day, doing dive bombs, and the rituals of resting and warming up after it all. This brand, or something similar to it (and known in full as Lemon and Paeroa), has been made in New Zealand since the 1920s. It is a registered trademark of Coca Cola Amatil (NZ) Ltd and is not heavily marketed outside New Zealand.

<p>Expert Panel: <u>Myths</u> Great place to bring up kids Golden age Forging childhood friendships Inclusive society</p>	<p><u>Personal Characteristics</u> Self-deprecating Quirky humour Casual Understatement Anti-intellectualism</p>
<p><u>Values and Rituals</u> Small town values Slow pace of life Everyone knows someone important Healthy and hearty</p>	<p><u>Popular Symbols</u> The school pool Kiwi accent Vernacular speech</p>

Participants: *Ah, that sort of summer holidays, chilling by the pool. // Mm. It's definitely, again, that whole, sense of humour, saying the first name that pops in to your mind. That natural slang, like you know the whole, "Cause it was choice." You know just that typical Kiwi slang, "Mate, choice, she'll be right." You know all that sort of stuff. // Again, laid back, easy lifestyle, don't mind our P's and Q's, not too, you know, prim and proper and posh, just bomb into the pools and just have fun. (Tess)*

...The kids just playing together, harmless, inexpensive fun and healthy outdoor activity. You know, not stuck inside. // The other thing that was probably, for me it was the safety aspect, that nobody was concerned. (Ann)

I've got childhood holiday, swimming, boating. (Belinda)

Small town life, laid back people, family. (Ann)

...That's exactly what we used to do. I said to my kids. Every weekend down at the Hobsonville pool. (Belinda)

But yeah, we just used to go down with the key and have a swim [in the school pool] and walk home and, so yeah that was quite typical. We'd all meet down there, or you'd plan with your friends to meet there at certain times and so yeah that was very typical of, you know, all catching up together. (Sharon)

Mainland Cheese: *Four seasons*

This advertisement highlights the way things used to be, in a mystical place—‘mainland’—where old-fashioned values apply and people take time to do things properly. It draws on the belief that New Zealanders love their landscapes and strong, weathered individuals who can say a lot in a few words. It features two old men from farming backgrounds and traces the story of their friendship over the years, as told by one of them. The advertisement was shot in one rural high country location over 12 months, capturing the changing seasons. It closes with the sentiment ‘Good things take time’. Mainland is now owned by Fonterra Co-operative Group and is sold throughout Australasia and parts of the Americas. It began as a family business in the South Island in 1954. Fonterra is a co-operative owned by New Zealand dairy farmers.

Expert Panel: <u>Myths</u> Godzone Mateship Golden age	<u>Values and Rituals</u> Small town values Unhurried Informal Quality of life	<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Understatement Casual Not forward Emotionally stunted men Kiwi masculinity characterised by problems communicating
<u>Place</u> Mountains Rivers Open space Farm land	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Kiwi accent Vernacular speech Mainland Cheese	

Participants: *Farming, football, farming, rugby. The scenery, mountains and the lakes and the land. (Ingrid)*

Definitely that and I think, I think, Ingrid might have mentioned it and I agree but that, something about the simplicity. I'm just trying to think where (pause), sort of, I think it captures work ethic and Ingrid's work ethics, determined... Yep. Integrity, honesty, I think those sorts of things. Smallness, being in a little country is good. Connections. (Jackie)

...It's that whole friendships take a long time and we don't jump into anything, bit more reserved. (Georgina)

Prefers some space. Being alone sometimes. Reserved. (Helen)

Deep set part of the culture is the link with the land. Always want to live on a farm. Get hands dirty. Honourable existence.// The humour is in there too, they were subtle but they're good. (Georgina)

...I feel sentimentally touched by it and that's partly the voice and the music, plus the scenery. It suggests good old times in New Zealand really. // There was something unpretentious so again it probably fits in with some of the things we've sort of said. Unpretentious, talking directly to you, he's not telling you, he's not preaching or... (Jackie)

McDonald's Kiwiburger (hamburger): *Kiwiburger*

This advertisement, by far the oldest and possibly longest running commercial in this study, informs us that Kiwiburger, from the American hamburger restaurant chain, is 'our tucker'¹⁴. It starts by asking "Remember when every hamburger had beetroot?" and has a strong focus on nostalgia, harking back to a golden age, and what Kiwis love. It uses a catalogue song to name a huge range of icons that are recognisably from, and of, New Zealand. The visuals also provide a kaleidoscopic montage of still and video imagery interspersed with shots of the burger itself. McDonald's, which was started in the US in 1940, opened their first store in New Zealand in 1976 and is without doubt recognised as an American brand.

Expert Panel: Myths	Personal Characteristics	Popular Symbols
ANZAC spirit Heroism through sport Golden age	Quirky humour Casual	Kiwiana – whole range of visual icons Festival of images Catalogue song based on <i>I've been everywhere man</i>

Participants: *Yeah, the Rotorua-ness, oh see, that's Maori. The haka, Maori. The little pictures, Maori. The koru, Maori. (Waverley)*

And the practical people, like, sort of like look, the people there looked kind of practical-ish. It didn't look like, also that no class system that I had in mine, it looked like 'all into together', kind of, that was the, you felt that when watching the ad, 'cause there was netball and family and sports and stuff, so it felt like here we are, a big happy family, or community. (Virginia)

The silver fern, the gumboot, the... football, the skiing, the things that we do when we're ...on holiday. (Waverley)

I think though, if you haven't been out of New Zealand you wouldn't know some of those things were only New Zealand. (Virginia)

That's amazing, didn't really need to do this previous interview [about national identity]. It was all on there wasn't it? // I had the heroes, the sports people, the All Blacks, they were in there. But I do see all those things just totally relate to being New Zealand. (Helen)

Makes me feel good about all the Kiwi stuff. (Lana)

Well there you go. I know the music. // Stereotypes. Did they have a lady in curlers, they probably did, although, they had the girl doing the hula-hoop. (Karen)

¹⁴ Tucker is a colloquial term for food (Source: NZ Oxford Dictionary)

Mitre 10 Mega (hardware retailer): *Parking lessons*

This retail brand advertisement was used to introduce the new spokesman and brand hero, styled as “the man big enough to run the country’s biggest home improvement stores.” He is a huge Samoan strongman dressed in workman’s clothes in the bright orange and black brand colours. This competent, helpful, friendly and smiling gentle giant personifies the mega store concept with his catch-cry “Big is good”. In this commercial he assists customers, helps in the store, demonstrates his DIY knowhow and single-handedly up-ends a red sports car whose cheeky driver has parked in a disabled car parking space. Mitre 10 is an Australian firm set up in 1959 and started business in New Zealand in 1974. The Mega stores, as distinct from the regular Mitre 10 stores, were set up to compete with Bunnings.

<p>Expert Panel: <u>Values and Rituals</u> Doing the right thing Giving a hand Vigilante, citizen’s arrest, community justice Do-it-yourself Informal Egalitarian Healthy and hearty</p>	<p><u>Popular Symbols</u> Kiwi accent Vernacular speech Recognisable setting of hardware store Mix of Samoan and Palagi (white non-Polynesian) people</p>
<p><u>Myths</u> Decent hard man Small is good - inverted myth</p>	<p><u>Personal Characteristics</u> Quirky humour</p>

Participants: *No. 8 wire can fix anything. Most men are useful. Women get stuck in and do stuff. (Pippa)*

It was all about DIY. (Olivia)

Can-do attitude. (Pippa)

I’m not getting snobbery. Mixing with people from all walks of life. // Kind of in a way not daunted by meeting high profile people, it’s kind of like I’d say, “Giddyay,” to him if I was in Mitre 10, you know? //Yeah. He’s doing everything physically, you know, big strong. //New Zealanders come from hardworking average settlers. (Ann)

Oh God he looks like a real West Auckland Kiwi. // Those guys are lovely, those guys like that are lovely usually. You know, they’re really down to earth. You can tell he is, gentle giant. (Belinda)

Yeah. Bloke, bloke. (Cathy)

Just people getting on with it and getting a job done.// DIY. Humour. (Sharon)

Doing the right thing. // It is a little bit sort of like Australian, “Oh, we’re big, we build things big, big is good.” Whereas Kiwis aren’t really so much into ... (Tess)

NZI (insurance): *Stealing your stuff*

The primary focus of this campaign was to engage consumers emotionally. Research showed that New Zealanders were becoming increasingly passionate and proud of all things Kiwi, although we are a small country and often our icons are encouraged overseas. In this commercial NZI linked the core need of insurance, which is protection, with the need to protect our own Kiwi successes. NZI used actor/comedian Oscar Kightley for the voiceover to accompany a highly engaging animation-style film that depicted all the successes that New Zealand has allegedly had stolen by other countries. NZI was founded in Auckland in 1859 and is currently owned by CGU Insurance, Australia.

Expert Panel: Myths Punch above our weight No 8 wire ingenuity and talent Obsession with New Zealand inventions - ridiculed	Personal Characteristics Quirky humour Casual Tall poppy
Values and Rituals Battle with Aussies Footing it with the world Anti-intellectualism Whingeing	Popular Symbols List of icons Kiwi accent Vernacular speech National anthem

Participants: ...*That's very New Zealand of course because it's all our icons, eh? (Marcia)*
You said [while viewing, but not captured by recorder] "Maori art, fish and chips, green grass." (Researcher)

Yeah it has got the sense of humour. (Nicola)

We can laugh at ourselves, eh? (Marcia)

I find it a bit sort of over the top, though I think it's got every theme that I have mentioned. (Ingrid)

The rivalry. (Jackie)

The, yeah, sporting themes. Those dastardly Australians. (Ingrid)

It definitely appeals to, it's got a more jingoistic feel to it, yeah. (Jackie)

The kiwiana thing's huge in that. And sport. Watch many types of sport. 'Cause that had the America's Cup, it had the rugby in it. It had the Maori stuff in it with the tattoo. Oh it had the, our No. 8 mentality, our ingenuity, great inventions and ideas, it had that with the Wright brothers on it, [refers to New Zealander Richard Pearse whose first flight was supposedly before the Wright brothers] I think that ad, really is really, really New Zealand, I love that ad. (Ann)

I think it's a dig at the Australians. // ..You just have that little rivalry thing going on between us at the moment, which is all good fun, because it's all tongue and cheek when you're over there. You know, they give us a hard time, we give them a hard time. (Belinda)

Steinlager Pure (beer): *Keep it pure*

This advertisement features American actor Harvey Keitel as himself. He is particularly known in New Zealand for his lead role in the film *The Piano* (1993). The advertisement shows Harvey Keitel walking at night through an almost deserted amusement park on Coney Island, New York. As he does so he talks about the landmark achievements of various New Zealanders. The opening line is “What you say no to will always define you”, and Harvey Keitel goes on to list five instances of New Zealanders collectively saying no to:

- (a) nuclear power;
- (b) only men having the vote;
- (c) saying Everest couldn’t be conquered;
- (d) saying box office hits could only be made in Hollywood; and
- (e) genetic modification

In each instance there is an accompanying humorous image—for example, a small and distinctive looking dog (which holds the title of World’s Ugliest Dog) trots past on a leash as genetic modification is mentioned. The closing shots show Harvey Keitel ordering and drinking Steinlager Pure beer at a bar. The Steinlager brand was launched in 1962 by Lion Breweries New Zealand (currently known as Lion Nathan), and is in the process of becoming wholly acquired by the Japanese Kirin Brewery Company.

Expert Panel: <u>Popular Symbols</u> Harvey Keitel, star of New Zealand movie <i>The Piano</i> (1993)	<u>Myths</u> David and Goliath - saying no to nuclear power
<u>Place</u> Reference to other places overseas	World beater - first in the world to conquer Everest and give women the vote
<u>Values and Rituals</u> Need for international validation	Punch above our weight - producing Hollywood movies in New Zealand Clean and green - saying no to genetic modification

Participants: *Yeah, I think that’s great ‘cause that’s also a key thing for New Zealanders is that we punch above our weight and even though we’re very insignificant on the world stand we have had a lot of critical stances that have been, like quite exceptional really. (Georgina) You know how, clean and green thing happening, you know. Kiwis just getting on and doing and not worrying about what everybody else is necessarily doing. Saying no to, you know, just because some of the bigger countries are saying yes doesn’t mean that we have to sort of thing. (pause) Yeah, the only country that’s nuclear free. We’re only little but we say no it’s worth it, that’s exactly what you said there. (Tess) Yeah. That are our values. But I remember thinking at the end of it, “Oh, no, it’s advertising beer.” (Waverley)*

Tip Top Trumpet (ice cream novelty):

Simplifying summer - togs, undies

This advertisement is part of a series that humorously focuses on different aspects of beach etiquette in New Zealand, linking Tip Top Trumpet with the essentials for simplifying summer. It features an Adonis type male bather walking from the beach (Browns Bay, Auckland) into the city and back again, ironically testing a vital question facing many New Zealanders: “When do Speedos¹⁵ become underwear?” As he does so, a voiceover gives us the clues we need. The Tip Top brand has been a New Zealand brand in existence since 1938 (and Trumpet since 1964). Tip Top Trumpet is one of many brands currently owned by Fonterra, a cooperative owned by New Zealand dairy farmers.

Expert Panel: <u>Values and Rituals</u> Anti-intellectualism Informal Tall poppy Healthy and hearty	<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Self-deprecating Quirky sense of humour Casual	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Distinctive New Zealand beach setting – recognised as Brown’s Bay by locals
<u>Myths</u> Casualness	<u>Place</u> Beach Sunshine and clear skies	

Participants: *Definitely beaches. Summer. (Jackie)*

I think it’s the sort of deadpan humour is funny. In the unlikely, you know, the unlikely situation that somebody’s actually going to go to the beach wearing Speedos. (Ingrid)

...Most New Zealanders, most New Zealand men also wouldn’t pose in that way, that sort of feels, stereotypically I think of an Italian or something, I don’t know whether that’s true but I think it is resting on that you will, you know some of this is tongue in cheek. (Jackie)

That would be our Kiwi sense of humour, eh, I mean, “Togs, togs, undies, undies.”

The beach thing. (Nicola)

So yeah the beach and the holiday, or days out, eh, family days out, lazy days, yeah... Long summer days. (Marcia)

New Zealanders are into that. Yeah pretty much live outside. (Nicola)

It reminds me of Rachel Hunter and she’s so Kiwi, eh? (Marcia)

Oh yeah, a huge part of our psyche is that we don’t take ourselves too seriously. And we get through most of our, we try to get through the hard times by laughing at ourselves and seeing the brighter side and, yeah, that’s very important to the New Zealand psyche. (Georgina)

¹⁵ Speedos are an Australian brand of men’s racing swimming briefs generally reserved for competition swimming, not usually worn as casual beachwear in New Zealand

Toyota Corolla (car): *Lost keys*

In this advertisement, Toyota builds on the ‘everyday people’ theme developed some years ago, and offers a slice-of-life story of a proud Corolla owner who has lost his car keys. In his search, the middle aged anti-hero is assisted by his wife and children, the neighbours, the wider local small town community, the police, and eventually (it seems) helpful people up and down the country. Toyota Corolla employs a range of recognisable and significant New Zealand imagery accompanied by a light-hearted, even childish, song. Not surprisingly, despite the best efforts of all concerned, the keys are found exactly where they should have been, in the owner’s pocket. Toyota Corolla has been sold in New Zealand for approximately 45 years. Toyota is widely known as a Japanese-owned brand and is currently the second largest car manufacturer in the world.

Expert Panel: <u>Myths</u> Golden age Telethon community myth - small town pulling together	<u>Place</u> Whole gamut of landscape types and large geographical spread	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Distinctive New Zealand setting The Beehive (annex to the New Zealand parliament building) Philip Sherry (one of New Zealand’s longest serving newsreaders) People with metal detectors on the beach
<u>Values and Rituals</u> Giving a hand Doing the right thing Small town values Informal Egalitarian Impromptu community activity	<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Self-deprecating Quirky humour Casual Emotionally stunted men Everyman anti-hero	

Participants: ...*They’ve made it quite kiwiana by putting a lot of kiwiana little things in the background, yeah. (Cathy)*

And that’s showing too that, you know, he did lose his keys and he got a lot of help to find them. That was the good, that’s a real Kiwi thing, eh, everyone pitches in. (Donna)

Mm. Yeah, can-do attitude, we will find your keys and ... (Cathy)

Yeah, “Don’t worry mate, we’ll help you out.” (Donna)

So I think that was part of the travelling, the holidays, and all that and so we’ve all seen those scenes, bits and pieces of New Zealand, so that’s why we would probably like the ad ‘cause we’d think, “Oh shit, we’ve been here.” (Cathy)

And the sort of the casual, the casual dress of the people on the beach and... (Ingrid)

...Maybe this, the closest it might come to any of our ideas about neighbourhood. (Jackie)

And I put here, memories of community being a safe place. (Fiona)

Yeah. And that’s where that freedom sort of comes in, doesn’t it, you know. (Elaine)

Tui Beer: *Brucetta*

This advertisement is an irreverent fantasy, based on factory life, that Tui beer has always been irresistible to men. Fortunately, the problem is overcome through the implementation of a radical (but patently implausible) employment policy banning all males from working in the brewery. The advertisement opens with archival style black and white footage of brewery workers in the old days who couldn't resist sneaking a bottle of beer each while working in the bottling plant. The voiceover explains that women—gorgeous women—now brew it, as the men cannot resist the beer. The brewery is full of steamy, sexy, beautiful women dressed in typical factory workers' clothing. When a beer bottle goes missing, 'Brucetta' and 'Davena' dressed comically in unflattering drag, are found to be the culprits. Cut to Davena in the shower with a lot of other naked soapy women and an alarm warning of a breach in brewery security. The final shots show the men running away with beer in their hands. Tui Breweries opened in Mangatainoka in 1889 and is owned by Asia Pacific Breweries, Singapore.

<p>Expert Panel: <u>Myths</u> Mateship Golden age Rugged masculinity myth and homoeroticism</p>	<p><u>Place</u> Farm land Open space Mangatainoka as a named place</p>
<p><u>Personal Characteristics</u> Self-deprecating Quirky humour Casual Emotionally stunted men, capable women Sexist attitudes</p>	<p><u>Popular Symbols</u> Beer Ethnic diversity amongst characters Tui bird</p>

Participants: *Definitely the drinking.// Yeah, just that, sort of, you know with the drinking comes that sort of socialising and relaxed lifestyle and that sort of thing that Kiwis enjoy to do. // Yeah making jokes of things, having a few beers together.//...Not taking things so seriously, laid back, good sense of humour.// Man in, men in the women's showers and, you know, can't, we don't actually have to take things so literally and so serious. You can get a bit of a laugh out of it, whereas that could offend people in other countries. (Tess)*
..I mean from the women's side of it they're just getting on with it and doing the job. (Sharon)
Well mine is, rural atmosphere. (Karen)
I think a Kiwi thing that I could have said on my list but didn't is that the guys are quite, you know, they're quite hard-case and just, you know? (Lana)
It typifies us Kiwi women today though. She can do anything. (Marcia)
Nicola, you said "Kiwi bloke not that appealing. No finesse, no chivalry. Doesn't like to dress up, doesn't make an effort." (Researcher)

Vogel's Bread: *Homesick Kiwi*

Vogel's has regularly been voted New Zealand's favourite bread and it holds particular status as one of those brands that is has no equal for devotees living overseas. This advertisement, entitled 'homesick', features a series of vignettes where people travelling, or already living abroad, make special arrangements to ensure they get their own supply of Vogel's bread. The bread is so precious it functions as a return ticket to New Zealand and home is invoked through consuming this brand. The accompanying soundtrack became a popular hit, winning a New Zealand music award as a direct result of airplay during the Vogel's television advertisement. Vogel's has been manufactured in New Zealand for at least 30 years and is currently owned by Goodman Fielder Ltd, who rate themselves as Australasia's leading listed food company.

Expert Panel: Place Dunedin Reference to other places overseas London and New York – places of success and metonyms for OE Puck building, the quintessential Soho NY loft	<u>Values and Rituals</u> OE Intrepid travellers Quality of life Healthy and hearty	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Villa housing Maori woman Greenstone taonga (treasured object)
<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Quirky humour	<u>Myths</u> Godzone	

Participants: *Definitely the travel thing. Young Kiwis overseas. (Karen)*

The American thing sums it up doesn't it?... Not interested in the rest of the world, so shallower ... (Karen)

Mine are [Americans are] crass and self-important, into material things, they don't care about baking for their boyfriends.// Proud, well not even, proud but just very attached to those special things that we have. (Lana)

Yeah and I've got, Americans are your best friends while you're there, when you're gone that's it. Credit society, had to have the best. (Karen)

...We do this big OE thing, and we might spend several years over there, most of them, I would like to think, and I don't know whether I'm right or not, come home. (Elaine)

...Only really New Zealanders would get... You'd only get if you were a New Zealander, if you've been in that situation... People that have travelled far away from home to have some kind of enriching experience. But that's so much part of our growing up kind of, experience isn't it? (Fiona)

The Dunedin flat, just like a typical Kiwi house, you know, we knew that was a Kiwi house. (Olivia)

I mean the Customs guy, he's taken the loaf of bread and he's got the toaster behind him, in one of the other ads, and he puts the toast in the toaster and keeps it for himself... I mean that's hilarious. (Waverley)

...but it's also, yeah, but it's about others, other countries wanting a bit of New Zealand, they like and want a bit of what we've got. (Virginia)

Wattie's (prepared foods): *Footie*

This brand advertisement tells a story that resonates with many New Zealand families. It focuses on the rituals of children's winter sports, the miserable weather, the hapless parents standing on the sidelines, the inevitable bumps and bruises and finally getting home and 'knocking up a feed' incorporating comfort foods from the Wattie's range. While the commercial features a boy's rugby game (with players in the Hawke's Bay strip representing the location of Wattie's manufacturing base) the story probably equally relates to netball, soccer and rugby league players and their families. Wattie's has been one of the most respected brands in New Zealand, starting during the Great Depression in the 1930s and developing market dominance during World War II. It is now part of the global HJ Heinz group and product is increasingly sourced from overseas manufacturing plants.

Expert Panel: Myths Great place to bring up kids New Zealand made is best	Values and Rituals Small town values Kids' sport Healthy and hearty	Popular Symbols Kids' rugby game Gumboots Frozen peas as first aid Use of the term 'footy'
Place The local rugby field	Personal Characteristics Quirky humour (in the heroic music)	

Participants: *Oh well, definitely. I mean the weekends sports. Can-do attitude, family's at the sports with you. You know, mum and dad goes with you. I think it's all, oh I mean, a lot of it, it's in there. You know, yeah tough mental attitude, can-do attitude, you know, all that's in here. You know, sports being this huge thing in New Zealand and that and, you know, and the community thing of having big fat breakfasts when you get home, you know, everything like that. I think it's all, there's a lot of it in here. Yeah. (Cathy)*

Yeah. And accidents. Even down this bit here where you say accidents happen, learn from, just getting in there and whatever goes wrong you just, it's all part of it... The, taking the injuries or whatever, it's all just part of the experience. (Fiona)

Yeah. I mean you've got here, sports plays a big part in family life. Parents and kids play. They'll want to coach and manage teams, value of sport, and running around for the transport. I mean, and that is completely it isn't it? Yeah. (Elaine)

I've been talking to our German home stay and she can't believe that we play whatever the weather, it has to be hailing for us not to play netball, like it, can't believe that there would be anything that will be important enough to us to stand out and get soaked and kids put themselves at risk, you see kids nose diving into the mud and boots and it's that, it's the most important thing at that moment, on Saturday morning. (Fiona)

...To some degree it had that male doing the rugby, male being the referee, people on the sideline assumed to be the wives and family and who cooked the baked beans at the end, I think we assumed it was the wife didn't we? (Olivia)

Weet-bix (breakfast cereal): *Generations*

Successive generations of children are seen with their families watching important sporting events. Weet-bix's nostalgic look at New Zealanders fanatical sports habits recalls the era of waking up during early morning hours to watch black and white television broadcasts of the Olympics and other significant games (New Zealand's time zone is not in synch with most international sports events). It features a young Hamish Carter, played by Hamish's nephew, watching John Walker breaking the four-minute mile in Munich, and cuts to a young girl watching Hamish winning the gold medal in Athens. The final scene shows a young girl going on to finish the Weet-bix Tryathlon and receive a medal, from her role model, Hamish Carter. Weet-bix, an Australian invention, has been manufactured in New Zealand for about 80 years and continues to be owned by Sanitarium Health Food Company, which is 100% New Zealand owned.

Expert Panel: <u>Place</u> Reference to other places overseas - where you need to be to have real success and credibility	<u>Values and Rituals</u> Desire for world acceptance Everyone knows someone important	<u>Myths</u> Punch above our weight World beater Golden age Meritocracy – everyone has an equal chance at success
<u>Personal Characteristics</u> Understatement Indecent to over-celebrate	<u>Popular Symbols</u> Sporting heroes Recognisable archival television commentary	

Participants: *And it pretty much says how important sport is in New Zealand, because most kids play sport of some form, don't they? I mean our kids, you know, they've all done something sports orientated haven't they, it seems to be a big thing on sport in New Zealand. // I just think, you see, that definitely goes with equal opportunity in New Zealand, anyone if they try hard enough can end up like that. (Belinda)*

Heroes, the sports people who are often in the media. Well I didn't put Hamish Carter¹⁶, but you know? (Helen)

Yeah, I've said we put sports people up on pedestal and you can certainly see that there. (Karen)

We've such a small country, sports people who do well and excel are admired (Lana)

They're ideals and our values. (Waverley)

Carter. Hamish Carter, giving the medal to the girl, it's the mixing of the cultures, the famous and everyday people, the sharing, I think there's a sharing of knowledge, yeah, and things, sharing of skills. (Virginia)

...You can be a beekeeper and be working on farm down in Hikamatua and then fifty years later you can be on the world map. (Waverley)

¹⁶ Hamish Carter, an Aucklander, won a 2004 Olympic gold medal for the triathlon

4.6 Successfully Operationalising New Zealandness in Ads

After discussing the presence of key themes in an advertisement, participants were asked “Has [*insert brand name*] been successful in suggesting New Zealandness in a way that matches up with your themes?” Despite participants identifying several key themes in every situation, this question did not automatically translate into an affirmative answer. Selected illustrations of positive and negative responses are provided next with some of the reasoning behind them.

The Bell tea *Generations* story vivified a combination of the highest rating elements from the key themes exercise; holidays/ritual escape to the wild, family values/staying in touch, outdoor life, importance of the beach and informality. Responses to this were strong and positive,

Definitely. (Helen)

It epitomises the typical Kiwi. (Georgina)

Yeah. (Helen)

Well that's what we aspire to on the, for summer holidays that's what everybody wants, all the generations getting together ... (Georgina)

I can relate to being right there. (Helen)

And Bell is also a product that's been along with New Zealand for all those generations too, it's something, it's a brand that we've come to know as a standard anyway so, it's not a new name that we're trying to merge with another Kiwi concept. (Georgina)

Bell tea *Generations* also echoed participants' stories of past and future desires for family holidays at beachside baches where simple pleasures and modest surroundings are treasured, despite the realisation that such humble abodes come at a price. The positive response about portraying New Zealandness comes from the degree to which the brand's story resonated with their values and life experiences, or those that they could identify as a part of a nationally shared/usable past.

Very New Zealand. (Virginia)

Very New Zealand? (Researcher)

And the different generations, and the humble bach, and a humble car and a little boat, dinghy, it's not the Lotto ad, you know? (Virginia)

It's probably a million dollar home on the... (Waverley)

Yeah, a million dollar thing, but we like to think of it as some old bach at Mangawhai or, somewhere. We don't think, it's not like, like Waipu used to be, it's not like Lake, it's not the ritzy kind of thing, it's like, it could be any beach, anywhere in New Zealand, although it looks like East Coast, but it could easily be anywhere. (Virginia)

Weet-bix *Generations*, which reportedly embodied a relatively small number of themes, was rated as being very successful in suggesting New Zealandness, as illustrated in comments by Ingrid and Jackie. The themes they identified in the advertisement were central to their own autobiographical narratives. Also, the consideration of past stories from the brand and the advertising halo effect of long term, consistent brand values are reflected in their responses.

Yeah, I think, well I think it does. I think it, I think looking into those images is quite distinctive and, yeah the thing about kids being quite involved and willing to give sport a go is reflected in that. (Ingrid)

Yeah, absolutely, and also 'cause what I remember about Weet-bix and ads is that it is always associated with some All Black or some sporting personality having eight or ten Weet-bix and building themselves up and I think of Weet-bix as being essentially a New Zealand thing. (Jackie)

However, in an advertisement that made a direct appeal to national pride and had a jingoistic feel to it (and the expert panel had identified many elements of national identity embedded in it), Kiwibank *It's ours* did not offer much that was recognisable to Sharon and Tess. Unlike some other participants, they could not recognise many key themes, they did not like the advertisement, and could not identify with the story.

Yeah. It's not as obvious. (Sharon)

That's probably the biggest thing was just the rugby ... (Tess)

And having a joke about it. (Sharon)

Yeah. But it was just a very brief, you know, Rugby World Cup. (Tess)

It's getting across that we can do it, even though we are little. But that's sort of, can you think of anything else that it's (pause) that's about all I got out of it. (Sharon)

No, it didn't, it wasn't sort of really one of those ads that you related well with, I don't think. It's a bit sort of, no, nothing. (Tess)

In the DB Export *Over the fence* advertisement more than 18 different NID themes were identified. Some of the themes, such as beer/drinking alcohol, young generation is different, and male dominated had negative connotations and were less commonly mentioned NID themes in the overall study (refer to Table 7). Despite all recognising numerous themes, not every participant was convinced that New Zealandness was strongly suggested by the particular combination of NID themes. Several comments revealed that apart from the obvious visual cues which clearly set the story in New Zealand, the overall feeling was not distinctly of New Zealand and could equally represent Australian identity. Participants also volunteered that they were not brand fans and reported low levels of beer consumption. DB Export did not provide a story that resonated with their own lives, nor did it represent a New

Zealand identity that they could imagine or that highlighted the personal qualities, community practices and myths which they held most dear. Karen and Lana summarised their estimation of the advertisement in this way:

I don't know whether it's totally Kiwi, because it's quite a general theme of community. (Lana)

But that's, you get places in Aussie, I guess they're, you know, I mean ... (Karen)

And I think you can do, have fraternities, maybe in America doing the same type of thing. (Lana)

Similar thing but the houses would be a bit different, but yeah. (Karen)

4.7 Brands and New Zealandness

Participants were asked to think of other brands that made them feel the way they do about New Zealand (i.e. brands that had not been the subject of advertisements viewed earlier). It is important to note that participants were not asked to limit themselves to brands that they actually purchased and/or used, thus, they named any brands that connected with their feelings about New Zealandness. This question was designed to identify a broad range of brand resources available to the whole national community. Most (but not all) discussion about such brands was anchored to memorable ads.

Although a long list was generated, the brands mentioned by three or more pairs, starting with the most frequently mentioned, are: Tui (beer), Toyota (vehicles), Speight's (beer), Anchor (dairy foods), ASB (bank), Chesdale (cheese), Ford (cars), L&P (carbonated beverage), Lion (beer), Mainland (dairy foods), Marmite (savoury spread), Tip Top (ice cream), Adidas (sports gear and apparel), Air New Zealand (airline), Edmonds' (baking products), Fisher and Paykel (appliances), Icebreaker (clothing), Sanitarium (foods), Wattie's (foods) and Weet-bix (cereal).

The complete list of brands generated by this question included several whose origins are not in New Zealand but whose brand engendered a New Zealand feeling in some participants, perhaps due to long time usage, familiarity, embeddedness in New Zealand culture and linkages with New Zealand through marketing communications activities: Toyota, Ford, Adidas, Cadbury (confectionery), Milo (tonic drink), BP (fuels), KFC (fast food), McDonald's (fast food), Mini (car), Morris 1000 (cars), Nescafe (instant coffee), Stihl (chainsaws) and Wii (home video game consoles).

In the following sub-sections the elements of the brands that revealed or contributed to New Zealandness in this exercise are illustrated.

4.7.1 Brand Usage, Heritage and Nostalgia

Participants commented on consumption of brands in the past, and/or over a long period of time. Often, it was implicit in their comments that the brands were dominant in the market. Mostly, participants did not mention advertisements in conjunction with these brands, and indeed many could not think of any specific marketing campaigns when prompted.

Isn't it funny lots of these iconic brands it doesn't, it's not about the ads 'cause they've just always been around. (Lana)

That's how they're known. (Karen)

Brand examples include Georgie Pie, Swannndri, Edmonds, Macpac, Fairydown, Norsewear, Ugg boots, Farmers, Nescafe, Wattie's, Adidas, Ford and Tui. Selected participant comments are accompanied by some explanations of brand stories and history.

About hunting and fishing and wearing Swannndri. When you say Swannndri you, I always think Kiwi. (Cathy)

The story of this brand follows: *"In 1913 Taranaki tailor William Broome, frustrated by the incessant New Zealand rain developed a work shirt with a secret waterproofing. The work shirt, made from one hundred percent pure New Zealand wool was fabled for its durability and practicality and quickly became the choice of pioneering New Zealanders the length and breadth of the country."*

<http://www.swannndri.co.nz/History/Information/25>. The distinctive check fabric design and red/black or blue/black colours became identifiable as Swannndri and served to strengthen brand recognition.

What about things like Macpac for me that's a big one, you know, 'cause you got your Macpac pack to go overseas. And you can see Kiwis when they come in through the airport, "Ah Macpac." (Karen)

From beginnings in New Zealand in 1973 *"Macpac has developed into one of the world's most trusted manufacturers of top quality outdoor equipment and clothing."*

<http://www.macpac.co.nz/company-info/macpac-history>. This brand was experiencing huge

growth and developing export markets during the 1980s and 1990s when the participants of this study would have been undertaking OE.

The tomatoes, Wattie's tomato sauce, I remember that being a really big thing, growing up with Wattie's tomato sauce. (Elaine)

“Wattie's Tomato Sauce is New Zealand's favourite tomato sauce. It's the taste that Kiwis know and love. When we think of Kiwi icons, Wattie's Tomato Sauce is almost always mentioned.” <http://www.watties.co.nz/html/products/sauces.asp>

Edmonds. I don't think there's a house in New Zealand that doesn't have the Edmonds cookbook tucked away there somewhere. (Georgina)

The success of Edmonds baking powder and other baking ingredients has been eclipsed by Edmonds cookbook, a marketing device originally designed to promote the baking products. *“The Edmonds cookery book has sold over 3 million copies since it was first published in 1907, making it the best-selling New Zealand book by far. The first edition was a 50-page pamphlet of recipes promoting Thomas John Edmonds' baking powder and jellies through 'economical everyday recipes and cooking hints'. Over the years the Edmonds cookery book has come to be seen as an icon of national identity”*

<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/edmonds-cookbook>

4.7.2 Brand Reputation Linked to Brand New Zealand

Another dimension of brands that made participants feel the way they do about New Zealand relates to brand reputation and symbolic values of brand pertinent to an external audience. In several cases the nominated brands were considered to be very high quality and made of distinctive ingredients closely linked to New Zealand— ‘Brand New Zealand’ was represented by these brands and as an extension, the quality of New Zealand people. The excellence and uniqueness of the brand as a symbol of New Zealandness in the eyes of foreigners was uppermost in Georgina's mind when she nominated these.

Cloudy Bay. When I lived New Zealand [she then corrects herself], in England for a long time it was, that was the one we'd get and take to parties to show off our New Zealandness. (Georgina)

According to the company website “*Cloudy Bay Sauvignon Blanc is an international benchmark wine widely regarded as the quintessential expression of the acclaimed Marlborough wine region.*” <http://www.cloudybay.co.nz/TheWines/SauvignonBlanc>

I always take overseas now 42BELOW vodkas because they're passionfruit and feijoa. (Georgina)

This brand styles itself as follows: “*42BELOW vodka was launched in 1998 in the premium vodka segment. The brand, known for its innovative, mischievous and entrepreneurial style, has earned a strong reputation for authentic New Zealand purity, quality and exceptional taste. This is reflected in the winning of numerous prestigious international awards. 42BELOW vodka is currently distributed in more than 30 countries.*” www.42below.com

Furthermore, the passionfruit and feijoa variants represent exotic fruit flavours virtually unknown in the major markets, especially New York and Los Angeles. This sense of otherness helps link the brand with a particular geographical location, New Zealand.

4.7.3 Brand Ads and Place Imagery

The scenery and particularly iconic New Zealand locations featuring in advertisements were the factors that prompted participants to nominate some brands that help them feel the way they do about New Zealand.

Icebreaker with their imagery ... I'm just thinking of their imagery in their literature and their catalogues and things, yeah typically mountains and sheep and people doing outdoors stuff and I think it's probably pretty similar to what it, yeah, to how it has been. (Ingrid)

Icebreaker pure New Zealand merino clothing stresses its high country origins in marketing communications using, for example, dramatic photography of remote snow mountains and pristine alpine lakes, rivers and valleys. These types of wilderness images are a central feature of catalogues and brochures, in-store display materials and the Icebreaker website.

Yeah, there's quite a few Speight's ads that show a lot of New Zealand scenery and ... (Tess)

Speight's slogan, Pride of the South, refers to origins in Otago, and their communications feature distinctive landscapes and rural settings characteristic of the south of New Zealand. Recognition of such places is part of the shared sense of belonging to New Zealand and having New Zealand national identity.

4.7.4 Brand Ads and Kiwi Music

The music which features in some brand advertisements brings New Zealand to mind very strongly and was the main reason why brands were nominated. This was illustrated earlier in Interislander advertising.

The Warratahs [the band is a New Zealand country music institution], *yep. Yeah, so straightaway you feel connected to New Zealand listening to some Kiwi music on an ad. (Donna)*

Participants also recalled other music.

[Air New Zealand] *Well it's started using music. It makes it much more memorable for people now to associate. (Georgina)*

[after discussing a particular Air New Zealand ad execution, Georgina continues]

Yeah, Dance Exponents [a New Zealand rock group formed in 1981] *isn't it? I think. (Georgina)*

It's the New Zealand music that they have in the ads, makes you think more New Zealand. Obviously Kiwibank. (Virginia)

Both Kiwibank and NZI have recently utilised versions of the New Zealand national anthem in their television advertisements which cued feelings of New Zealandness in this study's viewers.

4.7.5 Brand Ads and NID Myths, Values and Practices

A common reason for nominating brands in this exercise was that a particularly memorable brand advertisement reproduced a myth or essential story that New Zealanders tell each other about themselves as a whole. This also encompassed aspects of community practices and personal qualities that are considered 'very Kiwi'. Brand advertisers in this category included: L&P, Steinlager, Wattie's, Fernleaf/Anchor (specifically, the long-running family saga), Genesis, Lion Red, Toyota, Weet-bix, Tui, Speight's, ASB, Big Wednesday, Spray & Walk Away, NZI and ANZ. A selection of text units is provided to illustrate the inclusion of myths.

There's an ANZ ad on at the moment that's quite, shows the whole, uh, just trying to think, overseas people coming in and saying how helpful we are and she helps them. The kid cried the whole way and blah blah blah and wee Hamish from Aberdeen, yeah, and how helpful we were. There's that, that whole do the right thing, just, we like to, you know, help in the ... (Tess)

Love the L&P one, world famous in New Zealand, that's just, that was just so cool. And again that's that kind of whole thing what we were saying eh, that sort of humble, tongue in cheek, kind of, yeah, we think we're pretty cool but we don't need to kind of shove it in your face. It's just that little, little famous in New Zealand. (Elaine)

Oh yes, ASB bank. Yeah the, there is something there that he [Goldstein] taps into things that are about New Zealand that we will understand that the American guy doesn't. (Jackie)

[ASB Goldstein] Yeah, he's out in the farm and he's out visiting people and he's blown away by the flock of cows [pun on herd/heard of cows?] and all that sort of stuff that he talks about. (Sharon)

So yeah it's definitely a foreigner coming in but he's getting better, like he's getting to know his way around New Zealand. (Tess)

And the other Toyota, the, "Bugger me," ads. They're very Kiwi. They're probably the most down to earth Kiwi ads, as far as attitude is concerned. (Pippa)

4.7.6 Brand Ads and New Zealand Celebrity Endorsers

The use of New Zealand celebrity endorsers (mostly sports people) was another notable point made by participants. The following brands and associated celebrities were mentioned: Fisher & Paykel (Silver Ferns national netball team), Wii (netballer Irene Van Dyke and rugby player Michael Jones), Adidas (All Blacks), Tip Top trumpet (Rachel Hunter), New Zealand Beef & Lamb (Olympic gold medallists Sarah Ulmer, Georgina and Caroline Evers-Swindell) and Ford (All Blacks). Several pairs mentioned Tip Top trumpet unprompted,

Oh Tip Top, Trumpet. (Ann)

Oh yeah. Rachel Hunter. (Belinda)

Rachel Hunter. (laughter) (Ann)

That's how she became famous didn't she? (Belinda)

Gosh, that would be near on 20 years ago. Yeah Trumpets, Rachel Hunter. (Ann)

but telling comments from a pair who were actually shown this brand's recent advertising earlier in the session (*Simplifying Summer* campaign) are also provided.

The first thing I think of when I see that is Rachel Hunter. (Marcia)

Oh yeah, yeah. Trumpet. (Nicola)

Yeah, and her little car. Yep. Yep. (Marcia)

In the beetle. (Nicola)

Yeah, that was very New Zealand, only because she represents New Zealand and she is New Zealand, that's what that brings back for me. (Marcia)

Rachel Hunter is an Auckland born international model and celebrity, also famous for marrying rock star Rod Stewart. Tip Top Trumpet advertising featuring Rachel Hunter

launched her career in 1985 and apart from a brief rerun in 2007 has not screened on television for many years. Rachel Hunter's supermodel status registers very strongly with the cohort in this study and there is continuing media profiling of her Los Angeles based celebrity lifestyle in local publications.

4.7.7 Memorable Experiences Consuming Brand Ads

Another trigger for proposing a brand in this exercise was memories of experiences and responses to past advertising stories. One pair of participants recalled reactions to brand advertisements in connection with their own younger years or in relation to raising their own children.

Years ago I used to love the Kentucky Fried Chicken ad because, when they had Hugo and thing in the back of the car. (Belinda)

Oh Hugo said you go and... (Ann)

'Cause we used to go out for family outings and we used to be in the back car and Dad says, "Let's go and get Kentucky Fried," (laughter) (Belinda)

"Weet-bix kids, Kiwi kids," I mean you can sing that song over and over again, can't you? (Belinda)

Oh, you know that, "Kiwi kids are Weet-bix kids." (Ann)

Yeah. Yeah, yeah. (Belinda)

My kids when they were like this high used to go absolutely nuts. I had to tape that ad because it would make them dance and they'd go nuts when they heard that, "Kiwi kids are Weet-bix kids," song. (Ann)

4.7.8 Brand Placement in Iconic New Zealand Movie

One final element which contributes to making participants feel the way they do about New Zealand is brand placement in a movie. The brand Mini was nominated because of its starring role in the anarchic road movie *Goodbye Pork Pie (1980)*, which captured themes of mateship as the characters travelled the length of New Zealand.

If it was vehicles I'd say probably for me it's like Minis because who do we know that hasn't had a Mini or you haven't had a flatmate with a Mini and there was 'Goodbye Pork Pie'. (Karen)

4.7.9 Brand Stories Imitate Life Experiences or Vice Versa?

In the various examples above the participants noted how brand stories have reminded them of some aspect of New Zealandness. However, in the following example, life experiences cause Belinda to recall a particular brand story about Mainland cheese when she visited the South Island (affectionately called ‘the Mainland’ by many of its inhabitants). Although she identified a contrast between herself and the characters she nonetheless recognised the portrayal of certain distinctive characteristics that are central to imagined views of New Zealand national identity.

I can remember thinking that when I was in the South Island. I remember thinking, “These people are just like the exact people on there [the Mainland cheese ad, where good things take time].” I can remember relating to it when I was there, ‘cause I was, you know, my sister in-law’s from the South Island so we went down to their wedding and like they’re just like a little bit slower than us. Slower, not mentally slower, but their lifestyle’s slower. We’re more rushed and stressed and ... (Belinda)

4.8 Buying or Using Brands that have New Zealandness

Later, participants were asked whether they used or bought their nominated brands, and if so, was this in any way linked to the feeling of New Zealandness that they got from the brand. It was not uncommon for pairs to have opposing responses regarding brand purchase or usage, where perhaps one person held a strong opinion and the other was neutral. About one third of answers were negative—that is, they did not use or buy the nominated brands for themselves or in their roles as parents, spouses or household shoppers. Spontaneous comments about motivations for buying or not buying/using were generated. Some probing was also used to tease out reasons for their responses and these are categorised below, starting with the negative reactions. It is important to note that while participants reported brand consumption only in the tangible sense of eating, wearing, driving, using etc, this question did not capture consumption constituted by mediated experiences of the brand via mass media, in-store (and within the wider community environment).

4.8.1 Why Not Use or Buy Brands with New Zealandness?

There were five types of reasons clearly articulated for participants not buying the brands they had nominated. The biggest reason was that although they had formerly been consumers of the brands, their needs and/or perceptions of quality had changed, especially in relation to perceived healthiness of food products—KFC, Big Ben (meat pies), Chesdale (processed cheese), Anchor (butter), Chelsea (sugar)—or availability of more sophisticated substitutes—Nescafe (instant coffee) and Chardon (cheap local sparkling wine). Positive historical links and brand experiences were still in their memories but as consumers they had moved on.

[Big Ben] *Not anymore, not when I saw what goes into it. (laughter) (Belinda)*

[Chardon] *Not anymore, we've gravitated to the nicer stuff haven't we darling? Yep. Yep. (Marcia)*

Although it was nominated, Georgie Pie (fast food chain of pie retailers) cannot be considered by consumers because operations were discontinued after being sold to McDonald's in 1996. Despite the brand being deleted there is still popular support for it, including Facebook groups promoting the return of the brand. See, for example,

Bring Back Georgie Pie: <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=2579657422>

Another key reason for not using or buying nominated brands is because participants were not (and had never been) in the target market. Even though they perceived the product offering to be suited to other types of consumers, they appreciated the feeling of New Zealandness in the brand and had consumed (and even enjoyed) the brand stories and advertising over many years. These heavily advertised brands included beers (where the women were not beer drinkers)—Steinlager, Tui, Speight's, Lion—and Toyota Hilux (perceived by some as suitable only for farmers), and the Mad Butcher (retail stores). Peter Leitch aka the Mad Butcher, the owner of an eponymous chain of butchery stores, is well known as the radio advertising voice promoting “quality meat at reasonable prices” and is a charismatic personality, a ‘true blue Kiwi’ who from humble beginnings and with hard work has become almost a working class hero. While the Mad Butcher brand has familiarity and a real feeling of New Zealandness for Olivia, her perceptions are that their quality is not what she is looking for.

We buy better meat. We buy export quality. (Olivia)

Several participants felt that ASB had a New Zealand feel to it, but this feeling had developed since they originally chose a different bank. As entrenched customers of another bank, the costs of switching to a new bank, such as ASB, were perceived as being too high.

I started working there [at ANZ and opened an account there] and it's too hard to change. (Sharon)

The final reason for not buying and using a brand was because it was very costly. Marcia and Nicola grew up in the neighbourhood where Line 7 (a casual and active wear clothing brand which originally marketed wet weather clothing for sailors) was manufactured. For them, the brand engendered strong feelings of New Zealandness but, as Nicola comments, Line 7 hoodies and track pants were:

Too bloody expensive. (Nicola)

Overall, it seems likely that more extensive probing would have uncovered other reasons for not buying nominated brands. Surprisingly, when declaring that they did not buy or use their nominated brands none of the participants mentioned preferred substitute brands.

4.8.2 Other Reasons for Buying or Using Brands

There were many nominated brands which the participants used or bought but their reasons for doing so were not directly because of a New Zealand feel about the brands. In the examples that follow it can be seen that participants had different motivations for buying and using these brands. One reason was because the product had superior quality, guarantees and/or service as a result of being New Zealand made (now or in the past). Brands in this category include Fisher & Paykel (appliances), New Zealand beef & lamb, Anchor (dairy foods), Mainland (Cheese), Swannndri (clothing).

[Fisher & Paykel] It's supposed to be quite, well it's not made in New Zealand anymore but up until now it's been made in New Zealand. The service and the guarantees are lot more better. (Belinda)

I only buy New Zealand lamb, I haven't seen, I wouldn't buy any lamb from anywhere else. (Ann)

The next common reason for buying was because of good product quality and value, where the branded item was fit for purpose. Participants appeared to have strong brand loyalty

relating to Toyota, The Warehouse (low cost general merchandise retailer), Edmonds (baking products), Lion (beer), and Anchor (dairy products).

[Toyota] *I have a strong sense of loyalty to them but it's not about being New Zealandness. It's a lot of the things that they are as a company. (Fiona)*

I just, I like Lion Red. Yeah. (Donna)

Similarly, although participants did not personally consume the brand, family members preferred or insisted on its purchase—for example McDonald's, Hellers (bacon, ham and small goods), Speight's (beer), Wattie's (prepared foods) and Toyota.

[Wattie's] *I'm not a big tomato sauce person but my, definitely in terms of the baked beans the kids will know definitely or spaghetti if it's... (Jackie)*

[Toyota Hilux] *My husband constantly. We've got three of them on our driveway at the moment. I think it's more the hardiness and the fact that he can pull it apart and it matches with other vehicles, that he can build them ... (Sharon)*

Some participants qualified their brand loyalty, suggesting that although the brands were preferred by them they would not always buy them. They typically factor in other considerations or would only buy if they could afford it. Brands in this category include Air New Zealand, Ford, Mini, Dulux, Wattie's (prepared foods), Tip Top (ice cream and frozen confectionery), Anchor (dairy products), and Mainland (cheese).

[Mainland] *I feel really aggrieved when it's not on special and I have to buy something else. (laughter) (Fiona)*

[Mainland] *I love their Vintage Cheddar which if I'm doing a cheese board I'll generally go with that one but for everyday just what's cheapest and it has come down heaps in price. (Karen)*

"Woo-hoo, Tip Top's on special." (Nicola)

Because it tastes, it tastes nicer. (Marcia)

It's a creamier... (Nicola)

The following text-units are a little convoluted but Jackie was trying to say that even though Wattie's is sometimes manufactured overseas now (a negative factor), she would probably trust Wattie's rather than other brands.

[Wattie's] *Yeah possibly, but, some of their things are not made here now though. (Ingrid)*
No, but I guess in light of, I mean it's probably a complicated decision but one would think, this might be if I was looking at two things and I thought it was made here and I thought

given everything else was equal I'd probably go for Wattie's as opposed to something I thought wasn't. (Jackie)

With a slightly different take on the pricing issue, the following brands would be purchased simply because they were the cheapest offering at the time of purchase. DB export (beer), Speight's (beer), Wattie's (prepared foods), Anchor (dairy products), Mainland (cheese), Tip Top (ice cream and frozen confectionery).

[Anchor butter] *I buy what's ever on special. (Pippa)*

[DB Export] *Oh, if it's on special. (Fiona)*

Another factor cited as impacting on purchase behaviour was deliberate support for New Zealand brands—the *Buy New Zealand made* or *Buy local* effect. Support for local businesses was important in the following instances.

[Nobilo's wines] *Well that's my loyalty for the West Auckland vineyards because I know a lot of those families I guess. Yeah and we've had work [through a family business], we work for Nobilo's. (Belinda)*

[Air New Zealand] *I would have wanted to be on our own airline thinking, "Oh well at least it's coming back into our own country," and it's paying the wages. (Cathy)*

The final reason for buying or using a nominated brand was because the product was unique, as in the case of Possum merino knitwear (which is not strictly a brand but was considered to be by participants).

The combination [of superfine merino wool and fur], the combination's definitely quite distinctive. (Ingrid)

4.8.3 New Zealandness in Brands Affects Buying and Usage

In this final section participants claimed that they bought and used their nominated brands in part, at least, because of the New Zealand feeling they got from them.

4.8.3.1 Iconic New Zealand Brands

The largest category was those brands considered iconic brands, with nostalgic connections, that were embedded in New Zealand life and had a familiarity and feeling of New Zealandness about them. These brands included Adidas, Trumpet, TV One (government owned television network), Mainland (cheese), Vogel's (bread), L&P (soft drink), Rashuns (snack food), Pineapple lumps (confectionery), Weet-bix (breakfast cereal), Marmite

(savoury spread), Milo (milk beverage), Interislander (ferry service), Macpac (outdoor equipment and clothing), Norsewear (woollen outerwear), Red band (gumboots/Wellington boots), Lion (beer), Cadbury, Speight's (beer), Wattie's (prepared foods), Vegemite (savoury spread), Edmonds (baking products), Farmers (department store).

Rashuns...? (Researcher)

...yep, but when I, I actually only buy them for special occasions. (Lana)

For parties or something, eh? (Karen)

'Cause they're bloody messy and they're crap. (Lana)

Well Kris would want to eat them all the time if I brought them, so I can't. (Karen)

Same. But they're very New Zealand and it's just the nostalgic thing again. (Lana)

Milo. Milo, we didn't say Milo. (Virginia)

Good God! (laughter) (Waverley)

That's a New Zealand icon. Milo. (Virginia)

We forgot about it! (Waverley)

So what is it about Milo that you get a real New Zealand feeling about? (Researcher)

Because back in our childhood that was practically the only drink around. (Waverley)

It's the cold, warm milky comfortness of childhood and we used to have. And it's outdoors, going out, the Milo and it's always family and outdoors and ... (Virginia)

[Marmite] For me, it's one of those, it's just, we always had it as kids, it was just so much part of childhood that that's something we want to, our kids to have access to. (Fiona)

I think it's a Kiwi institution really, Farmers. (Lana)

You get a feeling of New Zealandness from it? (Researcher)

I do, because I think it's always been there, I always go to the same one and it's been at the same place for a long time and, I don't go out there all the time but ... (Lana)

[Adidas] Well I do because it's black and white. (laughter) And you associate it with our national sports teams. (Tess)

[Adidas] I thought it was an international brand. (Belinda)

Well it's not [from New Zealand], but there is a feeling of New Zealandness 'cause it's black with three white stripes. (Ann)

You've got the All Blacks and the Silver Fern and all that kind of thing. (Belinda)

Well, they were trendy when I was a teenager, the black track pants with the white stripes. (Ann)

In the following text-units Karen, who was born on a farm and lives on the outskirts of the city in a semi-rural locality, feels that her Red band boots completely define her as a New Zealander linked to the land, and that this is affirmed in the responses from others who see her wearing her Red bands. For her, only genuine Red band boots (as opposed to cheaper substitutes) would generate this effect.

I'm sorry. I buy Red bands. (Karen)

Yeah and do you get a feeling of New Zealandness from that? (Researcher)

I do. And when I get a sense, I'm "Oh, Hi I'm Karen from [name of locality]" in my Red bands and I'm like, "Yep." Some of the guys we met at soccer the other day said, "You fit the image." (laughter) (Karen)

4.8.3.2 Brand Rituals

The next group of brands are those discretionary items where the participants had rituals of purchase and consumption. Brands were purchased for special occasions, not necessarily for themselves but very often they would make a special point of getting them for homesick relations who were (or had been) living overseas. These rituals were considered typical in New Zealand society, not as something peculiar to their own family. Examples of these brands include Raro (powdered orange drink), Cadbury confectionery brands Pinky bar, Minties, Moro, Jaffas; L&P (soft drink); and snack food brands Rashuns, Cheezels and Twisties.

[L&P] When we have family from overseas come we have to stock up on L&P because they don't get it, oh if they want to get it over there it costs a lot of money. (Donna)

So it's a sort of a Kiwi thing? (Researcher)

It is for them, yep, they come home and they, you gotta make sure you got L&P and Rashuns and things. (Donna)

Raro and Rashuns and Pineapple Lumps. (Cathy)

And I would buy some so that our exchange student would know what L&P was. (Fiona)

Totally. (Elaine)

Because it's so distinctive too, you won't find L&P anywhere else. (Fiona)

No. Yeah, no. And when we've got overseas visitors we stock up on it. We'll purposely go and buy it. Marie's birthday, we had bottles of it, on the display, on the kiwiana table that we did, and everything. But yeah, it was definitely, definitely, even, we've even taken them to Paeroa [The historical birthplace of the brand represented by the P in L&P]. Had a photo taken with the bottle. So, definitely. (laughter) (Elaine)

4.8.3.3 Brands that Epitomise Brand New Zealand

Connected with these mundane brands are those which would be bought as a distinctive gift that communicated New Zealandness, suitable for a foreigner, including 42BELOW (premium vodka), Cloudy Bay (wine), Possum merino (knitwear) and Icebreaker (merino wool clothing).

[Icebreaker] Yeah, I buy it as a gift for people overseas. Yip. (Helen)

[Icebreaker] *Because, I don't know, it's New Zealand wool, it's grown here and I sort of grew up with wearing woollen clothing from a young age and I guess it's sort of hung over from that. I mean when we lived in the US I can't remember seeing any woollen clothing that is now available here and there's quite a lot available here. I can't remember seeing, I can't remember a single store that I would have seen it in. (Ingrid)*

4.8.3.4 Sentimental Attachment to Locally Owned Brands

Once again, deliberate support for New Zealand made/owned brands was mentioned because of the New Zealand feeling they generated. Brands included Air New Zealand, ASB (bank) originally known as the Auckland Savings Bank now owned by the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, and NZI (insurance) now owned by Insurance Australia Group. Participants who nominated these brands were mostly aware of the controversy surrounding the brands which have been slated for selling out to foreign buyers. In general, there is sentimental support for (the few) local brands in the banking and insurance sectors. An illustration of this is seen in the way that Kiwibank and ASB have gone head to head with their claims of being true 'Kiwi' banks. The following headline summarises a recent ASB brand advertising story. "We've been a KIWI BANK since 1847." However, the press have run many articles along the lines of the following media release: "We find their recent advertising campaign hard to stomach, and I'm sure many people feel the same" says Gunson, "because ASB and the other Aussie-owned banks (ANZ National, BNZ, and Westpac) aren't serving our interests at all. Their only goal is to make as much money as possible for bank bosses and corporate shareholders. The Aussie-owned banks have been making exorbitant profits for years from high interest rates on mortgages and credit cards, as well as imposing high fees and late penalties. They've been hurting grassroots New Zealanders."

<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO0912/S00103.htm>

Despite this, Pippa and Olivia, both ASB customers, have residual loyalty for the bank and Tess is still with NZI.

[ASB] *When it was, yeah, when it was New Zealand owned, absolutely. And I was a bit disappointed when it got Australian part ownership. (Pippa)*
You tend not to change banks rapidly, there has to be kind of a reason to change a bank, you wouldn't change it just because they become Australian owned or anything like that. So, we were originally with it because it was New Zealand owned. (Olivia)

[NZI] *Well I guess initially NZI being New Zealand you feel like you're supporting a New Zealand company, but we've been with NZI for sixteen, seventeen years now, I couldn't tell you now whether they actually are New Zealand owned. I know NZI is a very small portion of a much larger company, so I don't know. (Tess)*

4.8.3.5 Powerful Brand Sponsorships

In another twist on the Australian/New Zealand rivalry, one pair commented on the Ford (car) brand having a New Zealand feel, not only because of the advertising and sponsorship links with the All Blacks but because it is seen as a direct competitor for Holden, which in turn is perceived as THE iconic Australian car brand. Amongst motorsport enthusiasts there is tremendous rivalry between Ford and Holden, with supporters donning branded clothing (red for Holden, blue for Ford), sporting bumper stickers such as ‘I would rather be pushing my Holden than caught driving a Ford’ and permanently proclaiming their love for the brands on their body with tattoos (men and women alike). From a popular point of view it is important to note that Holden is seen as an Australian brand, and the Ford brand, while having a New Zealand feel, clearly has links to the US multi-national company founded by Henry Ford.

Well ‘cause there’s a big Ford Holden thing and so you’re either a Ford or a Holden person. (Donna)

Yeah, you are a Ford or a Holden. (Cathy)

And just because Holden’s Australia out of protest I wouldn’t, I’d rather have a Ford. (Donna)

(laughter) You’ve got your blue shirt on as well! (Researcher)

Yeah! (Cathy)

That’s what my New Zealandness would be, yeah, I think. (Donna)

Finally, there are sponsorship arrangements that give some brands a feeling of New Zealandness that directly contribute to why participants use or buy. Examples in this category include Ford (All Blacks), Adidas (All Blacks) and Mainland cheese (supporters of ‘Save the Hoiho’ native yellow eyed penguin).

Save the Hoiho. (Elaine)

Absolutely. Oh yeah, yeah, cut up the coupons, all the barcodes, often send them off and get ten dollars. Get \$10 to support the Hoiho penguin. (Fiona)

So you get a feeling of New Zealandness from that? (Researcher)

Absolutely. (Fiona)

Absolutely. (Elaine)

And the Hoiho penguin thing’s quite an important? (Researcher)

Yeah. It’s bizarre isn’t it, ‘cause I don’t feel strong about some of those other brands but I’ll ... (Fiona)

4.9 Social Processes: Linking People through Brands

The second research question in this thesis is, ‘what are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?’ Participants were asked about talking to other people about advertisements and brand stories. The findings illustrate the various different situations where brand stories played a role. However, the importance of using the particular two-part and pair interview protocol to get useful answers to the research question is illustrated in the first sub-section that follows.

4.9.1 Examining Brand Ads and Social Experiences

It became clear very quickly that participants often did not want to admit watching television advertisements and claimed that they rarely, if ever saw them. Despite asserting this, comments made later in the conversations suggested that all participants regularly watched some television advertising.

I mean we pretty much mute them here. It’s your chance to go to the toilet and make a cup of coffee. (Elaine)

I do record a lot and fast forward now. (Ann)

So, most of the time, truthfully though, the ads get, the TV gets changed over between them to see what else is on. And having Sky with no ads, don’t get to see many at all these days. (Donna)

During the course of the interviews several participants launched into detailed descriptions of ads they had seen, only to realise that they had been speaking rather too knowledgeably about something that they generally considered not worthy of discussion and almost socially undesirable as a conversational topic.

Have you seen a Trumpet ad in recent times? (Researcher)

No. (Virginia)

Well yes, the Chinese guy (kung fu noise made), “No wasted bits,” You probably didn’t need that! He’s on the beach and he’s a Chinese guy and he’s got the Trumpet and he chops it with his big cleaver. (Waverley)

Ice cream? (Virginia)

Yeah. The Trumpet ads, yeah. And he gets right to the little cone bit at the end and it says, “No wasted bits,” and chocolate and ice-cream in the whole cone. (Waverley)

Yep, so, oh so that is different. (Virginia)

Oh what a frivolous, shallow life I lead. (laughter) (Waverley)

Furthermore, as it turns out in the example above, Waverley attributed the story to the wrong brand—the brand was actually Street’s Cornetto not Tip Top Trumpet, who offer a very similar product.

There was also general reticence about admitting talking to anyone about advertisements and brand stories. Donna declared that the only conversations with others that she would have about brands would be strictly product related.

I mean my mum would ring me and say, “Briscoe’s [a competitively priced homeware retailer] has got two for one,” but that’s about it. (Donna)

Yeah. Yeah. “Go and get the kids some school shoes.” Yeah. Yeah, they’ve got a sale on, yeah. (Cathy)

At first, only a few participants directly admitted talking to other people and many were emphatic that they had never spoken to anyone about ads. However, after several different probing questions most participants started to cautiously recall some occasions when they had spoken to others.

Never. There’s just no doubt that I ever have. (Helen)

[Then later in the conversation]

And I must have lied and said I haven’t spoken to my children about it, because I’ve just remembered the ad where the little girl’s driving, boy’s driving the little girl. (Helen)

Yeah, yeah. The car ad. (Georgina)

Car ad. And I have spoken to people, not at the school gate, how we thought it was wrong that, teaching kids to drive. You know, little kids could try and drive the car or something and my kids I’ve spoken to them about it, how it’s kind of cute but really, don’t ever get in the car and drive. (laughter) (Helen)

Those who readily conceded talking about ads with other people were typically very confident and talkative participants. Ann, who is a very gregarious, open, chatty person with a wide circle of friends and active social life immediately admitted to talking to other people about the stories in ads. However, she quickly apologised for engaging in such uninspiring conversational topics and was teased about it by her friend Belinda. Likewise, Sharon and Tess both admitted to talking to a range of people about ads but made light of their propensity for striking up a conversation with anyone.

Well I talk to Steve [husband] or just in general conversation. If I see a really good ad that’s on, yeah. If I like an ad, if I know someone in the ad. If it’s a product, TiVo, I’ve been talking to people about TiVo lately ... Sounds like we have boring conversation (Ann).

Yeah. She has a boring old life. All she does is watch TV ads. (laughter) (Belinda)

I have such limited conversation. (laughter) (Ann)

Oh rubbish. (laughter) (Belinda)

I really do, it's like what I watch on TV the night before. (Ann)

So you said "Mum," and you said, what did you say? "People at work? People at school?" (Researcher)

Yeah. Yeah. (Tess)

You can't really shut us up! (laughter) (Sharon)

Well we just have verbal diarrhoea! (laughter) (Tess)

4.9.2 Brand Ads as Conversational Resources

The use of brand ads as resources in conversations slowly became apparent as the pair interviews teased out participant experiences. Nicola, who was always quite guarded in what she discussed or admitted to, spoke of using a brand advertising phrase in conversation if the context was right.

I suppose there'd be the odd time I don't know. Not really anything that comes to mind. (Nicola)

No. Doesn't make you rush out and buy anything does it? (Marcia)

No. No. (Nicola)

No, sometimes I'm sort of interested if it was a talking point for whatever reason... (Researcher)

I suppose when the Tui ads started coming out like the big billboards, when they first came out that was a bit different 'cause they were quite funny. (Nicola)

Tui, "Yeah right." (Marcia)

"Yeah right." (Researcher)

Yeah. (Nicola)

So, if you were going to talk to somebody about a, like a Tui, "Yeah right," ad, what, which sort of people might you talk to about it and which people wouldn't you because, for whatever reason really? (Researcher)

I think more so they come up in conversation like when you think somebody's telling a porky and you go, "Yeah right." (Nicola)

She referred to the Tui beer billboard campaign whose formula is a frequently updated topical short slogan juxtaposed against the phrase "Yeah right," an expression of doubt or disbelief. *"The effectiveness of the campaign has been in tapping into and exploiting the typical Kiwi bloke culture, and reinforcing the image (be it real or imagined) of the independent, beer-guzzling, hard-working Kiwi male who values his mates over his chick, and never shows any emotion or concern for others."*

<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0303/S00244.htm>

Similarly, Helen mentioned the use of well-known brand advertising phrases in conversation:

I missed the ball on the tennis court the other day and fell over and someone said, “Moments like these” [you need Minties]. (laughter) (Helen)

The Minties brand, whose naming rights are confusingly held by Nestlé in Australia and Cadbury in New Zealand, has long used the comical depiction of ignominious sporting moments in advertising, and is considered an iconic Australian brand by Australians, and is beloved as a New Zealand treasure in this country.

In general, ads provide common reference points and constitute a widely available conversational resource, as noted by Virginia and Waverley.

[My husband] might have said “You know that ad? Well that’s like the bach that we used to go to and we’d, like that, we used to do that too.” We’d often use ads as a point of reference when talking about a story, of recreating a story from our childhood or something because everyone knows ads. (Virginia)

I do the same. (Waverley)

4.9.3 Sharing Consumption of Brand Ads

According to the participants, talking about ads is most likely to occur while actually watching them. Thus, many conversations are between participants and spouses, children and/or flatmates and close friends who are in the home environment and sharing in the viewing activities.

Oh only my husband about things. (Virginia)

He’s another person. (Researcher)

Yeah, yeah, there we go. About that, we talked about that Steinlager ad and we talked about that New Zealand ad, “Hey have you seen that ad, look did you see that ad that was just,” like I might not be here, yeah so we’re shallower than you. (laughter) Often around the news time or in between, yeah so, those ads that you’ve mentioned, yeah, those. Actually New Zealand ads we’d talk about more. And Goldstein [ASB bank] we’ve talked about them lots, yeah, we both talk about them. (Virginia)

Having the ad on screen at the time of conversation provides a point of reference and makes it easier to relate to the themes of interest.

I’d have to be watching it to talk about it; otherwise I wouldn’t, like that L&P I’d say, “Oh shit, we did that as kids.” (Cathy)

Yeah. (Donna)

I’d never wait for the next day and my kids came home from school and I’d say, “I saw an L&P ad yesterday” [same words echoed by Donna] “and it was what I did as a child,” no. ‘Cause it’s, to them it means nothing and they didn’t visually see it, but if they were all laughing and saying, “Oh that looks old fashioned,” then I’d say, “Oh well that was us when we were kids.” (Cathy)

Lana and her flatmates were once eager fans regularly discussing a New Zealand ad campaign which “*was initially supposed to be a series of ads about dairy products. It turned into a six-year soap opera that enraged and gripped the country.*” <http://idealogue.co.nz/magazine/march-april-2006/features/the-last-great-showman> In fact, despite finishing over 15 years ago, the long-running Anchor/Fernleaf family saga (the brand name was changed during the campaign) was fondly recalled by six of the 10 pairs of participants in this study.

Do you talk to other people about the stories in ads? (Researcher)

Sometimes. (Lana)

Yeah, same. I remember when there was that one with the family, and I can't actually remember, was it Anchor butter, you know they had the dad and mum and they split up and the little girl and it went on and on, it was when we were flatting and it was just the next instalment, you waited for the next instalment and we used to talk about that quite a lot in the flat. I don't so much anymore I guess, but yeah. Remember? Can you remember? Was it the Anchor family, eh? Anchor butter. (Karen)

There were several different motivations for talking about the stories in ads. The most common ones relate to humour, novelty and controversy—and these do not necessarily have anything to do with New Zealandness—for example, many of the participants told the researcher that they had recently been talking about a U by Kotex *Beaver* tampon ad and were very keen to talk about it off the record, since the material was considered quite offensive and at the time was the subject of much media attention.

It's only when it new or something... (Cathy)

Or it's rude or something and you think, "Oh I don't think that should have been on." (Donna)

I suppose I would say, "Oh did you see that funny ad?" (Helen)

4.9.4 Mothers and Children Talking about Ads

Generally talking to their children about advertising was a theme common amongst the participants. At the most basic level ads provided an opportunity to educate children about the ways of the world. Public safety messages were top of mind for Lana.

So why would you talk to your husband or kids maybe about ads, the stories in ads? What, can you think of an example of one that you might have? (Researcher)

I talk to my kids about ads that have a message about safety. (Lana)

Oh you're a good mum, aren't you? (Karen)

I know. Like the fire [NZ Fire Service fire safety campaign] ads or something 'cause I think, "Oh shit we haven't done a fire drill for ages, now let's talk about how to get out of the house." If it was something ... (Lana)

You see that's brilliant Lana that's ... (Karen)

... relative like that. (Lana)

The techniques used in making ads are sometimes a point of discussion between parents and children.

So what would you say if it was your kids and they, if you were having a discussion, what would be the nature of the discussion that you'd have with them? (Researcher)

Just, "How do you think they worked out, how do you think they've done that?" Like the latest Gorilla, Cadbury ad has got, they're playing, they're doing a song with their eyebrows, they're raising their eyebrows up and stuff so it's all computer generated. (Georgina)

Not so much related to the brand, more just what they were doing on the ad that was... (Helen)

Waverley and Virginia revealed that their teenage daughters, who are friends, have had parental discussions and compared notes about ads. In the following example a more critical media studies approach has been used by the mothers in discussing the influence and social impact of ads.

Do you talk with your daughter about it? (Researcher)

Imogen knows the tunes to all the ads and I say, "My God, you know that song off by heart," but we don't really have a conversation about it. (Waverley)

You haven't talked about how they're trying to get you to do something because of the ad? (Virginia)

Oh yeah, we do talk about things like that. (Waverley)

Yeah, yeah, yeah I knew Waverley would. (Virginia)

Yeah, I'm from the perspective of how they're manipulating your mind, we often talk about things like that. (Waverley)

Yeah, 'cause I knew you would. That's because, yeah, because Waverley, sorry Imogen and Jody have talked about that ad so our children have talked about stuff about what it's doing or its suggestiveness. Yeah. (Virginia)

From a persuasiveness marketing angle. We do talk about things like that. (Waverley)

Furthermore, sensitive issues (possibly including relationships, puberty and death) could be introduced (by mother or child) into a discussion as a result of shared ad viewing. Off the record comments relating to the U by Kotex *Beaver* tampon ad indicated this, and (on the record) both Tess and Belinda noted their relief at not having to answer such questions but were aware of the potential for such parent child discussions.

I have seen the beaver one once. (Tess)

You had to explain it to your [seven year old] daughter? (laughter) (Sharon)

No, God no! (Tess)

... you'd take an interest in it, like the beaver ad because it relates to you because you know your daughter [a teenager] didn't pick up on that [vulgar terminology]. (Belinda)

Lana, who had young school-aged children, commented in general:

... if there was something that had a bit of an adult theme about it and I wanted to give the kids a kind of bare level thing on it I might say, "Oh yes well," you know, kind of disguise the adult theme in something that's a bit more appropriate for them. (Lana)

4.9.5 Intergenerational Transfer of National Identity

The New Zealandness of brand stories in advertising is sometimes a reason for talking with children about ads. Iconic imagery, particularly scenery, was mentioned by Donna as the focal point of a conversation with her daughters.

Now you already said the kids ... Did you say you talked about the scenery with them? (Researcher)

Yeah, like when I saw that Air New Zealand ad for the first time. (Donna)

So what did you say ...? (Researcher)

I just said to them that, "Look how beautiful our country is, you know. That's what our country looks like out of Auckland." (Donna)

Brand advertising can provide the script to illustrate strongly held beliefs to a new generation of New Zealanders—for example, children were told about the much talked about trans-Tasman rivalry, as illustrated in the Mitre 10 *Sandpit* ad.

Yeah, yeah, saying they're gonna build a wall and they ask the Aussie guy and he says, "Oh you're dreaming mate," when they asked if he would come over and help. (Georgina)

Spoke to my kids about that. Oh they were laughing, thought it was hilarious. (Helen)

Yeah? (Researcher)

Yeah, they thought it was really funny. (Helen)

"No surprises there!" (Georgina)

The ad they referred to was "voted Fair Go's Favourite TV ad for 2009". The brand's values were also strongly aligned with key elements of New Zealand national identity—"Kiwi values, ingenuity, and give-it-a-go attitude"—and "reinforced that for Kiwis, DIY is in our DNA." <http://www.draftfcb.co.nz/ourwork/diyisinourdna/>

Similarly, Marcia highlighted that she made a point of talking to her children about Australian ads which exemplified the differences between Australians and New Zealanders.

A recent trip to Australia with her children had provided much brand advertising material to feed conversations comparing Australians and New Zealanders.

Do you ever talk about ads with your kids? (Researcher)

Oh only the Australian stupid dickhead ones, eh? They're so bad. You know, they think they've got a sense of humour but they don't match us at all, have you noticed that? They're bloody shocking. You know they're Australian even if they don't have an accent you think, "That was made in Australia." (Marcia)

[After denigrating Australian people for a while, Marcia continued]

And their ads are the same, they're really, they're very immature and just stupid. You sort of look at them and think, "What?" You know, yeah. (Marcia)

So you talked to your kids about those when you were there? (Researcher)

And when we're here because if we see them here we know they're Australian because of the tone, yeah. (Marcia)

New Zealandness in brand ads can also be used as a conversation starter with children to discuss identity and how different other places are to New Zealand. When comparing her savvy English immigrant parents with Ann's bewildered South African in-laws, Belinda noted how ads provided the occasion to tell her children about life in the land of their ancestors:

No. My mum and dad have been here that long they've got it by now. No, I'm the opposite I'd be probably explaining to my kids what it was like in England. What England is. But then, yeah. (Belinda)

But would you use the ads, the New Zealand ad as like a point of comparison to say, "Oh well it wouldn't be like that in England," would you? That wouldn't come up? (Researcher)

Nah, yeah England's very different. (Belinda)

Yeah, but would you, would the New Zealand ad be the reason you starting and talking about, saying, "Oh well of course England wouldn't be anything like that," or isn't anything like that. (Researcher)

Yeah, I guess. (Belinda)

4.9.6 Usable Past: Social Memories Using Brand Ad Stories

Social memories and the usable past are central to the following text-units where brand stories provided conversational resources for use in object lessons re-creating the past.

[L&P] *I saw that on TV and my daughter was with me and I said, "That was what it was like when we were kids." And she just went, (gagging noise made). (Belinda)*

So there, you do. You do talk to people. You talk to your kids. (Researcher)

Yeah, I did say, "Oh that's exactly what it was like when we were kids," and I said, "Me and Meredith used to do that," and I told, she knows Meredith. And I told her and she goes, "Uh. Oh yeah." (Belinda)

She looked really bored? (Researcher)

She looked like I was saying we went to school on a horse and cart basically. Like when we were kids we used to get all about the war and I used to think, "Oh God, here he goes." So, yeah. (Belinda)

So why did you mention it to your daughter? (Researcher)

I think I did say something to her because I just sometimes think that we're just too PC nowadays. Everything has to, you know, the kids are just so molly coddled, now they can't walk the streets, they can't, everything. You know, it's just not the same for safety or, I'm not saying that there was safety in those days 'cause we still had people that were a bit peculiar, if not very peculiar, but you didn't worry about it like you do now, do you? (Belinda)

Belinda used the L&P ad to illustrate the simple pleasures of a golden age where earlier generations of New Zealand children were never bored and did not have to worry about contemporary issues such as sun and swimming pool safety protocols.

But they'd be thinking, "Where's the lifeguard? Where's the sun screen? Where's the parents?" (Belinda)

"And can I plug my iPod in somewhere?" (Ann)

Yeah. (Belinda)

"And where can I put my [hair] straightener for afterwards?" (Ann)

Yeah. Yeah. "And where's the shower block 'cause I don't want to get chlorine in my hair?" You know, it's, they couldn't relate to that at all, no. (Belinda)

As Ann later mentioned:

I think we're just trying to make that generational point that this is how life used to be and everybody was happy with it, you know? (Ann)

4.9.7 Sustaining National Identity Using Brand Ad Stories

Brand stories were used by the participants in sustaining their shared national identity within their social network. People within the national in-group were expected to share common responses to certain brand stories.

Yeah, so can you think of a conversation that, a typical conversation that you might have had with someone? (Researcher)

"Oh how ridiculous the fact that [Toyota Hilux Bugger], why should that be pulled, 'cause that was so Kiwi." (Pippa)

Complaints about it. (Olivia)

And, you know, just because some little old lady who doesn't like the word bugger. (Pippa)

Brands advertising stories have the capacity to insult and offend feelings of national identity and generate shared outrage, as happened in the following conversation. Cadbury Moro had recently launched a campaign which played on the highly successful Flight of the Conchords television series where they billed themselves as 'Formerly New Zealand's fourth most

popular guitar-based digi-bongo-acapella-rap-funk-comedy folk duo.’ However, as both the following conversations show, the intended humour fell short of the mark and insulted feelings of national identity.

I think I'd more discuss if it was an ad that I didn't like. If I found it, I don't know, annoying or, there's one particular ad at the moment that is the number four, coming fourth. Moro. It's the thing about coming fourth and I think it, is that in relation to the Flight of the Conchords, the fourth best folk duo, I think it is, so you know, coming fourth in the Melbourne Cup, coming, you know, not winning the America's Cup, coming fourth in this and that and then, yeah it doesn't matter. (Ingrid)

Putting New Zealand down? Is that what it is? (Researcher)

Yeah. It is really. (Ingrid)

But yeah, the fourth most popular bar. (Lana)

It's someone's trying to be funny. (Karen)

That, oh they're trying to be cool but they're not cool. (Lana)

Moro? (Researcher)

Well yes but now I'm starting to go off it 'cause I don't like their new advertising. (Lana)

Oh okay. (Researcher)

Yes because I've eaten it for so many years it's a real, for me it is a real Kiwi thing, but now I'm thinking ... (Lana)

They've got those manky ads, yeah. (Karen)

[and later]

That brand to me has taken New Zealand's values ... (Lana)

Out of it, haven't they? (Karen)

... and it's really ... (Lana)

Oh really? (Researcher)

Yeah, because it's... (Karen)

They say that New Zealand is the fourth best place to live and they show the typical New Zealand scenes, (Lana)

That's right. (Karen)

This doggy old house with a crappy old outside loo and it's dirty. God it's just horrendous. (Lana)

While Moro had apparently been undermining some of the foundational myths about New Zealand national identity, such as being world beaters and punching above our weight, especially in the sports arena, other brands such as Spray and Walk Away¹⁷ had been perpetuating racist stereotypes. Conversations spawned by brand ads such as this help sustain shared views that it is necessary to fit in and not be different (so that national identity is not

¹⁷ This Spray and Walk Away ad features a Chinese man with a bad English accent who takes on the persona of a white coated Japanese professor/scientist demonstrating a product for removing lichen, moss and algae.

tainted or lost as a consequence of influxes of Asian immigrants resulting from particular immigration policies).

“Walk away, spray and walk away.” (Virginia)
Oh don’t. That man. Oh. (groans) (Waverley)
Oh. I really like that ad. It’s so stupid. (Virginia)

Olivia and Pippa noted that they would be careful who they talked about this mocking ad with—it is a joke to be shared with the national in-group only.

But I think I’m probably typical Kiwi as far as humour is concerned, I don’t think a lot of immigrants would necessarily get a lot of the humour in those ads, I think it would get lost on them. (Pippa)
But you possibly would talk to most people. (Olivia)
But any sort of verging on PC, non-PC ads, like I’m surprised the Chinese community hasn’t got up in arms about the, “Walk away.” I mean I think that’s just, when that came on I just split myself laughing, it was so funny. And that’s really taking the mickey out of the Chinese. (Pippa)

Although conversations about brand stories commonly occur in the home at the time of viewing, there were other occasions where participants would speak about New Zealandness as a result of what had been viewed. These opportunities to sustain national identity occurred while talking to relations and friends but also when talking to those more distantly connected, such as mere acquaintances or even strangers at the school gate, as is illustrated later in this chapter.

Have you ever talked about New Zealandness in ads with people outside the home? (Researcher)
No. (Ingrid)
Brothers and sisters or? (Researcher)
Um. (pause) (Ingrid)
Parents or? (Researcher)
Oh you know, yeah possibly, that Toyota one, you know, that Hilux one because I think my aunt was saying that she just found that so funny, she just really loved that, loved that ad and I remembered thinking, “I haven’t seen it,” but then I did see it and I could see what she was talking about. (Ingrid)
Yeah, there’s some iconic ones like that that we have but... (Jackie)
Yeah. (Ingrid)
But ... (Jackie)
It was a sort of farming, you know, it was a sort of farming thing and I didn’t know what she was talking about when she said that but then once I saw it I got it. (Ingrid)
 [After some other matters were discussed the conversation returned to this topic]
So your farming ones you would talk to your older family members who were also in the farming community ‘cause they’d kind of get, is that what you’re saying? (Researcher)

Yeah. Yeah that's right, they would get it and they'd find it funny and they could relate to the whole sort of, the whole thing. (Ingrid)

Yeah. And if Jackie, say, had been brought up on a New Zealand farm you might possibly mention it to her but you wouldn't because she doesn't, is that what you're saying? (Researcher)

No, she's more likely to mention Minnie Cooper [high fashion shoes and bags]. (laughter) (Jackie)

A very similar conversation with her farming father was recalled by Karen.

I think the Crump ads we've talked about, you know, the Crumpy...

Which brand? (Researcher)

Toyota. I did know that. You know, when they drove we had Scotty and ... You know, and I think I've discussed that with, 'cause I think Dad loved those ads in particular, so. I remember discussing those and he liked it when Scotty when into town and drove Crumpy around, you know? (Karen)

So what was it about the New Zealandness that you would have discussed? (Researcher)

The farming, the aspect of the farming, "She'll be right, hold on," and the townies coming out to the farm. (Karen)

Tess used the Australian rivalry themes in the NZI ad to initiate a discussion with her mother.

So when talking to your family and your friends and your work mates, or whatever, have you ever commented in New Zealandness in ads? (Researcher)

Definitely the NZI ad for me. (Tess)

Mm. (Sharon)

So who would you have spoken to about that? (Researcher)

Oh, husband ... (Tess)

Yip. (Sharon)

Mum, people at school. It just depends. (Tess)

Ok, so when you talk to your mum, she wasn't sitting in the room when you saw the ad then? (Researcher)

No. (Tess)

No, so you've brought it up? (Researcher)

Yeah, just, "Oh, have you seen that NZI ad? It's quite humorous, blah blah blah, the Australians have stolen everything from us." Dunno. Just everybody can relate to it. Yeah. (Tess)

New Zealandness in brand advertising became an issue for Karen to discuss and compare notes with her sister. This all started when Karen's children were particularly attracted to the imagery in a Genesis Energy advertisement (although they did not appear to remember the brand name with any certainty).

Yeah I have with the one, and I don't even know what the ad was now, I think it was Genesis Energy or something. And it went with the feather that landed in the, the feather blowing and the kids always stopped what they were doing and raced to watch it and they, and their

comments were at the time, “I love this Mum, it’s, I love the way that the feather goes through and,” it was a pohutukawa, no it was a feather wasn’t it? (Karen)

No there was a feather and a pohutukawa flower. (Lana)

Pohutukawa flower. (Karen)

Yeah. (Lana)

So your kids said, “Oh this is great.” (Researcher)

They loved it, they loved the music and I thought it was very Kiwi and I did comment on it to my sister I think, I’ve said, “Do your kids stop what they’re doing and watch that ad?” And she had, I think she said they did watch it when it came on, yeah. (Karen)

The ad they loved had haunting original music which accompanied the passage of a Southern Rata flower on a long water-borne journey through the pristine New Zealand natural environment, highlighting the renewable resource of water used by Genesis Energy in the generation of electricity.

4.9.8 Acculturating New Immigrants Using Brand Stories

Some of the participants also spoke of using brand ads in conversations with outsiders—overseas guests and recent immigrants—in a process of acculturation.

See, you know when that, I was telling you about that church thing? I’m going to this church thing and they had an introduction and out of about a hundred and sixty people, hundred and fifty-two were South Africans. (Ann)

Hardly any Kiwis there! (Belinda)

Oh wow. (laughter) (Researcher)

So, and in my little group, there were probably twelve of us and it was all like “Who are you?” “How long have you been here?” “Where are you from?” I was the last one to speak and I said, “Well I’m a Kiwi and I’ve been here all my life and I like pavlova and I love rugby and I like,” that was what I said, you know, because, and I would, probably thought of that ad [NZI, Stealing your stuff] when I was drawing on all the things that make me a Kiwi. (Ann)

Do you ever talk to people at work or in the lunch room, morning tea or anything like, about ads? (Researcher)

The only time I’ve ever talked to people about ads is if we’ve had overseas visitors here and they’ve sort of, you’re interested when you go to other countries in what kind of their ads are. (Elaine)

And we’ve talked about them with our exchange student, I guess. When she’s been sitting down with us, watching TV, and she looks kind of blankly, or doesn’t quite kind of get it. What it is that, I mean she loves all the ones with the out, the outdoors ones, the Air New Zealand type ones and the, any, anything with sheep and water but just talking about that, the essence of what they are, but if we didn’t have her in the house we’d all just be enjoying it, but yeah without, yeah, well yeah, because it does need explaining. (Fiona)

Brand ads provide the resources to use directly or indirectly in conversations with those clearly not (yet) part of the insider national community group. These stories provide material which can be used to illustrate key aspects of national identity—the myths, values, practices, places and icons held most dear.

4.9.9 Maintaining National Identity Boundaries

In other situations, particularly with Australians, New Zealand identity is deliberately highlighted in contrast to other identities. This essentially appears to be a practice to maintain national identity boundaries.

So what sort of people would they be? About NZI stealing your stuff? (Researcher)

I mean if it came up, or if you know, I don't think there'd be anyone I wouldn't talk to about that ad. I mean if you're in a group of people, of parents waiting it wouldn't be the sort of ad that it's like 'I won't bring that up because of that person', you know? It's just a general, yeah, anybody type ad. (Sharon)

I'm just wondering if you had perhaps immigrant families or something, if you'd say 'oh well' ... (Researcher)

No, I'd love to talk to Australian people about it and just go, "You guys. You do steal lots of shit." (laughter) And see whether or not they find it quite so humorous as we do. (Tess)

Okay, so you'd actually use it to ... (Researcher)

Absolutely. Shit yeah. I mean they razz us enough about things and how little we are and ... (Tess)

Insignificant. (Sharon)

Yeah, because we are so insignificant that you steal a lot of our ideas. (Tess)

Cool stuff. (Sharon)

Yeah. (Tess)

Right. (Researcher)

Definitely. (Tess)

Yeah, for sure. Yeah, so it wouldn't be a, it wouldn't put you off it would make you say it more? (Sharon)

Yeah, to Australians. (Tess)

Yep. (Sharon)

Yeah. Hell yeah. (Tess)

4.9.10 Competency and Performance of National Identity

During discussions, participants identified people with whom they would not initiate a conversation about a brand ad because they were perceived as not competent to appreciate the New Zealandness inherent in the story.

[My husband and I] talk all the time how just other people wouldn't get it, those ads, how the Americans and stuff how they wouldn't get it. And the Vogel's bread thing with the thing and how they wouldn't, other people wouldn't just get it, they just don't get it, our humour and

surprisingly The Flight of the Conchords seems to be re-educating them all. But, yeah how the humour, how we find it amusing. Like we usually go, “Americans wouldn’t get that ad would they?” kind of thing, so we’ve had the comments, just ‘cause you were saying about the humour. But how they’ve packaged it, we’ve often talked about how, “Gee that’s rounded up, that’s packaged New Zealanders, that’s pretty much got us all summed up.” (Virginia)

I mean, and to other nationalities, probably it would put me off because it’d just be all too hard to explain it. I’d be like, “Uh, can’t be bothered.” (Sharon)

So you wouldn’t? (Researcher)

It’s not that I wouldn’t talk about it, it’s just, probably more ... (Sharon)

They wouldn’t understand. (Tess)

They wouldn’t get it? (Researcher)

They don’t really get it like we do. Or Australians, you know, I mean it’s sort of really a, yeah I don’t know. But then they do, but. (Tess)

The Australians at least they would know what you are talking about with all the contexts, whereas someone from South Africa wouldn’t even, wouldn’t get it at all. (Sharon)

No, probably not. (Tess)

So you wouldn’t even mention, say if it was a brand new L&P ad that was really cool, you might talk to all the other parents but if there was, if you’re just standing with a South African parent you would think, “Oh God, I’m not gonna mention this.” (Researcher)

No, no. So many other things you could talk about. As in that would be mutual. (Sharon)

Right. (Researcher)

Well, yeah, I don’t know. (Sharon)

I dunno, it would really depend on the person and how long they’ve been in the country and that sort of stuff, because they’d then be starting to be a bit familiar with all things kiwiana. (Tess)

I suppose. (Sharon)

So you kind of judge? (Researcher)

Yeah, I’d say. (Tess)

Mm. (Sharon)

Depending on whether you thought that they would have a shared, whether they’d sort of know what it was about? (Researcher)

Yeah. (Tess)

Interestingly, brand stories can be used to stimulate conversation through branded merchandise. In the following text-unit Olivia refers to wearing clothing emblazoned with reference to a famous Toyota Hilux ad considered to be uniquely Kiwi.

My husband has a Bugger Me tie, so it’s got, “Bugger me,” written on it ten thousand times. We don’t wear it out of New Zealand. You know, it just wouldn’t be taken well. But in New Zealand, not a problem. (Olivia)

Olivia’s suggestion is that within the national community wearing a ‘bugger me’ tie is a knowing way of performing New Zealand identity. Outside of that society the symbolic value

would be quite different and the tie would potentially be offensive if the brand ad context was not known.

4.10 Summary of Findings Chapter

This chapter has detailed the findings of fieldwork conducted during the study. The reader has been provided with in-depth contextual material regarding participants and their autobiographically derived views on New Zealand national identity, brand advertisements used in the study and expert panel and participant analyses of those communications with respect to national identity. The research question, ‘How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?’ has been addressed in several linked ways. The findings are reported, firstly, in terms of how New Zealandness is successfully operationalised in the brand ads used in the study and, secondly, in terms of brands nominated by participants during the study. Brands that were considered to contribute to New Zealandness have been analysed with respect to both consumption of brand ads and reported usage and purchase of the branded products/services. The second research question, ‘What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?’ has been addressed through reports of shared social and conversational experiences of ad consumption, intergenerational transfer of national identity and other types of social activities where national identity is sustained and maintained using brand ads as resources.

Chapter Five

DISCUSSION

5.1 Overview

The purpose of chapter five is to discuss the relevance, significance and importance of the findings in this exploratory study. In addition, this chapter advances new theory that extends understanding of brands as they affect national identity. Firstly, the focus is on discussing the key findings with reference to corroborating literature and explicating both theoretically expected and the unexpected aspects of the study's findings. Also, since this thesis has utilised a strategy of "*poach[ing] and cross-fertiliz[ing] ideas, methods, and contexts from a variety of theoretical conversations that differentially address core topics*" (Arnould and Thompson 2005, p.869), another important task of this chapter is to draw threads together and provide the reader with commentary on the findings in the context of marketing and consumer research literature, and with reference to other branches of social science. The chapter is organised so that the main areas of enquiry, delineated by the research questions, are addressed first, before more overarching theoretical issues are discussed.

5.2 Experiences of NID in Brand Marcoms

The discussion that follows in this chapter shows in many ways that the findings provide strong support for Stern's (1991b) conceptualisation of brands as narratives. Brand stories, offered to consumers through marcoms, provided the resources and pre-structures for participants to freely use to create shared meanings as suggested by Arvidsson (2005). Although the advertising literature clearly posits that *culture* is made visible through marcoms, the findings from this research demonstrate that imagery and narratives of *national identity* are provided by brand resources. National identity is experienced as a result of consuming brand marcoms in the manner theorised by Elliott and Wattanasuwan (1998), that

is, they are used as symbolic resources for the construction of identity. Consumers reported experiencing national identity through parts or the whole of a brand story.

The following discussion of the findings is organised around the five part framework of national identity categorisation, introduced in chapter three. This is followed by an analysis of the value of the national identity categorisation framework and a summary of the insights relating to research question one. Overall, the findings regarding experiences of national identity in brand marcoms are confirmatory. As the discussion shows, the aspects of New Zealand national identity reported in other disciplines are present and recognised by consumers in brand marcoms.

5.2.1 NID Myths in Brand Marcoms

There are many myths of national identity relating to New Zealand according to social sciences literatures. Mythic foundational stories underpin all aspects of national identity and were readily apparent in the narratives offered by participants—the reader is referred back to the findings in Table 7 where the most commonly mentioned national identity themes are listed. Clearly, these themes are the same ones reported in the literature review regarding New Zealand myths (section 3.3.2.1). Many of the most commonly mentioned mythic themes are discussed in the four sections that follow (as they relate especially to practices, characteristics, places and symbols). Thus, at this point, myths revealed in the autobiographical sessions which did not fit into the latter categories are discussed, for example, rivalry with Australia, punching above our weight, tall poppy/fitting in, two degrees of separation, needing external validation and golden age.

During the pair interviews it was established that these types of foundational myths were easily recognised in the TVCs shown to participants. Some of the most frequently mentioned myths were highlighted by brands such as Kiwibank *It's ours* (underdog, rivalry with Australia), Steinlager Pure *Keep it pure* (world leaders punching above our weight), L&P *Bombs* (golden age childhood) and NZI *Stealing your stuff* ('number eight' ingenuity and enterprise). The myths were embedded in the brand stories, not as minor elements, but central to the narratives and instantly recognisable, according to participants. Brand marcoms enabled the participants to re-experience familiar myths of national identity. The collective

aspect of the myths was evident in the manner of speaking about the TVCs; participants used inclusive we/us language (we can hack it with you; we don't take ourselves too seriously; we punch above our weight; we'll help you out; they are our values; we put sports people on a pedestal). The findings provide clear evidence that brands, through their marcoms, do articulate the myths of national identity, and that consumers of brand marcoms experience national identity through the brand narratives.

As well as considering brands involved in the researcher's pre-selected TVCs, participants nominated brands which made them feel the way they did about New Zealandness. It was noticeable from the findings that many brands were woven into the fabric of society, that their consumption was deeply embedded in the national consciousness as being central to shared identity and inextricably linked to the glorious past, a mythic golden age. In many cases participants stressed their beliefs about what the brands stood for and how brand consumption fitted in to ideas of national identity, rather than commenting on identifiable brand marcoms. As it is not exclusively related to brand marcoms, the subject of brand derived nostalgia is discussed later, in section 5.7 of this chapter.

5.2.2 NID and Values and Rituals in Brand Marcoms

According to the cultural studies literature, the collective practices, societal values and social rituals that underpin New Zealand national identity include things such as DIY, giving a hand, informality, doing OE and socialising outdoors. As expected, these types of practices formed an important part of the autobiographical narratives provided by the research participants. The narratives of participants' own typically New Zealand life experiences were dominated by incidents that revealed social activities and rituals. The most commonly mentioned themes of national identity, that relate to community behaviours, included OE/interest in the world, informality, family values, community volunteering and neighbourliness, outdoor life/BBQ, being rugby mad, and living and mixing with all types in society where inherited social status is not important.

The collective practices dimension of national identity was clearly evident in the selected television advertisements according to the participants. Brand stories that exemplified such practices included Mitre 10 Mega *Parking Lessons* (DIY and mixing with people from all

walks of life), Bell Tea *Generations* (informal beach family gatherings, chilling out together), Vogel's *Homesick Kiwi* (young Kiwis travelling abroad, interested in the rest of the world) and Wattie's *Footie* (families and kids football, volunteering to coach and manage sports teams). Furthermore, these societal elements of national identity were singled out as being central to top of mind nominations of some brands with respect to New Zealandness. Brands named in this exercise included ANZ bank (helping outsiders, doing the right thing), Adidas (rugby madness) and Fernleaf/Anchor (family values). In summary, this study showed that brand marcoms provide opportunities for participants to experience the community practices and rituals characteristic of New Zealand national identity. Other aspects of ritualised brand consumption, not directly linked to the analysis of brand marcoms, are discussed later in section 5.5.

5.2.3 NID and Psychological Characteristics in Brand Marcoms

Recapping the literature review, nationally distinctive personal defining attributes and characteristics have been catalogued in the New Zealand context. The participants' autobiographical narratives clearly enunciated the sorts of traits previously documented in the literature. The relevant key themes of national identity mentioned by over 75% of participants included active/sports orientated, friendly/helpful/decent, ingenious/creative, hard working/mentally tough, sense of humour/irreverent, can do attitude and humble. Many of these themes were recognised in some of the 19 brand advertisements used in the study.

The findings suggest that the manner in which the personal psychological characteristics of national identity are operationalised in brand marcoms varies. In some cases there is an invisible narrator of the brand story. This narrator may exemplify nationally defining attributes, as the participants noted in the case of the Kiwibank *It's ours* campaign. In that type of scenario the brand directly takes on the personal characteristics central to national identity. Characters portrayed in a brand narrative may embody the defining personal qualities, as in the findings relating to the old man telling his story in Mainland Cheese *Four seasons* advertisement. The dimensions of honesty, hard work and reserve also represent the Mainland brand's personality and epitomise personal attributes of New Zealand identity at the same time.

In yet another reported operationalisation of personal qualities in brand marcoms, the attributes of celebrities (and typical person endorsers) were recognised as similar to those most important to national identity. Heller's Sensational 100% New Zealand bacon *Manuka smoked* vox pops style television commercial utilised well-known media man 'That Guy'. Study participants noted his quirky sense of humour and the overall tone of being understated and humble—key themes of national identity. Furthermore, celebrity endorsers were employed by a number of brands that made the participants in this study feel the way that they did about New Zealandness. The findings showed that famous people, (most notably sports stars) provide a crucial link between specific brands and aspects of New Zealand identity, through the personal characteristics of having a can do attitude, hard work/mental toughness, humility/modesty and, of course, sports orientation.

Many celebrity endorsers mentioned in the study were New Zealanders promoting brands with strong local history. However, in a notable break from this trend, Adidas was nominated, not once but, several times as making participants feel the way they do about New Zealandness. The All Black rugby team sponsorship has clearly been the most important factor driving this association. Nevertheless, it is perhaps surprising to see an obviously 'foreign' brand that is so closely bound up with sense of national identity. Furthermore, in New Zealand, Adidas has run a variety of marcoms campaigns in recent years, some of which have nothing to do with rugby. The ongoing Adidas brand story is seen as closely aligned with the narratives of New Zealand people and their distinct personal defining characteristics. In summary, psychological characteristics of New Zealand national identity are experienced in Adidas brand marcoms.

Overall, in this study, the constellations of meaning and symbolic associations of endorsers have been shown to contribute to national identity in ways not previously explicated in the literature. Furthermore, the findings have demonstrated that the way that the brand is narrated, both in tone and manner, impacts on how national identity is experienced in marcoms. The findings extend understanding of the role of narrators in brand marcoms and contribute to this underexplored aspect of the literature.

5.2.4 NID and Attachment to Places in Brand Marcoms

The New Zealand cultural studies literature claims that there is an implicit link between nature and national identity. Furthermore, there is a strong connection between places and experiences—memories are grounded in the landscape. These aspects of national identity were borne out in the findings where at least 80% of the participants included holiday escapes to the wild, the importance of the beach, discovering the country, and *100% Pure*, green paradise themes in their autobiographical narratives. As reported in the findings, many of these themes were subsequently recognised by most participants in particular researcher-provided television brand ads.

Attachment to the sorts of places incorporated in brand marcoms was shown to be a uniting factor amongst those who claimed New Zealand national identity. The women in this study acknowledged powerful scenery, recognisable places and representations of the natural world. More importantly, the imagery and the narratives often activated their memories of visiting places and their collective sense of belonging to the New Zealand represented by the brands. Analysis of the participant responses to brand ads also made it clear that recognition and attachment to such places was widely shared by the cross-section of women, and not limited according to personal circumstances.

In another part of the study, the findings showed that place based narratives, iconic locations and distinctive landscapes were sometimes the most important factors in prompting participants to name certain brands as making them feel the way that they did about New Zealandness. The cases quoted by participants included the powerful narratives of the Icebreaker brand—for example, the raw and natural world (versus synthetic), authenticity, purity and being close to nature—accompanied by spectacular panoramic alpine scenery. Such narratives, consumed in a variety of brand marcoms, offer alternative ways to experience New Zealand national identity. Thus, the findings illustrate the way brands reproduce existing place-based narratives of national identity and act as resources for the construction/reproduction of national identity.

5.2.5 NID and Popular Symbols in Brand Marcoms

According to the literature, national identity is flagged in everyday symbols and cultural products. In the New Zealand context, this includes the icons that are classified as kiwiana, and Kiwi music, speech and language. By definition, kiwiana is a collection of the most universally acknowledged iconic symbols of culture that sets New Zealand apart from other places. Therefore, the expectation in this study was that kiwiana would be top of mind when discussing symbols in connection with New Zealand national identity. Not surprisingly, the findings of the study confirmed this. The themes that were in evidence in the participants' autobiographical narratives included shared recognition of Maori symbols and kiwiana icons. These were mentioned by the women as being relevant to understanding New Zealand national identity. That is, Maori symbols and kiwiana constituted insider information about things that only a New Zealander would know the significance of. In the pair interview sessions a variety of kiwiana symbols were recognised by the participants in the researcher-provided television brand ads. Furthermore, participants noted the inclusion of local music (including several instances of the national anthem), Kiwi vernacular and characteristic ways of speaking within the brands' television ads.

The findings of the study not only verify that national identity is experienced through popular symbols in brand marcoms as anticipated. They also suggest that consumers feel connected to the nation as a result of consuming these symbols in brand marcoms—and especially in conjunction with Kiwi music. The feelings of instant recognition and familiarity with local music (including the artists and the lyrics) help confirm in-group status and strengthen New Zealand national identity. In summary, because the codes and meanings associated with popular symbols are mostly only known to those who share national identity, then incorporation into brand marcoms draws the insider group together in ways that are not possible otherwise.

5.2.6 Consumption of Brand Narratives and Images

As the discussion above indicates, brand TVCs were shown to be assemblages of value to co-creative consumers, in the manner conceptualised in CCT. Certainly, the findings support the view that the marketplace is a reservoir of mythic and symbolic resources for use in consumer identity projects (Arnould and Thompson 2005). Furthermore, the findings reinforce the view that consumers of brand resources are bricoleurs—that is to say, in constructing stories and identities they pick and choose, drawing on a wide range of things that happen to be available (Lévi-Strauss 1962). Various aspects of brand narratives and imagery resonate more or less with individual consumers depending on influences in the social and individual realm, and dependent on the consumer's unique life experiences and plans as illustrated in the findings (Mick and Buhl 1992). Overall, in the New Zealand context, consumers experienced national identity through parts or the whole of a brand story, through nostalgia, place imagery, Kiwi music, national myths, value and practices and local celebrity endorsers. The narratives and imagery not only referenced local culture, they engendered national identity and feelings of belonging. Furthermore, the co-created meanings from brand narratives are incorporated in consumer lives and used for purposes unrelated to the advertised product or service.

5.2.7 Experiential Dimensions of Brands

As discussed in the literature review, the role of brands has been broadly categorised as having functional, symbolic and psychological dimensions. Certainly, the concepts of brands as identifiers, knowledge, relationship partners, promises, and dynamic and social processes have also been highlighted (Merz et al. 2009). However, the findings of this study support a growing call from scholars, such as Buchanan-Oliver et al. (2008), for the consideration of brands as experiential entities to account for consumer brand socialisation and experiential potential. This aspect of brand has been defined by others—see for example de Chernatony (2002, p.116) who characterises a brand as “*a cluster of functional and emotional values, which promises a particular experience.*” More recently, Tynan et al. (2010) have provided evidence from a study of luxury brand consumers, that personalised brand experiences are defined by the consumer not by the good itself or the company (which also supports the S-DL idea of co-creative dimensions to brand experience). The evidence from this study of brands

and national identity shows that brand marcoms function as a script for consumer experience, particularly in this case, for experiences of national identity. Future research is needed to more fully account for consumer brand socialisation and the experiential potential of brands.

5.2.8 NID Categorisation Framework Discussion

The five part categorisation of national identity derived from the literature proved to be a useful framework for this study. Firstly, it provided an organising structure for evaluating the richness of brand advertisements for potential inclusion in fieldwork. It also offered a focal point for discussions with the expert panel of cultural and advertising researchers regarding how they experienced national identity in brand marcoms. Secondly, preparation of the categorisation sensitised the researcher to the key themes of New Zealand national identity reported in the cultural studies literature. This helped the researcher guide participants (if they needed direction in their autobiographical narratives) and assisted in the development of the pair interview guide.

Coding and analysis of key themes of national identity arising from the autobiographical narratives did not use a pre-specified coding framework—the multiple distinct themes were derived directly from the narratives. However, once the key themes were established they were evaluated with respect to the framework. All themes fitted easily within the framework, confirming its value in the study. Overall, the categories of myths; collective values and rituals; psychological characteristics and national stereotypes; attachment to place; and popular symbols has provided a system for comprehensively answering the first research question, *How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?*

5.2.9 Answers to Research Question 1: How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?

National identity is experienced by consumers via imagery and narratives of national identity provided by brand communications. Brand marcoms can incorporate all aspects of national identity identified in the social sciences literature, that is, myths; collective values and rituals; psychological characteristics and national stereotypes; attachment to place; and popular symbols. Selected brand TVCs were evaluated as being rich in New Zealand national identity themes by an expert panel. Individual research participants provided rich autobiographical

narratives that revealed aspects of national identity. Finally, friendship pairs of participants recognised their own themes of national identity in the pre-selected brand TVCs. The imagery and brand stories combined to supply the brand marcoms consumers with resources that they clearly used to discursively re/produce national identity. Further support for these findings came from the analysis of nominated brands—that is, brands and their marcoms not specified or prompted by the researcher but listed by participants in a top of mind exercise. Narratives and imagery provided by the brands recalled in the interviews also provided the means for experiencing national identity in brand communications.

5.3 Social Processes Affecting NID through Brands

Four different social processes, where consumers utilised brand resources to affect national identity, were evident in the findings. As indicated in the literature, communicative behaviours and interaction rituals underpinned by language are used to construct and create social interaction. While these processes have been widely documented in the theoretical domains of sociology and social psychology, evidence of these mechanisms in national identity projects is almost unreported, and certainly has not been demonstrated in conjunction with consumers' use of brand resources (or in the marketing literature). Discussion relating to each of these social processes is provided next. Following that is an analysis of the linking value within national communities as implied by these social processes and a summary of the insights relating to research question two.

5.3.1 Discursive Reproduction and Negotiation of NID via Brands

A review of the literature in chapter two indicated that national identity is reproduced, negotiated and transformed discursively when conversations with fellow national community members become identificatory performances. In addition, there is broad agreement that national cinema, public artworks and commemorative activities, media discourse and television programming contribute useful narratives to national communities. The findings of this study show that brand marcoms are also contributors of narratives used in what might be designated as 'national identificatory conversational performances'. Evidence from the study demonstrates the bonding processes in action during mundane conversations, where participants discussed, recounted, reminisced and reminded each other of special places,

shared experiences, values and characteristics that they had previously rated as central to national identity. Such conversations were instigated as a direct result of consuming brand narratives, often experienced in the form of television commercials.

The discursive strategies used by participants in reproducing national identity included the tactics elaborated in the literature review—use of clichés, prefacing statements with disclaimers and denials of intolerance, evasion, mitigation, jokes, irony and euphemism. These approaches were used to help sustain shared views and to reinforce the collective view of us/we. The study also illustrated that such shared views related to brand narratives that supported both positive/acceptable facets of national identity and those which were perceived as being negative/unacceptable. During interviews participants spontaneously raised the topic of specific brand narratives that were offensive to their views of national identity. While they agreed with each other on the negative matters they were also unanimous in their opinions about attractive dimensions. Such discussions served to emphasise solidarity, the necessity of fitting in and not being different.

The findings indicate that discursive reproduction and negotiation of national identity via brands occurs in various social contexts, most commonly at home with family and friends. The immediacy of television advertising allows for spur of the moment conversations where brand narratives provide a common point of reference and focus for joint reproduction/negotiation of national identity. Brand narratives cue private reflections on national identity, and allow for reinterpretation and revisioning of the past and the present.

Another aspect of the discursive reproduction of national identity through brands that was evident in the study is the re/creation of social memories. As the literature suggests, people utilise external resources and other people to shape their recollections. Brands provide resources that are sometimes rich in mythic and nostalgic content and thus, have a role to play in re/creating social memories. However, the study illustrated that the role played by brands is greater than merely providing the wherewithal for shaping personal recollections for the solitary consumer. Conversations resulting from brand narrative consumption also foster the re/creation of social memories. Collaborative memory making implies a bonding effect as a result of making mutual connections with each other and in sharing responses to supplied narratives. The findings of this study suggest that feelings of national identity are apparently

enhanced through the re-crafting of particular narratives and by discursively and collaboratively building collective memories.

The study also shows that brand narratives have national identity uses beyond the domestic television viewing context. Participants revealed instances of brand narratives providing the focal point for conversations within their wider social network, when talking to people who they were confident were within their national in-group. Such people were reportedly from a variety of social domains ranging from relations, close friends and associates, to clients, mere acquaintances and fleetingly encountered strangers. (Conversely, the participants noted that foreigners, who might also be from the same social domains, would not be included in such national community affirmation conversations since they were judged as out-group members). The study participants expected to share common views central to national identity when referring to brand narratives, whether or not their conversational partners were familiar with the specifics of the brand story. In summary, brand narratives have been shown to be used to promote feelings of national unity and shared expression of a particular national identity at the time of mediated brand consumption and at some later time(s). The findings of this study advance theory by showing the discursive processes that permit community linking and development of *feelings of belonging* and *sharing* national identity.

5.3.2 Intergenerational Transfer of NID via Brands

The specific social processes by which successive generations of children acquire national identity are not well explicated in the literature. In summary, daily parent-child interactions (and particular activities such as watching television programmes and reading stories together) are believed to be important, but the nature of the interactions and motivating factors are only vaguely hinted at. The findings of this research show that parents (or more specifically, the mothers in this study) use the occasion of shared television watching to transfer their own feelings of national identity on to their children. In particular, the participants used the narratives in brand marcoms to provide exemplars of national identity. When consuming television advertising together, the mothers used brand narratives as a point of reference and focus for discussions highlighting their own feelings of national identity. The evidence suggests that parents use these brand stories as the basis for further conversations and commentary on national identity. In the study the participants particularly

stressed their agenda of passing on perceived differences between New Zealand national identity and neighbouring Australia (the most salient out-group nation).

The nature of advertising scheduling on television generates serendipitous occasions for teaching and learning. These conditions facilitate the process of intergenerational national identity development. Brand narratives that encapsulate national attitudes and values, myths, iconic places and locally relevant nostalgia crop up randomly during television advertising. The findings illustrated that, in conversations with others, adults sometimes recommend and warn about brand stories that they have consumed, with reference to appropriateness or responses of their own children. Thus, depending on the provision of such advice and on earlier opportunities to consider and consume brand narratives, parents may either deliver a somewhat considered, pre-prepared spiel or an instantaneous, visceral interpretation of the narrative at hand. If a brand narrative piques their interest and is worthy of comment, then parents respond and reinforce favourable or unfavourable portrayals of national identity.

In summary, when appropriate, engaging, accessible and resonant narratives of national identity become available, parents use them for spur of the moment teaching. Children are taught about national identity as a direct result of consuming narratives and imagery supplied by brands. Thus, one aspect of the rarely reported process of intergenerational national identity transfer is illustrated in this study. Furthermore, brand resources have been shown to be directly implicated in intergenerational national identity transfer, and by extension of that principle, in perpetuating and reinforcing national identity.

5.3.3 Acculturation and NID via Brands

The literature review showed mass media and advertising are theoretically important in acculturation of immigrants and refugees. Acquisition of new national identities is facilitated by direct consumption of these materials, and through contact and interactions between newcomers and locals. This study addresses the latter issue (since the design of the study precluded participation by recent immigrants).

The findings from the study showed two linked but different social processes of acculturation facilitated by brand resources. Firstly, joint consumption of brand marcoms, particularly television advertising, facilitates conversations between locals and newcomers. Although

such occasions might not be particularly frequent, the context of co-consuming brand narratives, with the common point of reference on screen, allows for the outsider to be provided with explanatory commentary. Rather than consuming alone, and trying to make sense of unfamiliar and partially inaccessible narratives that relate to national identity, such circumstances allow for national community members of the in-group to render assistance and interpretations to others. The findings showed that direct interaction and conversation were used to demystify specific aspects of national identity that would otherwise be obscure or confusing. In this situation, the process of acculturation encompasses the provision of contextualised help in response to brand narratives.

Secondly, individual participants reported using previously consumed brand marcoms as an enduring resource to assist instructing outsiders on aspects of national identity. The narratives provided by brands provided the basis for personal narratives of national identification used by local individuals in carrying out introductory orientations for foreigners. According to the participant's reports, in some sense, brands provide pre-scripted ways of talking about national identity and pre-fabricated vignettes (within their marcoms) that provide resources for locals to use when initiating newcomers. The findings of the study add to understanding processes of acculturation. In summary, the findings indicate that the role of brand narratives in acculturation is not limited to occasions of shared brand marcoms consumption. Brand narratives are truly conversational resources of national identity that may be sub-consciously recollected and utilised on any appropriate occasion.

5.3.4 Maintenance of NID Boundaries via Brands

The boundaries of national identity are brought into focus during interactions with those whose identity is different, as noted in the literature review. Findings from the study illustrate that brand narratives facilitate the social processes that constitute boundary work. Participants noted how they would use particular types of brand narratives as the starting point for friendly verbal bantering with those who they knew held different national identities. They described what they would say in an encounter when baiting and mocking out-group people (the participants specifically mentioned Australians). Previously consumed advertisements acted as a conversational resource, and again, brand narratives were shown to function as a

script. The brand story provided an externally fabricated agenda that supported conversational boundary work related to national identity.

The provision of brand narratives pertinent to national identity also allowed for a slightly different type of boundary work to occur. Findings from the study suggest that the process of deciding whether or not a person was considered to be part of the in-group sometimes depended on predicted responses to brand narratives. That is, participants reported using brand narratives as a sort of divining tool. When encountering another person they would weigh-up how well their particular brand narrative inspired commentary would be received and appreciated. The content of the brand narrative would be an on-the-spot litmus test that the local would play out in her mind. Under these circumstances, the perceived boundaries of national identity would be examined and proven as a result of brand narratives. The decision to (or not to) initiate discursive reproduction of national identity with those persons with uncertain national identity could be clarified with reference to brand narratives. Once again, the process of boundary maintenance has been shown to be affected by brands.

5.3.5 Social Processes and Linking Value

The preceding discussions have highlighted a number of social processes, illustrating that the roles brands play in the lives of consumers are far more extensive than those expressed in Fournier's (1998) consumer brand relationships. In all of the four different social processes discussed above, it is clear to see that brand marcoms have national identity value to consumers beyond mere 'use value'. The findings of this research certainly provides evidence to support Elliott and Wattanasuwan's (1998) proposition that consumers use brands as symbolic resources for the construction and maintenance of identity. Likewise, the findings provide support for CCT in the sense that consumers were shown to work with marketer-generated materials to re-produce a sense of self (Arnould and Thompson 2005). However, the findings of this study clearly show that brands have value beyond use as symbolic resources.

Brand experiences permit and support social connections, as conceptualised by Cova (1997). That is to say, consumers not only have relationships with brands, consumption of brands actually impacts on relationships with other people. This is amply illustrated in the previous

discussions of: 1) discursive reproduction; 2) intergenerational transfer; 3) acculturation; and 4) national identity boundary work. The linking value of brands, in drawing people together, engendering and building national community, is seen in all the social processes identified in the findings. The findings regarding social processes and national identity have uncovered previously unsuspected relationships between brands and social identity. As such, the interaction between brand resources and national identity manifested in four different social processes, constitutes new theory which suggests “*plausible connections and relationships that have not yet been glimpsed*” (Van Maanen et al. 2007, p.1148).

The social connections identified in this study also constitute the ‘brandtalk’ between members of a community conceptualised by Muñiz and O’Guinn (2005). The methods used in this study, of how brands affect national identity, have made it possible to capture talk between consumers facilitated by brands. The findings showed that consumer conversations build on narratives and images supplied by brand marketers. Communally co-created brand inspired stories are used by consumers for their own contextually relevant reasons. This study extends understanding of brands to show that the links between individuals, that constitute a feeling of collective identity, are activated by the consumption of brand marcoms. Brands facilitate social connections unrelated to consumption. Brands facilitate national identity.

Brands are socially constructed marketplace phenomena. This study shows that brand linking value from marketplace based interactions is co-constructed before, during and after consumption. Both lived experiences and mediated experiences of brands contribute to the co-creation of brand linking value. Thus, the social processes illustrated in this study also provide support for newer conceptualisations of the marketplace, particularly regarding how consumers and marketers constitute and navigate culture in the marketplace. Peñaloza and Venkatesh (2006) called for markets to be conceptualised as social constructions, where value is co-created by both marketers and consumers who have agency and act as social beings rather than as isolated individuals. The findings of this study support their view of the market as a social construction, existing not as exchanges of capital, people, products and services, but as enacted processes, partially constituted through consumer activities and discourses (Peñaloza and Venkatesh 2006). The national identity social processes detailed earlier—discursive reproduction, intergenerational transfer, acculturation and boundary

work—are some of the enacted processes that account for the co-creation of brand value in the marketplace.

5.3.6 Answers to Research Question 2: What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?

National identity is affected through brand experiences by four different social processes identified in this study. Bonding processes were evident when national identity was reproduced, negotiated and transformed discursively in conversations with fellow national community members. Secondly, in this study, the social processes of intergenerational national identity transfer, between parents and children, perpetuated and reinforced national identity. Thirdly, acculturation processes were facilitated by brand narratives which operated as conversational resources of national identity. Finally, the social processes that constitute boundary work were supported by brand narratives. These brand stories provided an externally fabricated agenda that supported conversational boundary work related to national identity. The findings from the study provide compelling evidence that brand experiences affect national identity at an interpersonal, social level through the processes identified above. Brands not only act as resources for the self. Through various social processes brands affect the collective self, that is, brands affect national identity.

5.4 National Identity and Brand Marcoms

There are some interesting implications for the study of national identity arising from the findings in this research. Firstly, national identity has been demonstrated to be experienced as a result of consuming brands, from both direct and mediated brand consumption experiences. This particular phenomenon has not been reported in the branding, marketing, or consumer research literature before, although many other disciplines have generally stated that advertising plays an important role in the development of national identity. The findings showed that not only were various myths of national identity embedded in brand stories and imagery, but that brand marcoms facilitated feelings of belonging through a variety of social processes.

As discussed in the literature review, construction of the nation/national identity by way of national cinema has been extensively theorised. National identity in cinema may be

understood in such things as the narratives, iconography and recurring motifs of popular culture. However, the findings of this study suggest that brand marcoms operate in the same manner. Furthermore, brand marcoms (particularly television commercials), are a much more ubiquitous resource for the construction of national identity than cinema. Thus, brand television commercials potentially play a more potent role in national identity than national cinema. Developments in marcoms media and the increasing impact and accessibility of YouTube and the growth of user generated repositories of digital brand marcoms suggests that brand narratives will continue to be more powerful than national cinema in affecting national identity.

The findings that brands affect national identity have implications for those responsible for creating marcoms. A variety of individuals play a part in developing brand stories, from brand strategists, creators of art and copy concepts, film directors, location and talent scouts, and those in production and post-production houses. (Furthermore, as Holt (2004) notes, there are other brand authors—the culture industries, critics and retail salespeople, and customers, especially those in brand communities). Responsibility for brand stories is distributed amongst all these people, and by association, they are implicated in nation building even though they are not necessarily conscious of this role. The findings of this study point to opportunities for brands to coordinate and actively manage their brands' stories with respect to national identity.

Within the field of cultural studies, the finding that 'everyday' brands have been shown to be contributing to national identity is new. Discussion of brands in the New Zealand context of national identity has been limited to consideration of the local impact of the '100% Pure New Zealand' tourism campaign, which is primarily targeted at foreigners. Critical studies relating to national identity highlight unease that business interests and economic imperatives are playing a powerful role in shaping national identity, rather than the national community itself providing an agenda for debate and negotiation (Beatty and Lawn 2003, 2005; Lawn and Beatty 2006). The findings of this study add to Beatty and Lawn's concerns. With that in mind, this study also has implications for governments and policy makers as they look toward nation building exercises. The findings of this research suggest that, in the absence of any more compelling or official input, brands may provide the de facto agenda for developing

national identity. Even more significantly, brands may be reconceptualised as active agents of national identity.

5.4.1 Generation Specific National Identity

There was a temporal dimension to national identity as it was performed and understood by the participants in this research. The way that national identity was discussed by the participants in this study was framed by a sense of time. Narratives of national identity belonged to the participants' generation. Age related differences in the content of autobiographical narratives were especially noticeable when comparing the experiences of the oldest to the youngest participants. In addition, there were a number of references made by participants to other generations as being different. The participants stressed that what they were telling the researcher about was specific to people like them who had experienced similar things. The twists and turns of their stories were predicated on their understanding of the world and the experiences that had shaped their generation. This finding is entirely confirmatory; as the literature review noted, the stories in circulation that are important at key times in one's life colour the way that identity is performed.

Participants specifically mentioned that their children and, to a lesser extent, their parents and grandparents, did not exactly share their view of New Zealand national identity. The influences on those generations were reportedly different—for example, British literature and culture dominated the formative years of the participants (and all the generations of New Zealanders before them). In contrast, the teenage children of the participants were raised on a strong diet of American popular culture and exposed to a range of school text books and literature with local origins, having a Maori and Pasifika flavour. Thus, the participants discussed intergenerational differences in attitudes towards, and acceptance of, Maori language and culture, impacting on sense of national identity. Likewise, the reported impact of 'women's lib' on the cohort of participants meant that the nature of their life experiences was very different from their mothers' and the generations of women before them. This also coloured their sense of New Zealand national identity. These findings are consistent with the anthropology literature on life history narratives, which proposes that the life stories of different generations are underpinned by the social and historical context of their lives.

The influence of the socio-cultural milieu on generational national identity is not limited to key events. Evidently, different brands have prominence in an era. While some participants mentioned things such as Lange at the Oxford Union Debate¹⁸, the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior, family migration stories, the impact of World War Two and the Vietnam War on their family, and their own pilgrimages to Gallipoli, it was clear that sense of New Zealandness also came from common patterns of consumption. Phrases such as “*everyone used to ...*” were used time and again by participants to refer to unifying experiences. These comments frequently referred to eating/drinking particular branded foodstuffs (for example, Tip Top, Wattie’s and Lion Red), but also related to clothing and other items (for example, Edmond’s cookbook, Swanndri, Macpac and Red bands). This finding suggests that the brands directly consumed by a generation affect national identity. Shared familiarity with such brand consumption experiences constituted insider knowledge that those with the same national identity had in common.

The findings of this study confirm that the construct of national identity necessarily refers to the past. As both the literature review and the discussion above outlines, narratives of identity inevitably draw on past experiences as a meaningful life story is crafted from the events that have shaped the self so far. Different generations recall their own influential movements, seminal events and favoured practices. Thus, there are some interesting implications for brands with respect to the use of nostalgia in brand marcoms, as discussed later in this chapter in section 5.7. However, before that, the discussion turns to a further analysis of actual brand consumption and some rituals that surround brand consumption in New Zealand.

5.5 Brand Consumption Rituals

One aspect of community practice revealed in the research was the ritual surrounding brand consumption. Very particular rituals that function as common practices for the nation were described for many brands, especially food and drink brands. These consumption rituals can be categorised in several ways. Firstly, participants described the importance of providing

¹⁸ In a witty and eloquent debate at the Oxford Union, Prime Minister David Lange argued that nuclear weapons are morally indefensible, stating that “the position of my country is a genuine long-term affirmation of this proposition”. Lange’s lasting legacy is New Zealand’s Nuclear Free Legislation, which for many symbolised a moral, independent, powerful identity for New Zealand.

certain brands in conjunction with hosting family occasions, especially when entertaining those returning from abroad. Brands such as L&P, Pineapple Lumps and Twisties were often mentioned. They were discussed as being “*really Kiwi*”, reflecting their status as virtually unique to New Zealand. As a point of clarification, it is interesting to note that, as requested, participants nominated particular brands rather than unique products. While it was not the focus of discussions, participants implied that direct product substitutes, such as offered by retailer/house brands, would not have been acceptable for these occasions. Specific brands are essential for the purposes of reunions because of stories and memories attached to the brand and to shared consumption occasions of these treats in the past.

Secondly, there were rituals surrounding the gifting of brands that held great significance within the national context. Again, the types of snack and party food brands mentioned above were popular gifts to send (or take) to New Zealanders domiciled abroad. The act of sending and receiving these brands has great significance to those who share New Zealand national identity—a point captured in a recent TVC for Pascall Pineapple Lumps (‘Lollies for grown ups’ *Simon’s big OE*) where important symbols of Kiwi identity are juxtaposed with some British icons, as Simon revels in his care package of lollies from home. The brand story, in this case attached to Pineapple Lumps, helps provide a means to re/experience New Zealand identity. Furthermore, there is a sense that only other New Zealanders share this experience—the brand would not have the same effect on outsiders.

The national symbolism attached to other types of ritual gift giving situations was also evident in discussions with participants. When mixing and socialising with foreigners, particular brands were reportedly gifted to display pride in national identity. Brands such as Cloudy Bay Sauvignon Blanc and 42BELOW vodka were named as providing the means for the gift giver to validate their national identity. The high quality and distinctiveness of nominated brands, combined with the brand story itself, allowed the participants to experience national identity through brand consumption/gifting rituals. These various ritual dimensions of brand consumption, as a means of re/experiencing national identity, have not been reported in the extant marketing literature and represent a novel contribution of this study.

5.6 Iconicity and Brands with Consumption Heritage

Many of the pair interviews elicited unprompted mention of *iconic brands*, particularly those whose advertising was both memorable and well-loved—for example, Tui *Yeah Right* and Toyota *Bugger*. In addition, the discussions above have highlighted examples of brands that are deeply embedded in the national psyche and that, through their long use, role and familiarity, have been designated as iconic New Zealand brands. Clearly, the term *iconic brand*, first explicated by Holt (2003), has a variety of connotations. As discussed in the literature review, Holt conceptualised iconic brands as embedded in culture, deriving their power from cultural myths and stories. His retrospective personal assessment of legendary US brands, published in *Harvard Business Review*, approached the topic from a brand management consultant's perspective. What the findings of this study suggest is that the frame of reference used to judge iconicity in brands is quite different between consumers and Holt's brand management consultancy view, which prevails in the extant academic literature. While the principle of iconic brands being anchored in a "*cultural sweet spot*" (Holt 2004, p.xii) is not in question, the concept of iconic brands appears to be more complex than theorised to date.

The findings in this study demonstrate that some iconic New Zealand brands link in with commonly held ideas of community activities that contribute to what constitutes New Zealand identity. This is one consumer connotation of an iconic brand. Personal brand consumption experiences of buying and using, as well as consumption of widely circulating brand stories, contributed to the nomination of Fairydown and Macpac as iconic brands in this study. Both of these brands have strong stories in New Zealand, promoted over the years through diverse marcoms, including publicity, celebrity endorsements and sponsorship. However, there has been very little activity that would be strictly classified as brand advertising in mass media (or digital brand communications). Fairydown is well known as the sleeping bag brand used by Sir Edmund Hillary (a famous New Zealander) when he conquered Mt Everest in 1953. His subsequent unprompted endorsement of the brand was made public and the brand's iconicity grew from there. Macpac, synonymous with backpacks in New Zealand, has been an essential item for OE, a distinctive rite of passage undertaken by generations of young adult New Zealanders.

Both Fairydown and Macpac offer products that facilitate exploring and enjoying what is known in New Zealand as the great outdoors. It would appear that their status as brand icons comes from authentic stories of celebrity usage resonating with happy personal consumption experiences. More than anything, it was the role that these iconic brands played in exemplifying national identity and articulating significant myths that was important to consumers. This conceptualisation is quite different to Holt's (2006a, p.355) idea of iconic brands as "*ideological parasites and proselytisers*" where their status is derived from brand management efforts to cynically exploit cultural myths that help resolve contradictions and anxieties in society.

Another connotation of iconic brands that has not been explored in the extant literature relates to those brands whose reputation with current consumers is derived from intergenerational influences and culturally embedded consumption. Nominated iconic brands, such as Swandri and Edmonds, may have had extensive brand marcoms with compelling brand stories in years gone by. However, within the lifetime of the participants there has been very little of this nature. The current iconic status of those brands seems to come from the role that the brands play in everyday life—as one participant said, "*they've just always been around.*" Their brand narratives have become uncoupled from the original stories. For example, Edmonds 'Sure to Rise' story of reliability in baking powder has become somewhat redundant as contemporary generations are unfamiliar with the problems of dud cakes. Nevertheless, the logo incorporating rays of the rising sun represents one of New Zealand's most iconic brands even though the central visual metaphor has lost its relevance. Thus, contemporary iconic brand narratives, such as Edmonds, have been truly co-created, with consumers inserting their own life experiences within the framework once provided by the brand.

A further observation from this study was the repeated usage of the term 'iconic New Zealand brands.' There was a sense that such brands were iconic only in New Zealand because their meaning and significance was closely tied to national knowledge—their iconic status leveraged particular local narratives and memories. Iconic New Zealand brands are characterised somewhat differently to the legendary global brands that Holt (2003, 2004) interpreted. It is clear that the small selection of brands that Holt described drew exclusively on American cultural myths and aspects of US national identity. However, American

narratives of money, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness are widely recognised by those outside the US. The impact of American culture has been widespread, with iconic brands such as Coke, Disney, Pepsi, Levi's, Nike and Marlboro acting as powerful cultural vectors for those narratives, as Anholt recognises in his writing on nation brands (2005a). Returning then to the topic of iconic New Zealand brands, the literature does not address how iconic brands are experienced in the global context. In this respect, there are many unanswered questions relating to iconic brands, other than legendary global brands. In particular, how does a culturally specific sweet spot translate from one nation to another? And what happens to the brand story when iconic brands from one culture become appropriated by another culture? What cultural conversations occur and which processes are undertaken to align the iconic brand with local culture?

While not the main focus of this research, there have been a number of unexpected issues of iconic brands arising from the study. Family consumption heritage and intergenerational usage seems to be an extremely important factor in driving iconic brand status in many of the cases. Issues of local and global brands have also arisen. Holt's (2003, 2004) work on legendary brands represents only a small part of the whole story of iconic brands, and does not give full voice to consumer experiences of iconicity in brands. Certainly, the topic of iconic brands warrants further investigation and future research opportunities are discussed in section 6.7 in the final chapter.

5.7 Narratives, Nostalgia and the Usable Past

As discussed in the literature review, re/production of national identity is a process that utilises collective memories and a shared sense of the past. The findings in this study clearly demonstrate the facility of brands to embed national collective memories and a shared sense of the national past in their narratives. Secondly, the research illustrated that consumers of such brand narratives experienced national identity as a result of engaging with nationally relevant recollections of times gone by. These findings confirm Thompson and Tian's (2008) claim that commercial activities offer views of the past and provide narrative resources for identity projects. The brand resources which impact on the construction of popular memory are implicated in national identity projects.

Developing a sense of the usable past as a means of strengthening and consolidating national identity has been theoretically referred to (and in some cases achieved) through the provision of appropriate narratives. As the literature review suggests, national cinema, paintings, other cultural objects and artefacts, and institutions such as public broadcasting, museums and libraries are acknowledged as having a role to play in actively promoting consideration of a nation's usable past. However, the role of brands in providing a repository for national stories of the past has not been recognised in the marketing literature. The findings, that relevant narratives and imagery in brand marcoms facilitate discourse around national identity, extend understanding of the usable past construct. They also point to the possibility of brand marcoms as resources that may be used by institutions tasked with crafting the usable past and building national identity.

The findings of this study highlighted that nostalgic appeals used in brand marcoms remind viewers how their identities have evolved as individuals, families and as a nation. Both personal nostalgia and historical nostalgia, as conceptualised by Stern (1992a), were evoked by the prepared TVCs and in other brand marcoms nominated by the participants. These findings confirm that, as the literature suggests, consumers of nostalgia in advertising use narratives to locate themselves in time and place. Individual participant's memories of their personal past were evoked, particularly regarding consumption experiences at notable points in their life. Aspects of historical nostalgia, relating to events, times and places that were personally unknown, reminded participants of the shared past. For example, even though they had never actually experienced farm life in the high country of the South Island, the Mainland Cheese narratives of a slower pace of life resonated with participants, since they were already familiar with this mythic dimension of place contributing to national identity. Thus, nostalgic appeals helped participants to access rich personal memories as well as nationally shared identity myths.

Evidence from the participants in this study indicates that nostalgic brand marcoms serve to memorialise the past. As Stern suggests, nostalgic brand marcoms provide a record of an idealised, fictionalised and sanitised past which allows "*escape from a problem-laden present*" (1992a, p.20). The record serves to bind a generation together, and, as the findings showed, acts as a tangible reminder of the past in conversations with other generations. However, more than that, the findings suggest that such brand marcoms preserve and re-

articulate the past, commemorating the times and places that are now considered worthy. It would seem that the specifics of nostalgic appeals are tightly linked to particular generations of consumers. Considering the generation specific dimensions of identity and nostalgia, the findings also raise some questions for brand owners regarding target audiences and age differences. For example, how do younger generations understand nostalgia that does not relate to their age group? What does this mean for brands?

Other aspects of New Zealandness relating to narratives were also apparent in the findings. New Zealand identity narratives were reported by the women participants to have a predominance of male interests and concerns. Their conclusion was that brand narratives, in many ways, reproduce the sense that New Zealand identity is homo-centric. Furthermore, it would seem that brand stories are likely to perpetuate the status quo, and do not have strong reasons to do otherwise. Another aspect of narratives, according to some participants, is that the narratives of a nation such as New Zealand are quite distinct, despite the many outward similarities in culture, say compared to Australia. For example, New Zealand identity narratives are underpinned by egalitarian notions, of everyone helping everyone else, of no one being too good to join in with the common person, team and community spirit, the crew myth. There is also John Mulgan's 'Man Alone' archetype, the "*solitary, rootless, non-conformist*" (McCormick 1959, cited in Benson 1998). On the other hand, New Zealand does not have a colonial outlaw ethos; there is no Wild West, Robin Hood or Ned Kelly (Australian folk hero) story. The distinctiveness of a nation's foundational narratives has some interesting implications for brand owners as their brands' stories play to audiences outside their own borders. There are opportunities for future research to develop the topic of brand narratives in export markets, especially regarding the power of brand stories where culture is similar but national stories are not.

5.8 Methodological Issues

The literature suggests brands are an ideologically loaded issue and consumers have particular ideas on how they *should* relate to brands (Bengtsson and Ostberg 2006). In designing this study, the expectation was that investigating how brands affect identity would be a sensitive issue, potentially subject to social desirability biases. This proved to be the case, as evidenced by the tendency for participants to initially underreport a range of behaviours that were of particular interest in this study. However, the chosen method allowed the researcher to probe further and to generate responses that advanced beyond politically correct discourse. The two part method, incorporating the pair interview approach, was very successful in eliciting original and rich responses on topics such as television and advertising viewing behaviours, and brands. The discussion that follows evaluates the findings with respect to these sensitive topics.

Admitting to watching advertisements on television or consuming other types of brand marcoms was apparently considered to be undesirable and would be viewed unfavourably by others. (The reader is referred back to the findings in section 4.9.1). The participants generally positioned themselves as very light consumers of television programmes, and, through various channel surfing and zapping behaviours, as minimal consumers of brand marcoms. Reporting avoidance of brand marketing messages appeared to be implicit as best practice, at least for the women in this study and those that they socialised with. However desirable this ideal might be, it was clear that participants did in fact consume brand stories during the course of media consumption. Furthermore, the qualitative methods used in this study managed to get beyond prepared default responses such as “*I hardly ever see the ads*”.

Discussing brands and their stories with other people was not a behaviour participants willingly recalled or admitted to. However, despite having reservations, the participants eventually revealed a variety of interactions with other people regarding brands and their stories, as summarised in section 5.3.6. Again, probing techniques in combination with the use of friendship pairs allowed the participants to reveal behaviours that they had originally denied (refer to findings in sections 4.9.1 and 4.9.2). Before proceeding, it must be stressed that this unwillingness/unmentionable aspect related to *brands* and *brand stories*; it did not relate to discussions of actual *products* and *services*, consumption patterns, features and

benefits, pricing deals, retailer offerings and other informative aspects of brand marcoms. Discussions on such topics, prompted by direct or mediated brand consumption experiences, were freely admitted as they were focussed on acceptable conversational material.

With respect to brands and brand stories, there could be various reasons for participants being reluctant to recall discussing them with other people. Firstly, for some people brand stories, as conversational topics, are not quite *de rigueur*, unless there is some special justification for deviating from common practice. According to the findings, participants felt they had permission to discuss brand stories if they were already the subject of public debate. This occurs, for example, when brand marcoms become the subject of publicised complaints to the Advertising Standards Authority, get nominated as the best or worst ad in the Fair Go Ad Awards¹⁹ or generally gain notoriety in the media through particularly outrageous or humorous content. If everyone else is talking about it, then discussion about brand marcoms is acceptable.

Another explanation for not recalling discussions about brands could be that, compared to other weightier or worthier topics, ephemeral brand narratives and imagery are sometimes scarcely registered. Brand stories constitute common mass culture that is embedded and familiar, often consumed in a perfunctory way. Furthermore, prevailing cultural conceptions of brands mean that marcoms are popularly recognised simply as persuasive commercial devices (Friestad and Wright 1995), rather than as works of visual art (such as photography) in the manner outlined by Schroeder (2002). Thus, another possibility could be that the participants in this study were not as skilled or used to making aesthetic responses to visuals and stories attached to brands, or sharing responses with others, as they would be in discussing a new movie or book.

In summary, the discussion in this section has confirmed the actuality of some cultural issues relating to brand marcoms consumption that were addressed in the research design. The particular cultural frames used by consumers, when thinking about brands, were considered in advance in order to generate useful consumer insights into how brands affect national

¹⁹ This is a consumer affairs television programme that makes annual awards for best and worst in advertising.

identity. Thus, social desirability biases were mitigated through the use of an appropriate research method.

5.9 Summary of Discussion Chapter

This discussion chapter has demonstrated to the reader, firstly, how the findings answer the research questions. Secondly, the wider findings have been discussed with reference to the inter-disciplinary literature review provided in chapter two. Finally, a discussion of methodological issues that impacted on the ability of the study to address the research questions has been offered.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Overview

This final chapter provides conclusions, a discussion of the contributions of this thesis and implications for practitioners. It also addresses limitations of this study and proposes a future research agenda. However, in order to frame the conclusions chapter, a recap of this interpretive study of consumers' lived experiences of brand and national identity is provided.

The overall objectives of this study were:

1. To understand the role that brand experiences play in national identity.
2. To develop theory that expands our understanding of brands as experiential entities for use in national identity projects.

The research objectives were addressed through a series of activities which included the generation of autobiographical life-history narratives, depth interviews with 10 friendship pairs of consumers and the production of co-created narratives in response to familiar television advertisements, using a hermeneutic approach to analysis and sense making. The study employed narrative analysis and was guided by two specific research questions:

1. How do consumers experience national identity in brand communications?
2. What are the social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences?

6.2 Conclusions

The conclusions that follow reflect on the overall academic research project. Achievements regarding the research objectives are analysed. General conclusions relating to the worthiness of the topic, the approach taken and the intellectual processes used are presented. A more

specific exposition of the theoretical and methodological contributions, and implications for practitioners is offered in subsequent sections.

The first objective of understanding the role that brand experiences play in national identity has been achieved, particularly with respect to brand marcoms consumption and the social processes that they facilitate. While the findings regarding consumer experiences of national identity in brand marcoms confirmed accepted knowledge in the wider (non-marketing) literature, the social processes constitute a relationship between brands and national identity that was not known to exist, giving rise to new theoretical insights. Thus, the second objective of developing theory that expands our understanding of brands as experiential entities for use in national identity projects has also been achieved.

This thesis has taken concepts from the literatures of history, sociology, cultural studies, film, television, and media—which are purely conceptual but have importance and potency—and tied them together with marketing and consumer research on brands, communities and identities. Based on the extensive evidence from various journals devoted to the specialist topic, national identity is a highly relevant, contemporary form of consumer identity. The marketing literature reports several studies into brands and different types of cultural identity, such as queer identity (Kates 2004), regional identity (Thompson and Tian 2008) and transnational identity (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008); others have examined phenomena such as Irish (and other national) themed pubs (Brown and Patterson 2000). However, while marketing and consumer research is somewhat concerned with the connections between brands and identity, there is a significant gap in the extant literature, such that virtually nothing has been published regarding national identity and brands. On the other hand, in theory, according to the wider literature, there is an expectation that national identity is impacted by brands, particularly by the narratives in their advertisements. The unique perspective offered in this thesis combines inter-disciplinary concepts, and moves forward by developing insights into national identity and brands from the point of view of the consumer.

It is interesting to speculate why researchers have not already considered the linkage between brands and national identity. Early research into brands cast a marketing management/brand owner lens over branding issues. The trend towards employing interpretive methods and considering consumer uses of brands has coincided with accelerating globalisation and the reduction in barriers between national borders. Not surprisingly, there has been a shift in

mindset, such that national boundaries are often viewed as irrelevant to consumers in highly industrialised nations, and thus, national identity has diminished as a potentially interesting consumer construct. From a business perspective, brand practitioners have been focusing on global opportunities and the similarities, rather than differences, between national markets. Furthermore, as Holt (2004) suggests, models of marketing best practice promote branding activities in most organisational environments that are not orientated towards national myths and cultural identities. It would seem that few marketing and consumer researchers have seriously considered that national identity might be a consumer construct worthy of study.

Having identified national identity as a matter of interest, this study's methodology was designed to elaborate the role of brands in consumer's lives and capture the consumer experience of brands within a social context. In the spirit of the brand culture perspective (Schroeder and Salzer-Mörling 2006), particular emphasis was placed on investigating brand consumption experiences in a meaningful communal situation because this more fully simulates actual experiences situated in social milieux. The methodological importance of this study is tied to the development of the two-part interview method. Of particular significance was the systematised friendship pair interview approach (previously reported by others) which was extensively used in this study to provide a powerful means of exploring communal issues, and especially allowed social processes to be investigated. This method offered some unique potential in terms of data generation and analysis, including the cross-checking of emergent themes with both members of the dyad. As discussed earlier, the friendship pair interview approach has been reported in only a small number of marketing and consumer research studies.

The research aimed to theorise the way that consumers utilise brand narratives for their own purposes, with reference to the desire to create and re-create a sense of personal purpose and belonging within a national group. Clearly, the potential for brands to contribute to national community projects has been established in this thesis. Although brands have not previously been credited with contributing to productive and enabling forces within society, this study has provided evidence that brands contribute to national identity, a stabilising force that contributes a sense of security and meaning to consumers' lives. The idea that brands, through their marcoms, are used by consumers in negotiating and imagining their national community is new and hints at opportunities for brand owners and their advertising agencies

as they consider how they might be more sensitive to consumption experiences and consumer uses of brand advertising.

An important aspect of this research design has been the inclusion of both local brands and recognised foreign brands. Clearly, both local and foreign brands can play a part in experiencing national identity. At least one foreign brand was deliberately incorporated in the viewing schedule for each friendship pair interview, which generated interesting commentary. However, the most powerful evidence of multi-national brands contributing to New Zealand national identity came unprompted in both part one and part two of the interviews. More than anything, this finding highlights the potency of brand narratives, showing how brands can deliver stories that resonate with national community, and that can allow national identity to be re-experienced.

The potential for brands to assist defined communities (other than the types of brand communities referred to by Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001) and help in the outward expression and celebration of key community values has already been described by Kates (2006). This study takes Kates' ideas further and builds on Elliott and Wattanasuwan's (1998) model, providing evidence of brands as a resource for assisting consumers in discursive reproduction and negotiation of national identity, inter-generational transfer of national identity, acculturation processes, and maintenance of national identity boundaries. The inter-personal processes facilitated by brands are an extension of Ritson and Elliott's (1999) concept of the social uses aspect of advertising. As the evidence shows, brands impact on the formation of one's national identity without necessarily being experienced firsthand by the personal self.

This study leads to the conclusion that brand narratives can be strongly aligned with the foundational narratives of the nation. Through their stories, brands become active cultural agents of national identity. Thus, brands are potentially more powerful resources than previously imagined. The strength of brand narratives as vehicles driving national identity is not only interesting from a consumer identity perspective; it is a completely unrecognised asset that brand owners may be able to harness. Furthermore, public agencies tasked with building national identity may be able to use brand narratives to greater advantage, celebrating the heritage and stories of brands that are locally loved.

New brand theory has been developed from a consumer experience study situated in a particular context. The new theory is underpinned by a broad range of cross-disciplinary theory. While the findings in this research relate to the specific national context, the thesis has theoretical relevance to both researchers and practitioners beyond any particular national market context. This interpretive study takes a perspectival view and does not claim that the findings are objective or exhaustive. The aim has been to show that the results are supportable and to generate new theory which can be tested by others. The quality of this research has been dependent on the creation of an overall narrative which best vivifies the experiences affecting consumers. Findings have been presented with confidence because trustworthy and defensible research processes have been used.

6.3 Theoretical Contributions

This study makes a number of theoretical contributions which are listed and then more fully discussed. Contributions include:

1. development of theory that brand experiences affect national identity and feelings of belonging through four social processes;
2. conceptualisation of brands as repositories of national stories and as active agents of national identity;
3. expansion of iconic brands conceptualisation to include family consumption heritage and intergenerational usage influences;
4. elaboration of Elliott and Wattanasuwan's (1998) model, specifically relating to brand consumption experiences that impact on the social self;
5. elaboration of what consumers do with brands;
6. elaboration of how brand consumption rituals affect national identity;
7. confirmation that imagery and narratives of national identity are provided by brand resources;
8. evidence that national identity is experienced by consumers of brand imagery and narratives;

9. evidence that foreign brands can provide local national identity narratives and imagery;
10. evidence that brand marcoms function as a script for consumer experience;
11. generation of a five part categorisation of national identity framework comprising myths; collective values and rituals; psychological characteristics and national stereotypes; attachment to place; and popular symbols.

The most important and novel theoretical contribution of this thesis is the development of theory which accounts for the social processes affecting national identity through brands. Discursive reproduction, intergenerational transfer, acculturation and national identity boundary work have all been identified as those processes affecting national identity. The new theory posits that brand consumption experiences permit, support and impact on the social connections and relationships with other people in a national community.

This study has brought into focus the role that brands play in the nation, as treasure-houses that capture national stories. It has also highlighted that, whether or not society feels that brands *should* play such a role, it is clear that brands *do* play that role. Brands, through their narratives, actively affect national identity and represent powerful cultural agents, embedded in the everyday life of the consuming nation.

Another theoretical contribution is made by revisioning Holt's (2004) conceptualisation of iconic brands. This study has shown that the concept of iconic brands is broader than articulated in the literature. What is new is the insight that consumers define iconicity according to the power and resonance of iconic brand consumption experiences in society and the role that the brands play in everyday life. In addition, this study points to the differences between global and locally iconic brands.

The model of 'Consumption and the Symbolic Project of the Self,' proposed by Elliott and Wattanasuwan (1998), has been the springboard for launching into a deeper understanding of how brand consumption experiences impact on the social self. This study makes a theoretical contribution by exploring shared social selves (national selves) and the brand generated national 'communitas' (Arnould and Price 1993) resulting from the consumption of mediated brand resources.

This thesis contributes to theory regarding what consumers do with brands. It is one of only a small number of studies of brand advertising consumption where the focus is on consumers as interpreters with non-purchase intentions. The entire range of findings offers numerous contextualised insights into how consumers utilise brand narratives for their own purposes. In particular, this study expands understanding of brands as experiential entities used by consumers in national identity projects.

Another novel contribution of this study comes from the finding that brand consumption rituals provide the means for experiencing national identity. New insights were provided regarding the role of specific brand stories, memories attached to brands and shared consumption occasions when hosting family functions and on gift giving occasions. This study also makes a small contribution to knowledge by elaborating important rituals surrounding New Zealand brand consumption.

Findings in this study provided evidence, confirming the theoretical prediction, that imagery and narratives of national identity are provided by brand resources. Following on from this point, the study contributes to knowledge by demonstrating that consumers recognise imagery and narratives of national identity provided by brand marcoms and experience national identity as a result of such brand marcoms consumption. The study highlights the feelings of belonging that are engendered through consumption and thus moves beyond existing understanding of brand marcoms merely embedded in culture and reflecting national culture.

This research is more than a study of local brands and the impact of local manufacturing heritage. It makes a contribution to theory regarding multi-national brands, showing that foreign brands can provide local national identity narratives and imagery. The findings provide clear evidence that brands with known and recognised foreign origins are not precluded from being used by New Zealand consumers as resources for national identity projects.

Another contribution of this study came from the finding that brand marcoms function as a script for consumer experience, particularly relating to experiences of national identity. This insight builds on Ritson and Elliott's (1999) study regarding the social uses of advertising amongst adolescents, demonstrating social uses of advertising in a different age cohort and

for different, national identity social purposes (and employing the processes of discursive reproduction, intergenerational transfer, acculturation and national identity boundary work).

The last theoretical contribution relates to the five part categorisation of national identity which was developed for this study. While this is not strictly a contribution to branding or marketing theory, it provides a more complete articulation of how New Zealand consumers experience national identity than has been provided in academic writing to date. It also provides a framework which may be used for other studies of lived experiences of New Zealand national identity, whether they are consumption experiences or related to other dimensions of existence.

6.4 Methodological Contributions

This study makes several methodological contributions which are listed and then more fully discussed. This study:

1. articulates theory building using introspective narrative methods;
2. develops a two-part interview procedure;
3. uses friendship pairs in-depth interviews.

The foremost methodological contribution of this thesis lies in the articulation of the philosophical issues of introspection and narrative construction central to building theory. This research made extensive use of a disciplined approach to introspection and the researcher has reflected on the way that introspection is deeply embedded in entire research projects. The role of the researcher as a key informant of the study, whether through the formalised collection of introspection by the researcher in narrative mode or in more unconscious informal ways, has been highlighted in this study. Using different types of introspections and being reflexive, methodically thinking about thinking, has added richness to the findings.

Another contribution is the unique two part depth interview procedure developed by the researcher to create access to consumers' lived experiences of brands and national identity. This powerful protocol captured national identity through the provision of autobiographical narratives. It then provided a context for 'real' social interaction between consumers, facilitating conversations between friends about familiar advertisements and brands. Each of the two parts, taken on their own, makes a novel and powerful methodological contribution.

The life history narrative technique does not appear to be employed in studies published in consumer research, branding or wider marketing literature. Furthermore, it had the advantage of truly allowing individual participants to tell their own life story as it related to New Zealand identity, so that personal experiences emerged in a way that could highlight both individualised and common experiences. Overall, using narrative approaches in this manner has made a worthy methodological contribution.

The use of friendship pair depth interviews combined with prior autobiographical interviews makes a novel methodological contribution. As evidenced in the findings and in prior studies (see, Banister and Hogg 2001, 2004; Bayley and Nancarrow 1998; Hindmarch et al. 2005), friendship pairs have the advantage of generating conversation independent of the researcher's probes or agenda. Thus, the researcher is placed in a more powerful position, being both an observer and participant in the interviews. This is especially the case when prior 'benchmarking' individual interviews (such as the collection of autobiographical narratives) have been conducted earlier. This friendship pairs approach has considerable potential as a method for other researchers interested in generating narratives that capture normal social interactions and has been the subject of significant favourable comment in feedback received by the researcher regarding articles under review.

The friendship pair interview technique is scarcely reported in consumer research and marketing academic literature, with most studies focusing on children, young people and dysfunctional or vulnerable populations of interest to nursing, family studies, social psychology and education researchers. The limitation of many studies that aim to investigate social processes and interactions between adults is that they actually study individuals removed from any social context, thus not capturing the richness of normal social interactions. The use of friendship pair depth interviews to investigate social processes affecting national identity through brand experiences overcomes this weakness to a large extent. Another successful feature of the friendship pair interview technique was the effect of one friend's disclosure of brand themed conversations in encouraging a more reticent friend. Once one person had revealed an occasion when they had discussed New Zealandness in brand ads with people, the other in the friendship pair became more willing to admit something similar. Discussions between friendship pairs got 'the ball rolling' when perhaps a

single participant would not have provided such fulsome responses to the researcher (if indeed they admitted to any brand resourced conversations with others at all).

The two part technique added richness to expressions of national identity. Most autobiographical narratives captured positive and successful dimensions of New Zealand identity that participants were proud of. To a certain extent these narratives might have been somewhat sanitised, politically correct expressions of national identity reflecting an expected heroic view—putting a good face on things. More critical and negative dimensions of national identity were exposed during joint discussions, as introspection progressed from the self to the wider community. Analysis of pair conversations revealed personal attitudes and behaviours pertinent to national identity relating to racism, drinking, political correctness, male domination in society and the nature of personal relationships that were not evident in autobiographical narratives.

A further methodological contribution was the inclusion of a member checking process that involved feeding back emergent interpretations to the participants, as well as offering the opportunity to discuss, edit or expand on their original contributions. Branding studies rarely report such a procedure whose benefits include extending the process of meaning making and interpretation, enhancing the analysis, improving the rigour of the study, and respecting the contribution of the participants. In this study, where participants were interviewed both singly and in pairs, feedback from individuals after their paired interview added richness as the participants reflected on their contribution with the friend. As far as is known, this follow-up of friendship pair interviews has not been reported in the marketing and consumer research literature before and as such represents a novel methodological contribution.

6.5 Implications for Practitioners

Implications for practitioners and the wider community are listed, followed by a discussion of these issues, and the ‘real world’ relevance and contribution of the study. This study:

1. provides insights for brand owners into leveraging brands further through intensifying brand messages and enhancing consumer reception, since a brand’s agents are responsible for providing stories, the usable past and pre-scripted ways of talking about national identity;
2. concludes that brand marcoms creators could benefit from utilising socio-cultural readings of brands with respect to national identity, including understanding the role of brand stories and brand consumption in national consumer rituals;
3. concludes that brand owners should consider aspects of national identity and the power of their brand stories used in other markets, where culture is similar but national stories are not;
4. generates insights for 100% Pure New Zealand campaigns, relating to the benefits derived from considering the alignment between expressions of national identity and their brand;
5. recognises the role of brands as active cultural agents of national identity and thus, has implications for Governments, policy makers and institutions looking toward nation building exercises;

A key message for brand owners from this study is that consumers can derive value from brands in ways that were previously unknown, that is, in recreating national identity. The study points to the potential benefits that may be derived from being conscious of the role that brand marcoms can play in national identity. The researcher has clearly outlined four social processes where consumers utilise brand resources to affect national identity; in particular, the matter of intergenerational transfer is one that has real potential for brand owners as they build long term loyalty towards their brand with successive generations of consumers. The findings also underscore the important role and significance of brand marcoms as a widely accessible cultural resource affecting national identity. So far, most brands have only unwittingly contributed to national identities and have yet to take conscious

advantage of this pre-eminent position as the supplier of nationally useful narratives that make memories of the past accessible, and as provider of conversational agendas.

Following on from the implications above, this study draws attention to the need for creatives, and others involved in the process of developing advertisements, to utilise more socio-cultural readings of brands as resources. A more informed and deliberate approach might be of real benefit to both consumers and brand owners as they move towards understanding elements of national identity that are central to a national community. If advertisers were to understand which parts of usable past could be used or conceived as being usable at any particular time that would also benefit brands. Furthermore, the study has identified that consumption heritage, and the rituals surrounding brand consumption, constitute dimensions of consumer value that are important although underplayed in the trade press and practitioner publications. As such, this represents a new avenue to consider in any brand equity building programme.

The real world relevance of this study extends further than consideration of domestic markets. There are implications for brand owners as they enter foreign markets and utilise marcoms that were more or less designed with the home market in mind. This study emphasises the particular narratives of identity within a national market and participants have clearly expressed their distaste for stories that 'are not us'. This would seem to suggest that as they develop new national markets, brand owners should take particular care with their marcoms, and either incorporate appropriate national narratives or remove trace of offending ones. Again, this would require the brand owner and its agents to utilise socio-cultural readings of brands in each of the markets they enter.

There are some interesting implications for brand New Zealand and the 100% Pure New Zealand campaigns arising from this study. The previous Labour Government had a policy of building New Zealand national identity through various cultural strategies, and through the development of New Zealand as a tourism brand, from 1999 onwards. As their website suggests, "*100% Pure New Zealand was designed to bring the core aspects of what makes New Zealand unique back onto centre stage*" <http://10yearsyoung.tourismnewzealand.com/>. While the 100% Pure New Zealand campaigns have had an outward focus, playing to audiences in key foreign target markets, there is high brand awareness in the local population. Various aspects of the campaign have generated positive publicity and pride in New Zealand,

including the America's Cup activities, Lord of the Rings success, the giant rugby ball venue in Paris, exhibitions at the Chelsea Flower Show and the World of Wearable Arts Award Show. The expectation in this study was that participants would consider themselves to be an exemplar of brand New Zealand, that is to say, that connections between their expressions of national identity and the 100% Pure New Zealand campaigns would be made. However, somewhat surprisingly, this was not the case in the interviews and it leaves open the question of whether those who help deliver New Zealand tourism experiences (the local population) are in accord with what is being promised externally.

The reconceptualisation of brands as active agents of national identity has implications for governments and policy makers as they look toward nation building exercises. Government agencies and non-governmental organisations (such as the Carnegie Council in the US) have already realised the benefit of utilising cultural artefacts to highlight a usable past, drawing a nation together. However, since brands are active cultural agents of national identity there is real potential for brands and their marcoms to feature strongly in museum exhibitions, events, Ministry of Culture and Heritage publications and websites etc. While this study has implications for the curators who support cultural experiences and preserve national heritage, there are also real opportunities for brand owners to manage their brands in such a way as to facilitate national culture and to promote ways of re-experiencing national identity through their brands. If brands took their role in national identity seriously, they could design their annual marcoms plans to incorporate some relevant and appropriate consumer activities, collaborating with national cultural heritage strategists and administrators. Such an approach would be a win-win strategy, providing consumers with added value, reinforcing national identity and strengthening brand equity at the same time.

Even though society may have a slight sense that brands *should* not be part of the national identity landscape, the evidence is clear that, in the New Zealand setting at least, brands are significant cultural markers. Kiwiana makes quite extensive use of brands whose stories are a testament to inventiveness, innovation, entrepreneurship and New Zealand national values—for example, Four Square²⁰, Crown Lynn²¹, Wattie's tomato sauce, L&P, All Blacks, Red

²⁰ Four Square is known as a chain of small supermarkets, recognised by the iconic Mr Four Square symbol.

²¹ Crown Lynn is known as a ceramics manufacturer famous for its utilitarian tableware.

bands gumboots and summers at the beach with Tip Top. It is up to brand owners to understand the true experiential value of their brand in a national context and to leverage whatever national status they already have for the benefit of all stakeholders.

6.6 Limitations

The limitations of this thesis stem from several factors. Firstly, the scope of this study is limited by the fact that findings are drawn from interviews with 20 women in a particular demographic cohort from the wider Auckland region. National identity was studied within a single market, the New Zealand context. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the effect of brands on national identity is an under-developed research area. Thus, exploratory research whose emphasis was discovery oriented was appropriate. An in-depth examination of participants' life stories provided a richly contextualised understanding of experiences of New Zealand national identity and brands. The researcher makes no claim that the findings are generalisable to the wider population in New Zealand or further afield; generalisations are made to theory. Findings from the deep insights into consumers' lives have been linked to theory and used to generate theory.

Secondly, compared to fully immersed ethnographic fieldwork, interviews were a restricted means of gathering data. However well planned and conducted interviews were, the encounters did not necessarily mimic real life with respect to either the relevance or recall of focal brands or the quality of the social interaction. Intense and prolonged ethnographic approaches where observation of typically banal everyday life would be conducted might have offered a more naturalistic setting and provided even more compelling answers to the research questions posed (Miles and Huberman 1994). However, there are trade-offs between interviews and ethnographic field work in terms of time taken and expense to adequately address the aims of the study. On balance, the two-part interview approach, where participants were in their own home environment, was judged to offer many advantages and to be the better option for this project.

There are limitations in this study relating to difficulties of capturing details of discussions between consumers relating to the use of brand communications as conversational resources. Since admitting to brands having use or cultural relevance may be tantamount to admitting moral bankruptcy and intellectual shallowness for some consumers, there are inherent

problems in getting beyond the culturally accepted ways of relating to brands (Bengtsson and Ostberg 2006). The method used in this study was designed to reduce participants' sensitivity to the issue. Specific measures were taken, such as talking about advertising (as if it were the focal construct) and making minimal reference to brands in the contact phase and during the first, autobiographical session. During the friendship pair interview a funnel approach was employed (Cavana et al. 2001), starting with broader issues of national identity themes and specific advertisements before venturing into more specific questioning about brands. Overall, the idea was to de-emphasise the importance of brands, letting discussion of them arise naturally until it was absolutely necessary to explicitly mention them. These procedures were designed to mitigate the problems of sensitivity toward an acknowledgment of the personal uses of brands.

While it was not a critical part of this study, there were limited insights into the reported purchase and consumption behaviours surrounding brands nominated for their contribution to feelings of New Zealandness. It seems likely that more extensive probing would have uncovered a greater range of reasons for not buying nominated brands. In particular, it was surprising that, when declaring they did not buy or use their nominated brands, none of the participants mentioned preferred substitute brands. Follow-up questions would most likely have provided useful details and given a broader perspective on brands and feelings of New Zealandness.

The final consideration relates to the limitations of conventional transcription practices in capturing the richness of conversational language. While the researcher/interviewer may have been able to recall the nature of the conversations she was part of, any other person reading the transcripts would miss out on many meaningful details. Given greater time and/or budgetary resources the researcher would have annotated the transcripts to indicate such things the use of singing voices, sound effects made, character voices and to point out where the speaker was speaking to herself. Similarly, time consuming linguistic conventions could have been used to capture other conversational qualities such as when two people were speaking at once, and friendship pair patterns of echoing each other's key words, making other sounds of support and agreement and finishing each other's sentences.

6.7 Future Research

This study offers many potential avenues for future research. One of the most important follow-up studies would be to conduct replications in other national settings. Future collaborations with researchers in Australia—as a neighbouring, geographically isolated nation with similar cultural roots—would enhance the value of the original study. Likewise, studies conducted in other more dissimilar countries, particularly the USA or members of the European Union, would demonstrate that the findings represent more than a single country effect.

This study could be developed further by investigating age and gender impacts on effects of brands on national identity. Males, younger consumers and older consumers are all obvious categories of participants that might provide useful insights into brand experiences and national identity. In particular, little has been reported in the extant literature about gendered readings of brand narratives. Furthermore, intergenerational comparisons within families regarding consumption experiences of brands and the impact on national identity would make an interesting study. Findings would contribute to existing knowledge about intergenerational influences on brands. In addition, studies that broaden the range of participant ages would provide a clearer view on any demographic trends regarding the affect of brands on national identity.

As a contrast to the study of participants who are long standing members of the New Zealand national community, future research might also consider participants who are new immigrants. Findings already indicate brand ads are used by the ‘in-group’ of New Zealanders to acculturate immigrants and visitors. However, little is known of how new immigrants themselves might use these brand resources. Such a study would make a worthwhile contribution regarding the way brands are used for purposes other than the purely commercial ones intended by their owners.

The enduring impact of brands on the national identity of diasporic consumers is another important issue worthy of future research. Little is known about the importance of brands in maintaining national identity in a context set apart from the homeland nation, either in terms of direct or mediated consumption. As brand experiences become progressively more computer mediated, the potential for studying the specific impact of digital communications

also increases. Studies focused on online brand experiences would be of value in understanding how national identity is impacted, for both residents and members of diaspora.

Apart from research with participants that differ in some way from the original study, there are many other opportunities for researching brands and national identity. Further studies should be undertaken to answer questions such as: What is the relationship between national identity and the brands that are advertised with respect to sales and consumption? There are broad questions to be answered regarding the role that the entire range of a brand's marketing communication programme plays in creating value for consumers and for brands. Further research is needed to evaluate not just ads but celebrity endorsement arrangements, sponsorship, product placement in movies and well coordinated publicity activities that strengthen brand stories and are relevant to the nation. The development of brand narratives that contribute to national identity is under researched. More work is needed to address the role of brand marketing communications in offering fragments which form part of the wider social milieu of resources that surround consumers and contribute to identity projects. Such research would add to the understanding of what consumers do with brands.

There is real potential for further research into aspects of iconic brands, including the iconic brands of a country. Historical case research could be used to answer such questions as 'When do brands become popularly known as iconic national brands?' Public and media discourse analysis could be used to trace the evolution of specific brand stories that have developed significance for national identity, to answer the question of how narratives for iconic brands develop. More research is needed to understand the importance of consumer consumption heritage in creating iconic brands.

There is also future research potential for reanalysing the existing interviews with a view to developing greater understanding of discursive constructions of national identity. A more detailed study of the linguistic features and narrative constructions would be possible, especially if the original transcripts were annotated using linguistic conventions. The contribution of such a study would be in revealing more details of the discursive strategies and linguistic devices used to construct both national uniqueness and differences with respect to other nations. Finally, future studies of brands and national identity might also employ a critical discourse analysis approach to investigate the way that ads for nationally iconic brands reproduce (or resist) social and political inequality, power abuse or domination.

6.8 Final Conclusions

In conclusion, this study has done what it set out to achieve. An entirely original idea has been fully investigated. The thesis, that brands affect national identity, has been put forward and discussed in a logical manner. A comprehensive review of theories from marketing and consumer research literature, cross-fertilised by concepts from several other disciplines, has been developed to provide a foundation for the study. The objectives of this doctoral research have been accomplished by addressing specific, clearly defined research questions. This thesis makes an original academic contribution to knowledge in the field of branding, and enlarges what is known about what consumers do with brands. It makes specific and substantial theoretical contributions by establishing new links between existing ideas and areas of knowledge. In particular, this thesis offers new theory regarding the social processes that affect national identity through brand consumption.

This thesis also contributes innovations in research design and methodology using a creative approach to meeting particular challenges in data collection. An appropriate and ethical research design has been used to collect and analyse data. The strengths and limitations of the methodology have been justified and discussed, particularly with respect to the philosophical issues of introspection and narrative construction. The method has been explained in sufficient detail that it is easily replicable by another researcher. The two part depth interview procedure, involving autobiographical narratives and friendship pair interviews, constitutes an original methodological contribution. Sound and appropriate conclusions have been drawn from the data. The claims made in this thesis are based on strong evidence, examples of which have been provided for the reader. Limitations of the study and its findings have been acknowledged and directions for future research have also been considered.

Many of the ideas in this thesis have already undergone academic scrutiny through double blind peer review at international conferences and journals. One paper has been published in a journal (Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver 2010), and another is forthcoming (Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver 2011). Four refereed conference papers have been presented in Europe, the United States and Australia, and published in full via conference proceedings. Thus, there is clear, independent evidence of the academic contribution made by this thesis research.

However, this thesis has value beyond academia. The study has strong foundations in ‘real world’ branding, being informed by contemporary advertising industry practitioners, and utilising a wide range of actual brands and their recent marketing communications. Furthermore, the study’s participants were drawn from society beyond the university and the often researched student body. The findings of this research have implications for professional practice, relating to both brand management and marketing communications organisations. While the study has direct implications for the New Zealand market, the findings are relevant to brand owners everywhere as they look outside their own borders and seek to understand the power of their brands in other national markets. Finally, the study has implications for social policy as governments seek to build stability and social cohesion through the development of national identity. The role of brands as part of the national identity landscape has been established and the question of how brands affect national identity has been answered. Brands become active cultural agents of national identity.

RESEARCH INTO NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ADVERTISING

Interview Guide

Interview Type One:

This is intended to prompt an initial auto-biographical narrative focusing on experiences of national identity.

Tell me your story of being a New Zealander and the things and experiences that are important to your New Zealand identity. Start wherever you like. Please take the time you need. I won't interrupt. I'll just take some notes for afterwards.

Follow up on points of interest, clarifying experiences of national identity and fitting into a New Zealander mould

Possible follow-up questions

Describe < point of interest >

Tell me about < experience >

Tell me a bit more about < experience >

- Tell me the stories we tell other people about NZ
- Tell me about things that symbolise NZ
- Tell me about the typical New Zealander - their personality & characteristics
- Tell me about stereotype New Zealanders
- Tell me about New Zealand values and kiwi culture
- Tell me about places that are important to you
- What about places that suggest "New Zealandness"

Do you have any further comments?

Is there anything you would like to add?

Finally, may I record your age and occupation please?

(If it has not already been volunteered during the course of the interview)

Thank you very much sharing your experiences with me and giving up your time today. I am very grateful to you for assisting me in my research.

Interview Type Two:

The second interview will be semi-structured. The researcher will have posted each of the two friends a summary of the key themes of national identity that arose from their own life story interview. They will be asked: *Have I got the key themes from your story right? What else should I add or change?*

Review and comparison of NZ identity story interviews

Ensure participants are briefed that this is essentially them talking to each other and discussing things. Should be seated so that they can talk to each other easily and see the screen.

At the time of the 2nd interview, follow up with collating their feedback/revisions etc.

Give them the key themes summary from their friend's story & let them read it.

1. *When you compare the summaries, how are your key themes similar and different?*
BOTH

Probe about any differences [tailor to suit the situation, being sensitive to any potential discomfort or embarrassment] – No real differences in opinions – only differences due to omission? Discuss the reasoning behind apparently conflicting views? Can they resolve the differences? Agree to differ?

Analysis of TVCs – repeat 6 times. (Must include a non NZ owned brand – McDonalds, Dulux, Toyota, Mitre 10 Mega)

Now I have some advertisements for us to look at. I'd like you to keep in mind the key themes from both your stories. SHOW TVC

2. *Do you think that any of the key themes are included in the ad?*

Possible follow-up questions

Which ones?

How are the themes included in the ad?

Probe/exhaust: Which other themes from your stories are included?

How....?

- 3. Do you think <brand> has been successful in suggesting New Zealandness in a way that matches up with your key themes?*

Possible follow-up questions

How/ not? What makes you think so?

(If needed, Is there a significant moment in the ad when New Zealandness is suggested?)

END – REPEAT for next TVC

Brands and NID

- 4. Can you think of some (other) brands which help you feel the way you do about New Zealandness? Note them down to discuss later*
- 5. Thinking about those brands, have the stories in the ads for these brands changed over the years? (Could rephrase: story = summary of what the ad is about)*
- 6. Have the changing ad stories in some way affected your thoughts on New Zealandness? If so, how.*
- 7. Do you talk to other people about the stories in ads? If so, discuss (Why do you talk to some people and not others?)*
- 8. In talking to your family, friends or workmates, have you ever commented on New Zealandness in ads? If yes, what were your comments?*

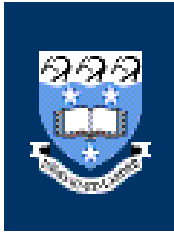
Follow-up brand questions

You mentioned <brand> before (Q4). Do you use it or buy it?

(Follow-up all brands mentioned)

Is your use/purchase linked to a feeling of New Zealandness that you get from this brand?

If so, describe this (the linkage).



Department of Marketing

The University of Auckland

Private Bag 92019

CONSUMER PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

RESEARCH INTO NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ADVERTISING

My name is Sandy Bulmer. I am a student at The University of Auckland enrolled for a PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) degree in the Department of Marketing.

You are invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my thesis I am conducting research into New Zealand national identity and the expression of national identity in advertising. Right now I am seeking people who are willing and able to spend some time talking with me and telling their point of view.

I would like to discuss your ideas and personal story about being a New Zealander and New Zealand national identity, in a research session which would take up to one and one half hours (90minutes). At a later time I would like to have another discussion with you and a woman friend. In this second session I would like you to talk with your friend and me about New Zealand national identity briefly before discussing some advertisements. I have chosen some well-known television advertisements for the study and these will be presented in story board/poster form for us to analyse. This second research session would also take up to one and one half hours (90minutes). In addition, some time after the second session you will be invited to read through your interview transcripts and to notify me of any changes or omissions. This process may take another 30 minutes. After you have had a chance to read the documents I will contact you and make a note of your comments and feedback and will edit the transcripts accordingly. Any material that you wish to be omitted will be excluded from the study. However you are under no obligation to participate in this study.

Please note that this is a study of personal experiences and opinions. There are no right or wrong answers. I would prefer to audiotape the discussion sessions but this would only be done with your consent (and the consent of your friend). If you wish to have a digital audio copy of your interviews I will provide this for you. After the session you may withdraw from the study at any time up to 28 August 2009.

I will keep everything expressed in the discussions completely confidential. A professional transcription service will be used to convert the audio-tapes into documents. The transcriber(s) will be required to sign an agreement to protect the confidentiality of the research data and the participants. Each participant will be required to consent to maintaining the confidentiality of the interviews in relation to her friend. However, it is not possible to give an absolute guarantee of confidentiality where other people are involved in this project. Audio-tapes and transcriptions will be stored for no more than a period of 6 years from the date of interview, in a locked cabinet in the Department of Marketing at the University of Auckland.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on 10/09/08 for a period of three years. Reference number 2008/275

Individual's names will not be identified in the research report. If the information you provide is reported/published, this will be done in a way that does not identify you as its source. The responses from this study may be used in other advertising studies and may be used for publication purposes.

In recognition of the time commitment required for this research I will make a \$100 donation in your name to a charity that you chose from a list of charities provided. You will receive acknowledgment that the donation has been made as specified. It remains your absolute right to withdraw yourself or your information from the research, irrespective of whether or not my donation has already been made.

If you are interested in finding out more and participating in this study please phone me at either ph (09) 624-3366 after hours or on my mobile (021) 298-7503 OR e-mail me s.bulmer@auckland.ac.nz Alternatively you may fill in the attached consent form and send it to me at the address below.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible.

Sandy Bulmer
Department of Marketing
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142.

My supervisor is:

Associate Professor Margo Buchanan-Oliver
Department of Marketing
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142.

Telephone 373 7599, extension 86898

The Head of Department is:

Professor Rod Brodie
Department of Marketing
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142.

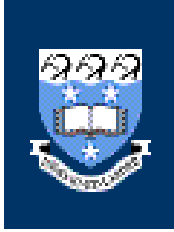
Telephone 373 7599, extension 87523

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:

The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee,
The University of Auckland
Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142.

Telephone 09 373-7599, extension 83711

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on 10/09/08 for a period of three years. Reference number 2008/275



Department of Marketing
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019

CONSUMER CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH INTO NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ADVERTISING

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Researcher: Sandy Bulmer

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

I understand that the results of this study may be used for publication purposes.

I understand that individual's names will not be identified in the research report or in any other publication relating to this study.

I understand that my responses may be used in future advertising studies.

I understand that I may withdraw myself, or any information traceable to me, at any time up to 28/08/09 without giving a reason.

- I agree/do not agree to take part in this research
- I agree/do not agree that the interviews will be audio-taped
- I agree/do not agree that I will keep anything in the interview relating to another person confidential.
- I wish/do not wish to have a digital audio copy of my interviews

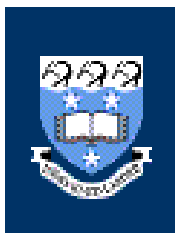
Signed:

Name:

(please print clearly)

Date:

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on 10/09/08 for a period of three years. Reference number 2008/275



Department of Marketing
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019

DONATION TO CHARITY for RESEARCH INTO NATIONAL IDENTITY AND ADVERTISING

Your time and commitment to this research is very much appreciated. By way of thanks for your involvement in this study I will make a \$100 donation to a charity on your behalf and in your name.

- Please choose one of the named organisations on the list below.
- I will send you a letter verifying that your donation has been made as specified.
- It will remain your absolute right to withdraw yourself or your information from the research, irrespective of whether or not the donation has already been made.

	✓ Please tick one
Auckland City Mission	
Cancer Society of New Zealand	
IHC	
National Heart Foundation	
Red Cross New Zealand	
Royal New Zealand Foundation for the Blind	
Royal New Zealand Plunket Society	
Royal New Zealand Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RNZSPCA)	
St John New Zealand	
Surf Life Saving New Zealand	

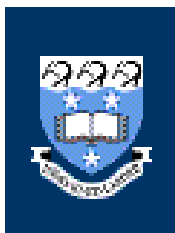
Thank you for your support of my research. *Sandy Bulmer*

Your Name: _____

Your Address: (for the charity to send your receipt)

Date: __/_____/____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on 10/09/08 for a period of three years. Reference number 2008/275



Department of Marketing
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TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

IDENTITY AND ADVERTISING

This research is being undertaken by Sandy Bulmer of the University of Auckland. The purpose of this project is to investigate how brands affect national identity.

I, _____, the Transcriber, agree to:

1. keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the Researcher(s)
2. keep all research information in any form or format (e.g. disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession
3. return all research information in any form or format (e.g. disks, tapes, transcripts) to the Researcher(s) when I have completed the research tasks
4. after consulting with the Researcher(s), erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Researcher(s) (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive)

Transcriber

(print name) (signature) (date)

Researcher(s)

(print name) (signature) (date)

If you have any questions or concerns about this study you may contact the Researcher at:
Sandy Bulmer, Department of Marketing, The University of Auckland

Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Email: s.bulmer@auckland.ac.nz

Mobile telephone: 021 298 7503 Home telephone: 09 624 3366

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE
on 10/09/08 for a period of three years. Reference number 2008/275

Brand: Air New Zealand

TVC title: *Amazing journeys – Grandfather* (1:30)

Launch date: January 2007

Agency: Colenso BBDO

Creative: Steve Cochran

Director: Richard Gibson

Production Company: Lucious International

Composer: Jim Hall @ Soundtrax

Vocalist: Jayne Budai

Script:

Teenage boy: I just don't want to see you anymore. See ya.

Teenage girl: [Weeps]

Lyrics:

Māku e ringiringi kīaka o roimata,
Ara e ahu ana ki te kāinga

I will pour out jugfuls of tears
on the trail that leads to home

Kai te manatu au mo te whenua
O ōku tīpuna ki te kāinga

I am homesick for the land
of the old people of my village

Ka tawhiti atu te kaiwhakamārie
I tōku wairua. Aue, hoki mai!

Far away is the comforter
of my soul. Alas, come back to me!

Kāore e taea te huna
I āku manako mō te kāinga, aue!

I cannot hide
my longing for home, aue!

E awahi reinga,
E awahi tāua.

We embrace with the spirits
when we embrace each other.

Air New Zealand logo

Tagline: *Amazing journeys. Every day.*

Brand: Bell Tea

TVC title: *Bach* (0:45)

Launch date: September 2006

Agency: Work Communications Limited

Creative team: Dave Bolton and Jeremy Littlejohn

Production Company: Silverscreen

Director: David Rittey

Script:

Female Voiceover:

Who comes here now?

Where do they come from?

What brings them here?

Was it always like this?

What are the kisses for?

What is changing?

And what is the tea that listens to our lives?

Now a whole family of teas that know this country inside out.

Tagline: Bell. Teas that know this country inside out.

Brand: DB Export Gold

TVC title: *Over the fence* (1:00)

Brand owner: DB Breweries Limited

Launch date: September 2008

Agency: Saatchi & Saatchi

Production Company: Curious

Director: Josh Frizzell

Music Track: Walkie Talkie Man (2003)

Artist: Steriogram

Lyrics:

Well you're walkin and a talkin
And a movin and a groovin
And a hippin and a hoppin
And a pickin and a boppin
Those bods are being bad
You better take a stand
You gonna wake up that thing in your hand
You're looking all around
There is trouble to be found
Make sure when you find it you get to say it loud
Gotta code three
Need back up
Bring me
My bright red fluoro jacket
[Chorus]
He's fat and he don't run too fast
But he's faster than me
Last night at the show we saw him
Going out of his tree
Well you're walkin and a talkin
You're my walkie talkie man
Well you're walkin and a talkin
Go Go Go Go

Brand: Dulux Colours of New Zealand

TVC title: *Big decision* (1:00)

Brand owner: Orica New Zealand

Launch date: January 2008

Agency: Clemenger BBDO

Production Company: Exposure

Director: Kevin Denholm

Producer: Stephanie Bauer

Script:

Woman: We don't want colours that will date

Man: Yeah. Fair enough.

Woman: What about this one? Piha

Man: Yeah. Maybe. Oh this is interesting. Evans Bay. It's a bit subdued.

Woman: What?

Man: It's a bit subdued. Perhaps K' Road?

Others: I like it. It's quite vibrant.

Man: Lake Wakatipu?

Woman: Yeah. Maybe. This one's called Howick. Maybe come back to that one. Mt Aspiring?

Man: Maybe something a bit warmer?

Woman: Oriental Bay.

Man: yeah. You could put it in the bathroom

Woman: What about this one? Sandfly Point.

Man: yeah. Good name. Maybe as a highlight somewhere. Oh hey. This Pencarrow isn't bad. Goes well with Sandfly Point. Pencarrow. Sandfly Point. Pencarrow

Sandfly Point. Pencarrow Sandfly Point. Pencarrow Sandfly Point. Pencarrow

Woman: Yeah. Yeah that's great. Can you stop doing it so fast?

Man: Oh that was easy.

Woman: Yeah I love it. Now. Kitchen

Voiceover: Colours of New Zealand. Only from Dulux.

Brand: Hellers Sensational 100% New Zealand Bacon

TVC title: *Manuka Smoked* (0:30)

Launch date: November 2006

Agency: UMR

Production Company: Shuriken

Director: Richard Bell

Interviewer: "That Guy" Leigh Hart

Script:

Interviewer:

Nothing beats a bit of bacon. But how can you be sure it's the real deal?

I'm looking for a bacon that's a real slice of New Zealand.

And I think I've found it.

All new Hellers sensational bacon.

Vox pop 1: Very, very nice

Vox pop 2: No. That's lovely bacon.

Vox pop 3: Beautiful

Vox pop 4: Yummy

Vox pop 5: Oh I like this

Interviewer: I was gonna say this.

Vox pop 6: It's good stuff

Vox pop 7: You can taste the smokiness with it

Vox pop 8: Manuka

Vox pop 9: 10/10

Interviewer: So there you have it.

All new Hellers Sensational 100% New Zealand bacon.

It sure as hell is.

Funny that!

Brand: Interislander

TVC title: *Filmed by the Maaka family of Petone* (1:00)

Brand owner: Kiwi Rail New Zealand

Launch date: July 2005

Agency: Saatchi & Saatchi

Film & Sound Editor: Tom Ackroyd

Music track: *Maybe tomorrow*

Artist: Golden Horse

Lyrics:

There's a story I know

We all leave and let go

There is nothing to hold us

In a moment of time

When the fruit becomes wine

And the thought becomes the memory

All of your sorrow

Maybe tomorrow

Will fade away in the air

Trying to please me

Making it easy

It won't be there

It won't be there

In your life

In your life

Brand: Kiwibank

TVC title: *It's ours* (1:00)

Launch date: April 2006

Agency: Ogilvy

Creative Director: Roy Meares

Production Company: Robbers Dog Films

Director: Adam Stevens

Voice: John Clark aka Fred Dagg

Script:

The Big Apple, eh?

The faceless financial hub of the free world

You can smell the greenbacks from here

We're in the finance biz too

But unlike you blokes up there

We like to keep our feet on the ground

Where the people are

Mind you, we did have our cynics

People thinking this Kiwi won't fly

They changed their tune when we took off though

Course, they didn't reckon on the Kiwi spirit

Some in the old school, a bit like you Poms, said "you can't do that"

We just did

And now you Aussie blokes have got your mitts on most of our other banks

We're not going to let our profits sail across the ditch

Oh no

Cos while you're building your multinational financial empires

We're at home coming up with smarter ways to save Kiwis time and cash

Cos we're a Kiwi bank

We like to see our customers right

It's the Kiwi way

And like the bank, it's ours, not yours

Or those other big bankers overseas

A bit like the next rugby world cup actually

Brand: L&P

TVC title: *Bombs* (0:45)

Brand owner: Coca Cola Amatil

Launch date: February 2005

Agency: Meares Taines Creative / Ogilvy

Creative: Jamie Hitchcock and John Lancaster

Production Company: Silverscreen / Robbers Dog

Director: Adam Stevens

Voice: Jemaine Clements

Script:

Back in the day, the place to be all summer was the school pool. Luckily your Mum was on the PTA and had the pool key. So as long as Mr Moore the caretaker hadn't dumped chlorine in that morning you could do some choice bombs. Depth chargers were the best as you always soaked Teresa McKee who had forgotten to take off her glasses and just used to sit on the steps. And wearing your boardies meant not only could you chuck out your man skins you could make a paper bag popping sound when you hit the water. And after that you'd gulp some L&P and cheese and tomato sammies which you ate and drank too quickly which meant you couldn't go swimming for at least an hour. Which was rad 'cos you needed to heat up in the sun anyway. You were there and so was L&P.

World famous in New Zealand since ages ago.

Brand: Mainland Cheese

TVC title: *Four seasons* (1:00)

Brand owner: Fonterra

Launch date: 1993

Agency: Colenso Wellington / Clemenger BBDO

Creative: Hugh Walsh and Chris Martin

Producer: Pat Cox

Script:

Old man voiceover:

I always thought that me and Billy Wallace would be good friends. His folks had the farm next to ours, so we grew up together. Well, we went to school together and played footie together. Then I took over the farm and he went to work for Mainland. So we kept in touch.

Now of course the kids work the farm. So Billy and me have time for a bit more fishing. I always thought me and Billy Wallace would be good friends. But, we'll see. These things take time you know

Pack shot and Logo "premium quality Mainland"

Tagline:

Good things take time.

Brand: McDonalds' Kiwiburger

TVC title: *Kiwiburger* (0:45)

Launch date: Between 1991 - 1995

Agency: DDB

Creatives: Pete Thompson and Michael Faudet

Music: Murray Grindlay based on "*I've been everywhere man*" popularised by John Hore Grennell

Script:

Strapline on screen:

Remember when every hamburger had beetroot?

McDonalds logo

Music lyrics:

Kiwis love,
Hot pools, rugby balls,
McDonalds, snapper schools,
World peace, woolly fleece,
Ronald and raising beasts,
Chilly bins, cricket wins,
Fast skis, golf tees,
Silver ferns, kauri trees,
Kiwiburger, love one please.

Voice over:

McDonalds' Kiwiburger, the classic New Zealand burger.

Cos we love

All Blacks, thermal daks,
Egg and cheese, walking tracks,
Beef pattie, marching girls,
Tomato, lettuce, paua shells,
Gumboots, ponga shoots,
Floppy hats and kiwifruits,
Beetroot, buzzy bees,
Moggy cats and cabbage trees,
Onions, kakapo's,
Kia oras, cheerios,
Jandals, sandals,
Ketchup, Coromandels,
Swanndris, butterflies,
Mustard, fishing flies,
Hokey-pokey, Maori haka,
Kiwiburger, that's our tucker...

Brand: Mitre 10 Mega

TVC title: *Parking lesson* (0:30)

Launch date: August 2004

Agency: FCB/DRAFT

Creative: Murray Watt

Production Company: Silverscreen

Director: Adam Strange

Talent: *Levi Vaoga* (New Zealand's Strongest Man 2001 and 2003)

Script:

Man's voice over:

Meet the man big enough to run the country's biggest home improvement stores.

You name it. He's big on it.

From his tireless supervision of our wide aisle policy

To strict insistence on correct parking etiquette.

And when it comes to DIY know-how. He's huge.

Plus Mega's buying power guarantees the best possible price every day.

Find a lower price and we'll beat it by 10%.

Mitre 10 Mega.

Best range.

Lowest prices.

End of story.

Levi: Big is good!

Brand: NZI

TVC title: *Stealing your stuff* (1:00)

Brand owner: IAG New Zealand Limited

Launch date: March 2006

Agency: Colenso

Creative Director: Richard Maddocks

Copywriter and Art Director: Kimberley Ragan & Rebecca Johnson-Pond

Production Company: Boing Productions

Director: Neil Goodridge

Voice: Oscar Kightley

Script:

Here's some food for thought New Zealand.

In 1926 the great Phar Lap was born down in mighty Timaru.

Less than a year later Australia claimed him for themselves.

Now he's their national icon.

The cheeky sods also stole your favourite band.

Dragon in the 70s, Split Enz in the 80s and Crowded House in the 90s.

Well that's not all. No no!

Rod took off with Rachel before she was nabbed by Robbie.

Who also borrowed a kirituhi from the Maori and chiselled it into his arm.

The Wright brothers stole Pearce's thunder.

Shania snapped up the South Island.

Star Wars took pretty much everyone with two drama classes under their belt and the Swiss took off with Coutts and Butterworth.

The politically correct stole bullrush.

Ireland came over and stole Cullen.

Japan poached Cribb

And the English scarpered off with Spencer, Marshall and Mehrtens.

And don't forget the electric fence, the pavlova, spreadable butter and Dame Kiri.

Let's face it.

Everyone's *always stealing your stuff*.

And that's why you need to insure yourself New Zealand.

And who better to do that than NZI?

Brand: Steinlager Pure

TVC title: *Keep it Pure* (1:00)

Brand owner: Lion Nathan New Zealand Limited

Launch date: July 2007

Agency: Publicis Mojo

Creative: Lachlan McPherson, Nick Worthington, Andy Amadeo

Producer: Jodie Hari

Production: Radical Media, NY

Director: Gary Freedman, Glue Society NY

Music : Rick@Rock Me Baby Studios

Script:

Harvey Keitel: What you say no to will always define you.

You say no to nuclear power, even though you invented it.

You were the first to say no when only men had the right to vote.

When the world said Everest couldn't be conquered you said NO!

And when they said box office hits could only be made in Hollywood

You said no to that too.

Now you're saying no to genetic modification.

I like that.

You even say no to additives in your beer.

It's good to know you take a stand when it counts.

Tagline: No additives.

No preservatives

Brand: Tip Top Trumpet

TV title: *Simplifying Summer – Togs, Undies* (0:30)

Launch date: January 2006

Agency: Colenso

Creative Director: Richard Maddocks

Copywriter and Art Director: David Govier and Levi Slavin

Production Company: The Sweetshop

Director: James Pilkington

Producer: Fiona King.

Director of Photography: Aaron Morton.

Voice: Rob Brydon

Script:

Voice over: Trumpet. Simplifying Summer.

How far away from the beach do togs become undies?

Let's begin...

Togs togs togs...

Togs togs togs...

Togs togs togs...

Undies.

Undies undies...

Undies...

If you can't see the water you're in underpants.

Local supermarkets. Pedestrian crossings.

Office buildings. And buses. All underpants transformation areas. If we treat the budgie smuggler with respect...

Undies (a truck briefly obscures our view of the sea) undies

Togs

...Everyone wins

Trumpet – Simplifying Summer

Tagline: Tip Top. Real Ice creamier

Brand: Toyota Corolla

TVC title: *Lost Keys* (1:00)

Launch date: After March 2007

Agency: Saatchi & Saatchi

Executive Creative Director: Mike O'Sullivan

Production Company: Robber's Dog Films

Director: Adam Stevens

Producer: Mark Foster

Music: *Take you ridin' in the car-car*

(This song, based on the hit made famous in 1964 by Peter, Paul and Mary, is a combination of spoken segments with vocal sound effects and singing)

Take me ridin in the car-car

Take me ridin in the car-car

Take you ridin in the car-car

I'll take you ridin in the car.

Philip Sherry newsreader:

This morning a Thames man lost the keys to his new Toyota Corolla and has absolutely no recollection of where he might have put them or perhaps dropped them.

Diviner /clairvoyant woman: It's coming now. I can feel it.

Politician: (commenting to reporters outside the Beehive in Wellington)

If he doesn't find his keys, I mean, how's he going to move forward as it were?

Philip Sherry newsreader:

Search and Rescue said today that given the very small size of the Corolla keys and the relatively large size of the country, the task would be a very real challenge.

Old woman to Corolla owner: Are you alright dear?

Corolla owner: Yeah. Nah.

Strap line:

The all new Corolla. Our favourite car.

Toyota. Moving forward.

Brand: Tui Beer

TVC title: *Brucetta* (1:00)

Brand owner: DB Breweries

Launch date: February 2005

Agency: Saatchi & Saatchi

Production Company: Curious

Director: Josh Frizzell

Script:

Music: Classic Movietone style introductory music

Documentary style male voice over:

Ever since Tui was first brewed in Mangatainoka

Temptation has been a very real problem.

So now no man is ever allowed to work in the brewery.

No no.

Tui is brewed by women.

Gorgeous women.

Music: Modern upbeat

Female Manager: Who's packing on line B?

Female Worker: Two new girls

Female Manager: Brucetta, you're fired. And where's your girlfriend Davena?

Brucetta: Oh. She's just cleaning up.

Tagline: Tui. Irresistible to men since 1889.

Brand: Vogel's Bread

TVC title: *Homesick Kiwi* (1:00)

Brand owner: Goodman Fielder NZ Ltd

Launch date: March 2000

Agency: Colenso

Creatives: Ollie Green & Josh Robbins

Production Company: Film Construction

Director: Sima Urale

Music: *Not given lightly* (1990)

Artist: Chris Knox

Lyrics:

Hello my friend
It's morning, time to wake now
Your body and mine entwined will have to break now
I want your flesh, your warmth to stay beside me
Oh, how I wish you could be deep inside me
Show me your eyes, your love, most tender feeling
And I'll give you mine, be truthful and revealing
'cause it's you that I love
and it's true that I love
It's love not given lightly
But I knew this was love
And it's you that I love
And it's more than what it might be

UK based Kiwi man: Well Mum sends me a loaf from home every month but my flatmates always try and get into it when I'm not around. So I hide it down here. And I know they will never look in here. I don't do much cooking.

Heathrow Airport Inspector: You'd be surprised how many Kiwis try and bring a couple of loaves of that Vogel's bread through here. We confiscate most of them. Quite good bread really.

New York based Kiwi man: Well one morning I'm sleeping right. She's um burning my Vogel's. (Argument)

New York Woman: It was a year ago alright. Michael, let it go.

New York based Kiwi man: Well it's really hard to get.

Tagline: Vogel's. Bread for New Zealanders.

Brand: Wattie's

TVC title: *Footie* (0:45)

Brand owner: Heinz Wattie's Ltd

Launch date: April 2008

Agency: DDB

Creative: Toby Talbot, Paul Hankinson and Pete Thompson

Film Company Production: Automatic

Director: Greg Wood

Script:

Music: von Suppe's *Light Cavalry Overture*

Male voice over:

Saturday.

Footy

And a feed.

Wattie's.

What else?

Brand: Weet-bix

TVC title: *Generations* (0:30)

Brand owner: Sanitarium Health Food Company Limited

Launch date: January 2005

Agency: Ogilvy

Credits not available.

Script:

Munich Olympic athletics commentator:

Looks like it could be a new world record.

It's Walker. Walker for New Zealand.

Well ahead of the field.

John Walker New Zealand.

Yes. 3.44

A new world record.

Father: Hamish. Come here.

Athens Olympic triathlon commentator: Hamish Carter. Here he comes.

And that's the gold medal for Hamish Carter.

Hamish Carter: Well done.

Voiceover: Weet-bix Tryathlon. Taking Kiwi kids further

Ann	Belinda
Small town life, family/kids focus, happy times & 'get togethers', mixing of people from all walks of life, no barriers, fitting in, many community volunteers, New Zealanders come from hard working average settler families	Hard work, middle class, fighting to pay mortgage, getting on with life, able to do better in New Zealand than England. New Zealand is a place to be happy. Hard life of pioneers.
	Bringing up kids, supporting activities kids get into, sports coaching / management, PTA, tuck shop volunteering. Committee work for hobby and catching up with other people through shared arts and crafts interests
Unique in making connections, everyone knows somebody who knows somebody, talk to anyone. Not daunted by meeting high profile people, high powered people are not isolated from the communities they came from or are part of	No snobbery or levels of society compared to England. Wealthier people not treated any differently and don't behave any differently. Status doesn't make much difference in New Zealand. Self-made people who have worked hard are better people than born to wealth. They appreciate the hard work required.
	Tall poppies – 'Even Stevens', don't want to stand out, dislike 'wannabes'. Some places with simple old fashioned baches becoming quite snobby with too many showy expensive homes built by new rich who are taking over
Frequent comparisons with Australia; which place is better for different things – weather, accents, food, shopping	Not different from Australia apart from accent. Slightly different mix of immigrants in Australian cities.
Know a lot about the rest of the world, travelling, OE	Getting away from home, OE, travelling and seeing most of the world (English villagers' lives too routine & inward focused, nothing changes), but realising New Zealand is better. Doing Australia, Fiji, Australia, cruising in the Pacific. <i>Know a lot about the rest of the world</i>
Well rounded people, not so specialised that don't have a good overview of their field (whatever it is), everyone likes Kiwis, good reputation, Kiwis like to help	Friendly, always chatting, stick together, look out for each other overseas, hard work reputation, always get jobs, well trained, loved by foreign employers

Ann	Belinda
Long outdoor holidays every year, adventure lifestyle, camping every year, rivers, beaches, boats	Childhood holidays every year, camping & visiting little beach places, seeing the country, swimming, boats, kayaking, diving, outdoors, weekends on bush tracks, Taupo & snow. Nice white sand beaches, clear water, big hills, beautiful places, clean and fresh. Where else could you see dolphins for free? Active outdoor life – compared to English kids whose lives are inside.
Sports orientated – watch many types of sport, arm chair experts, kids sport coaching, support national teams, especially rugby	Watching sports important – sailing Americas Cup, rugby. Rugby source of role models for boys – keeps them out of trouble
<i>Drinking beer</i>	Typical kiwi men – they are different - like beer, motorbikes / vehicles, loyal to each other (and sports mad)
Laidback people, was a very safe place but not so much now. Clean green, much scenic variety	Slower pace of life than New York / USA but more opportunities than England. New Zealand used to be behind the world in fashions, shopping etc but not now. Auckland is more rushed than relaxed life for more naive small town New Zealanders. Relatively safe place.
Deep affection for kiwiana. Dave Dobbyn, LOTR, Footrot Flats, John Rowles, the haka, kiwi birds	New Zealand symbolised by bungee, Dave Dobbyn
Increasing awareness of things Maori, more use of language, more emphasis on New Zealand and Maori issues at school today, obvious racism amongst older New Zealanders who resent the way things are going. Tourists don't detect racial problems	
Loss of identity due to immigrants that don't try to integrate; community values being diluted by newcomers who don't fit in, don't speak English and don't hold same sorts of values (e.g. helping community fund raising & appreciation for the importance of outdoor education)	
Growing up in New Zealand - more opportunities for excellence in any field, chance to shine, give it a go, no barriers, feature of small country	

Ann	Belinda
DIY, no8 mentality, ingenuity, great inventions & ideas, ahead of the rest of the world	
	Tolerant society generally. Older New Zealanders unsettled by gays
	Special connections – West Auckland, Waitakere, Cascades, Omaha, farms in Thames & Whakatane – pioneering connections and childhood places. Knowing many prominent local families through school and family friendships. Mixing with Maori, Pacific Islanders, Dutch and Dalmatians – getting on OK with everyone. <i>Outrageous Fortune</i> – honestly say you went to school with ½ of them. Recognise the local gang problems, P problems, and families not doing so well as being part of the West Auckland scene.
<i>Sense of humour</i>	<i>Sense of humour</i>
<i>There's not a big emphasis on academic achievement</i>	<i>Some very intelligent people in New Zealand but we emphasise sport. Can't see beyond rugby to singers, artists, academics. Other achievements not well recognised.</i>
	<i>Male dominated society</i>

Cathy	Donna
Everyone integrated. Maori culture club groups, Maori words, kapa haka part of the routine in forestry villages. No segregation. Maoris not treated like Abos in Australia or in South Africa. Not like American Indians who got put on reservations. Not ashamed of Maori. Get on with each other. Treaty of Waitangi.	Different cultures in one place together. Part of living here – adapted to living together. Get along well. Worship at home privately but we do well together. Doesn't matter about the colour of your skin or your accent as long as you have the same techniques (job skills) and can communicate.
Overseas people know about the country (scenery) from <i>Lord of the Rings</i> trilogy. New Zealand misunderstood – people still think there are Maoris “the indigenous people” wearing flax skirts. Living in villages, pas and maraes, eating eels. See a black and white division. Don't realise we all just live together.	
Make do – Forestry used to put on Christmas parties, put down a hangi. Eeling. Wild pig and venison. Wild honey. Vege garden. Sharing, barter and swap. Hand me downs. Fundraising with parents. Chores and make your own fun. Kids in village play together. Bullrush. Forts. Collecting frogs. Collecting pine cones.	New Zealand used to be different. No fences. Community – men at the pub together and ladies playing darts, having a sherry. Kids in the neighbourhood all together. Called everyone Aunty and Uncle. Talk to anyone. Help and build. Need a lift, need a hand. Dad and uncles would be there and helping out. <i>Everyone pitches in.</i>
Living off the land. Looking after kumara and potatoes and harvesting / storing. Older generation had knowledge of ferns, roots, vegetables. Fishing, growing own food, shooting. Younger generation not interested.	Living off the land – free. Kina, crabs. Rod and nets.
Kiwis are a little bit more independent. We make our kids more independent. Not as sheltered.	
Outdoors. Jet boats. Water skiing. Lots of things are accessible. Put on shoes and go to the park.	
Access to beaches. Always near the edges of the sea. Beautiful. Hop skip and a jump to beach. Christmas / New Year go up north. Go camping – throw the sleeping bag in the car. Take tents. Eat communally. Bonfires on the beach. Volleyball. Kids swim all day. Eat, smoke, drink, be lazy.	Travelling – Dad worked for Air New Zealand so got some perks. Trip to Disneyland.

Cathy	Donna
<p>See the country. Went all over New Zealand in school holidays – 3 weeks here and 3 weeks there. Pack up caravan or campsites. School trips. Festivals. New Zealanders feel linked to places like Rotorua, (the mud pools, and Maori culture), tourisomy / brochure kind of places Queenstown, Arrowtown, Milford Sound / track.</p>	<p>Driving around – getting in the car and just driving. Seeing a bit of the country. Beautiful New Zealand (scenery). High school trip to see South Island. Otahuhu to Queenstown. See heaps of things that you don't forget. Going to a lot of places in the school holidays - Hastings, Taupo Bay, Whangamata. Jumping in the car on State Highway 1 – ending up in Christchurch. Parents taking off in the camper van – did the South Island thing.</p>
<p>Kiwis travel a bit more. Nearly every Kiwi does OE after getting first qualification. Shoot over to Aussie – see family, shopping trips, shows like Phantom. Holiday in Thailand. Planned to go on OE to India then overland by bus to England. Parents encourage kids to do OE. See the world, find their own feet. There is a lot more out there – in New Zealand there is not the wider variety of opportunities and jobs. Go and do a gap year.</p>	<p>Tried to have a go at living in Australia – followed the boy to Aussie.</p>
<p>Most people go to England – you can jump over to Europe and do tiki touring. Most people have British ancestry. Having British parents / grandparents makes it easy access.</p>	<p>Get away from Auckland every Christmas New Year – into the wops. No mobile coverage, no flush toilet, lucky to have extension cord (with power). Just us, the beach and 4 days of nothing. All of us together. Totally happy there. Go for a swim. Freedom from responsibility.</p>
<p>Special places are home. Where the people are. Taupo where grandparents were. Friend is connected to East Coast where her whanau are. New generation does not have that affiliation to places.</p>	<p>Special places – Whananaki – family land.</p>
<p>Tough mental attitude. Families had it hard. Dad always at work to earn a penny – work his way up. Too busy to do things / share with kids. Mum didn't work and did more things. Home baking, sewing, looking after lots of kids. Great grandparents have always been working on the land, forestry and timber mill in King Country. Granddad didn't talk about the war. Got on with getting on.</p>	<p>Dad is typical New Zealand man - is inventive and likes to do things for himself. Building projects – fences, extensions on the house.</p>

Cathy	Donna
Can do attitude. Give it a go attitude. Bungee, waka ama. What's the worst? Somebody says no. Who cares? She'll be right attitude. <i>Outrageous Fortune</i> - 'Fuck me' attitude – get over yourself. Come on, get on with it. Not making it worse than it is. It'll be alright tomorrow.	Dad is lots of fun for his kids. Kids can jump on him. Picks them up from school.
Kiwi bloke – stubbies and beer swilling stereotype. Actually loves his sport, loves a cold beer. Pretty down to earth and grounded. Not very polished. Always fished and gone to watch rugby in the weekend, then go to the social club afterwards. Hands on. Fix it attitude (then admit you can't do it and have to go and buy). "Blokes' bloke" – didn't show feelings or have heart-felt talks with kids.	Kiwi bloke is supposed to look like Fred Dagg. Never come across this fullah. Good Kiwi bloke has gone.
Sports / All Blacks. Everyone is encouraged to play netball or rugby at school. Interschool competitions. Rugby is ingrained. Everyone knows the All Blacks and the Sevens. Trouping around to watch teams, sausage sizzles, club rooms afterwards. Everyone wants to get into first XV or top netball team. Part & parcel of life. Everyone gets an opportunity.	Like sport especially rugby and rugby league and watching good athletes playing properly, even if you're not a sporty person yourself. Netball is a big thing. Swimming. Whole family is big into rugby league. Brother-in-law played for Kiwis and premiers of local and Aussie teams.
National pride. When the All Blacks do the haka. Proud to have 'Made in New Zealand' and kiwi tattoo.	Work hard, play hard.
Closeness and ability to stay together. Keep in touch with family. Lots of family do's. Big thing going to Auntie's for Christmas. Farmed out to stay with family in the school holidays. Special memories of happy times with grandparents. <i>Outrageous Fortune</i> - family protecting each other. 'Go on and help your brother – sort it out'	Family occasions – way of getting us together. Eating pork bones and drinking kava together. Nothing beats your Mum's roast dinner. Big Christmas dinner – lots of people joining in – not just blood family. Life rotates around looking after family. Can't say no. Taking on a lot of responsibility. Closely connected to parents and parents-in-law. Some New Zealanders are not like this. See families with parents in nursing home – their lives are set for themselves somewhere else.

Cathy	Donna
Small country thing. Mention a person - somebody, knows somebody. Know people who were All Blacks. You are associated with all kinds of people – his side of the family is connected to... Person you associate with went to school with ... or is married to	Who you know can be important – you tell your boss “I’ve got a mate needs a job”
No snobbery. Down to earth, grounded people. Upbringing and history means that millionaires can switch from talking about the cat next door to the economy in Japan. In New Zealand anyone can do a job (no barriers of class and ethnic group). In Aussie people were snobby – looked down on people. Definite divisions of who (ethnic group / class) does what job.	There are different classes – it’s subtle. Turn up in big cars to pick up kids. See it at netball with parish church family groups. Goes into the playground.
Compared to New Zealand, Australia is unfriendly. Fast paced. Brick buildings, motorways everywhere. Racial/ethnic divisions. People joined clubs in their own little divisions. Didn’t mix.	Home is a house on a piece of land.
New Zealanders were all the same – same things for all. Now groups like Asian, Somalian and Indian – have their own churches, groups and societies.	
Aussies hate Kiwis. Put down continuously – to your face. Ask you to say ‘fish’	
<i>Once Were Warriors</i> - getting beaten is a reflection of what does happen in a lot of communities - very ‘Kiwi-ish’. Movies tend to show New Zealand is like the poor relations – not top billing material. Portrayed as poor nation / people.	Life wasn’t all roses. Some tough family situations.
Kiwis and moas, sports teams - All Blacks and Black sticks – iconic to New Zealand	Symbols - Maori bone carving. Maori designs like koru epitomise New Zealand – a bit of home. Puaa. Greenstone – this is New Zealand. Native birds (kiwi but also other birds too), kauri tree.

Cathy	Donna
	Always a party and drinking a big thing as a teenager. An important part of life – social club. Going to the pub. Used to go after work to the local – hanging out with the Black Power gangsters. Rough but safe. Nowadays people can't handle being pissed. Getting drunk to fight.
	Fitting in at school was important. Don't want to stand out. Being tallest & biggest sometimes feels like an outcast.
	Want kids to be safe – go to a safe school. Petrified for kids' future. Violence.
	Learning about God is not a bad thing. Don't necessarily want to go to church every Sunday.

Elaine	Fiona
Importance of weekends to spend with family and friends	Socialising – being surrounded by extended family and friends
New Zealanders have pride in country – love travelling to the beautiful places – just when you thought it couldn't get any better there is another amazing place. Weather is good. Huge variety of scenery – mountains, gorges, sounds, glaciers, wild coasts, geothermal, islands.	Strong sense of national pride. Want to be good ambassadors for our country – to be able to say we have seen our country. Fiercely nationalistic. Australia – we're the little guy. Don't forget us. We belong here. Revere the achievements of our country – ANZAC Day.
Gorgeous, wild, natural beaches, free for all, free parking, no need for shops selling tat and enhancements like fairground rides etc. God given right to go there. Live in paradise	Beautiful country; physical beauty. Clean green. Outdoors place. See whales and dolphins. Extra dimension of Maori. Relative safety.
Xmas camping with 8 or 9 families. Holidays tenting. Digging for pipi and cockles. Everyone sitting around the fire.	Weekends and holidays at the beach house. Hit the road. New Zealand camping holiday tradition. Communal living. Carefree. Back to basics. Freedom from usual routine. Rough it. Walking on the beach, fishing, swimming, relaxing. Simple pleasures – reading, playing cards, bonfires. Passion for the outdoors.
Freedom in New Zealand. Kids with bare feet, clean open environment. We utilise the outdoors (beaches etc) not just backyard. Childhood memories of roaming around unsupervised with neighbourhood kids.	Memories of community being a safe place for kids to be in
Overseas travel, OE, little country in the big wide world, down under, such a long way away. Life altering. Must see the big wide world. So much history in other countries. Experience things that can't be gained in classroom. Cram in experiences - make every moment of overseas travel count. Travelling on a shoestring but richness of experiences gained. Living life to its fullest. <i>Always plan on coming home.</i>	Travelling especially OE is classic pattern. Tiki-touring. Life is not complete until you have discovered the rest of the world. Do it on your own. Interested in overseas visitors – their stories and the way they live. Partly motivated by wanting to discover own roots and reconnecting with ancestral places. Need to know WHO we are. Sense of being isolated from the rest of the world. <i>Send reminders of home to people on OE. Make sure they don't forget to come home.</i>

Elaine	Fiona
Kiwi fathers more hands on, involved with kids and family than English fathers	Men – quite blokey, outdoors. Not soft. Hunter / gatherers. Independent souls. Pioneering heritage of cutting new ground for yourself and your family.
No 8 wire tradition, ingenuity, fix anything, do anything, make anything. She'll be right	Resourcefulness. No 8. Resilience. Roundedness – sports, community, social, educational, part-time work. Independence, self-sufficiency.
Not frightened of risks. Not focused on personal / individual rights, not into blaming and suing. Accidents happen. Learn from risk assessments, preparation and experiences. Taking responsibility for self.	Get in - boots and all. Be in there doing. Adventurous. Try new stuff. Not frightened of challenges.
Heroes are sports people – esp. rugby and netballers who become role models	Sporting prowess – despite relative lack of funding and advantages per capita.
	Sport plays a big part in family life. Parents and kids play, and go on to coach and manage teams. Value of sport - running around for kids sport.
Some cultures in New Zealand feel hard done by and wronged, owed something. Need to get on with it. Rise above it. Let it be the past.	Maori / spirituality sets us apart from Australia. Defines us. Respect for Maori without the arrogance of a colonising power. Accepting of other people. Coming to terms with identities, business of being Maori. Isolation.
Visual imagery that finally captures our uniqueness. Kiwiana. All things Maori culture. Tomato sauce bottle, paua, vegemite, L&P, buzzy bee, flax kete, silver fern, koru, pohutukawa, poi, stories with pukeko and kiwi birds and Vogel's bread. Unique flora and fauna.	Symbols: haka, Maori symbols, koru, fish hook, silver fern, New Zealand anthem, Marmite, kiwifruit, lamb, BBQ, kiwi
<i>Once Were Warriors</i> – too hard to cope with	Quirky movies. Dark themes and content. Visually strong. Dealing with issues outside our personal experience. Strong voices in New Zealand literature: Witi Ihimaera; Patricia Grace; Janet Frame; Maurice Gee.

Elaine	Fiona
	Volunteering, fundraising. Sense of responsibility to be involved - participate and help. <i>Generous. Telethon thing. Getting behind a cause however small or, it might be. Kiwis are good at rallying to a situation</i>
	Understated, humble
	Committed to / grounded in local community. Belonging. Attachment to place. Concern when isolated and away from community. Beach place is a second important community to be part of.
Classless society. Not pigeonholed, open, welcoming, accepting, not so judgemental of status, income, way of speaking, walks of life, background. Take me or leave me. Everyone just gets on. Are who we are. But differences do exist between cultural groups in New Zealand	<i>Classless society. Don't like tall poppies. Very much pitch ourselves as equals. Knock down the people that stand too tall.</i>
Relaxed, casual, drop in for a coffee and a chat, invite people home, talk to complete strangers, laid back	
Focus on gaining experiences more than material things.	
	Hold our own. Stubborn. Punch above our weight. Not to be taken over or browbeaten. Nuclear free – putting a foot in the sand - not going to be pushed around. Rainbow Warrior. Not afraid to be one of the little guys. Force to be reckoned with.
<i>Humour - sort of tongue in cheek, having a bit of an understanding of how we are often portrayed</i>	<i>Quirky sense of humour.</i>
	<i>Kiwis are really interested in what people think about New Zealand</i>

Georgina	Helen
High quality outdoor lifestyle. Safe, outdoors focused living environment. Slightly slower pace of life. Ethos of family work life balance. Not so difficult to finance good lifestyle in New Zealand. Life is grounded in the outdoors world.	Outdoorsy lifestyle is important.
Free from formality, impromptu, popping in unannounced, socialise, everybody welcome, the more the merrier, coffee & chat. Flexible, not too rigid, everyone helps - share out the jobs. Adaptable. Adjustable. Casual – just rock up.	
Children take up our time and dictate the scope of our social life	
Encourage gaining range of experiences especially OE. Like to challenge ourselves. Test how you cope under tough conditions. Find out who we are. Blow off steam. Find out what you want to do. Adventurous – see where things take you - risk-taking. Learning experiences. Seek uncertainty. Character building.	Everyone does the big OE. Would like to live in Sydney for a while to give the family new experiences.
Explore other parts of world. Gain as much worldly knowledge as possible	We are so far away from most of the world. New Zealand used to be removed and limited (especially for shopping) but much less so now. Visiting other parts of the world is an eye-opener – prepare yourself for big differences overseas. Go for a long time and make it worthwhile.
Hard workers; integrity, less extroverted than Americans. Reliable – true to their word - do what they say (goes for all Antipodeans). Don't over-inflate ourselves – reserve based on English heritage. Tall poppy syndrome – don't like to say how fantastic we are. Get on with the job and don't worry about playing political games (let the results speak for themselves). Can be tight (careful or miserly money-wise).	Cruisy, 'good life' attitude. Today's people have got it easy. Not as hard working or as committed to responsibilities. Not much pressure or competition - things come too easy so people don't push themselves.

Georgina	Helen
Rugged individuals from hard upbringings and settler families with real struggles and experiences of loss. Hard country for pioneers to get their teeth into. Achievement the result of buckling down and earning a living the best way you can. Blood and guts. Toil. Hardship. Underdog philosophy	Background of tough conditions and struggles for settlers. Leaving school to help in the family business.
	Typical kiwi loves outdoors and sun, rugby, racing and beer. Cool bloke is reserved – expresses himself differently to Croatian. Prefers some space – being alone sometimes.
	New Zealand families not as deeply bonded as Croatians. Degree of aloofness / reserve and less reliance on each other. New Zealanders more independent from each other within the family. New Zealanders not very affectionate huggy / kissy. Would find Croatian family oppressive and overwhelming. Fewer family duties and expectations for Kiwis than Croatians.
Many things in common with others – nationality is irrelevant - reflection after experiencing 9/11 and visiting Gallipoli	
	Maori culture and importance of whanau – extended families sticking together and helping each other, working in small family businesses. Same concept in some immigrant groups – Croatian, Chinese and Indian families
Deep set part of the culture is the link with the land. Always want to live on a farm. Get hands dirty. Honourable existence. Respectable to work the land.	
Beautiful places, seeing the country. Going tramping / camping with friends every year. Beach-life – variety and quantity of beaches. Trees, rock pools, pipis, headlands. Free to everybody. Close and easy access to most people. (Back to basics) compensation - opportunity to balance out busier / city part of life.	Seeing New Zealand is a priority for all. So many beautiful places to be proud of. Sandy beaches (not stones / pebbles)

Georgina	Helen
Beach and bach life is a great leveller. Mix with other generations of the family; people from other towns and lifestyles. Mixing with all sorts of people. Don't define ourselves into classes. Happy to have lots of friendships / relationships – not exclusive set.	Boating major part of life. Sun, out on the water, Xmas holidays, exploring, at the bach, playing in the water, take the fizz boat out, creating childhood and family memories, keeping the family together, having your friends join you at the beach / or boating
Symbols – New Zealand lamb on barbie, lolly scramble, gumboot tossing, Marmite, 4 Square, Longest drink in town giraffe, meat pies, stubbies and jandals, Adidas track pants, baggy t-shirts. Welcome Home – Dave Dobbyn – images of traditional Kiwi life.	Symbols – koru, Dave Dobbyn, BBQ
Fame comes from international renown & acclaim. Dave Dobbyn, Kiri Te Kanawa, Janet Frame, Helen Clark (can't see it)	Heroes are sports people who are often in the media – All Blacks. Sir Ed, Susan Devoy, Dame Kiri
Like to see ourselves as humble like Ed Hillary and sanguine - She'll be right mate – Fred Dagg. Dave Dobbyn – hasn't forgotten where he came from even though he's famous.	
Fanatically sporty – huge into rugby & cricket.	Men and women mad about rugby. Almost a religion – social life sometimes fits around important sporting fixtures. Getting up at 2 am. Major events that everyone talks about. Ultimate aim to be AB.
New Zealanders perform way outside where they should be – small country but we outshine everyone in odd moments. Mental hardness. Refuse to be beaten. Defy the odds. Fired up. Pride and dogged determination.	For a small country we do really well in sports, because of (or in spite of?) being removed from / not having easy access to many major sporting competitions. Team sport success comes from inclusion of tough Maoris and Pacific Islanders. Also, starting children at an early age in teams with ABs as predominant role models gives New Zealand rugby an advantage.
Team sport important for children – life lessons of interacting with other people, taking knocks, not being sheltered from life's hardships	Sport is good for kids.
Fitting in – foreigners pinpointed and made to feel that fitting in is essential and desirable.	Fitting in is important.

Georgina	Helen
	Family violence and abuse now often associated with Maori
	Link to special places – Bay of Islands, Kawau Is, Waiheke
	Used to be a very safe place but not now.
<i>A lovely sense of humour, laughing at ourselves. A huge part of our psyche is that we don't take ourselves too seriously.</i>	<i>We can laugh at ourselves.</i>

Ingrid	Jackie
<p>Grew up in the country. Lived in small country towns. Doing farming stuff – riding horses, having pet calves. Tiny country schools. Not much TV watching. Go outside. Grandparents were all farmers. Lots of cousins on farms too. Growing up and staying on their farms. Didn't know a lot of people in the city.</p>	<p>Sense of connection to a farm or a piece of Kiwi land. People talk of going down to the farm. Images of NZ – expect sheep and farmland. More of a myth. My friends did not have farms but seemed as if they did. Husband has strong sense of connection to Manawatu. Own sense of connection to Wellington – hills and harbour – good childhood experiences but not archetypal connection.</p>
	<p>Born in South Africa, to German born Jewish parents. Family came to NZ (aged 8) on transfer for set amount of time. Stayed ever since. Parents returned to Germany permanently. Lived in a part of Wellington. Lot of families lived there for quite a few generations. Closed community in some ways. Lot of the teachers hadn't been overseas or travelled.</p>
	<p>Coming from out of town (to Auckland), people had all these stories about Auckland which didn't turn out to be particularly true. Most people we met seemed to come from other parts of New Zealand. Lots of people from small towns.</p>
	<p>Homes may be very different but school is where children get to share and have common New Zealand experiences. Classic shared experience for people in my age group - little milk bottles. Swimming lessons in the sea. Rock pool studies. Manual training.</p>
	<p>Images of the 60s and 70s. Memories of what people wore (stubbies), stories and pictures in the School Journal - not necessarily personal memories or direct experiences but I relate to them – recognisable stories that are shared. Living in NZ means I do not have such shared things in Germany.</p>

Ingrid	Jackie
<p>Into sport - took up rowing. Wanted to play sport / hockey but couldn't living so far from school. Son plays water polo. Really important thing for kids to do / be involved in even if they're not great at it. Good social skills and good from health perspective.</p>	
	<p>ANZAC day services – went as Girl Guide. People are now taking their children to dawn parades. Something they want to say they have done. Linking a turning point in NZ history, a consciousness – we are something – with stories around their father/ grandfather etc.</p>
<p>National fixation with what happens to the All Blacks. Some people get quite tied up with the win / lose thing. Only one in the family to get up and watch the All Blacks at 2am. John Walker winning gold medal. Proud and emotional.</p>	
<p>Curiosity. Grew up with love of England. Fascination of wanting to see where grandfather came from. Intense desire to see where other people lived and to travel.</p>	<p>My generation have a link, still connected back to England. Incredibly excited to visit. Schooling with Anglo focus - English history, novels, literature. Mother also felt very connected to England. Some similarities between South Africa and NZ colonial experiences. Son's generation influenced by American culture – music and films.</p>
	<p>New Zealand was really isolated in the 1960 / 70s. Uncommon going to Germany every 2 years. Sense of being able to go outside and come back – a much larger world. Sense of things that were both different and the same. Father travelled overseas and had lots of overseas visitors. Import restrictions / overseas funds. Being able to access different things in the household. Christmas rituals & German traditions – unlike others. Christmas Eve and St Nicholas.</p>

Ingrid	Jackie
Wanted to see New Zealand before I went to England. Milford Track. Lots of trips around the country. It's fantastic; especially appreciate New Zealand more since lived overseas.	Mother determined to see as much of New Zealand as possible, seeing different parts of New Zealand. Farm holidays in the South Island. Other people might go camping – camping grounds / holiday parks, to a bach or to see family – possibly going to one place. Going to the South Island was seen as a big thing in the 60s / 70s.
City seemed amazing. Driving in Auckland was terrifying – traffic lights.	
Country is very green, outdoorsy. Love tramping and hiking. Lots of stunning scenery. Not too many people. Love Raglan – beautiful coast, wilderness, windswept. Coromandel. Nelson. Wellington and Auckland – amazing little corners that we haven't explored.	New Zealandness: Rotorua – Maori, geyser, hot pools; Queenstown (represents the South Island) – lakes and mountains, skiing. All of South Island is extremely beautiful. Ruapehu / Desert Road. Coromandel for the beaches and bush.
Going to the beach in the summer. December – always feels like it's time to go to the beach for a couple of months. Lived in the Coromandel so beach literally just down the road. Rowing dinghies, waterskiing. Playing in the river. Not keen on diving or going out to sea. Water so clear. We are spoilt; get fussy about swimming in water where you can see your feet. Couldn't believe woman in Maine had never been to the beach. They lived miles from any coast. New Jersey Shore – grey murky - yuk. Grandparents now live at the beach.	Husband is not a beach person. More a river person.
Typical Kiwi backpacker experience to Europe. Got to England with no idea of what I was going to do. Met by cousin who lived in London. Travelled England and Scotland. Backpacked through Europe for 2 years. Home to New Zealand with absolutely no money left. Travelling again – car across USA.	All close friends and husband did OE – England and back packing. Going overseas – rite of passage. Doing some scummy job with it. I did it here in a different way.

Ingrid	Jackie
<p>English class system – very different to NZ. Coming from NZ – had no concept of what it was going to be like. Posh family in little village. Left me with their daughter while they went off to Europe.</p>	<p>Non-hierarchical. There are class & other divisions but NZ has more mixing. Possible to go across from one divide to another. Not in Germany or South Africa. Mixed families with different racial and cultural mixes. We have Maori and Cook Islanders in extended family.</p>
<p>Very adaptable. Can slot into different situations. Can cope with things. I can do it. Experience of living & working in USA. Everything happens at once. Brave. Cut all support networks of people I knew with kids. Quite stressful. (New experiences) school bus. Couple of Massey papers – keeping myself busy. Getting out to explore on my own. Trips to Europe and travelling around North East USA.</p>	<p>Turn his hand to anything. Uni student son has got himself on the rubbish trucks. Worked on building sites. Husband's generation (men) working in summer jobs at the railways or the freezing works.</p>

Ingrid	Jackie
Different world view to Americans. Being an outsider at the time of Sept 11. Americans couldn't believe that anyone would not like them. Weird. Couldn't quite feel it as they did. Putting flags in the window.	Rites of passage: drinking. OK when you're growing up to get drunk. Student days. Going flatting. Going overseas.
Importance of neighbourhood lifestyle – walking to school. Know most of the people in the street. Seeing people about that you know and who know your name and who you are. Like the familiarity of areas of Auckland, where friends and family live. Smallness; being in a little country is good. Connections – 3 degrees of separation. Familiarity thing. Meeting somebody – you know somebody that knows them. <i>DIY</i>	Buying your own house. <i>Doing up your house is hugely NZ activity.</i> Open friendly people. In contrast to different impression you get from NZ films – quite dark undertones, warped.
Lots of opportunities (for kids) to do different things. Try things quite easily. Great for them. In America they would not have those chances through schools.	
Busy life juggling – working nights and shifts. Raising kids. Keep an eye on them. Being around for the kids. Work, family, kindy, school, part time job – everything else. Kids activities – especially sport takes a lot of time.	
Importance of family – take the children on a tour to visit all of their cousins.	
Work ethic. Determined. Integrity, Honesty.	Not soft. Able to cope with the rougher things. Go out tramping. Make do.
Individualistic. Independent in the way they present themselves. Not cookie cutter types of people. Not having to conform to anyone's expectation of how they should look or be. Free thinking.	
Laconic, laid back. It'll be right. Not really concerned what other people think. Just get on quietly and get stuck into it. I think if the ABs win / lose it's not the end of the earth. Not as risk averse as Americans.	Casual. Outrageous Fortune - not holding authority in high regard. Just do our own thing, skirt around authority if we possibly can. Respect is not given – have to earn it.

Ingrid	Jackie
	New Zealander relationships with Maori in 1960s – actually quite separate in the way people related to each other. Sense of saying one thing and doing another. Where I grew up there were no Maori. I was pretty much the only person at secondary school from Europe. Pommy bashing times. Surprised to find Greek and Italian communities in Wellington. Come from anywhere else, very hidden.
Very accepting of others – in Auckland used to all sorts of cultures and different walks of life. In the workplace / hospital and for kids at school. Did not really have much to do with Maori during school days. Not many living in my community then.	New Zealand is multi-cultural now. Some people put emphasis on bi-culturalism. In the last 20 years – influx of people from Europe, South Africa etc. Different races - reflected in Outrageous Fortune. Recognisable Auckland figures in Bro Town.
	Tall poppy. Sameness and fitting in is important. Pressure to be the same. Difference was not dealt with very well at school. New Zealanders not very comfortable with direct debate about different viewpoints / politics. Take things personally. Difficult for dissenting voices to survive. Tend not to see difference easily.
Generalists – in the US people tend to be micro-specialised, expert. New Zealanders tend to have more overview on things. Do several things at once.	
Self-deprecating. We don't mind if we knock ourselves. Sense of humour. Sarcasm. To mock someone is not considered to be an insult especially if we know them. Not the case in America. – have to be careful not to offend or insult. But similar sense of humour to Australia.	

Ingrid	Jackie
Self-effacing. Mild mannered. Americans very up front in a way we are not. Not “out there” (look at me; look what I can do). Quiet. Quietly spoken. Assertive without being loud and dramatic about it. Determined in a non confrontational way. Prominent Kiwi women like Helen Clark are a great example of this. Doesn't care what other people think about her.	Modest. Downplay. Not boast hugely.
Australians – we are a little bit like them but they are more like Americans. Bit more out there. New Zealanders and Australians always like to mock one another.	Australians – see ourselves as being really different. Better. They're more brash and louder. Go to Australia and so much is the same and a lot in common. But stories are quite different, different concerns and relationship with indigenous people is very different. Stories and understandings don't match at all.
Inventiveness. Like places with an arty vibe. Almost hippy thing. People making things, cafes.	No 8 wire. Being able to go out and make do with what there is there. Quite inventive.
Quite generous people.	Ready to help others if needed. Respond pretty well and pull together in a disaster or a crisis. Sense of that's what you ought to do. Quite righteous attitude.
Symbols: accents, NZ flag, distinctive clothing and luggage, rugby jersey, All Blacks gear. Koru / Air New Zealand logo. Silver ferns. Kiwi. Tiki. Woollen clothing. Swandri. Maori symbols are really strong now.	Symbols: certain bird songs, things Maori or Polynesian. Tiki. Pokarekare Ana. Fred Dagg. Songs like Dominion Rd; Tim Finn, Dave Dobbyn – song for the Americas Cup (Loyal). Silver fern. Koru.
Stereotypes. Farmer- in gumboots and Swandri like we see on TV. Sporting type.	Stereotypes today – great range. Wanking Aucklander –money oriented. Wellingtonian – civil servant. Kiwi bloke - only interested in rugby; unable to have any feelings. NZ woman – unsexy, driven, career person. Farming types. Westie – dark clothing, dope, pretty scummy lot portrayed on Outrageous Fortune. PC Brigade; Greenies; South Aucklanders – only poor, only uneducated, only brown; Asian nerd. 30 years ago there was a smaller set of New Zealand stereotypes –New Zealander was somehow more defined. Now broader and more comprehensive.

Ingrid	Jackie
	Not clear on identity. Lived most of life here but do not have New Zealand passport. Not seen as German by Germans. Don't want South African identity. Unremarkable anglicised name. OK to be described as Pakeha – 'not Maori'. Easily say I'm an Aucklander. Geographically, Auckland is quite 'out' but Wellington introspective, harbour is quite enclosed. Notice that Wellington is fairly white.
	<i>Mateship</i>

Karen	Lana
Rural atmosphere. Farming family. NZers come across as a little unsophisticated.	We are a kind of country people. Real people. Down to earth people. Had everything we needed but not extravagant. Grew up on a farm – quite typical of NZ to be country kids. Walk to local school. Calf-club day. Raised with lots of animals around – cats and dogs – neat Kiwi thing.
Hard working. Good work ethic. Value having to work to make something of yourself. Dad had clear vision of taking over farm one day. Mum pretty busy with 4 kids. Great sewer, baker, chef, loved gardening, did bible in schools. Cooking for shearers. As a teenager - working as a rousie & in horticulture research. Give it a go. See what I can do. Like to make a difference.	Hard workers. Family worked hard. Busy life. Dad dairy farmer and market gardener. Mum milked, raised kids, cooked & baked for family and workers. Tied to the farm. Older generations of husband's family had basic upbringing – lots of kids and not a lot of food. Admire people who have genuinely worked hard for what they've got and achieved something amazing.
Practical farming girl. Like commercial element of research. Useful information to help Royal Gala growers in Canterbury.	Real Do-it-yourselfer. If I can do it myself I'll do it. His father was a builder. Very good at doing anything. Worked on the house. Very handy, learned along the way. Planned renovations together. Best friend did the building with help from both fathers. Built the deck together – sanding and painting. Set up own little business based on making and selling decorator items. (Adaptable and flexible) - get in and do it – whatever needs to be done at work.
No class system. Don't have English class system of our ancestors. All on an equal footing. I wouldn't like to see class structure development in NZ. Private school might tend towards that. Not a Kiwi trait. No pretentiousness. Living out of a backpack. Giving kiwifruit toffees to famous hosts. That's the Kiwi way.	Out in the shed - Husband couldn't be without his space. Cupboards full of stuff and tools.
Laidback. Just do it – not too hooked up on issues. Put up with more things in the work place. Go the extra mile. Not very aggressive. She'll be right. Don't like conflict. Get alongside. Peacekeepers. Attitude – rather not fight.	<i>Quite hardcase men. Get away with being cheeky.</i>
<i>Kiwi blokes are mischievous, cheeky, push the boundaries a little</i>	Creative thinkers. Quite inventive.

Karen	Lana
Ancestors – a big mixing pot. German, Scottish, Swedish and English. Changing your surname - didn't want any link to Germany.	Very multi-cultural family circle with husband's Thai, Maori and Yugoslavian connections. Has not learned Thai or Maori language. Father-in-law does carvings and right into his culture. Not many mixed cultures when I was a kid. Today all together at Christmas. Japanese and USA in-laws.
Being brought up with Maori. Knowing that whole cultural sensitivity. Taking an interest in American Indians that we worked with. (Contrast in USA) no one had taken an interest in them.	
Real sense of community and of family. Family gathering and celebrations. Friends of our brothers and sisters. All playing together. Gran visited the flat – doing ironing, baking and make the dinner. Grandparents played a very big role in our lives. Summer holidays with them – once went caravanning with them. Take our friends too. Holidays with all my cousins. Gran was proud of us and lived through grandkids.	Family is important to us. Being at home for the kids after school like Mum was. Quite good family values. Grandparents lived and farmed in the same district. Family lives close by. Local. Family history interest and reunion.
Involved in kindy. Plunket. Nominated onto school BOT. Elected as chairperson. Edible garden at school.	Grandfather went to the war. Never talked about it except one time. Medal from the Pope for service in Italy. Served at Monte Cassino.
Sports is a big part of our weekend. Soccer is the most popular sport not rugby. Encouraged to play sport. Put sports people up on a pedestal. Rugby is glorified. Hard core rugby following probably diminishing a bit. Netballers are doing better than rugby. World leaders in other sports but nobody knows.	Playing sports, or kids playing sports – people get involved. Netball, hockey, rugby, running. Managing daughter's netball team. Grandfather served as official for Commonwealth Games shooting. Dad is a mental rugby fan. He watches rugby, golf and American football on TV. Might watch All Blacks on special occasions but this is atypical of NZ norms. We love our sport – love rugby – we're a sporting nation. We're such a small country - sports people who do well and excel are admired.
	Independence – got on and saved up money. Didn't ask to be bailed out. Character building.

Karen	Lana
Modest. Ed Hillary. Kiwis give themselves a hard time. Don't gloat. Take your hand off it. Don't have that competitive, must win at all costs drive. Reason why we don't do as well as Australia in sports. Not as confident as Australians. We praise more than our parents. Hoping it will (keep) changing. Love talking about your wins if you're a kid.	Humble. Not pushy. Ambitious but not overly so. Like to know what I'm talking about. Don't pretend I was anything bigger.
Friendly & honest.	Friendly, open type of people.
Americans are your best friends while you're there – when you're gone, that's it. (USA values are different) credit society – had to have the best. Americans didn't know or care about NZ. Europeans are interested. Really want to come to NZ.	NZers are quite polite. Don't like to hurt your feelings. Un – American. They are loud, very brash, say whatever. Crass, self-important. Not interested in the rest of the world. Into material things. Shallower, not as real or sincere, fake.
Beach – loved it. Huge part. Pop had a boat. Take us out fishing. Going to the beach. Kapiti & West Coast beaches. Riversdale. Respect the sea after drowning. Boogie boarding with the kids. Stand and watch. Castlepoint. Go with family friends down winding dusty roads – they had a bach. Ended up at the beach. Going to Lake Taupo. Boat. Trout fishing. Got into water sports. Biscuit. Water ski.	Beach experiences with friends who had baches. Friends have fantastic family holidays. Love going to the beach but never had that type of proper holiday when we were young. We're not campers. Husband used to be a surfer.
Family baches – huge community at Kuratau. Never a problem getting a bach. Old furniture and crockery. Feel you can wear your shoes inside. Foxton – things went to custard. No holiday – always cleaning gutters. Easy to just rent.	
Clean green country image. Love the forest. Go on bush walks. Secret grotto. Pockets of bush all around.	
Make connections – put in contact with people. Distant family in England and Ireland. Staying with friends' of friends' penpal. Their families coming to stay with us in NZ. Chance meeting of NZer in Italy – come and stay with me. Keep in touch at Christmas.	

Karen	Lana
Scholarship to go overseas. Scoot around USA for 8 weeks. OE - urge to just head off is in the Kiwi genes. After education or apprenticeship. Set up with jobs and connections in USA. Sleeping in a VW Kombi van. Labouring – funded our travel. Meeting up with sister who was overseas. Travel cross-country. Meeting all sorts of people – so different from us. Dossing with sister in London. Skiing in Innsbruck. Seeing from Rome to Denmark. Come back and appreciate what you’ve got after seeing different things and new ways of doing things.	Doing the big OE – very Kiwi thing. Planned Contiki Tour with best friend. Pulled out once in London - complete change of plans. Lived in USA for 18 months. So far away. So much to see. Do things with your friends, away from parents. Get a job, earn some money. <i>Very attached to special NZ things when away overseas.</i>
Travelling for a break: Fiji– weather is tempting. Friends off to Aussie. Trips to Disneyland and Australia Expo when we were at school.	Travel experiences – trip to Italy – experience with high school exchange student. Visits to family in Australia. Holidays in Fiji with kids. Road trip and family wedding in USA.
Circumnavigate the entire country in the school holidays. Important for kids to see what’s in your own backyard before you do the international thing. Not happening so much. So much to offer here. Taking our kids up north this year.	Seeing NZ – not as much as I should have. North Island – Cape Reinga – Wellington. Nelson, Christchurch, Queenstown, Invercargill.
Places that suggest New Zealandness tourist guide places. Rotorua and Taupo – for the culture. Queenstown for the scenery. Also beaches of Coromandel and Wellington as a cosmopolitan place. Feel a strong connection with the land in Wairarapa. Feel that pull. It’s part of me.	
Buy some land and build a home.	Want own home with a big backyard.
	<i>Once Were Warriors</i> - it is real in some parts of NZ
	Used to go to church. Family involvement with church. Sunday school. It’s a shame really. Now bible studies at school.
Symbols: sky & clouds (Night sky too). Green bush. Koru. Maori factor. Whole outdoor things – nature and natural. Cities – Wellington & the Beehive. Accent (say my name).	Symbols: haka, kiwi, clean green nuclear free thing, scenery, Kiwi accent -we are different – <i>Flight of the Conchords</i> , All Blacks, sheep, traditional Maori costumed person.

Karen	Lana
If I was a boy I would have taken over the farm. Harder for girls. Tougher.	
Education – Polytech training and cadetship. Good start. Never too late. Haven't ruled out doing more study.	
Friends: went flatting. Lifelong friends. Met husband through flatmates. Making new friends after having a baby.	
Sense of humour – Americans didn't get it. We used to tease them all the time.	
Stereotypes – different now. Used to be (certain) stereotypes but not so much anymore. Blokes worked the chainsaw, earned a crust. Mum – baking and cleaning, hair in curlers. Now kids don't think of men going to pub / rugby. Mums are now out there doing stuff, earning. Getting to the top of the corporate ladder. We are exposed to many more cultures – Asians, Indians, Maori, South Africans, English. The stereotypes (of the past) don't exist anymore.	<i>Beer drinking culture.</i>

Marcia	Nicola
Most teenagers didn't have such heavy responsibilities at home eg bringing up other kids in the family and looking after kids during the holidays. Most people had more freedom.	Brought up by Dad. Some time in foster care. Big foster homes; didn't do anything much. Come home to see Dad once a month.
Family is important – no matter whether whole or part, regardless of situation. Visiting and staying with grandparents at their Waiheke home in the holidays. Growing up with cousins. Lots of fun together. Fond memories of Uncle and his train set.	Keeping in touch with wider family – grandfather, step sister, mother's family, nieces, nephews, brother etc. Visiting and staying in Kawhia and Te Awamutu. Dad helping out with collateral for buying first home. Having son to stay at Great Barrier.
Most New Zealanders have ancestors that are English and Scottish. Bit of Welsh and German mixture too. Don't know much about some parts of family history. Encouraging everyone to put down something for the next generation about the family tree.	Scottish and English family history. Advantage for getting British passport and travelling in Europe.
Dad served & was wounded in Vietnam.	Farm experiences. Dad was once a share-milker. Nephew is dairy manager. Friends into farming. Have done the milking thing.
Worked hard for what they got. Big families, rough upbringing. Money issue – couldn't afford for kids to do all the things they wanted.	Work a lot of hours – even on days off. Set yourself goals. Own salon. Own business. Buy a house. It can be hard to motivate yourself to get out of a rut. Routine – get up, go to work, go to bed. Got to do it to survive. Life is busy. Have to make a date to see friends.
Most Kiwi mums support kids - watch kids sport and are there for them when they win.	Brother very sporty. Quite involved in diving and Dad into judging. Played hockey. Wanted Dad to come and watch. Other people watch All Blacks and cricket on TV but makes you fall asleep.
Clever homemade skills – cooking, sewing, dolls, knit, embroider, craft toys. Had to be able to do these things to get ahead. Able to sell things they had made.	Do it yourself type people. Doing things around the house. Total renovation. Painting, tiling, knocking down walls. Do anything to keep the price down. Friends helped here and there. Grandfather built his own yacht.
Hospitable, friendly and kind. Visiting friends' places and having BBQ. That's what New Zealanders do. House full of people at Christmas. Food, friends, family, decorations, table settings.	Compared to Kiwis, Americans are less trusting, pretty arrogant and stand-offish. Middle Easterners are very hospitable & treat guests very well. Their culture puts women on a pedestal.

Marcia	Nicola
Many other New Zealanders would have gone away for family holidays, camping, caravan or to the bach once or twice a year. Piha and Waihi Beach holidays with friends. Want to see more of New Zealand – Christchurch and Dunedin.	Real Kiwi holiday. Go to the beach for the summer. Camping every year. Morris 1100, roll of black polythene / trailer and tent. Cape Reinga, Coromandel. Just go – no plans. Back then you could camp anywhere. Everything was just basic. Nowadays, not the same. More luxury. Go online to get last minute deals.
Love the beach - picnics and outings – Ngahau Bay, Titirangi beach. Diving, boat, fishing, pipi-ing, lunch, dinner, come home late. Six or seven families – pack up the neighbourhood. Mum had grown up at the beach – always at the beach. Sailing P class yacht. In Wellington you miss living near good beaches.	Great looking down over the beach at Great Barrier. Take a gardening spade. Entertain yourself. Swimming just amazing. Clean.
Outdoor living and eating. Outdoors life – parks, reserves, mountains like One Tree Hill. Green grass and animals. Memories of fishing off Orakei wharf as a kid	
Neighbourhood / street community – all families got on. Kids rode bikes together. Skipping rope with lots of teenagers on the front lawn.	In Middle East safe to walk on the streets night or day. Laws are the law. Not like the politically correct crap here.
Decent people; goodness of employer – boss and former All Black privately arranged to foot the bill of travel and medical expenses	It is not hard to make a living or get a job in NZ – as long as you are not fussy. At 22 nephew has opportunity to start to buy own herd and become proper share milker. If you work, people recognise that. Too many lazy people – families of dole bludgers.
Grounded in Auckland – missed it terribly, don't want to live anywhere else	Born and schooled in Auckland but lived for 4 years in Turangi.
Some sort of class system - not commonly talked about. Today people are judged by their place on the social ladder - according to your level of income and what you do.	
We're only little. Achieved a hell of a lot – world market and sports. We want to stand out and be noticed.	

Marcia	Nicola
Signs: typical dairy signage is a memory from growing up. Maori art and culture. L&P. Fish & Chips. Roast lamb. Green grass.	Greenstone – see it on someone and instantly know they’re a Kiwi. Lush green hills. Countryside like Waikato reminds you of home. West Auckland especially has an accent. Slangy way of talking. Lazy English.
Maori culture is cool but certain amount of violence in Maori men today. Aggressive. History of savagery and viciousness. Negative impressions from high school. Should be 1 country, 1 people – disagree with needing to have everything back.	
Think of New Zealand, think of rugby – but not everyone knows much about it. Sports conquests. Americas Cup watching. Not necessarily a unique kiwi thing.	All Blacks widely known in Europe. Rugby is a recognisable Kiwi thing.
Kiwi blokes are bloody lazy. Typical male doesn’t want to look too competent – might have to help. Expect women to run around after them. Some men are into families – nowadays more so. Drinking.	NZ bloke not that appealing. No finesse, no chivalry. Don’t like to dress up. Don’t make an effort with appearance. Hard working. Sometimes work too much.
Kiwi women used to do as they were told. Not now. Roles are different. Women can have careers and bring up kids. Can succeed in everything if they want to try. Can get a lot further on. Speak up for ourselves. Strong and can do it on her own. See this in Shortland Street and Outrageous Fortune. Our generation has seen the other side – women’s activists; bra burning	Kiwi women – self-sufficient. Independent. Not defined by male / female position. Get on and do it – not ‘wait for you father’.
People are quite laid back. Easy come, easy go.	Happy-go-lucky people. Willing to help. Will go out of their way if you’re in trouble.
Tiki-touring. Seeing New Zealand – have to see the South Island and North Island. Beautiful beaches. Going all over the place. Showing homestay visitors attractions of Rotorua and Taupo. Love showing off our country. We’re proud of it.	Want to see New Zealand. Especially the South Island. Average New Zealander would have travelled more to Australia than own country. Favourite place is Te Awamutu where family lived and went to stay every Christmas holidays. Typical NZ places include Auckland, the Coromandel, Christchurch, Wellington and the Bay of Islands.

Marcia	Nicola
Heroes: Sir Edmund Hillary – a good role model for people.	We have heaps of pubs. Swap-a -crate & Lion Red. Going to the pub is especially a rural farming community thing. Nice cold beer is the best thing after a good day at the farm. Go out for a night on the town with the girls. No drinking and driving – get a room in the city with friends.
Overseas travel & holidays - Tahiti, Melbourne, Sydney and LA. Had to travel overseas to get expert medical tests. Visited Disneyland, Universal Studios. OE is common but people our generation are also doing it after the kids have left. Love to travel – lots of places we would love to see.	Travel to Fiji, Italy and Middle East in recent years. Gorgeous places. Historical thing in Italy is amazing. Sightseeing. Get a map – let’s go here. Now it’s my time – want to do more travel. Always looking for cheap deals online. Lots of trips to Aussie to see family and friends. Really accessible.
Lots of interests and activities for kids that are good for them and educational. Swimming club, training, competitions. Ballroom, drama, dancing, hockey, netball, music. Opportunities: give kids a taste of what’s out there.	Thing about NZ and Australian rivalry is just a have. Jokes about the brain drain and increase of IQ and. All much of a muchness. Rural people and outback farmers are like NZ farming guys. Sydney is a bigger and busier version of Auckland.
Encouraged to go for it. Anyone can do anything they want to. Student loans – freeing up women and people on low incomes so they can study/become what they want. Have a go - Dancing with the Stars - taken out of their comfort zone.	
<i>Ability to laugh at ourselves</i>	<i>New Zealand sense of humour</i>

Olivia	Pippa
Everyone connected to another country – unlike UK & Europe where people have long roots in their own country. Affects who you are and what you do	Family descended from Scots, French, Welsh. Settled in Greymouth and dispersed around the country. Family story links to Rob Roy Macgregor coming down from the Highlands.
Immigrants typically come here with nothing. Have view that we left something behind for something better in New Zealand	
Self-reliant. So far away from original roots and wider family support system	
Assume most of us will go on OE. Travel for long periods. Common to see people coming and going overseas. Look at other cultures. Experience completely different way of life, landscapes, poverty (<i>of others</i>). Expect to support ourselves and experience hardship. Prepare for OE by taking jobs that involve moving around, getting experiences. Change perceptions of other cultures by appreciating their magnificent past - history and buildings. Travelling makes book learning come to life.	Want to travel. Travel so much. Being so far away; it costs a lot. Go for extended length of time. Do OE – drive to go overseas – most Kiwis young or old have an OE. Advised to see New Zealand first. Experiences of travel –girlfriend did not go on ship; last minute change of plan to travel alone. Europe. Living in London. Experiences of Canadian Immigration. Hitch-hiking. Driving across Canada – sleeping in a car. Travel bug. Later took a year out and travelled.
Typical upbringing – simple life, outdoors orientated, walking, biking, bush, streams, rivers. Lots of children playing together. Neighbours looked out for kids.	Into the outdoors. Outdoors is safe – no harmful animals. New Zealanders have no fear of the outdoors. Beach, bush, bush walking, surfing, skiing. Love anywhere there's a nice beach. Love the ocean. Never live far from the ocean. Fishing, Collecting shells. Collecting ferns and native plants for the home garden. Digging in the low tide for toheroas. Tua tua fritters.
Support system is often friends not blood relatives. <i>Always have family meals together. Open house with friends visiting.</i>	Making time for family - family time together – beach, picnic, visiting people every Sunday no matter what.
New Zealand less violent than other places. Crime is present but not as bad as comparable countries. <i>We still think of the Police as friends that will help us.</i>	Used to be a safe place – riding bike to school. Not so safe now, crime is getting bad. Crime is everywhere but it's escalated here. Always had a vege garden – that's what you do. Now days some people don't know what to do

Olivia	Pippa
Drinking culture – getting drunk as quickly as possible is widespread attitude. Frequent drinking sessions common for years although young generation seem to have even riskier drinking behaviours.	Rugby racing and beer men – not so prevalent now.
Eventual return to New Zealand, often for family reasons. Expect to settle down and get a house. <i>Have a large backyard.</i>	Keep coming back to New Zealand roots – family and friends. Love being back.
Rugby dominant culture. Topic of conversation everywhere. Advantage in life if you can talk rugby and / or are linked to a rugby man.	Rugby – big part of Kiwi psyche. Male domain. Brought up with rugby.
	Sporty, active childhood. Ballet, athletics, skating, netball, tennis. Involved in all sorts of sports. Team sport at primary, intermediate and secondary school. Sports captain. Father coached, brother played rugby. Sold pies in the rugby club canteen with Mum.
Unwarranted sense that if you went to uni you are better / elite compared to others.	People only went to uni to be a doctor, lawyer or accountant.
Not many Maori friends. Parents had no knowledge of Maori culture.	Unique New Zealand movies have cultural themes – <i>Whale Rider, Once Were Warriors, The Piano</i> . Maori is a strong force in New Zealand now. Learned poi and stick games, but that's as far as it went. Probably should investigate a bit more about Maori – could do courses but don't get around to it.
	Multi-cultural society now. Can't tell the difference between Tongan, Samoan, Maori.
Deserve to 'have a life'. Work hard, play hard mentality. Especially as young adults – go skiing or diving 2 out of 3 weekends. Getting away and out. Camping or modest accommodation.	Sheer tenacity and luck. I can do it – attitude, what you put your mind to. Don't give up. Give it a go. Keep on going. If you fail, you fail. Not inhibited by not being able to do anything.
Expectation of accessibility of any coastline, park or sporting group. No barriers to participation or entry. It's not about money (except in some elitist sports like cricket and tennis).	

Olivia	Pippa
Do not like people who talk themselves up (except in specific appropriate circumstances in business).	New Zealand people – softer attitude than Aussies (less brash). People of the land. Small town affinity. Even if you grow up in the city, holidays are very countrified. People make their own entertainment. Similar to Canadians.
Not the Kiwi way to gain personal advantage over others in the group / community. Personal coaching & extra tutoring should not be used to get ahead (only to catch up?). Tall poppy syndrome. Some people think that advantages like those will not happen in ‘real life’. Some people think that trying to do better than others is wrong. Being the brightest (in your class) can be a disadvantage.	Tall poppy syndrome – see it in government workers and social services – criticise earning a lot of money. Should be good on you if you’re successful – attitude of people in free enterprise.
	New Zealanders are loved around the world – unlike Americans who are not.
Gallipoli – anti war attitude. In the air – epiphany. Celebrating soldiers who went – who had done what they had done for our country.	Grandfather had leg shot off at Gallipoli. Visiting Gallipoli is phenomenal. Touching. Proud to be a Kiwi. War is so wrong – no purpose. Being so welcomed by the Turks is very special.
Relatively classless society. Did not have any sense of class distinctions years ago but do notice in contemporary Auckland.	Down to earth, basic, nice people. Business people and people ‘high up’ away from their work situation - no pretension.
	Differences within Auckland – Westies, South Auckland, Central, Eastern suburbs. Some - more superior, less sophisticated, poverty & lack of pride. Not all getting a good chance to make something of their lives.
	Proud to show our country to people. They say you should be in the tourist industry. Proud of natural attributes.
Tradition of wandering in, going to your neighbour’s without an invitation is starting to disappear.	New Zealand and Aussies stand out as more casual. Eg. Wedding clothes fashionable, distinctive, casual not so formal.
Chauvinistic society. People wrongly say that there is no discrimination on grounds of race or sex. But with persistence, women can work around barriers and succeed.	No 8 wire – can fix anything. Most men are useful. Women get stuck in and do stuff.

Olivia	Pippa
Patriotic sports supporters – anyone who is doing well we like. Any team that is beating another national team we like. Not so interested in local competitions, especially in women’s sports.	Kiwi Aussie relationship. New Zealanders have the mickey taken out of them in Australia. So much fun. They’re always there for you. Support Aussies in a final if New Zealand is not in it.
Holidays are about going to the beach (or skiing). Camping or a beach house, swimming, toys such as boat, sea biscuit, snorkelling gear. Going to the same (beach) place OR trying to go to different places.	Exploring New Zealand. Caravan. Fabulous holidays free camping. East Cape, up north Woolley’s Bay. Camping on a farm under the same pohutukawa tree every year right across from the beach. Catching up with the people who went every year to the same camping spot. Later experienced South Island - working in Queenstown. Special places: Coromandel - Tairua. Matapouri.
	Holidays spent travelling to see Grandparents.
	Haka is a Kiwi thing. Bush is distinctive – lush green, pongas, contrasting trees and ferns.

Sharon	Tess
Summer at the beach. Caravan. Every summertime weekend. Know everyone. Communal living. Boats, rock fishing, bush walks, collecting treasure, swimming windsurfer, dinghy, plenty to do. Easy life. Hanging out around the pool.	Summer holidays camping at the beach. Mucking around in the swimming pool at home. Sand, surf, jet ski. Boogie board, sandcastles, beach cricket, swing ball, tua tua fritters. Always with friends – communal living. Kids entertain themselves, freedom, independence, do their own thing. Camping tricks, drinking games, poker night – annual rituals.
Grandparents had hard life – war injuries, farming, hardship	Soldiers - respect for what our men did for us. ANZAC day parade.
Small world – in provincial areas everyone knows of you	
Travelling – seeing New Zealand first is important. Doing the South Island. Realise how gorgeous New Zealand is once you travel overseas e.g. USA.	New Zealand is a great place to live. See real poverty in Soweto. Extreme weather in Australia. New Zealand has friendly people who talk to strangers. Not in so much of a hurry.
Clean, green, beautiful waterfalls, white sandy beaches, awesome natural things.	
Relaxed people (but not asleep like in Fiji), laidback, country style. Easy; it doesn't matter. Don't mind our 'Ps and Qs'. Not prim & proper. Happy. Appearances aren't too important.	Know how to relax, like quiet time by the pool. Be good if you could "bottle" this attitude. Casual. Get a few mates around and beers - chilling out.
Type of humour that seems to be putting people down – could be taken the wrong way. Say the first thing that pops into your mind – be natural. Use slang a lot.	
Kiwi blokes are rough, quiet, hardworking, relax by taking 4WD – pushing to limit, down time	Kiwi bloke – fun with the boys, stick together, make a joke of the whole thing, have a few beers together. What stays on goes on tour stays on tour. Talk a lot of nonsense. Boys will be boys – love their toys. DIY
Spend weekends on DIY projects even if it means doing it wrong. Intend saving time and money. Weekends for doing projects for yourself, escape from busy week life	DIY – sometimes it works but mostly not so good.
Only country that is nuclear free. We're only little but we say "no" – it's worth it.	

Sharon	Tess
Kids play sports and men watch sport. New Zealand famous for All Blacks	Play a lot of sports. Keeps kids out of trouble. Parents get involved. Help with coaching. School teams.
	Follow a lot of sports. ABs and rugby instilled in us from early age. Icons. National sport. Good thing to grow up to be.
	New Zealand does pretty well for its size. In sport not such good facilities but we do just as well. Pretty good cross-section of talent for the size of our wee dot.
Heroes are the unpaid volunteers (e.g. in Arthritis Foundation) who just keep going. Give so much - emailing, putting the message out there, organising details of annual appeals.	<i>Doing the right thing.</i>
Australians are very similar to New Zealanders. Lots of cousins and Aunties; friends coming and going to live there.	Australians are obnoxious to New Zealanders. Close rivals. Always saying we're no good.
	We get our heads down. Get on with it. Not a big palaver over everything. Just do it. No need for fanfare and red carpet. No fuss.
	Save up to put deposit on own home or OE. Home ownership is a big kiwi thing.
	Staying home and being there for kids is ideal if at all possible.
Pohutukawa, Maori moko and other tattoos, stubbies and jandals, Air New Zealand logo, Vegemite, L&P, woodpigeons & berries, bush	Symbols – pavlova, kiwifruit, silver fern (on black flag) New Zealand flag, All Blacks, national anthem in Maori and English
	New Zealand movies off-putting to overseas people - show that New Zealand is a dreadful place to be. <i>Once Were Warriors</i> – shows horrible rough people. Awful and disgusting. People getting beaten up. Being drunk too much. Does happen but not typical for me. <i>Whale Rider</i> . <i>The Piano</i> . <i>Outrageous Fortune</i> takes the mickey out of Westies – quite humorous to see the ugg boot wearing, breast-popping-out people.
	Anika Moa, Dave Dobbyn, Split ENZ, Dame Kiri and other opera singers.

Sharon	Tess
	Can be too critical (especially of sports people). Get down on them if they lose. Knock successful people. Green eyed envy thing. Want what others have got. Can't be happy with what they've got.
	Valuing having plenty of family and friends to share life with. Shared love of speedway & stockcars – family thing where extended family hang out together. In each other's houses and on holidays together. Mucking in together. Grandparents always there. Learning about gardening from them.
	Women like to hang out with other women – have a glass of wine and chew the fat
	Links at some time with farming life
	Childhood - opportunities to run around, get outside, kick a ball and be kids. Not over-emphasis on academics – balanced life of academics, family life, sports and chilling out. That's the kiwi way. Happiness is important.
	Try things. Give it a go. Not afraid of the knockbacks. So what? Move on. Don't take things too seriously.
	Motivated people. Not lazy.

Virginia	Waverley
Many Aucklanders you meet were brought up out of town. Depth of character from not totally being brought up in Auckland. Moved around a bit from town to town.	Ancestors arrived in Lyttleton. Born in Christchurch. Moved up to Auckland. Better work prospects up here.
Stereotypes: Aucklander - not well liked by rest of NZ. Not as resourceful as others. Country bumpkin – genuine, not concerned about appearances, show hospitality, old fashioned. Victim – don't want to take responsibility, put limits on themselves through their (poor) choices. Patched gangs – not safe to be around, intimidating, smelly, drunk, bullying. Sport and outdoors people.	Typical woman used to look after the children. Not a highly sophisticated person. Now Kiwi woman gets what she wants to get out of life. She can have children – she can hold it off till she's 30 something. Owns cars and houses and is more sophisticated. In the past 20 years or more the typical Kiwi bloke was insensitive, didn't cry, and didn't understand women's feelings. Think of guys in their stubbies and the mullets and not being as goal oriented. Maybe today's typical Kiwi bloke is more buffed and in touch with his feelings. Stereotypes: The Maori boy who's gone wrong, has been in prison and trying to go straight.
Big OE trip. Travelling around Europe in campervan. Kiwi pilgrimage thing. Husband had done Contiki tour. Some people work in London – can be one step forward, 3 steps back.	Couldn't wait to go overseas. Accepted thing – certain age and you did your big OE. Everybody in those days wanted to travel overseas, that was our heritage. Wanted the experience of travel and other cultures. Came backwards and forwards a bit and worked in London. Done a lot of travel on my own. Love to do more travel in the future – esp. seeing museums and art galleries. Do a food journey.
Become more of a Kiwi when you are out of the country. Proud to be NZer travelling around. Always had Vegemite & lemon honey – reminds you of home.	Realise that NZ was actually a pretty fabulous country. Allows freedom, don't have to worry about war, starvation, being afraid in our homes, being able to vote for government, getting a good education. People say - had a wonderful time but can't wait to get back. Tie to your parents.
Ancestors from Scotland, England and small part Ngai Tahu. Visiting gravestones of grandfather's Scottish family	Ancestors originally from France via the UK.

Virginia	Waverley
<p>Homesick. Winter in Europe is not great. Hate being away from the sea – never live far from the sea. Missing the great things people tell you about that are happening at home. Concern about getting jobs when returning to NZ.</p>	<p>Realise that NZ was actually a pretty fabulous country. Allows freedom, don't have to worry about war, starvation, being afraid in our homes, being able to vote for government, getting a good education. People say - had a wonderful time but can't wait to get back. Tie to your parents. Coming back – astounded at how naive NZers were – not as much locking doors and protecting property. Backwards. Traffic had got a lot busier in the '80s.</p>
<p>Staying on a farm. Sleep out style cottage. Adventure. Making hay, exploring. Not unusual - most New Zealanders have contact with real farmers (not just on lifestyle blocks). Playing cards, Bingo nights.</p>	<p>Taking the car and going on picnics – gathering the family. Go down to the river in Christchurch or to Birdlings Flat where there's a lot of gemstones on the beach. Good times. Wenderholm. Often with one or two friends of the family. Amongst huge crowds of Island families at Wenderholm.</p>
<p>Love going to the beach. Dark sand west coast beaches. Picnics with friends at Long Bay. BBQ. Boxing day and New year's picnics. Waimarama, Ocean Beach. West Shore. Boating picnics at Kawau.</p>	<p>Love going to the beach. Playing in the water. Always been a bit of a water girl. Collecting pussy willow. Love to be a fishing person – memories fishing off the wharf; hiring a boat up north. Catching kahawai.</p>
<p>Family holidays. Bach, budget motel. Caravanning, free camping in a clearing or campground. Lake Taupo. Meeting other families camping there. Taemaro Bay – right on the beach, rubber ducky, fishing, dragging body boards, exploring the beach. Cook over a fire, make your own fun, don't go to shop. Reading.</p>	<p>School holidays were boring – there were not the things you do now. Parents have to work. Head down to the swimming pools everyday and swim. Go to the movies with a donut and Fanta. Family culture was not to go camping or take the kids way or really do too much. These days - typical NZer bringing up a child - there's not a lot left over for holidays. Holidays to see parents in Christchurch.</p>
<p>Mountains and lakes are home for South Islanders.</p>	<p>We like to describe how absolutely beautiful the country is. Green pastures and rolling hills. Opportunities to ski or to lie in the sun in the Far North. Fisherman head north to do big sea fishing. Fresh air. Mountains and valleys. See places and think – I want to go there – with my daughter.</p>

Virginia	Waverley
<p>Get away. Get out of Auckland. Road trips around SI and NZ. 90 Mile Beach, Taupo, Rotorua, bubbling mud. Surprising that some people have not done this (seen a lot of NZ). Weekends away exploring. In the bush, seeing little settlements (usually expect peace & quiet). Other people go tramping. Little adventures. Going where other people don't go.</p>	<p>Love places like Paihia. Got very commercial but still beautiful, pristine, beach, tuis in the trees, the sun shining. Kiwiness of Waitangi – looking out over the water and thinking about our heritage – when they first came to NZ and the Maori. Going over to Russell in the boat. Pompallier House. Rotorua is another favourite. Whakarewarewa and the hot pools. Waiwera hot pools. Te Papa is a real NZ place. Wellington with the parliament buildings. Christchurch. Mt Cook and Ruapehu for skiing. Queenstown is a special place.</p>
<p>Selling up and going to Australia. Family plans to run a business but didn't work out. Came home to NZ pretty soon. Went to Fiji for work when needed a job. Didn't really like being away.</p>	<p>Adventurous spirit – e.g. Sir Edmund Hillary. Sailors & adventurers. Great scientists. Splitting the atom</p>
<p>Celebrations, Christmas, holidays, playing and visits with lots of cousins, grandmother, aunt and extended family. Continued today with Mum and husband's family. Sunday roast with family.</p>	
<p>Maori. Respect the culture of indigenous people. They are family orientated. Try to be understanding. Turned off Maori issues - rammed down your throat in the 1980s and 90s. Can't undo the past. Not hard done by. Treaty settlements providing grants & scholarships – positive discrimination. Overseas people think Maori run around in grass skirts & could work as servants.</p>	
<p>See all types of people in other towns and cities but not so much (variety) in (each suburb of) Auckland / North Shore. Some places overrun by Asians. Immigration needs to boost up numbers of people with English / Scottish heritage.</p>	<p>NZ identity has changed from European, Maori & Pacific Island people. Now huge numbers of Chinese, Korean, Middle Eastern people. Find it really hard to integrate. They mix with their own cultures and language – holding on to their own identity.</p>

Virginia	Waverley
<p>No class system. Everyone has a chance. Opportunities for affordable education. Can prove yourself through hard work and ethics. Anything is possible. Not afraid. Will take calculated risks.</p>	<p>England is terribly different from NZ. More of a class structure. Snobby wealthy people and the hired help – you’re down there. Everything prim and proper – they wouldn’t sit on the floor and play with the children. In NZ wealthy people do have a different view of life but not like overseas (living in almost a castle). Our country is not very old.</p>
<p>Practical people. Home renovations. Fixing things. Pioneering spirit. Arts and crafts – generations of people doing own sewing, knitting, quilting, scrapbooking, macramé, cane baskets, embroidery, cross-stitch, wearable arts. Easy to be creative in NZ. Woollen hand knitted jumpers. Very NZ.</p>	<p>You can start off as almost a nobody and end up on the international scene – Ed Hillary Bee Keeper. Helen Clark – University girl. More opportunities for education now. In my generation parents just didn’t think that their kids could go to university. Fully supportive of children furthering learning after college. Know that our children will have to have some sort of formal education. Different attitudes to Asian families – their parents very, very focused on education – got to compete to do better in life.</p>
<p>New Zealanders are famous everywhere -Ed Hillary, Peter Blake Quite easy to be famous in NZ.</p>	<p>We’re very (hand craft) crafty people.</p>
<p>Not restrained. Open, sharing, accepting. Casualness. Easy going, nice people. People can be individuals. Don’t have to conform. Fitting in at school.</p>	<p>(Informal) Not so strict – eat dinner on the couch – used to sit at table, put knives and forks together, never leave dishes on the bench. Freedom – esp. in relationships - not restrictive like Chinese, Korean and Japanese culture. Home stay students can catch a bus somewhere. Help themselves to food.</p>
<p>Friendly. Love showing off our country. Proud. Hospitable and helpful.</p>	<p>Down to earth and friendly – compared to big overseas cities like London. Tourists comment on this.</p>

Virginia	Waverley
Decent people. Nice place to live. Good place to bring up kids. Better standard of life than other parts of the world. Can grow your own veges. Not too hot or cold. No wild beasts. People are well educated, well travelled.	Honest. Humble. Not so ego-centred – NZers brought up with a bigger view of how to care about other people. We don't come from huge cities where it has to be 'get out of my way' push and shove. Plain speaking. Basic NZer has a family but has a vision. Visionaries, kind, compassionate people. Willing to help others and making a difference. Eg Fred Hollows and Edmund Hillary.
Environmentally conscious - keeping this nation as beautiful and unspoilt as possible for benefit of future generations	Life used to be simpler and slow. Worked at 9 -5 jobs. We weren't so rushed. Walked a lot. Less pressure to go places and be someone. Mum baked several types of biscuits – ate lots of sugar and fats. Home cooked way we do food – the meat and veg. Rare to have takeaways. Not a lot of choices in every way. Less materiality. We supported more of our own manufacturers. Now thousands of Japanese imported cars and everything's overseas – even Fisher and Paykel.
Unique sense of humour. Humour closer to British than USA. Tui – Yeah right!	
NZ known for: All Blacks, rugby & haka. Yachting. Not many people, lots of sheep. Everyone wants to visit NZ and come back again. Clean, green, pure.	
Films / TV show wild, wide open spaces & beach settlements. People are rough and appear to be not very well educated, shallow. We have a strong accent. Resilience. Violent culture. Sensitive to Maori culture.	Buying your own home. On a full section.
Used to be a safe place.	There's a lot of crime here in NZ. I'm embarrassed to watch the News with the crime in front of overseas students. We've got as many problems as any other country but I don't think there is a better place for overall quality of life.

Virginia	Waverley
	Values have changed. Manners – saying please and thank-you. Respecting elders, standing up on the bus. Not being rude & crude. Used to dress up (gloves) esp if going to the city. When visiting anyone there was home baking. Saving, budgeting. Mum & Dad didn't spend money needlessly or extravagantly.
Talk about war time experiences not very interesting. Block it out of my mind. Probably should be interested.	Used to think old guys who go to ANZAC and RSA were a pack of drinkers. Now realise the significance of their commitment.
Most similar to Australians, then English, then Canadians (rather than Americans). New Zealanders have a good reputation overseas. Quite well accepted except for young ones in Kombi vans who are on a drink fest.	Australians are the closest to our culture but they're definitely louder, cruder.
Symbols: silver fern, koru, kiwi, kiwifruit, wide open spaces, grass and greenery, mountain & volcanoes, sea, water, biggest coastlines, birds, tuis, fernery, pongas. Steinlager, L&P, Tim Tams, Pineapple Lumps, Weetbix etc.	<p>Symbols: Kiwi accent and the slangs we use. Air NZ symbol. Jandals. Big Ben pies. Buzzy bees. T-shirts. TT2 ice-blocks. Mr Key.</p> <p>All familiar with: rugby, All Blacks, Silver Ferns, John Walker, Peter Blake. Edmonds cookbook & recipes.</p> <p>Aucklanders familiar with: ASB, Smith & Caughey's and Farmers – treat visiting the top floor of the store, seeing the white cockatoo and having lunch.</p>

Personal Qualities Typical Of New Zealand National Identity Illustrated With Text Units

Personal Qualities Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Adventurous/ self-reliant/ pioneering spirit</p> <p>If there were to be some kind of apocalyptic event then our [NZ] kids would be better prepared to cope with what it is, to be back to basics. (Fiona)</p> <p>[A recognisable quality is] the sort of adventurous spirit of New Zealanders. [We're famous for our] sailors and adventurers, Peter Blake and the Edmund Hillary. (Waverley)</p>
<p>Avoids confrontations/laidback</p> <p>Perhaps it's lacking that aggression, or yeah, I suppose that laid back sort of 'Should be alright.' You know? We're just happy to get along. I don't believe Kiwis enjoy conflict, although I don't say that you know, a lot of countries do but I think we like to just get along and get alongside as opposed to making our mark and saying "We will fight." You know? What are we, we're peacekeepers. (Karen)</p> <p>I think most New Zealanders are quite mild, I guess mild mannered, you know, not really sort of out there, look at me, look at me, look what I can do and, but I think there's a bit of laconic laid back sort of thing going on. (Ingrid)</p>
<p>Can do attitude</p> <p>I think we've got, I don't know if it is more of a can do attitude that get out there and give it a try and what's the worst? Somebody says no and you come back home. Who cares? (Cathy)</p> <p>Well I think we're just much more put your head down and get on with it. We don't have to have this big palaver about everything. We just do it, there's a job to be done you just do it, you just don't have to have the whole fanfare and the red carpet put down whenever you're doing it. (Tess)</p>
<p>Friendly/helpful/decent</p> <p>I think people would say we're friendly, generally quite friendly, open type of people. (Lana)</p> <p>[When I got sick] I was having to go to the hospitals and stuff over [in America]. I was actually working for [a large firm] at the time and they paid for the trip. [My employer] was a famous rugby player and ... he definitely, he, yeah, we were trying to raise the money and he just called my parents and he said, "You're not to tell anybody but we're gonna, we'll foot the bill." (Marcia)</p> <p>I believe that a, as New Zealanders we're pretty happy go lucky people. I think we're willing to help. You know, if somebody's really in trouble, we go out of our way to help them. (Nicola)</p> <p>New Zealanders seem to be known ... to be kind and compassionate people and willing to help others. (Waverley)</p>

Personal Qualities Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Hard working/mentally tough</p> <p>[NZers] are hard workers ...very dedicated yeah. I've never known anyone not to get a job in England. (Belinda)</p> <p>We've never had a lot of money you know Dad's always just worked, worked hard and that was the work ethic that was, I think, put into us. (Cathy)</p> <p>The average New Zealand guy is pretty hard working. You know, they do work just about all the hours of the day. Some maybe too much, you know, they, to the detriment of anything else. (Nicola)</p> <p>For anyone that wants to do anything we're usually fairly motivated and determined and, yeah, achieve generally. We're not, I don't see New Zealanders as being a lazy nation, you know. We like our quiet time and we like our wines by the pool or whatever and our relaxation and chilling out but I think that we, we strive reasonably hard to achieve. (Tess)</p>
<p>Humble</p> <p>[Praising children] that was skiting. It's often when [my daughter] goes, "I did really well." Well, still I hear the [other] kids going, "Don't gloat." (Karen)</p> <p>I've never felt that I wanted to kind of pretend that I was anything bigger, because I just wanted to be good at what I was doing. (Lana)</p> <p>That whole thing with Edmund Hillary, his honesty and his plain speaking and he did so much for the Tibetan people. He built schools over there and he was just very, he was a very humble man and that's what he's known for. (Waverley)</p>
<p>Ingenious/DIY/creative</p> <p>The number 8 wire mentality and ability of Kiwis puts us ahead of the rest of the world in that for years New Zealand, until the Internet, has been very isolated. We have that ability to make things out of the most unlikely things. We have a creativity brought out of necessity because we don't have access, or we didn't have access to international markets. (Ann)</p> <p>[My husband] and I and my dad and my brother built the deck. And we have a long list of jobs that we still need to do so I'm in charge of sanding windows and painting and, painting and sanding and, I don't know how we're ever gonna get it done but we will one day ... We are quite creative thinkers and we're quite inventive and that kind of thing, I think we as a general people would probably say that about ourselves. (Lana)</p> <p>You notice people that aren't Kiwis, like maybe Asian or what, whatever, they've come to the country. They don't bother doing [repairs], anything to themselves. They just bring [the tradesperson] in, get the person to come in and it gets done. Which in hindsight's probably a good idea but that's not how [New Zealand] guys are programmed. (Sharon)</p> <p>We're very crafty people, you know, hand crafts that is, not cunning. (Waverley)</p>
<p>Sense of humour</p> <p>[New Zealanders have a] dry sense of humour. (Belinda)</p> <p>I think New Zealanders have a certain sense of humour that is quite distinctive. I think, you know, the, like the <i>Flight of the Conchords</i>, I think that's, I think, that's a very New Zealand, Kiwi sort of self depreciating, you know, we don't mind if we mock ourselves. I think that that's very typical ... You know, we think, we can think it's quite funny to be sarcastic and we're not, you know, to mock somebody is not generally considered an insult, especially if we know them. (Ingrid)</p> <p>The Kiwi type, the sense of humour. They like their, they're good for a laugh. We can laugh at ourselves, eh? (Marcia)</p>

Personal Qualities Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Unsophisticated</p> <p>[NZ men] are quite earth, not earthy if you know what I mean, what I'm trying to say yeah. And maybe not as 'polished' is the word I'm looking for I don't know as societies and some people but I think it's because they've always fished and they've always gone and watched rugby on the weekend and they've always had a drink at the social club afterwards. (Cathy)</p> <p>We're the rough diamond, we're not polished, we're, I don't mean that in a negative way, but this just where, take us as you find us, this is us. (Elaine and Fiona)</p> <p>I don't find the New Zealand guy that appealing. They just don't seem to have that finesse of, I don't know, like the gentlemen type, you know, that chivalry type, I don't know. They don't like to dress up, they have this aversion to looking nice. (Nicola)</p>
<p>Versatile/flexible</p> <p>[The combined emphasis on education and extracurricular stuff] I think that's part of the roundedness that I think Kiwis really value, I know we value. [Compared to other countries, our teenage children are] independent and, and manage their money and manage their daily living. (Fiona)</p> <p>I think we're pretty adaptable. I think we can slot sort of slot into lots of different situations and sort of, you know, cope with, because we do come from that kind of situation ... because we come from a small country and we're not, I guess, my husband found this especially in the US, people tend to be quite micro-specialised. You know, they'll study something but they'll only study a very small sort of aspect of it and that, you know, they'll be an expert at that. Whereas we tend to have a bird's eye view on things because we, maybe we've had to or you know we just have had to do several things at once. (Ingrid)</p> <p>It's sort of like a New Zealand sort of thing, you actually, an ability to turn your hand to a spectrum of work. (Jackie)</p>

Community Practices and Values Typical of New Zealand National Identity Illustrated with Text Units

Community Practices and Values Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Active/sports orientated</p> <p>We're very much a sporting family, so I think in that sense that's a strong part of our identity as, as a family but also very much being a part of the, aligning ourselves with the Kiwi identity. So my father played sport even though, you know, he was a busy man and the weekends were for kids sport and Dad played golf and ran marathons so sport was important for him too. (Fiona)</p> <p>School was very much for me sport, I loved, I was involved in pretty much every team there was at school. I remember when I got School Certificate it was, "Yeah I might become a house captain at school," and that's my priority when I was at school it was sport and I think that's quite Kiwi, the sporting aspect. (Pippa)</p>
<p>Anti-intellectual/practical & sporty</p> <p>Why do they put so much emphasis on sport in New Zealand, what about putting more emphasis on intelligent people, why is it all sport? You can tell that when you go to the schools, you know. You go to prize giving, it's all sports, sports, sport and there's a lot of kids that are very academic and they have a separate award for academic but it is mainly, let's face it, if you're good at rugby you're gonna go a lot further, don't you think? (Belinda)</p>
<p>Awareness of Maori people and culture</p> <p>[Maori things today are] more in your face. (Ann)</p> <p>With the Indian, American Indians ... I guess we related, being brought up with Maori and just knowing that whole cultural sensitivity. (Karen)</p> <p>And I love their culture, I love their art work, I love, you know, some of the good parts of Maoridom ... we'd done quite a lot, of course, at school which we had to do through many different years of levels of school we did Maori culture and research and stuff. (Marcia)</p> <p>I'm a bit ignorant when it comes to the Maori culture that's something that I sort of feel I should investigate a little bit more. I mean, you know, when I went to school nobody spoke Maori. And now, you know, if you don't speak Maori and [haven't] got an incy bit of Maori in you, something's wrong with you. And it's a strong force in New Zealand now and yeah, I feel I missed out to be honest. (Pippa)</p> <p>[I'm] a hundred and thirty second or something [part Maori] I am, it's really, or something. So yeah it's pretty well removed. We don't, we feel it's a part of the heritage but don't really feel that it's who we are but it's a part of, like most of New Zealanders that it's a part that to respect the culture of the indigenous people of the country. But we don't necessarily, I suppose you could say [my family] are in it for what we can get which sounds really bad. I don't think we are very interested really as, a just, your average New Zealander in Maori things that might have been a burial ground or that the taniwha or something or other, we just think like just get on with it, kind of, what a load of rubbish. (Virginia)</p>

<p>Community Practices and Values Category and Text Unit Examples</p>
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<p>Beer/drinking alcohol</p>

<p>I had these [mates] ten years older than me going to the pub and I'm sixteen at the pub. (laughter) But yeah I'd already started drinking anyway at social club after school at school yeah. I was already drinking the froth off the beer then. But yeah no, I was always hanging out with older people and at that pub I mean you know there's bar fights and everything and I'm, my father would be honestly spewing if he knew this. [Now] I'm lucky if I have a drink once a month, but when you were that age and you were sixteen and you're getting five hundred bucks a week what else do you spend your money on? (Donna)</p>
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<p>[When I was a student there was] very much a drinking culture. So there were people there that would get drunk three, four, five nights a week and still attend university. I think it's worse because now people actually go out with an intention of getting drunk quickly. I think back then we didn't actually have the intention to do it quickly; it was a night affair. Whereas nowadays they might only have an hour; and they're planning on being drunk within that hour. (Olivia)</p>

<p>Community volunteering/neighbourliness</p>
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<p>Kiwis are very much into the community side of things, I think. People that work and raise money for the hospices. Sports people. People that coach teams and their children don't even go to school anymore but they see a need, so they still go back and coach the team. That's quite a New Zealand thing. They don't get paid for it. Everywhere else expects payment, overseas. (Ann)</p>

<p>Fundraising and, and being involved, volunteering time at various things ... part of my time gets allocated to my church activities and being involved with the kids' sport and, and [my husband] coaches and I support...very much a part of the community. (Fiona)</p>

<p>You know if people hear that somebody's having a tough time they'll make somebody a meal or drop them around a cake or try and do something for their family so that's still, the old fashioned values are still there. (Virginia)</p>

<p>Discovering the country/tiki touring</p>
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<p>We used to go on holiday every year either we went, one year we had a big holiday back to England so we all went off to Disneyland and had English, an English Christmas but mostly camping up north, Spirits Bay and all around those little places up north, you know, our parents used to take us somewhere different every year so you'd get to see the country. (Belinda)</p>

<p>And Dad was a big traveller and he liked us to see the country so we always travelled, every school holidays we'd pack and we'd travel all over the place and stay in caravans or camp sites or whatever yeah. (Cathy)</p>

<p>Went to Queenstown and I was just blown away by how beautiful it was, I was like, "I can't believe. How embarrassing that I've never been here. How beautiful it is." (Helen)</p>
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<p>My mother was really determined that we see as much of New Zealand as possible. So I have a sense of us intentionally travelling and seeing different parts of New Zealand. (Jackie)</p>

<p>Community Practices and Values Category and Text Unit Examples</p>
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<p>Family values/staying in touch</p>
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[It was a big thing] going to someone's place at Christmas and getting together and going to the weddings or something like that. We spent a lot of holidays down yeah with different relatives and that. But the big get together of the relatives and still it's a big thing because we're all quite close. We all keep in touch and yeah and I think 'cause it's such a small country that you've got the ability here to do that. And I don't know, you feel a bit more of a closeness. (Cathy)

I work in a nursing home so I know that people don't look after their parents, that they put them into a nursing home and either because they're sick or because half the time it's because they have got their lives set for themselves somewhere else. (Donna)

Most people would find the Croatian families overwhelming. They are very, very, a lot much more family orientated than we [Kiwis with British heritage] are with extended family ... Even the Chinese I see in the fruit shops and like well they've just got all the family working in there that's why they're doing alright. (Georgina and Helen)

<p>Fitting in/tall poppy</p>

We don't like to put our head above everybody else's and say how fantastic, we actually rather be the Sir Eds who get the acclaim in spite of the fact that they're very ... (Georgina)

"Okay, if the majority are doing this, I want [my children] to be able to do it if they wanted to." So, in that way creating some sameness. Fitting in. When we came to New Zealand ... there was such a pressure, in a way, to be the same, or that only sameness was recognised, that difference at school wasn't very well dealt with, at all ... New Zealanders tend to not be very comfortable with sort of direct debate about differences or politics, political things, or different viewpoints. (Jackie)

It's not the Kiwi way to have a personal coach so that your child is advancing faster. Very much the way in other countries, but not a Kiwi way. (Olivia)

Kiwi's are, yeah Kiwi's do knock people that are successful. Yep. They definitely do and again I'm not one of them. I don't, I don't get it. Like why wouldn't you be happy for somebody who's successful? They've worked hard for it and they should be given the gratitude that they deserve. (Tess)

<p>Holidays/ritual escape to the wild</p>
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We're out of Auckland there's no mobile coverage there, there's us and a beach and four days of nothing and, and you know no flush toilet nothing. We're lucky we've got power actually though 'cause that's run off an extension cord so that, that sort of blows out every now and then if we overload that. And so we are totally in the wops and that to me we feel really happy there. That's the happiest time of the year. (Donna)

I always get to December and think it's time to go to the beach, just feels like it's time to go the beach, although that's usually more sort of dreaming than anything else, because I mean the reality is that we might go for a couple of weeks ... I just like to, you know, leave Auckland and go to the beach and stay there for a few months. (Ingrid)

Community Practices and Values Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Idolising sportspeople</p> <p>I look at famous people ... I would chose sporting ahead of someone in the arts or something but that's just probably because of what I hear and told through childhood growing up. You know, Colin Meads and all those kind of people. (Helen)</p> <p>I think we like to put our sports people up on pedestals. It's certainly, and it frustrates me a little bit, to be honest, I think you know, "Good grief." Have a look at some of the other stuff we're actually doing in New Zealand that's not sport, and making waves, and, "Hey, we can find the cure for cancer, but oh well, how did the All Blacks go?" (Karen)</p>
<p>Male dominated</p> <p>It's actually quite backward really in today's day and age because let's face it [a lot of ads seem to have very male themes, male interests, male point of view]. Australia is probably that little bit worse than we are in the sense that the male thing over there is the big thing, but I think that we're actually a little bit behind with the times actually ... I think that we are a little bit, the little woman syndrome going on. (Belinda)</p> <p>If you are a male and interested in rugby and can talk about it, then you have a topic that you can talk about anybody with ... Yeah people think that we're non discriminating and non sexist and it's a load of crap. I [as a woman business owner] had to fight my way to get extra things like extra [agencies] and that sort of thing. Very hard to do because they didn't perceive women as actually being successful. Now in my bank and my accountancy areas, superb assistance. No, no sexism happening there at all. But from suppliers and stuff very interestingly some, yeah. (Olivia)</p> <p>When I got the job at [] it was the response from people around that a woman had got that job was just phenomenal. It was like "go girl." You know, you're really into a male domain and it was, it was an amazing attitude I walked into and I, I couldn't believe it. It was like, "Grow up darling." It was such a male thing and oh it was awful, but it changed. (Pippa)</p>
<p>Mates & friends</p> <p>We holiday with friends because our family aren't around and so the people that we've grown up with, with children the same age we head away en masse. (Fiona)</p> <p>I think with most New Zealanders your support system - it's quite interesting - you don't have a big support system other than friends. (Olivia)</p> <p>It's the Kiwi way, a good old get the mates round and have a barbeque and a few beers and have a chill out, you know. I like nothing better than to get together and chew, chew the fat and have a few laughs and a glasses, a few glasses of wine and let the boys go (laughter). Get the kids together and ... It's a big, big thing we like to do, we're social people, we like friends, got lots of them. So, yeah, chew the fat and talk a bit of rubbish and tell some jokes and on guitars and get your guitar out and sing. (Tess)</p>
<p>Need external affirmation</p> <p>Kiwi's are interested in what people think about New Zealand. (Elaine and Fiona)</p> <p>[New Zealanders like to have other people from outside tell them that it's a good place] well I mean it's always nice to hear, and then you go overseas, people that have been here saying, "Wow, what an amazing country you have, and I can't wait to get back there, and the people are so friendly and it's just so beautiful and it's just so clean and fresh." (Tess)</p>

Community Practices and Values Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>OE travel/interest in the world</p> <p>But we seem to know so much more about the rest of the world. Even though we're isolated. (Ann)</p> <p>All my friends did the big OE and it's amazing how all my friends now, that I meet through school, how many of them lived overseas. (Helen)</p> <p>Then I decided I wanted to do a big OE, which is another very Kiwi thing to do. So my girlfriend and I, best friends since we were six, had decided on our OE. So we, yes, decided on, planned our big OE and we, off we set. We were gonna go and just do a Contiki tour around Europe. How Kiwi is that? (Lana)</p> <p>I think the average New Zealander would have gone to, would have travelled more to Australia than their own country. (Nicola)</p>
<p>Outdoor life/BBQ/great outdoors</p> <p>We would take [overseas visitors] all over the place, we would take them, you know, drive round to beaches, we'd drive them to mountains. We'd have barbeques. We'd take them to friends places and, you know, 'cause that's what New Zealand families do isn't they, they go and visit each other's families and have barbeques and stuff like that. So, they're not used to that, you know, and they're not outdoor living and eating and stuff like that, it's amazing for them. Or you take a picnic up to One Tree Hill and do something like that for the night. (Marcia)</p> <p>Our summer, we'd just go to the beach and at a camping ground ... the dads had boats and we'd sort of live on the water and live on seafood. (Sharon)</p> <p>A lot of our holidays [with our two teenage daughters] are mostly, have, until the last year or so been based around going on motorbike trips ... we've gone to Taupo, Rotorua and up to Rainbow Mountain, so they go up the top of this mountain thing and look out and see it, so it's just sort of getting out there, it's sort of in the bush but it's hardly the peace and quiet if they've got the motorbikes roaring ... The girls would pitch a tent across the other side away from us and then cook on an open fire ... they took all their own pots and made sand pancakes. (Virginia)</p>
<p>Owning your own home</p> <p>So there's some things that I feel quite, that are common, obviously, buying your own house. (Jackie)</p> <p>We just both decided that we would stay at home until we could afford to buy our own house and that's what we did. We saved and saved and saved till we got a deposit together ... We've always been big home owners as opposed to renters like a lot of the overseas countries are. But yeah definitely the, definitely that's a, you know, a big Kiwi thing to own your house. (Tess)</p>
<p>Work life balance</p> <p>The whole ethos of, or the whole balance between work and family life is considerably better here than anywhere else. They enjoy it overseas but New Zealanders definitely put family before everywhere else, whereas most people tend to have to put career because they have to finance their lifestyle and it's much more difficult to do that overseas than it is here. (Georgina)</p> <p>We work hard and we play hard. [Before having children] I would go skiing in the winter two out of three weekends ... and in summer I would go diving two out of every three weekends. Or away on and out camping and stuff. (Olivia)</p>

Myths and Stories Typical of New Zealand National Identity Illustrated with Text Units

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Aware that violent underbelly exists</p> <p>There is that criminal undertone here too as everyone knows. Yeah the <i>Outrageous Fortune</i> stuff. And obviously at the moment there's a lot of problems with P and in that kind of way I guess probably a lot of the, not so, some of the families are not doing so well. (Belinda)</p> <p>[Thinking of <i>Once Were Warriors</i>] they're just horrible rough, awful, disgusting people. Beat people up and drink too much and, just not very nice ... But it's, yeah, but it's, but I mean, yes. I know things do happen, I'm not saying that they don't but it's not, well, for me it's not, not a typical, no, although it probably does happen more than what I know. (Tess)</p> <p>[In several towns I have lived in] the gangs were quite predominant and quite intimidating, the Mongrel Mob or whatever and if they came into town there was lots of incidences. They were big people that would get drunk or they were smelly with their patches on and sort of rough people and, in cars or vans or motorbikes but they would hang out round certain hotels which are just on the edge of the main place, but you have to be careful where you walked. (Virginia)</p>
<p>Benefits of team sport</p> <p>Getting them involved in team things, even though it's not just a sport thing it's, it's getting them to interact with other people and to learn how to, you know, deal with bumps and knocks and, you know, fighting with Jimmy next door. And not, not sheltering them in particularly, just exposing them to, to various things. (Georgina)</p> <p>I actually think it's a really important thing for kids to do even, you know, even if they're not great at it, I mean it's a bonus I think if they are, but I think if they, I think it's a really good sort of social skill apart from anything else, you know, being, to be involved in a sport where they're not just doing it, a team sport I think is a really good thing. And from a health sort of, you know, a health perspective I think it's a really great thing to be doing as well. (Ingrid)</p>
<p>Camaraderie when overseas</p> <p>I think we do look out for each other overseas. I mean if you go to London and you, you know I've been to London before and a friend of mine was over there doing her OE so I met up with her and they pretty much stick to the London, in London they have their Kiwi and Australian bars and they stick together over there like more so than they do mixing you know they have a lot in common. (Belinda)</p> <p>We were buying supplies ... on our way to Milan and I was saying to [my husband], "Look at that lady behind us with all her cheeses!" So she heard us yakking away, and she just couldn't help herself, but say, "So where you guys from? New Zealand or Australia?" And I'm just like, 'cause no one spoke English in this little town, and I was, "We're from New Zealand." She's like, "So am I." So she was, oh she would've been in her 40s then, and she said, "Oh, I went on my OE and ended up marrying an Italian guy and I'm still here, and come stay with me." So we did. (Karen)</p>

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples**Classes apparent in Auckland society**

I would go to parties or things with different friends and some of my friends were very wealthy and, or are very wealthy and they would have very affluent people. And some of these affluent people as soon as they would ask what you did, "I'm a housewife," some of them didn't even know I was on the DPB and they would literally, physically turn themselves around and start talking to somebody else. They were not interested in you because you were just a housewife. (Marcia)

Now I think that there, certainly in Auckland exists and we don't call it an upper class. I don't know what you'd call it. You'd call it a higher class, you know. (Olivia)

South Auckland is I don't know, I'm thinking of this as I'm going. South Auckland is, well there's more poverty there so that breeds probably lack of motivation in many instances, lack of pride and that comes down to education. And a lot of those people I don't think get a good chance at making something of their lives and then I suppose you go to the Eastern suburbs and its affluence and their attitudes are probably more superior which is wrong but that's just the way it is. (Pippa)

Clean green/100% pure paradise

I would not buy any meat that was not New Zealand. Me neither. The mad cows disease and everything else that goes into it, all the hormones and rubbish, not saying that ours doesn't have that but you like to think it doesn't. (Ann and Belinda)

New Zealand has got a little bit of every different kind of scenery or part of the world you could possibly want to visit and it's all compacted into New Zealand. From, you know, beautiful mountains, to amazing gorges to, you know, the sounds, to the glaciers, to the wild ruggedness of the West Coast, you know, all of that and, you know, and you've got your geothermal area in the Bay of Plenty and we've got beautiful islands up in the North ... We have sort of got this clean green sort of you know the whole 100% pure thing going on and I just think that we are, you know, slipping with that really. (Elaine)

Comparisons with Australians & Americans

I always kind of align the Australian mentality with the American and the New Zealand mentality with the English. I think we're much more English based and I think the English mental state is to be relatively realistic in their perception of what they are. Not saying that we, I don't think we over inflate ourself. And to a certain extent the Australians too, they've got a much better ego than we have. (Georgina)

New Zealanders are quite polite and we don't really like to kind of hurt people's feelings or say something that's not nice. And Americans will just say, you know, they're just quite crass and they're very loud and they're quite self-important, very kind of, very self-important. (Lana)

You know, this thing about, oh the New Zealanders and their, the New Zealand and Australian rivalry thing I think it's just something that's carried on just because they can. You know, it's inbred I think and it's not really, I think we're all pretty much of a muchness. I don't think there's a real rivalry I think it's just a have. Yeah, yeah I mean you just go, "Oh yeah," or the brain drain, you know, how it's saying that the brain drain from New Zealand has increased the IQ of Australia. (Nicola)

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Free ranging childhood</p> <p>And we would take off pretty much after breakfast and there'd be a group of us. We'd all kind of meet up and we'd go up into the mountain, we would try and track wild pigs and we would make huts and houses and collect berries and we used to go blackberry picking and take them to an elderly lady that lived at the corner of our street you know and she'd make all these jams and we'd sit at her place and she'd make us pikelets and we'd just sit there and eat this jam we used to think it was absolutely wonderful. And we'd get lunch at somebody's house and as long as we were home by 5:30 our parents really didn't have a clue where we were you know. We just had freedom. (Elaine)</p>
<p>Importance of the beach</p> <p>The beach is hugely important to New Zealand culture, I think that whole seaside is hugely important. We're lucky in that our seaside is, coastal seaside is close ... a lot of the American coastline is, there's no headland to it, there's no coves, there's no trees, there's no plants, there's nothing else with the coastline which is quite bad and I think that perhaps is a big part of our childhood wasn't just going for a swim it was actually, you know, crabbing around the rock pools and getting tuatuas and, and, you know, trying to find the best pohutukawa tree to picnic under. (Georgina)</p>
<p>Inevitable return home</p> <p>So the big impetus to come back was always to bring the children up in the lifestyle that we grew up in and even though we've travelled extensively and lived in quite a few countries, it was never going to be anywhere but New Zealand. (Georgina)</p> <p>Eventually, after I'd done a lot of travel I realised, maybe grew up just a tiny bit, realised that New Zealand was actually a pretty fabulous country. And I think most New Zealanders would say that, especially friends who have travelled overseas they say, "Actually I had a wonderful time but I can't wait to get back to New Zealand." (Waverley)</p>
<p>Informality</p> <p>Just popping in on people unannounced which is a very Kiwi thing which is very unheard of overseas, which is ... Something I love would be that whole freedom, freedom from formality ... "The more the merrier." And, you know, if we have a picnic for six or twenty five it doesn't matter, you know, you just invite everybody, so. You don't leave anyone out. (Georgina)</p> <p>Well it was interesting when I was at the wedding [overseas] we stood out so differently from the rest of them [from other countries] when it came to the actual, what people wore. We [Kiwis] had a distinctive casual but very fashionable dress whereas the others were more formal. I know what I'd prefer, you know, yeah. I found it very interesting that, that dress. So I think that is one thing that stands out. (Pippa)</p> <p>We don't have to mind our Ps and Qs as much anymore, we don't have a strict in manners and, you know, just thinking of some of my friends that are English, you know, and the things they do and they don't, you know, "I wouldn't dream of doing that" and it's like, well does it matter? [The English people] would have been all very prim and proper and you've got to do this and got to wear this and appearances are important. And I mean they are a little bit here but I've, I don't feel, you know, you've got to look at the big picture [because it's not worth worrying about]. (Sharon)</p>

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples**Link with the land**

Everyone was, lived off the land, Dad always had a garden, we always had a pig and cows and sheep and things just a couple in the backyard and things like that you know. And we would swap, we would swap, Dad had a huge veggie garden so we'd swap it with someone up the road and they'd give us eels or something that they had collected. (Cathy)

[My family] have always wanted to get their hands dirty. I think that that's innate ... it's something that is considered, honourable is not the right word but it, whereas other countries might consider that sort of physical labour to be down class, I don't think that is here. I think that New Zealanders consider that to be 'honest toil' and it's something highly thought of and, and it's, it's a respectful way to put money on the table, because you're, you know, you're honouring the land and you're, you're buckling down and trying to earn a living for your family the best way you can and I think that's something that's always been quite, yeah, a deep set part of the New Zealand culture. (Georgina)

I think it's more a perception than an actual reality for everybody, but certainly remember the sort of talk of people going down to the farm for their holidays. They, it sort of seemed, at one stage, that everybody had a family farm or something. (Jackie)

For a little while I grew up, well, spent a couple of years on a, a little farm which was pretty cool, you know, typical Kiwi with the cows and the sheep and the chickens and watching Dad cut the heads off the chickens and Mum cook them up and collecting the eggs and all that sort of thing. (Tess)

Loss of identity through immigration

I feel we're losing our identity. You know. It sounds really racist though. But I don't like the amount of Asians that we have in New Zealand. [Asian immigrant families at school] don't do anything. They don't do anything to fund raise. They don't do anything to integrate. (Ann)

I kind of do feel that our country, that's where our heritage of most people you meet, like your Scottish, English, and I think we need to boost it up a bit so that we don't get, I don't want, wouldn't like to see our country overrun by Asian people. I'd be quite upset about it. I'm upset when I see Northcote overrun by, that's the shopping centre that's all Asian shops now. (Virginia)

When I was growing up it was mainly European, Pakeha, Pacific Island people. Now ... we have Chinese, Korean. Chinese have always been here, but in such huge numbers now I don't think our traditional New Zealand identity is existing anymore. It's, like there's a lot of Middle Eastern people here. And of course they all bring their own culture and I think they find it really hard to integrate with Kiwis. (Waverley)

Maori grievances/racism

There's a little bit of probably an attitude there ... some cultures that they're hard done by and that they, they have been wronged and they feel that they are owed something back and perhaps lack that kind of get and go kind of attitude. (Elaine)

And, but I was put off I think and I still am by [Maori] need to have everything back. That sort of really annoys the pants off me, so yeah and I get a little bit edgy over that, so yeah. I don't think that's fair. No. You know, on one hand they're claiming to be one country, one nation, on the other hand they want to be segregated and have their own prison now or flats. (Marcia)

Certainly [my husband] and I do not have the attitude that many people have in this country which is, "Oh did you see that car cut me off it's a black person" you know, that sort of thing, you know. Asian person, whatever. (Olivia)

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples**Mixed society/status not important**

People don't care where you went to school or what your parents did. [They do] judge you very much, or, on who you are and what you do and what you stand for and what you, on your actions rather than the stuff you carry around with you, or what you were born into or weren't born into. Whereas, see in the UK, the only way you get ahead is if you're born into money. The only people that have land is from families being passed down through generation to generation, you inherit it. Nobody ever works their way up [in the UK]. (Elaine and Fiona)

Travelled a bit around England and Scotland and so on and then I became, got a job as a nanny in Seven Oaks in Kent, which is really interesting because it was a great insight into the British class system. And having come from the country in New Zealand it was just such an eye opener how different it was. (Ingrid)

I hate that class thing and pretentiousness, I don't think it's a Kiwi trait at all, and I think I like the fact that you know, we're on this equal pegging and that really hits a chord with me. (Karen)

This particular person who is extremely high in the world rugby and New Zealand business he'd be one of the nicest most down to earth people you could ever meet he's just fabulous and no such thing as pretension at all. And that yeah I think that's lovely about Kiwis. (Pippa)

Multicultural society

I went to school in West Auckland and the majority of the kids that were at school were either Dallies or Dutch or just Kiwis and Maoris and Pacific Islanders so we had a mixed race. (Belinda)

When I went nursing and worked at [] Hospital it was very integrated and nearly all the domestic cooks were Islanders. All the Maoris, Pakehas and Europeans were, you know, the nurses. But it was still it was nothing, it was nothing you know. You went to the Islanders to playschool with them, kids birthdays. They invited you, we invited them. If we had parties at the hospital they were invited. We had a social club at the hospital and all that whereas in Australia I, and they had their little divisions and you joined their clubs if you wanted to, but they only joined their clubs it wasn't as culturally mixed I don't think, as us. (Cathy)

Something that jumps in people's faces is the different cultures that are in one room together, you know. That's probably something that someone say from Iraq might freak out about. If they were to come into to my lounge at home you know we'd have two Samoans walking in that door and a, you know, Pakeha walking through this door and then a Maori sitting over there. (Donna)

I think [our mixture of Thai, Maori, Bohemian and English] is a real Kiwi thing and it kind of seems like more and more since when I was a kid. There wasn't really that many people that had mixed cultures, but nowadays definitely and it is a real Kiwi thing. (Lana)

National pride

I'd be talking to [potential visitors to New Zealand], if they were younger, about our outdoor adventure type lifestyle. Yeah, the greenery. The differences, you know, that you don't have to travel far, the variety. The beauty of the country. The cleanliness of it. I'm very proud to be a Kiwi. (Ann)

[Visiting Gallipoli] was probably one of the most, it's a highlight of my travels. It was it was very emotional ... it's so touching and you're proud when you're there ... Friends who come down and they go, "You should be in the tourist industry you know you're so proud of your country." I mean I'm proud to walk through Cornwall Park. I walk through it a lot and I just give thanks that I've got this beautiful park at my doorstep. Because it's, where else can you walk with the cows and the sheep in the middle of the city? It's very, very special. (Pippa)

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples**New age man & woman**

I think a lot more Kiwi men that are fathers, well certainly the ones that we have had contact with, a lot more they're a lot more involved with their children. And in this I'm making comparison with the UK but that was definitely something that they are in tune with their family, a lot more, and involved in that family, a lot more, and involved with their children and more hands on, than certainly what we witnessed in the UK. (Elaine)

I don't think our kids think of a typical male as someone who goes to the pub and goes to the races and plays rugby, and I guess it's what they're exposed to themselves, but [my husband] is not like that, our friends are not like that, so you know, take [another man] he was a stay-at-home dad. [Kids] see mums out there doing stuff, and women out there doing, you know earning the crusts and getting to the top of the corporate ladders. (Karen)

Well I think Kiwi women today are a lot more, what's the word, not subservient, just that, not even aggressive, but we do have a lot more aggression in us than what we did say thirty, forty years ago. They were very subservient back then. They did as they were told. We certainly don't. Our roles are very different now, we're bringing up children on our own, a lot more than what perhaps other parents were. And you can have it all, you know, as a woman you can have it all, you don't have to sit down and shut up because that's what's expected of you, you know, you can get up and say what you wanna say and do what you wanna do and succeed in everything that you try. (Marcia)

Now I think we're more aware of fitness, like there's a lot of women and men at the gym. So maybe the typical Kiwi bloke is more buffed these days and more in touch with his feelings. (Waverley)

Nuclear free

I suppose, you don't really want to think about Rutherford and splitting the atom, you don't want to think we're partly responsible for nuclear reactionary. (Ann)

The nuclear free issue ... that was putting our foot in the sand and saying "I'm sorry we're not, we're not going to let you guys determine, you know, just because you're, you're bigger, you're our, you're our, you know, the States is our, our friend in good time and bad, you know, we don't have to accept that, you know, we're going to have this. You're going bring your nuclear ships into our port? I don't think so!" (Elaine)

NZ was once isolated

The fact that [Australians] had so much more available to them over there than we had, food wise, that type of thing. But now, no difference. (Ann)

New Zealand, in many ways, was really isolated in the 60s, 70s still. And ... because before 1980 sort of lifting of various import things, it was so hard to buy anything outside of New Zealand, 'cause you needed the overseas funds. (Jackie)

Open access to places

Growing up in New Zealand it's your God given right to go to these absolutely gorgeous beaches where you're lucky if there's another soul on the beach, you know, and you just park your car for free and you go and enjoy what nature's provided for you. (Elaine)

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Opportunities</p> <p>[Children] have so much more chance to shine or to have opportunities here than they do I think, anywhere else. (Ann)</p> <p>You know, I like that, we do get a lot of opportunities, the kids do get a lot of opportunity to do a lot of different sorts of things. They can try lots of different things and they can do it pretty, quite easily and they can go into all these sort of dynamic areas and environments and try, you know, just try things that, it's great testing for them. (Ingrid)</p> <p>People go on about, "Oh it's so hard to find a job," well I don't think it is. If you really wanna job you'll get one, you know, I mean, as long as you're not fussy. Because I mean I've never been without a job, 'cause, well you have to, you have to survive. (Nicola)</p>
<p>Punch above our weight/underdog</p> <p>I look at the Olympics and in terms of per capita and the number of medals and things we, and the, you know, the relative lack of funding and advantages that our sportsmen have in comparison with Australia with their Institute of Sport and that. We're the little guy, we've got to prove, make our, make sure everybody knows that, you know, we're here and don't forget us and, and we're not gonna be, you know, taken over or brow beaten or anything, we're going to hold our place, you know, that whole punching above your weight I think is quite important to us. (Fiona)</p> <p>Well I think we're probably, because of our size we're just I think as outstanding. We don't have probably as gooder facilities as what, well like Michael Schumacher, you know, and we know they have, you know, huge opportunities. We, we try. We've got Scott Dixon, obviously who had a go-kart as a child and things. Yeah, so for the size of us I think we do pretty well. (Tess)</p>
<p>Rugby mad</p> <p>And I think it's like an ingrained part of you, you know I think rugby and things like that in New Zealand is something really that I think we hold quite precious to ourselves you know with you know the All Blacks and not I think just 'cause we do well I think it's just how you grew up and everyone wants to get into the First XV ... And you tramped around on weekends and you stood there and you know for six hours and had a sausage sizzle and watched the boys play rugby and went to the clubrooms afterwards. (Cathy)</p> <p>Yeah Mum and Dad were rugby mad, my mother's the worst you understand. We say "Mum, it's only a game". She's horrified if anyone has a birthday, you can't have anything on, you know, a test night. (Helen)</p>
<p>Rugged masculinity/'Man Alone'</p> <p>Well [my husband] and his friends, I would say, they're the typical, that you know, they're typical of I don't know. Like beer (laughter) you know, like their motor bikes, like their trucks, like into stuff like that. (Belinda)</p> <p>A typical Kiwi bloke, I can't imagine being naturally affectionate. (Helen)</p> <p>[My husband] likes being out in his shed with his motorbike and cleaning it and pulling bits off and pulling it apart and putting it back on and... he just couldn't be without his shed and it's a real, it's his space and he does, he, I don't know what he gets up to out there. (Lana)</p> <p>They're rough. (laughter) No, they're not all rough, just the ones that I know. Yeah. Quiet, hardworking. They do their 4-wheel drive truck thing. They're just out there pushing their trucks to the limits and getting stuck and getting, you know, it's, it's time out from work, you know, there's no pressure. (Sharon)</p>

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Safety/golden age</p> <p>It's safe, well it used to be so. It used to be a lot safer but it's safe in general. (Belinda)</p> <p>One of the things that stands out for me about New Zealand is safety, as in no harmful animals. (Pippa)</p> <p>I think we're, there's a lot of crime in New Zealand. (Waverley)</p>
<p>Small town quality of life/simplicity</p> <p>Small town New Zealand was riding your bike, going to the local dairy, feeling safe in the park, meeting up with friends on the way home from school and detouring, going to a park and playing on a roundabout and swinging on a swing, building a hut in an empty section, you know, digging a cave, just parents not worrying about where you were. (Ann)</p> <p>We wanted to live our lives, you know, be a very much a part of the community. And, it was always very important to us that the kids, that we live and work locally, I always had to travel out of my area and I didn't want that for my kids. (Fiona)</p> <p>We bought a place, we just wanted, we drove around and I wanted somewhere I could let the kids ride their bikes where I didn't have to worry about the main roads still and a few shops, not many and no main thoroughfare that hoons could be attracted to at New Year. (Helen)</p>
<p>Still feel connected to other countries</p> <p>My mother's father sailed to New Zealand and I spent quite a lot, we spent quite a lot of time with them as, when we were young, so. I think I grew up with a sort of love of, the sort of fascination of wanting to go to England and see where he had come from. (Ingrid)</p> <p>Going to school in New Zealand when I did, we were still very much connected back into England. The history, the novels, so all the English, all the literature we studied at school was all very much turned towards England. (Jackie)</p> <p>I think that all New Zealander's have a connection towards some other country. I think that makes us a different type of people. I think even Americans, English, Europeans they all have—I mean obviously there are other people in the world, but you know—they all have long roots in their own country. So I think that does actually bind us all as a people, that we all recognise we left something behind for something better—even if it was our grandparents, or our parents, it's not far away. (Olivia)</p>
<p>Two degrees separation/connections</p> <p>What makes New Zealand unique too, I think, is that pretty much, if you're in a group of people you can find something in common, they know someone you know, they know where you lived or went to school and they know someone from there. (Ann)</p> <p>In those days it was not what you know, it's who you know. And a lot of family members worked there and you'd say I got a mate, you tell your boss, I got a mate needs a job or you know my mother worked there. (Donna)</p> <p>I think it's a really Kiwi thing to kind of have this, you know, have the sort of connection like this, what is it called, the third degree of separation. It happens all the time and I really, I like that, I like that sort of familiarity thing of, oh you know, meeting somebody and kind of knowing about them or knowing somebody that knows them and I think there's a sort of, I don't know, there's a familiarity about that smallness. You know, just, seeing people around that you kind of know about or. (Ingrid)</p>

Myths and Stories Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Used to be better</p> <p>Nowadays I think 'cause you've got PlayStations and DVDs and it's cheaper to go to the movies or whatever, it's isolate play, whereas in those days we had nothing. So you did play together as a community and you did everything together and you knew each other as a community and things like that. (Cathy)</p> <p>Well back in those days I, if I thought I might want to see the neighbour I would walk out of this driveway and I would wander in. But these days I really have to have either an invitation, or a reason to go, you know, it's just not the done thing ... I mean I can not see my neighbours for five days, at all, not even in the car, so that is different. (Olivia)</p>
<p>Value character building experiences</p> <p>[Regarding OE] I think that's what they seek is uncertainty. I don't think they want it all mapped out, I think that takes away the majority of the learning experience when it's all mapped out that's why you're, you're doing it for. To put yourselves into, into difficult situations and see how you cope. Part of it's testing. Testing how far your money will go and how far your relationship will go when you have no money and what you'll do when you lose your passport and all that sort of stuff. (Georgina)</p>
<p>Wars have shaped who we are</p> <p>But my grandfather on my mum's side went off to the war when he was, he was quite young ... one of my memories about him was that he never, he would never, Mum said he would never talk about the war. He was at [Monte] Cassino. (Lana)</p> <p>[My granddad] came back from the war and died. He was wounded in Crete and came back in 1944. And then my grandmother [was left on the farm with two little children] took the boys and went to live on a, with her brother. (Sharon)</p> <p>Growing up there was always lots of talk of the parents all about the wars, the war and I was not at all very interested in the wars really ... Older people who come and might come for dinner or something would share their story of prisoner of war camps and things, or something or capture. I never liked to hear those stories. (Virginia)</p>
<p>Young generation is different</p> <p>The kids these days are growing up really stropky and they're disrespectful, I've seen them come out of school, out of high school and they don't give a shit if you're an adult or not. They're yelling and screaming beside your car and spitting and, "F you," and you know. (Donna)</p> <p>We had very much a more Anglo focus [than my son], and then have gone through that thing of sort of trying to discover more about New Zealand literature. Where he, for him, already, that was, he was much more already in his New Zealand identity, less Anglo focus, a bit more influenced by American music and film and stuff ... [Number 8 wire mentality] I wonder whether that's now belonging to, I don't know how much that belongs, to say, my son's generation. But certainly [it was evident] with sort of my generation and above that. (Jackie)</p> <p>There's a lot of people who don't teach their kids [how to cook, clean and look after themselves] in our generation. (Marcia)</p> <p>I don't think the next generation necessarily of our kids ... they're not gonna be able, they're not gonna be as resourceful. I don't know if it would be the same throughout all of New Zealand but certainly on the North Shore your average kid would probably get on more with a kid from America or Australia perhaps than they would with a child from fifty years ago kind of thing. Like it's not just the generation thing but just because of how we live our lives and consumerism and just not, just buying things new all the time and having the latest of everything. (Virginia)</p>

Symbolism Typical of New Zealand National Identity Illustrated with Text Units

Symbolism Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>All Blacks as icons</p> <p>I wonder whether it is because of that whole New Zealand icon thing and for little boys growing up most of them want to be an All Black. (Tess)</p> <p>I mean I never had a backpack but you see kids they just want a Kiwi flag [sewn on] or the All Blacks [badge] too. (Pippa)</p> <p>What else are symbols of New Zealand? Oh the All Blacks. Definitely. (Lana)</p>
<p>Landscapes of distinction</p> <p>[Things that symbolise New Zealand would be] bungy jumping I suppose, I don't know. Just outdoor ... (Belinda)</p> <p>I'd say and the sun and the beach probably, yeah, I probably relate to when I think of Kiwi things. (Helen)</p> <p>You know, this is going to sound funny, but the sky and the clouds are, and our night sky's fantastic. But the clouds to me, and I'm a big fan of Rita Angus, or Rita Cook the artist, and she draws her clouds fluffy, and that to me is a typical New Zealand sky. (Karen)</p> <p>If I was away, then the sea would remind me of home. Whereas people I know from the South Island it's the mountains. The wide open spaces and the greenery and the water, the sea. (Virginia)</p>
<p>Shared recognition of iconic products/ brands</p> <p>Vogel's bread. Vegemite. L&P. (Elaine)</p>
<p>Shared recognition of kiwiana icons</p> <p>We've had the tikis and the Maori thing but I think we're more than that. The tomato sauce in the tomato, you know, container. The buzzy bee toy. All of that is all what New Zealand is and it's great that you can see it now more than ever. (Elaine)</p> <p>You think of the funny things like pavlova. And you look at the kiwifruit and all that sort of thing, although other countries call them gooseberry but, kiwifruit and, no, nobody, unless you're a Kiwi you probably don't really look at those things and think oh Kiwi stuff. (Tess)</p>
<p>Shared recognition of Maori symbols</p> <p>Maori designs really are you know they epitomise New Zealand to me whether you're Maori or not. I think if you were to see a koru on someone in America you would think, "Oh choice look at that," you know, a bit of home there. (Donna)</p> <p>So I mean if you saw someone with [a Maori moko tattoo] on or, you know, markings on their shoulders of those sort of things you'd be like "Well I know where you're from." (Sharon)</p>
<p>Shared recognition of native flora & fauna</p> <p>You see your kiwi [bird] everywhere, you know, yep that reminds you of home all the time. (Marcia)</p> <p>I think our bush is very has a strong identity with New Zealand and when you go to the bush in other countries it's just so, so, so different. Our bush is so lush and green and I think a lot of that is the pongas. The, the contrast of the pongas and the, actually trees as opposed to ferns. I think that's one of our very, very strong features of our bush. (Pippa)</p> <p>Sort of symbols like maybe pohutukawa, you know the red and the green. (Sharon).</p>

Symbolism Category and Text Unit Examples
<p>Songs/music distinctiveness</p> <p>I was thinking of that, one of the Tim Finn's, oh, I think it's Tim or Neil Finn, with going down Dominion Road, but ... there'd be something about that, or Dave Dobbyn and his song that he sang for the yacht, the, oh no I mean the America's Cup. I mean, there's certain things I think that would suddenly think, would bring a certain meaning to it. (Jackie)</p>
<p>Speech/accent distinctiveness</p> <p>The accent like that Barry Crump character [is very New Zealand]. The Speight's 'hard to find the perfect woman' just reminds me of the South Island. (Ann and Belinda)</p> <p>The accent [in the movies] ... you could definitely tell they were New Zealanders. I think it really stands us apart. They get a bit slangy and, should I say, lazy English. (Nicola)</p>

Place Issues Typical of New Zealand National Identity Illustrated with Text Units

Place Issues Category and Text Unit Examples

Connections to special places in New Zealand

I feel it's such a strong connection with the land down there, and just going back this Christmas to visit a friend in Wairarapa, I said to [my brother], "Gosh, it's a really weird feeling, but you know, I just feel that connection," just seeing the land in a way, it's very unique, the whole Wairarapa landscape, and just going back there, and feel that pull, and I said, "Wow, it's really a part of me, an integral part." (Karen)

I absolutely love Paihia. So beautiful. Because it's pristine and the beach is up there and the Kiwiness of it, like going up to Waitangi and standing out there on the edge and looking over the water and thinking about our heritage and when they first came to New Zealand and the Maori up there. There's thousands of tuis in the trees and the sun shining. (Waverley)

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