This is Wellington

The Representation of Wellington in New Zealand Tourism Film from 1912 to 2017

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the representation of Wellington in tourism films between 1912, the year in which the first New Zealand tourism film depicting Wellington was released, until 2017, the production year of the last case study. It also aims to trace both the dynamics of formal, stylistic and narrative development and the contexts of circulation of New Zealand tourism film. This thesis relies on the textual analysis of case studies conceived for different distribution platforms, selected according to their stylistic, formal, thematic and narrative relevance and to the availability of related archival documents; on the analysis of archival material related to New Zealand film production; on interviews with key informants involved in local tourism film production and tourism marketing; on the analysis of scholarly sources. This research argues that the depiction of Wellington has been regularly underpinned by a set of economic, social and political factors that changed throughout time and that determined shifts and turning points in its representation. More broadly, it observes how New Zealand tourism film was on the one hand characterised by a tendency towards formal, stylistic and narrative experimentation while on the other it was constantly subjected to forms of institutional planning and control. This thesis aims to contribute to film studies in different ways. First, it defines tourism film as a subject of study, identifying its characteristics and recognizing its importance and persistence in the context of New Zealand film production. Secondly, it proposes a research methodology for tourism film based on the combined examination of different types of primary and secondary sources that can be potentially applied in different geographic contexts. Finally, it sheds light on the shifts and turning points in the representation of Wellington and New Zealand urban and suburban space throughout over a century of national tourism promotion and tourism film production. In this research, the term ‘tourism film’ has been used in its broadest sense and it is meant to include the variety of technologies and media texts that emerged throughout the analysed 105 years time frame covered in this thesis.

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**TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS AND REFERENCE
STYLE**

APW: Absolutely Positively Wellington

GPO: Government Publicity Office

LOTR: Lord of the Rings

NFU: National Film Unit

NZFC: New Zealand Film Commission

NZTB: New Zealand Tourism Board

PWT: Positively Wellington Tourism

TNZ: Tourism New Zealand

WREDA: Wellington Regional Economic Development Agency

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INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the twentieth century New Zealand tourism films promoted Wellington through a collection of postcard-like urban and suburban images: ships and ferries crossing the placid waters of the harbour, aerial views of coastal suburbs and beaches, long takes of affluent hilly suburbs and static shots of some of the best-known institutional spots – Parliament, the Old Government Buildings and the War Memorial. Wellingtonians were inevitably captured on film during a limited number of preferred leisure activities – beach-going and related water-sports, and strolls in the Botanical Gardens or on Oriental Parade. About one century later, in the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* (Waititi and Clement, 2014) three vampires dressed in eighteenth century costumes, after riding a pedal-boat in the harbour, make their way through Courtenay Place and Cuba Street's street-food stalls and street musicians in order to present to an audience of potential visitors and tourists Wellington's food and wine, entertainment and shopping options. From the broad and scenic perspectives of Wellington and its landscape, to the focus on its urban experience, from views of the city that are akin to moving postcards, to the merging of fictional characters with actual city streets, these two visual texts show the progression and transformation that the tourism representation of Wellington has undergone over the last century.

Over the last hundred years the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film has constantly and radically transformed. Through this thesis I intend to trace this change and to bring out and analyse its underlying dynamics. I use my academic background in history and archival research to trace and examine primary sources and to give this thesis historical perspective and depth; I rely on my professional background in tourism marketing to analyse and understand some of the dynamics underlying the development of Wellington and New Zealand tourism marketing strategies; my experience in journalism is useful in preparing interviews and managing and using their contents; finally, my passion for film encourages and motivates me to 'dive' into New Zealand film and screen culture.

Through the preliminary scrutiny of a large number of New Zealand fiction and non-fiction films, the textual analysis of twenty-four case studies, the examination of archival documents relating to New Zealand tourism film production, interviews with key informants involved in film-making and tourism marketing and through the study of

secondary sources, my research work aims to analyse the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film production from 1912, the year in which the first identified Wellington tourism film was released, until 2017, the release year of my last case study. More specifically, it aims to answer two research questions: How has Wellington been represented in New Zealand tourism film from 1912 to 2017? Which social, economic, political and cultural factors influenced and shaped Wellington's representation?

Besides answering these two related research questions, my thesis also intends to provide a wider picture of New Zealand's tourism film production in the same period. For this purpose, it will first analyse the intertwining of social, cultural, economic and political aspects that have underpinned tourism film production over the last century. Moreover, this thesis will examine the variations in stylistic, formal, narrative and thematic tendencies of New Zealand tourism film, its changing distribution platforms, and patterns of circulation and reception throughout this period. Finally, it will focus on the cinematic and tourism context in which the New Zealand tourism film has developed. I started from the assumption that a full understanding of this film form would be possible only by taking into account the dynamics of growth of the New Zealand film and tourism industries. Films produced for a publicity, promotional and tourism purpose, besides constituting – as will be seen later in this thesis – a relevant percentage of overall New Zealand film production, always developed in a context of regular interchange with other film forms and constantly absorbed and reflected trends and tendencies of local tourism marketing.

At the beginning of this research journey, after watching, approaching and analysing a wide number of films and videos, I realised how tourism promotion and marketing had been systematically conveyed in New Zealand through a wide range of different visual texts seemingly unrelated to tourism promotion, such as fiction films, documentaries, television programmes, television advertisements, recruitment videos and airline safety videos. I therefore decided to define 'tourism film' as a media form that encompasses different types of technologies and media texts, that is framed by a 'tourist gaze', that features one or more geographical locations, has an explicit or implicit promotional goal and is often the result of cross-institutional collaborations. (see Section 1.4.1).

I identified three critical and conceptual contexts which could provide this research with a critical background. The first is the cinematic city. The academic interest for this particular theme recently led to a field of study that analyses the cinematic representation

of cities throughout more than a century of film history. I refer to the cinematic city in order to trace influences and connections between the stylistic, thematic and ideological choices that underpin the depiction of Wellington in tourism film and international film trends, tendencies and movements. I started from the assumption that – in spite of New Zealand's remoteness and relative geographic isolation – the set of transformations that the representation of local urban areas underwent during the last century could be legitimately inserted into the Western world's broader dynamics of change. Indeed, Wellington has been sharing and still shares with other Western cities a set of social, cultural and urban transformation phenomena often depicted throughout global film history: post-World War II rural/urban shift, the proliferation of suburbs and the consequent rise and spread of a suburban lifestyle, urban traffic, the rise of vertical architecture in central areas, as well as more complex processes of socio-economic urban transformation.

The second critical context refers to the relationship between the New Zealand landscape, New Zealand cultural identity and local artistic production. When I approached this critical context and its associated literature, I assumed that national urban and suburban dimensions and more specifically the role that New Zealand cities and suburbs have recently played in the process of definition of national cultural identity had to be examined in order to better contextualise and understand the representation of Wellington. Similarly, by focusing on the modes of representation of New Zealand landscape in national artistic and cinematic production, I intended to trace influences, similarities and differences between the depiction of Wellington in tourism film and pre-existing or concurrent cultural and iconographic tendencies.

Finally, the third critical context examines the historical dynamics of development of the tourism film. It first analyzes its evolution coinciding with the emergence of new technologies and new distribution platforms; it then analyzes its importance as a tourism and promotional medium on a global scale and the role it has been playing throughout the last century and still plays in the more specific contexts of New Zealand film production and tourism industry.

Over the last two decades and especially in the last ten years, academic research has been increasingly focusing on New Zealand film. Martin and Edwards (1998), Babington (2007), Conrich and Murray (2007; 2008) and Pivac, Stark and McDonald's (2011) studies provide a thorough examination of both fiction and documentary national film production from the beginnings of New Zealand cinema until recent times. However,

these works, even when occasionally dealt with government films produced in New Zealand for tourism promotion, did not recognise and analyse tourism film as a media form *per se*.

Leotta (2010; 2011), Campbell (2011) Weckbecker (2015), Hillyer's (1997) and Hickman's (2015) works have been recently opening new lines of research in New Zealand film studies, drawing increasing attention to often understudied aspects of national film production such as institutional, utilitarian, educational and ephemeral films, displaying a growing focus on government/institutional films made in New Zealand for tourism promotion. At the same time, studies by Alsop (2012), Weckbecker (2015), Leotta (2011), McDonald (2011), Goldson (2006) and Hillyer (1997), emphasised how the attempt to create a sense of nationhood regularly informed government film production, both throughout the GPO and the NFU eras. More specifically, Hillyer, Leotta and Hickman examined the role settler culture played in shaping early New Zealand travelogues and in stimulating and constructing national pride and identity (see 1.3.2; 1.4.2; 2.2 and Conclusions).

Moreover, the last twenty years have seen the proliferation of studies examining Wellington's transformation into a hub of the advanced tertiary sector and its identity shift from an administrative and bureaucratic centre to New Zealand's cultural capital (Birchfield 2007; Marshall, 1998); the new role it is currently playing as a world film production hub and a cinematic location *par excellence* (Florida, 2005; Leotta & O'Regan, 2014; Werry, 2011) and the gradual and constant growth of its tourist industry and tourist appeal (Pearce, 2007; Page, 1996).

However, despite a growing focus on Wellington as a tourist destination, the increased academic interest in New Zealand film, the growing attention drawn to government/institutional film production and the role it played in shaping and constructing national identity, a full recognition of tourism film as a media form and a diachronic examination of its dynamics of development in New Zealand and Wellington over a long period of time are still lacking in the existing research literature.

This research draws from a variety of fields - film history, tourism studies, history, human geography, tourism marketing – taking into account the above-mentioned literature and aiming to contribute to New Zealand film studies by filling a few gaps. First of all, it recognises tourism film as a media form in itself, defining and describing its characteristics and attributes and focusing specifically on New Zealand production. Second, it provides a

diachronic analysis of the tourist representation of Wellington in tourism film and of local tourism marketing strategies that covers an unusually long time period. Third, it aims to contribute to the scholarly debate about the representation of New Zealand landscapes in national tourism film production and its role in constructing and enhancing national identity. It will try to achieve this goal through the textual analysis of the representation of Wellington's urban and suburban areas, taking into account the persistence of settler culture/gaze as one of the main ideological and socio-economic forces that underpin their representation from the beginning of national cinematic production to this day.

Chapter Outline

This thesis covers a 105 year period and is divided into six chapters. The first chapter deals with my research methodology; the second extensively deals with the above-mentioned critical contexts and provides a definition of tourism film, while the remaining four chapters divide the analysed time frame into periods of similar length. The start and end dates of each chapter directly relate to specific turning points either in tourism film production or in the national tourism and film industry. All the chapters follow the same structure and organisation. After the first section of every chapter – the introduction – the second section analyses the situation of the New Zealand film industry in the related time frame with particular attention to tourism film production, whereas the third section maps the dynamics of the New Zealand tourist industry. The fourth section examines thematic, stylistic formal and narrative characteristics of New Zealand tourism films in the time frame in question, using, where possible, archival material in order to retrace their production processes and the dynamics of their distribution and reception. The fifth section deals with the representation of New Zealand urban centres in national tourism film production, comparing New Zealand main urban areas. The sixth section, which is divided into a variable number of subsections, deals with the textual analysis of my case studies and focuses in greater detail on the representation of the capital city of New Zealand. Finally, the conclusion provides a synthesis of the emerging stylistic, thematic and narrative characteristics of tourism films for that time frame, identifying at the same time the institutional and political influences that underpin their realisation.

The first chapter provides details about my research methodology. More specifically it describes how I used primary and secondary sources in order to answer my

two research questions. Besides providing a rationale for the choice of my case studies, it also describes the role played by textual analysis, interviews and archival sources in this research.

The second chapter introduces and describes the scope of my research and provides a review of the relevant bodies of academic literature, starting with the cinematic city. It initially examines the analysis of the representation of the city in cinema, providing an overview of the relationship between urban space and film production throughout global film history. The chapter then focuses on the thesis' second critical context analysing the relationship between space, cultural identity and cinematic representation in New Zealand and dividing the New Zealand landscape into three different but very often complementary geographic environments: the urban, the suburban and the extra-urban. I argue that each of these geographic spaces has been represented differently in New Zealand cinematic production, each playing a different role in New Zealand cultural history and in the construction of a local cultural identity. Finally, it identifies tourism film as the third critical context providing a definition for it, tracing its roots in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, describing its development throughout both global and New Zealand film history and finally stressing its importance in current tourism marketing strategies and campaigns. Throughout my research journey I did not aim to specifically contribute to the three above-mentioned critical contexts, but rather apply some of their tools, observations and insights.

The third chapter is the first of my four chronological chapters. It starts with 1912, the release year of *Wellington and Assorted Scenes*, the first case study and, more specifically, the first Wellington tourism film I was able to identify. It focuses on the situation of New Zealand's growing tourism and film industries, and then looks at the systematic use of film as a place-promotion tool especially from the establishment of the GPO in the mid-1920s. Through the analysis of eight tourism films, this chapter argues that the representation of Wellington's urban and suburban spaces and landscapes in this time frame was constantly characterised by the intertwining of tourism promotion and colonial agenda. Moreover, it stresses the importance of tourism films' domestic circulation in forging a sense of national identity. Then, it identifies three new stylistic and thematic patterns in terms of early New Zealand tourism film production. First of all, it argues that evident similarities in the treatment of the urban theme can be traced between the representation of Wellington in some of my case studies and the City Symphonies produced in Europe, North and South America throughout the 1920s and early 1930s; second, it

tackles a well-established belief in New Zealand human geography, proposing a new interpretation of the New Zealand beach as an urban/suburban playground *par excellence* during the first four decades of the twentieth century; third and finally, it emphasises the importance of the depiction of the human element in early New Zealand tourism film production, questioning a deeply rooted belief in New Zealand film history.

The fourth chapter starts in 1941, the year the NFU was established, and ends in 1966, the year in which Auckland-Mangere international airport was opened. After providing an overview of New Zealand's screen industry, it deals with the situation of the local tourist industry. In this context, characterised by the rapid growth of New Zealand tourism and by a film industry almost exclusively focused on non-fiction production, tourism film played an important role, especially being in these two-and-a-half decades one of the NFU's main outcomes. This chapter argues that tourism film narrative and stylistic and formal changes were increasingly driven by the necessity to adapt this film form to a new and successful distribution platform – television. It shows how the tourism film became an important instrument for systematically targeting both traditional and new tourist markets. The chapter ends by pointing out how the attempt to artistically enhance this film form became evident from the early 1960s and how the influence and reflection of international film movements such as cinema vérité and free cinema could be traced in some of the tourism/promotional productions of the early 1960s. In terms of the representation of Wellington, the chapter demonstrates how the manufacturing of Wellington's specific character in relation to its distinctive morphology and weather and its inhabitants became an increasingly evident tendency in tourism films from the early 1960s onwards.

The fifth chapter covers a period that goes from 1967, the year following the opening of Auckland-Mangere international airport, to 1991, the release year of the *Absolutely Positively Wellington (APW)* tourism ad. It first examines the situation of the New Zealand film industry with particular reference to New Zealand film production. In an age characterised by a specific focus on New Zealand's 'national character', and by an institutional engagement in promoting and spreading local film production, tourism films continued to play an important role. This chapter aims to demonstrate how cinema, which was until the mid-1960s the traditional distribution channel for New Zealand tourism films, was gradually replaced by a variety of distribution platforms throughout the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. Moreover, it intends to show how, during the late 1960s, 1970s, 1980s

and early 1990s tourism films started to take new and unprecedented shapes, becoming for instance art films, TV advertisements and shows. In terms of the representation of Wellington, this chapter argues that – especially from the mid-1980s – Wellington's tourism promotion shifted from the manufacturing of Wellington's character to the creation and marketing of a specific and recognisable Wellington lifestyle. This process culminated with the APW campaign in 1991, whose TV advertisement of the same name is one of my chosen case studies.

The sixth and last chapter covers the twenty-five years that separate 1992, the year following the release of *APW* in 1991, from today. It first provides an overview of local film and tourist industries, with particular reference to the development of New Zealand film and New Zealand tourism campaigns in the course of the 1990s and 2000s, to the transition of Wellington into the neo-liberal era and to the recent transformation of New Zealand and Wellington into global film production hubs and international tourist destinations. Moreover, through the analysis of seven case studies this chapter also aims to reflect the transitional and ambivalent nature of the last two decades, characterised by the gradual spread of the Internet and social media as important distribution platforms for tourism films. More specifically, this chapter argues that the process of fragmentation of tourism films in a variety of different media forms reached its peak from the mid-1990s onwards. In effect, throughout the last two decades media forms such as movies, mockumentaries, movie-themed videos, airline safety videos and recruiting videos were intentionally used to globally promote New Zealand and Wellington as a creative capital, as a national and international film production hub and as a tourist (and very often film-tourist) destination. The three interviews I conducted with Robert Sarkies, Anna Dean and David Perks provided more detailed information in relation to the role and importance of tourism films in contemporary Wellington's tourism marketing strategies and to the current interconnection between film production and tourism marketing strategies in the capital city of New Zealand.

This thesis argues that New Zealand tourism film has been characterised by three different aspects that changed throughout time: their form, the intertwining of relations that underpins their production and their contexts of circulation and distribution. It examines the way in which New Zealand tourism film has often displayed multiple, complementary and intertwined goals and objectives such as tourism and colonial promotion. It also highlights how it has been promptly adapting to a variety of platforms of distribution and

contexts of circulation and reception, targeting different audiences and addressing different markets and constantly melting with other film forms such as documentaries, art films, TV ads, TV programmes, fiction films, mockumentaries, airline safety videos and digital videos conceived and released for the Internet. It aims to demonstrate how the representation of Wellington's urban and suburban landscape in New Zealand tourism film has been informed by local settler culture and how its overseas circulation was driven by the necessity to attract to the city not only new visitors and tourists, but also new settlers. At the same time, it intends to shed light on tourism films' domestic circulation, observing how the representation of New Zealand and Wellington in New Zealand tourism film has been used not only in order to enhance domestic tourist flows, but also as a means to strengthen New Zealanders' national pride and to construct national identity. Finally, the contextual information provided in every chapter on the development of the New Zealand film and tourism industry and on their processes of interrelation throughout 105 years, through its interdisciplinary approach aims to add an original contribution to the academic debate.

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1.Introduction

The scope of this thesis is to analyse the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film, focusing on a time frame that goes from the beginning of the twentieth century until the present day. Dealing with such a long time period is a challenge from both an analytical and a methodological point of view.

Tourism film is a media form that undergoes a number of formal and stylistic changes throughout time, from the postcard-like views of the 1920s to the hectic urban vibes conveyed by the more recent digital video production. Wellington tourism promotion and tourism film production is characterised by a variety of narratives that have been continuously transforming. Wellington's symbolic role as a national political and bureaucratic hub was a recurring theme in the 1920s and 1930s. Its scenic coastal views were increasingly showcased and visually celebrated in the mid-1930s, 1940s and 1950s. The unpredictability of its weather and the peculiar nature of its rugged landscape was a cornerstone of the city's narrative in the 1960s and 1970s. Wellington as an alternative, 'positive' urban community became a *leitmotiv* in the mid 1980s and throughout the 1990s. The importance of Wellington as one of the national and Australasian hubs of the advanced tertiary sector and as a global hub of cinematic production has increasingly taken hold over the last two decades.

Primary sources – mainly archival documents related to New Zealand tourism film production - cover five of the eleven analysed decades, from the early 1920s to the late 1960s. However, there is a fluctuating and irregular availability of archival documents relating to tourism national tourism film production. As will be seen later in this chapter, the use of interviews with tourism and film industry's key informants provides fundamental information related to the last five decades of tourism film production. More generally, this thesis utilises and combines different types of primary and secondary sources to answer two research questions: how has Wellington been represented in New Zealand tourism film from 1912 to 2017? Which social, economic, political and cultural factors influenced and shaped Wellington's representation? I try to answer the first research question by making

the textual analysis of twenty-four tourism films. Through the use of textual analysis, my goal is to examine Wellington's cinematic modes of representation throughout the 105 years of the analysed time frame, with a specific focus on aspects such as cinematography, editing and sound and constant attention to tourism films' visual, narrative and thematic characteristics, tropes and patterns. To answer the second research question, I rely both on secondary sources about New Zealand history, New Zealand film history, New Zealand tourism history and New Zealand human geography and on archival documents relating to national tourism film production. In fact, the examination of archival sources such as production papers, correspondence and newspaper articles is essential to complement and reinforce my textual analysis, providing information on behind-the-scenes tourism films' production processes and shedding light on their domestic and international modes of circulation. Similarly, the use of interviews with key local film and tourism informants proves fundamental both to triangulate and double check certain information and to retrace elements that – due to the scarcity of archival sources relating to the 1970-2017 time period – would have been otherwise untraceable.

Ultimately, this aims to contribute to New Zealand film studies. It also sheds light - through the textual analysis of visual texts produced and circulated for tourism promotion and through the examination of New Zealand tourism films' creative and production dynamics — on aspects of New Zealand's and Wellington's social and cultural history over a 105 year long time frame.

1.2 Primary Sources Availability

This thesis relies extensively on the examination of visual primary sources. Therefore, the accessibility of a large number of films produced and released in New Zealand from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day, plays a fundamental role in my research. During the first six months of my Ph.D, I traced and viewed around 260 moving image texts that were related to the representation of New Zealand landscape. My purpose was to contextualise the focus on the tourism representation of Wellington in national film production by performing a more general analysis of the cinematic representation of New Zealand's urban, suburban and extra-urban geographic spaces. This preliminary phase was characterised by the abundance and relatively easy availability of

visual sources. The majority of the viewed fiction films was borrowed from Kelburn Library or viewed on YouTube (<https://www.YouTube.com>). Non-fiction films were located and viewed at The New Zealand Film Archive's media library, on Ngā Taonga's website (<http://www.ngataonga.org.nz>), on NZ On Screen (<https://www.nzonscreen.com>) and on YouTube.

Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision holds over 1300 films from the Government Publicity Office (GPO) and the National Film Unit (NFU); while the vast majority of the NFU's production has survived, only 30% of the GPO's original production has been preserved (106 films out of 347). These two government-led production companies were in charge of national publicity from 1921 to 1941 and from 1941 to 1990 respectively and were the main sources of promotional films in New Zealand. In addition to this number, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision also holds a large number of films produced by private production companies both in the GPO/NFU era and in the post-NFU era. The majority of these films are available for viewing at Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision's media library, while others are available online, either in the Ngā Taonga online catalogue (<http://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/search>), on Ngā Taonga's website (<http://www.ngataonga.org.nz>), or on NZ On Screen (<https://www.nzonscreen.com>) and YouTube (<https://www.YouTube.com>). Films from the last 10 to 15 years – as will be seen – were often conceived and made for YouTube, and are therefore mostly available and viewable on this social media website.

In New Zealand, films that promote the country and its locations were regularly produced from the 1920s onwards, with the only partial exception of the 1940s, the decade in which the NFU's production was mainly war-related. The twenty-four case studies cover every decade of this thesis' time frame, thus providing an exhaustive analysis of the representation of Wellington in national tourism film production throughout time.

1.3 Case Studies: Selection Criteria

All the selected tourism films either depict Wellington exclusively or feature Wellington while displaying, describing and promoting New Zealand tourist locations; these texts are characterised by a focus on tourism promotion or were used as part of tourism campaigns.

First of all, I considered some of the case studies – made by significant production companies or well-known filmmakers – worthy of attention since they directly and clearly reflect institutional requirements, tourism policies and strategies of the time.

The second selection criterion is related to the existence of primary sources. Indeed, I selected some of the case studies according to the availability of primary information from archives and interviews. Through the examination of archival sources I aim to trace the institutional procedures and processes that underpinned tourism films' production. More specifically, while analysing archival documents I look at the relationship between different partners - public bodies, private interests, production companies and filmmakers. I therefore draw particular attention to the actual films as the cinematic translation of such behind-the-scenes debates, policies and relationships. Furthermore, since there is very little data available to measure the impact of these films, archival sources provide information and insights into their production, release and distribution.

The third selection criterion is related to tourism film's distribution platforms, targeted markets and contexts of circulation and is driven by the aim of mapping their variety and succession. If until the early 1960s the main exhibition platform for tourism films was movie theatres, from the early 1960s television spread in New Zealand and worldwide, rapidly replacing movie theatres until very recently. Over the last ten years the Internet has become the most important distribution and exhibition platform for tourism films especially after the introduction and the fast spread of social media. Similarly, contexts of circulation, targeted audiences and addressed tourism markets have changed throughout time. More generally I apply this selection criterion in order to trace the parallel evolution of tourism films and media platforms. In fact – as will be seen later - tourism film timely adapted to TV, internet and digital video production's stylistic and narrative requirements and needs.

The fourth and last selection criterion refers to tourism film's stylistic and narrative characteristics. In this thesis I argue that some of the case studies constitute turning points in the representation of Wellington due to their stylistic, thematic and narrative originality. More specifically, films such as the 1966 NFU *Toehold on a Harbour* or the 1991 APW (Absolutely Positively Wellington) embody a new approach in Wellington's urban narrative, also displaying for the first time the use of techniques and conventions borrowed from documentaries and TV reports (the former) and music videos (the latter). I considered

other films - that mainly reflect and repeat existing and well-rooted visual, aural and narrative tropes – similarly worthy of attention.

This thesis focuses on Wellington for a variety of reasons. First of all, I could benefit from my direct knowledge and experience of the city, of its landscapes and locations. Second, the capital city – home to the two government-led and state-owned film organisations, the GPO and the NFU – has been the most frequently depicted New Zealand city in national tourism film production (closely followed by Auckland) due to its administrative, political and institutional importance. Third, Wellington represents in itself a case study of great importance in the national context. In New Zealand the overall tendency has been to stress and manufacture the distinctiveness of each city, marketing its individuality. In terms of Wellington, over the last fifty years – as shown through the analysis of the case studies – a number of different urban narratives have been systematically manufactured and spread through tourism marketing and tourism film production. This phenomenon has recently become more and more relevant, to the point that in the last three decades Wellington's depiction as a creative, cultural and trendy capital has overshadowed the representation of its political and institutional role. Moreover its socio-economic transformations over the last few decades are unparalleled in New Zealand and seem to clearly embody the gradual and general shift of New Zealand cities into advanced tertiary sector centres.

1.4 Textual Analysis

In this thesis I employ textual analysis to examine and interpret images from New Zealand and Wellington tourism films. The use of textual analysis proves fundamental to answer the first of my research questions: How has Wellington been represented in New Zealand tourism film from 1912 to 2017? In fact, this analytic approach is essential to trace characteristics and variations in Wellington's tourism representation throughout time. At the same time, the close textual analysis of tourism films helps me to trace their formal and stylistic transformations. While performing the textual analysis of the case studies, I look at aspects such as cinematography, editing, sound and narrative, drawing at the same time particular attention to the visual and thematic tropes, patterns, discontinuities and innovations they display.

The use I make of textual analysis throughout this thesis closely recalls McKee's (2003) definition. According to him,

Textual analysis is a methodology for gathering information about sense-making practices, that is, how members of various cultures interpret the world around them.

We analyse texts using a form of 'forensic' analysis - treating them like clues (or traces) of how people have made sense of the world (p. 63).

My initial purpose was to perform the textual analysis of a wide corpus of New Zealand visual texts in order to identify clues or traces of how New Zealand geographic spaces had been represented in national film production. After gathering a large volume of general information about the cinematic representation of New Zealand's urban, suburban and extra-urban landscapes, I narrowed the scope of this research, similarly identifying and analysing clues and traces in the representation of New Zealand's urban areas, with particular reference to Wellington. In my research I categorise these clues and traces, turning them into characteristics, thematic tendencies and recurring patterns that I use in order to identify how Wellington's urban and suburban dimensions and, more specifically, its suburbs and suburban beaches, its central areas as well as its institutional and cultural landmarks have been represented throughout a century of local tourism film production. Moreover, I identify what ideological dynamics underpinned the shifts and turning points in their representation.

Suburbs, for instance, are a recurring presence until the early 1970s, while over the last four decades they have almost disappeared from tourism film; the suburban beach has continuously been on display from the beginning of New Zealand tourism film production as Wellingtonians' preferred leisure space, while the representation of the central city as well as the places of tourist interest have radically changed in the course of the last century. If – as mentioned above -in tourism films from the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s the symbols of institutional and political power – the War Memorial, Parliament buildings, the Old Government buildings – were a fundamental aspect of Wellington's representation and promotion, recently, in tourism films such as *It's Not Just a Weekend When It's In Wellington* (Sarkies, 2014) and the above-mentioned *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* (Waititi & Clement, 2014) locations related to Wellington's nightlife, music scene and food and wine culture such as Cuba Street and Courtenay Place take the lion's share.

Moreover – as previously noted - textual analysis proves useful in order to examine tourism film's formal, stylistic and narrative aspects. For instance, long shots and aerial

views as well as long takes were frequently used from the 1920s to the 1950s in order to visually celebrate Wellington's landscape and suburban sprawl, while the short takes and hectic editing that characterized the representation of Wellington in tourism film over the last ten years are a direct reflection of the spread of digital technologies in filmmaking. In terms of sound and music, after decades characterised by inter-titles and voice-over commentaries, the use of jingles and soundtracks gradually took hold from the mid-1960s onwards, to the extent that an increasing number of tourism films no longer feature the voice-over, conveying their message exclusively through a combination of music and images.

Therefore, the use of textual analysis helps me to explore and closely examine thematic, narrative and cinematic aspects of the selected case studies, as well as to trace their evolution throughout the time frame of this research.

1.5 Archival Documents

McCulloch (2004) acknowledges the importance of documentary studies in education, history and the social sciences. More specifically, he argues that the combined examination of newspaper articles and archival documents is able to give the researcher "key insights not only into the policy, but also into the individual human experiences involved" (p. 80), whereas Scott (1990) stresses the importance of visual sources – photographs, films and videos – in documentary studies. However, Ventresca and Mohr's (2002) definition of archival research suits the nature and characteristics of my investigation. According to them,

Archival research methods include a broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual materials produced by and about organizations. In its most classic sense, archival methods are those that involve the study of historical documents; that is, documents created at some point in the relatively distant past, providing us access that we might not otherwise have to the organizations, individuals, and events of that earlier time. (p. 805).

In fact, the access to information related to films produced by organisations no longer in existence, such as the GPO and the NFU, has been possible only through the examination of archival sources. The current unavailability – with the only exception being director

Hugh Macdonald – of figures involved in New Zealand tourism film production in the first seven decades of the last century, further encouraged me to embark on archival research.

The data collected from the analysis of archival material helps me to answer my second research question: Which social, economic, political and cultural factors influenced and shaped Wellington's representation? While analysing archival documents I specifically seek information related to the creative process that underlay the making of tourism films; I look for the reasons that underpinned the choice of tourism films' distribution platforms; I want to shed light on their contexts of circulation and targeted markets; I aim to trace and analyse the behind-the-scenes debate about the themes to display and the information to convey. On the one hand this stage in my research was marked by the relatively easy availability and the relative abundance of tourism films, while, on the other, it was matched by the relative scarcity of related archival documents. Although Archives New Zealand and – to a lesser degree – Alexander Turnbull Library hold production sheets, film treatments and correspondence relating to a number of GPO and especially NFU films, only a few of these films can be classified as tourism films. In fact, I was able to trace, view and examine around 60 archival documents relating to the production of seven different tourism films, two from the GPO, *Glorious New Zealand* (1925) and *Romantic New Zealand* (1934), and five from the NFU, *Amazing New Zealand* (1964), *Toehold on a Harbour* (1966), *This Auckland* (1967), *Good Times Two* (1968) and *C'mon to New Zealand* (1969).

The documents I analyse – especially the correspondence between GPO and NFU's members and distribution companies, film festivals' organising committees, New Zealand embassies and trade legations - provide fundamental information about New Zealand tourism films' contexts and patterns of circulation and distribution. The examination of the internal correspondence between members of the NFU, as well as the correspondence between GPO's members and New Zealand tourism stakeholders add important insights into the creative choices that characterised New Zealand tourism film production in the 1950s and 1960s. The analysis of local newspaper articles from the 1920s and 1930s helps to trace the national and international reception of iconic New Zealand tourism films such as the 1925 *Glorious New Zealand* and the 1934 *Romantic New Zealand*, as well as to add relevant information about political debates related to New Zealand's tourism promotion.

1.6 Interviews

The available archival sources allow me to cover more than four decades of national tourism film production from the mid-1920s to the late 1960s; however, it was impossible to trace archival material relating to the 1970–2017 period. As previously noted, the documents I located in archives help me to retrace aspects that prove fundamental to my research, such as tourism films' production dynamics, their reception and their contexts and patterns of distribution and circulation.

In terms of the last forty-seven years of the period covered in this thesis, I addressed the inability to obtain such fundamental archival information by identifying a number of key informants directly involved in the production of some of the more recent case studies: director and producer Hugh Macdonald, director Robert Sarkies, public relations professional Anna Dean and WREDA's marketing manager David Perks. In a preliminary phase I contacted them through e-mail, checking their availability for an interview, describing my research topic and the information I was seeking and sending them a sample of possible questions. The four interviews took place between late 2016 and mid-2017. Anna Dean's interview was held in the office of Double Denim, her advertising agency on Cuba Street; David Perks' interview took place in the headquarters of WREDA on Victoria Street; the interview with Rob Sarkies was held in a public place, while the interview with Hugh Macdonald was held at his home. All four interviews were recorded with a voice recorder and the recordings were electronically stored; only Hugh Macdonald requested a transcription of his interview, which I sent him through e-mail. I read Hugh Macdonald's interview transcription and listened to Perks, Sarkies and Dean's recordings multiple times, utilising and citing the contents I considered particularly relevant for my research.

More specifically, the interview with Hugh Macdonald – a New Zealand film industry expert, producer and director of the NFU for over twenty years from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s and now an independent filmmaker – is first of all motivated by the necessity to collect further information regarding one of the case studies, *This Is New Zealand*, which he directed in 1970. Moreover, it is driven by the need to shed light on the dynamics of production, distribution and circulation of a set of tourism films produced by the NFU in the 1960–1990 time frame. It is, finally, meant to provide information related to the NFU in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and, more specifically, to investigate NFU's set of relationships with the New Zealand government and the Wellington City Council as well

as with other important New Zealand private film production companies such as Pacific Film.

I interviewed Robert Sarkies, director and film industry expert, in order to trace the creative and production processes that went into the making of one of my most recent case studies – the 2014 *It's not Just a Weekend* YouTube series – and that characterise, more generally, New Zealand and Wellington tourism promotion in the social media and digital era. The questions I asked Robert Sarkies are mainly related to the complex and articulated set of relationships that underpinned the production and realisation of the *It's not Just a Weekend* campaign, to his personal creative choices and influences in terms of Wellington's tourism representation and promotion and to his personal views on the role played by tourism film in tourism marketing campaigns, with particular reference to New Zealand cities.

The interview with Anna Dean – a Wellington-based public relations professional directly involved in film-driven tourism campaigns – is mainly related to one of the case studies, the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* (2014). Indeed this tourism film is part of the tourist marketing campaign that Dean conceived and planned and that preceded the release of Waititi and Clement's mockumentary *What We Do in the Shadows* in 2014. As well as obtaining information about this tourism film and its associated tourism campaign, through Dean's answers I try to draw a detailed picture of contemporary Wellington film-driven tourism marketing and tourism film production and to describe their nature as a set of intertwined interests and tensions between different local stakeholders.

David Perks – WREDA's marketing manager and local tourism industry expert – provided further details of Wellington's tourism marketing, place-promotion and place-branding strategies over the last two decades, with particular reference to some specific tourism marketing campaigns and related tourism films. His answers prove particularly useful for the analysis of the Chapter 5 case studies. Moreover, they help to identify the persistence of Wellington tourism marketing and tourism film's multiple goals throughout time. More specifically they show how the focus on the capital city of New Zealand as an appealing place for both tourists and new settlers, and the persistence of a settler's perspective/gaze in local tourism promotion, traverse a hundred years of tourism film production to the present day.

The information drawn from these four interviews adds new, important elements to my thesis. In the absence of archival material, it would have been impossible to precisely

trace the behind-the-scenes work of Wellington tourism marketing strategies, to identify local stakeholders actively involved in local tourism film production and to shed light on Wellington and New Zealand's tourism film production processes over the last five decades. More generally – as noted earlier – this information applies to the entire thesis, providing insights that help me to reflect on the nature and goals of Wellington and New Zealand tourism film in the 105 years of this thesis' time frame.

Besides answering my two research questions, the goal of this thesis is to propose tourism film as an object of study and a media form *per se*, and to fully acknowledge its importance and the role it has played in New Zealand film production over the last century. Moreover, through the combined examination of archival documents, interviews with tourism's and the film industry's key informants and a multi and inter-disciplinary use of secondary sources, I intend to propose a methodology for the study and analysis of tourism film.

CHAPTER TWO

THE URBAN, THE SUBURBAN AND THE EXTRA-URBAN: CULTURAL IDENTITIES, CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS AND TOURISM PROMOTION IN NEW ZEALAND

2.1 Introduction

This thesis deals with the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films from 1912 to 2017. Its purpose is to analyse how the capital city of New Zealand has been represented in New Zealand tourism films in a time frame of a hundred and five years; in doing so, it aims to trace what social, economic, cultural and political factors influenced and shaped its representation throughout time while providing an analysis of New Zealand tourism film. This research is informed by three critical and scholarly contexts: the cinematic city, a field of study that deals with the representation of urban areas throughout cinema history; the role of New Zealand geographic, social and cultural spaces in shaping cultural identity and their representation in national artistic and cinematic production; and tourism film, a media form whose characteristics and development will be considered from a local and global point of view.

The cinematic city is examined in the second section of this chapter. I examine in the first place the relationship between cinema and the city in general terms; I then analyse the close links between capitalism, urbanism and the tourism industry and the rise and spread of the cinematic medium between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Finally, I retrace the representation of urban space in different periods and movements throughout more than a century of film history.

The scholarly literature on the cinematic city will be helpful in comparing the specific modes of urban representation in New Zealand with the stylistic and thematic tendencies that emerged in the rest of the world. Such a comparative analysis reveals similarities and differences. For instance, in certain early tourism films about Wellington, the celebration of modern chaotic urban life and of symbols of modernity such as means of transportation and vertical architecture appears to reflect thematic patterns which also feature in European and American productions from the 1920s and 1930s. At the same

time, the analysis of Wellington tourism films reveals idiosyncratic features such as the fluctuating presence and relevance of suburbs throughout the last century, the depiction of Wellington's suburban beaches as Wellingtonians' preferred leisure and socializing spaces and the visual celebration of Wellington's peculiar landscape.

The second theoretical framework deals with New Zealand geographic spaces in relation to national cultural identity and artistic and cinematic production. Understanding how urban and suburban spaces have been perceived and represented in New Zealand cultural and artistic production and how these spaces relate to the extra-urban dimension is useful in order to contextualise and analyse some of the most frequently recurring themes in Wellington tourism film such as – for instance - suburbs and the suburban beach. More broadly - as will be shown throughout this thesis - the cultural perception and cinematic representation of New Zealand's and particularly Wellington's urban and suburban dimensions was marked throughout the last century by a number of shifts and turning points.

In the third section of this chapter, I start from the assumption that it is possible to understand the relationship between landscape and cultural identity in New Zealand by analysing these three different geographical spaces – the urban, the suburban and the extra-urban - separately, with each corresponding to a different degree of urbanisation and density of population. I dedicate a specific subsection to each of these three spatial categories, considering that each of them – along with their modes of cultural representation – plays now as in the past a different and distinctive, even if sometimes unstable, role in defining the boundaries of national cultural identity. Each of these geographic/cultural worlds has been characterised, both in New Zealand fiction and non-fiction film, by different, contrasting and often conflicting cinematic treatments. In the section dealing with the urban dimension, particular emphasis is placed on the transformations undergone by Wellington over the last three decades and on the relationship between its transformation into a hub of the advanced tertiary sector. This will develop into a point of reference for national and international film production and its increasing importance as a tourist destination.

Finally, the third theoretical framework examines the global and local development of tourism film. This theme is analysed in the fourth section of this chapter, which is divided into two subsections. The first one describes the study of tourism film as a conceptual challenge and attempts to provide a definition of it as a media form framed by a tourist

gaze, characterised by a focus on one or more geographical locations, by an explicit or implicit promotional goal. The second subsection initially focuses on the emergence of travel films and travelogues at the beginning of the twentieth century and on their importance and circulation patterns in the context of early cinema and the pre-Hollywood era; it then focuses on the particular role and relevance they had throughout New Zealand cinematic production both in terms of tourist promotion and, in some specific cases, of nation building. It finally deals then with modern and contemporary tourism film, focusing on its different platforms of distribution and on its role and current importance in tourism marketing and contemporary tourism promotion.

2.2 Cinema and the City

2.2.1 The Academic Debate

Despite now being a lively and dynamic field of study, the theme of the cinematic city has been analysed only recently on a scholarly level: indeed, studies on the cinematic representation of cities have gradually started to gain importance and international academic attention over the last two decades, to become a productive subject for film researchers (Villarmea Álvarez, 2015). David Clarke's 1997 *The cinematic city* can be considered a turning point in this respect: the publication of this anthology of essays contributed to the beginning of a constant, systematic and deeper interest in the relationship between the cinematic medium and urban reality. Clarke (1997) argued that,

whilst the histories of film and the cities are imbricated to such an extent that it is unthinkable that the cinema could have developed without the city, and whilst the city has been unmistakably shaped by the cinematic form, neither film nor urban studies has paid the warranted attention in their connection (p. 1).

According to Shiel and Fitzmaurice (2003), the majority of the works dealing with the cinematic city have been characterised by a strong interdisciplinary approach. Indeed, both Shiel and Fitzmaurice's and Koeck and Roberts' works (2010) highlighted how film studies have been recently crossed and interpollinated by diverse fields of study such as architecture, urban studies, sociology and urban theory. In Brunsdon's words (2012), this

field of study has eventually become a “heterogeneous meeting – and missing – place” (p. 209).

Scholars who dealt with this disciplinary field share the firm belief in an existing, intimate and sometimes inextricable relationship and inter-connection between urban reality as the most important modern form of social organisation and the cinematic medium, the most contemporary art form (Shiel, 2003). This relationship has been tackled in its historical depth by Barber (2002) and AlSayyad (2006). According to them, cinema is the best medium to represent, depict and describe urban reality. In AlSayyad’s words “no medium has ever captured the city and the experience of urban modernity better than film. Indeed, the relationship between the city and the cinema, although less than a century old, is a strong and well established one” (p. 1).

The cinematic depiction of cities has been seen either as imitation – that is, an effort to accurately reproduce urban reality on the screen - or representation - that is, the attempt to add a directorial and artistic interpretation to the bare reproduction. Siegel (2003), after recognising the importance of cinema in describing urban life and entertaining urban audiences, stresses the tendency of cinema to imitate urban life, whereas Orr (2003) notes how directors very often add their own original interpretation and original perspective on urban reality. Indeed, according to Orr, in film we do not see cities as they actually are. Cinema is not only a medium that imitates urban life: it tends to reshape and recreate it. Similarly, Koeck (2013) notes that cities in film are “altered and mediated by the medium itself. A filmic illusion at best, regardless of whether we watch an actuality, newsreel, documentary, fiction or a movie belonging to any other genre” (p. 1). Shiel (2001) argued that film industry has contributed to permanently shaping, throughout more than a century of cinema history, “the cultural geographies of certain cities particularly marked by cinema (from Los Angeles, to Paris, to Bombay) whose built environment and civic identity are both significantly constituted by film industry and film” (p. 2).

2.2.2 Cinema and the City: A Historical Overview

Cinema has always been strongly connected to the cultural and social reality of cities and, as well as being a powerful and effective medium to describe urban reality, can itself be considered a direct product of urban society and culture. The presence of the urban theme has been constant and pervasive throughout film history and in cinematic

production: in fact, from its very inception until now it has crossed and marked forms, genres and film movements. Cityscapes seemed to be the most natural and appropriate background for the first cinematic experiences. This preference for urban environments is clearly shown in a number of late nineteenth/early twentieth century films depicting scenes taken from everyday life in the city. As Mennel (2008) noted, “urban sites – such as the streets, the skyline, the bar – were important markers of cities in early cinema. The city street was a particularly privileged setting for action in early cinema” (p. 7).

According to Friedberg (1993), there is a direct connection between the emergence of a specific cinematic gaze at the end of the nineteenth century and previous urban practices involving strolling and art consumption. In fact, the rise of cinematic spectatorship stands at the intersection of the mobilised gaze of urban walking and the virtual gaze of art fruition. Friedberg identifies in the urban *flâneur* a key figure to describe this transition:

The flâneur will serve as a model for an observer who follows a style of visuality different from the model of power and vision so frequently linked with modernity (...). The trope of *flânerie* delineates a mode of visual practice coincident with - but antithetical to - the panoptic gaze. Like the panopticon system, *flânerie* relied on the visual register but with a converse instrumentalism, emphasizing mobility and fluid subjectivity rather than restraint and interpellated reform (p.16).

Similarly, Mazlish (1994) observed how the *flâneur*'s gaze can be considered mainly spectatorial: city life and, more broadly, the modern world, were spectacles the *flâneur* attended every day during his urban wandering. This particular mode of seeing and representing cities and relating to urban reality influenced and informed different film forms: more specifically, the influence of the *flâneur*'s spectatorial gaze seems to be reflected in the majority of urban early tourism films. Wellington is no exception, as the textual analysis of case studies in Chapter Two will demonstrate.

Urbanisation, the rise of the cities in capitalistic societies and the social changes Western countries experienced between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were intimately linked to early cinema history. According to Clarke (1997), “whilst both documenting and providing commentary on these developments, cultural forms such as the cinema and its various precursors were themselves implicated in such changes” (p. 3). Fitzmaurice (2001) highlights the strong ties between the rise of urbanism throughout the twentieth century and cinema as the contemporary art form *par excellence*. Since its early

years at the end of the nineteenth century, cinema has been inextricably linked to urban audiences. According to Barber (2002), early screenings were characterised by the interest and attraction of the urban audiences for other human beings moving in sometimes familiar urban locations and, as Strathausen (2003) stresses, by the social and cultural role of grand theatres, cafés and movie theatres. Indeed, Donald (1999) observes how in the early cinema era, movie theatres, both in Europe and the United States, were almost exclusively located in cities. According to him, cinematic spectatorship and urban experience shared common traits, “both being gradually characterised by distraction, diffusion and anonymity” (p. 64); mass entertainment and more particularly cinema spectatorship were an integral part of the Western capitalist city, as AlSayyad (2006) argued.

The cinematic celebratory and optimistic attitude towards modern life in cities often exposes – according to Strathausen (2003) – “the increasing irrelevance of the human individual as it becomes subjected to, rather than subject of, modern life” (p. 18). Such complex relationship was also highlighted by Shiel and Fitzmaurice (2003) and Gold and Ward (2003), who stressed the mixture of fascination and repulsion towards the city that characterised European documentarists during the 1930s and the 1940s. According to them, a number of urban movies made during the 1920s are characterised both by “the desire to celebrate the ‘perceptual revolution’ of urban modernity and an anxious (though unacknowledged) recognition of the actual emptiness and alienation of the metropolitan experience” (p. 3). Moreover, during the first half of the twentieth century the city represented for filmmakers the most suitable setting for portraying or promoting either revolutionary movements or dictatorial, oppressive power structures (Barber, 2001; Shiel & Fitzmaurice, 2003).

In terms of urban representation, the so-called City Symphonies can be considered one of the most important and characteristic cinematic phenomena of the first half of the twentieth century. Bould (2006) recognised *Manhatta* (Sheleer and Strand, 1921) – a movie that lyrically depicts everyday life in New York focusing on the contrast between human beings and majestic, modern metropolitan architecture – as the first example of this film genre. Despite its American origins, as Bould noted, City Symphonies flourished in Europe. In fact, City Symphonies define a thematic and stylistic tendency that, according to Beckett (2011) and Trione (2014), was characterised by a peculiar use of montage and could be identified at the intersection of three films made between 1926 and 1929: Alberto

Cavalcanti's *Nothing but Time* (1926), Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1927) and Dziga Vertov's *Man With a Movie Camera* (1929).

McArthur (1997) considered Walther Ruttmann's *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* as an archetypal work summarising and concentrating on cinematic themes such as chaotic city life, the rise of the industrial world and the spread of modern means of transportation appearing in different geographic and cultural contexts in the inter-war period. Ruttmann's film itself and, in particular, the representation of Berlin during the 1920s, was strongly influenced by the Weimar discourse on urban modernity, mostly celebrating the contemporary world of the urban metropolis (AlSayyad, 2006). The film and its reception are considered paradigmatic for analysing and theorising the relationship between the Republic of Weimar and modernity (Gaughan, 2003). This film has neither narrative plot nor narrative structure, depicting an ordinary day in the life of Berlin dominated by urban masses and modern means of transportation: according to Jelavich (2003) scenes of industry, commerce, traffic and entertainment aim to depict the everyday life of various social classes from dawn to dusk. The impressions created within the audience by this film were contrasting. It was seen, as McArthur (1997) stated, "both as an affirmation of the diversity and excitement of modernity and the city and as a reflection of the city as Sodom" (p. 38).

Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov, at the beginning of his movie *Man with a movie camera* (1929), defined himself as the author-supervisor of an 'international experiment' with the potential, as Barber (2002) stated, "to explode the growing homogeneity and banalization that was permeating cinema at that time" (p. 47). This film does not focus on a single Soviet city, but is made of images shot in different urban locations. Vertov combined different urban cityscapes and situations in order to create, according to Barber, "a composite, disunified place able to refract his experiments on perception" (p. 48). Consequently, as Koeck (2013) pointed out, his film aims to generically and utopically represent Soviet urban modernity. Stylistically, this film is characterised by what Barber (2001) defined as "a vast delirium of images, in infinite flux and often independent of one another" (p. 19).

Brazilian director Alberto Cavalcanti¹, in his *Nothing but Time* (1926) depicted Paris, a city that at that time, in AlSayyad's (2006) words, "coalesced many of the images,

¹ Brazilian born but mainly based in France, Italy and Germany.

marvels and regrets associated with modern urban landscape” (p. 19). In contrast to Ruttmann’s and Vertov’s works, this film employs actors. Moreover, as Aitken (2001) notes, this movie does not attempt to depict urban life as a whole, but mostly focuses on the life of the *lumpenproletariat*, the urban underclass. It has a distinct narrative structure containing characterisation and dramatic development. A similar interest in urban working class and proletarian atmospheres is also identifiable in Jean Vigo’s *About Nice* (1930), a film that displays a stronger focus on urban social contrasts and inequalities in the French city of Nice.

A similarly strong cinematic attention to the representation of cities characterised the years immediately following World War II. The devastating economic and social situation of European and Japanese cities after the war became the focus of many filmmakers during the second half of the 1940s. As Barber (2002) pointed out, the depiction of urban space in the post-war years was deeply influenced by film images recorded from aeroplanes and representing the devastated cities of Europe in April and May 1945. Neorealism was the film movement which displayed a stronger interest in representing the aesthetic and social reality of destroyed Europe. According to Nowell-Smith (2001), three of Roberto Rossellini’s immediately postwar films – *Rome Open City* (1945), *Paisan* (1946), and *Germany Year Zero* (1948) – “each in a different way homes in on war-devastated urban environments which provide the conditions of life for the films’ characters and which are effective because absolutely authentic” (pp. 104-105). As Trione (2014) noted, this link between destroyed urban architectures and dramaturgy is evident both in Rossellini’s work and in other important neorealist directors such as De Sica, whose *Bicycle Thieves* (1948) is set in Roman urban and suburban locations; the importance of the urban background is so strong in this case that – in Bazin’s opinion (2004) – *Bicycle Thieves* may be considered “the story of a walk through Rome” (p. 55).

Shiel (2003) argued that during the 1940s and the 1950s European cities such as Berlin, Paris, London or Rome, which embodied for a long time the cinematic cities *par excellence*, gradually started to lose their dominance. Shiel (2003) observed in more detail that from the very origins of cinema until 2000, this cinematic ‘migration’ was chronologically characterised by three different phases: from the metropolises of Western Europe, to those in the eastern United States, to those in the south-western United States. Siegel (2003) includes in this ‘migration’ African, Asian and South American cities, what he defines as “the urban centers of the colonial and post-colonial world” (p. 146).

During the 1960s, tendencies in the cinematic representation of urban space changed, running parallel to deep and turbulent social and cultural changes in Western societies. Easthope (1997) identified three different tendencies in the cinematic representation of the city during the 1960s: natural, utopic and dystopic, the dystopic being the prevailing one. According to Barber, “in the early 1960s, images of the city began to open out into disordered and extravagant forms for the first time since the great city films of the late 1920s” (p. 75). Siegel (2003) noted how the social space of the city in the 1960s was contested, living and not immutable, but constantly subject to change. Cities were changing their features very quickly, suburbs spread all around Western cities, in Europe often, in Barber’s (2002) words, “in the form of vast housing blocks overlooking one another, exposing the last nuance of their inhabitants’ acts to visual speculation” (p. 81). Massive migratory flows rapidly and permanently changed the features and the size of the cities. According to Barber, their form at that time appeared unstable, gathering political dissent, sexual tension and revolutionary aspiration. In his words, “the resulting film of the 1960s is simultaneously one of mutinous urban ecstasy and deep melancholy” (p. 76), as shown especially in French movies featuring Paris, such as Malle’s *Zazie in the Métro* (1960) and Godard’s *My Life to Live* (1962).

If the late 1960s were mainly characterised by urban representation of images of social change, revolution and violence, the cinematic cities in the 1970s and early 1980s became – as Barber (2002) noted – a space “of aimless waiting, experienced in solitude and silence” (p. 88), as displayed in Tanner’s *In the White City* (1983), whose itinerant protagonist wanders around Lisbon experiencing solitude. During the 1970s and the 1980s, the cinematic experience of the city becomes essentially lonely and individual. According to Orr (2003), the contemporary *flâneur* seems to get lost in the big city, which becomes a sort of prison or labyrinth.

The contemporary or postmodern city, as emerges in Davis’ (1990) description of Los Angeles and as Mahoney (1997) argued, “has conventionally been theorised as a site of difference, fragmentation, conflict and plurality” (p. 168). Nowadays the postmodern or contemporary urban space seems to be characterised and shaped, as Baudrillard (1988) and Villarrea Álvarez (2015) noted, by a pervasive and deep cinematic influence. North American and especially Southern Californian cities are – from this point of view – paradigmatic. In Baudrillard’s (1988) words:

The American city seems to have stepped right out of the movies. To grasp its secret, you should not, then, begin with the city and move inwards to the screen; you should begin with the screen and move outwards to the city. It is there that cinema does not assume an exceptional form, but simply invests the streets and the entire town with a mythical atmosphere (p. 56).

In post-modern Southern Californian cities, as Villarrea Álvarez (2015) argued, the cinematic mediated the relationship between the city and the territory, shaping at the same time what is supposed to be reality; recently, the cinematic became a map that covers postmodern territories.

Some of the different approaches and tendencies that have locally and globally characterised the representation of cities in more than one century of film history in feature film, avant-garde film and documentary merged in Wellington tourism film. More specifically, the celebration of the industrial world and of modern means of transportation that marked European City Symphonies in the 1920s and 1930s is a recurring theme in some of the case studies from the same period; the ‘natural’ representation of Wellington’s urban space that informs one of the studies from the 1960s seems to be inspired by British Free Cinema and French Cinéma Vérité; the humorous reinterpretation of the Horror-Gothic in the representation of Wellington’s urban space characterises a tourism film like *Vampire’s Guide to Vellington* (Waititi and Clement, 2014). Finally, the postmodern juxtaposition and overlapping between cinematic representation and actual reality have also been marking the tourist representation of Wellington over the last decade, as will be shown in Chapter Five.

New Zealand geographic spaces and urban reality in particular have regularly been represented through the cinematic medium, both in fiction and non-fiction production, since the very beginning of New Zealand cinematic production. To fully understand the characteristics of the New Zealand cinematic city, in the following section I will examine the links and relationships between national cultural identity, geographic spaces and their cinematic representation.

2.3 New Zealand Geographic Spaces and Their Cultural Relevance

2.3.1 Extraurban Space, Landscape and Cultural Identity in New Zealand

Extraurban, suburban and urban spaces have been playing their own specific role in defining New Zealand cultural identity and have been represented in different ways in national cultural and art production. Each of these spaces relates to one another: Wellington's urban dimension can be fully understood only if related to its surrounding geographic and cultural spaces. Indeed, in Conrich's (2008) words: "Location and space are socially and culturally significant in New Zealand, a country of such defining geographic uniqueness" (p. 103). Similarly, New Zealand environment and landscapes as the physical, morphological expressions of specific geographic locations have always played a fundamental role in New Zealand cultural identity. According to Bell (1995), "this early influence of the environment on 'national character' has been claimed by historians as having an enduring effect on national imagery for New Zealand" (p. 5). In fact, the fundamental importance of New Zealand landscape in defining the identity and the character of the nation is widely accepted and recognised by the academic community and the constant presence of themes and scenes taken or inspired by the native environment is evident throughout New Zealand cultural production in different art forms such as painting, photography, literature and film.

Landscape, in New Zealand cultural perception, is primarily an extraurban, rural landscape. Although New Zealand's population has been for a long time largely urban – in 2015, 86.28% of New Zealanders lived in urban settlements ("New Zealand urban population – % of total", n.d.) with urbanisation rates expected to increase – native bush and rural landscapes have always played a fundamental role in shaping collective imagination and have always been used to promote the country as a tourist destination. Despite being one of the most urbanised countries in the world, New Zealand's national identity has traditionally been informed by anti-urbanism. In Bell's words (1995):

Most New Zealanders live in cities well away from the sublime landscape, we know these cities are much like those of everywhere else, while our nature isn't. Nature persists in the imagery that shows our difference, and is a reality that can be

affirmed by a short drive out of town, reinforcing the aptness of these representations over those of city life (p. 34).

Similarly, Ross (2008) stresses how ‘going bush’ is a way for New Zealanders to escape from their urban chaotic reality, a quintessential national myth and an important part of national culture.

Studies on landscape have emphasised its cultural and symbolic nature. According to Urry (1995) the idea of landscape is strongly linked to the rise of mass tourism and visual consumption of places during the first half of the nineteenth century. Landscapes – that Schama (1996) defined as “constructs of imagination projected onto wood and water and rock” (p. 61) – have played a very important role worldwide in the building of nationalism and national identities, especially during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. New Zealand is no exception. The process of constructing and shaping national identity implies the perception and the identification of its uniqueness and distinctiveness: according to Keane (2010) “national identity is culturally produced to create difference through the fostering of a sense of sameness”. Similarly, the idea of landscape, the sense of belonging to a landscape, and the perception of its uniqueness link people to a specific land (Eggleton & Potton, 1999). As Ingold (1993) noted, “through living in it a landscape becomes part of us just as we are part of it” (p. 154).

New Zealand landscape has always been perceived as peculiar and unique. Byrnes (2001) highlighted how the New Zealand environment features unique native species: “since the first European landfall, with its native flora, fauna and people, was celebrated for its distinctiveness and its difference from the landscape of the old world” (p. 55). Furthermore, as Park (1995) observed, it has been deeply transformed in a relatively short period of time by different waves of population and colonisation that have permanently changed the original features of the land through deforestation, farming, urbanisation and extinction of native species. According to Cumberland (1981) both geographical and ecological transformations have been exceptionally compressed in time and space, making New Zealand an extraordinary case study.

As Bell (1995) notes, the construction of a national identity has for a long time been an obsession for New Zealanders. New Zealand colonial history was deeply influenced by motherland Britain and lacked the historical depth of other countries, Native flora and fauna therefore easily became the core of this artificial, creative process. Even though the ‘clean and green’ nature of New Zealand environment – according to the tourism claim – has

become a matter of national pride, nature and national landscape itself are perceived in contrasting and sometimes conflicting ways. Perceptions and ideas on landscape change according to ethnic and cultural communities – for instance Pākehā and Māori communities relate to the land and landscape in very different ways (McNaughton, 1986; Temple, 1998) and even within the same ethnic community they can be perceived and depicted differently. Māori share a concept of nature and landscape which is, according to Goetzfridt (1987), integrative; Jutel (2004) describes the shifts in the perception of landscape among Pākehā:

The land does not constitute a stable point of reference: Pākehā can represent it in terms as contradictory as gothic and pastoral spaces, and as divergent as the unexplored and uncharted land put side by side with the cultivated and controlled farmyard (p. 57).

Even though an all-embracing and shared cultural perception of landscape is missing, the importance of natural landscape and extraurban space in informing and shaping national cultural identity has always been strong and constant throughout the whole of New Zealand history.

2.3.2 The Representation of New Zealand Extra-Urban Space in Local Cultural Production

Landscape has been since the very beginning of national art production at the core of New Zealand literature and figurative arts. A wide number of literature anthologies focusing on the theme of landscape is nowadays available: according to McNaughton (1986), natural environment has been for New Zealand novel and poetry “subject, setting, symbol and spiritual force” (p. 1). Similarly, New Zealand painters have depicted and celebrated - as Johnstone (2006) and Robinson (2007) highlighted – almost every scenically relevant location from Northland to Southland with particular attention and aesthetic value given – as Bell (1995) pointed out - to mountains, according to European painting tradition.

Landscape painting and landscape photography – very often specifically addressed to European audiences – have played a fundamental role in New Zealand promotion among the European population between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The representation of New Zealand – especially in visual arts – has

always been influenced by powerful social and economic forces. For instance, egalitarianism – that is, the perspective for settlers coming from overcrowded, troubled Europe to start a new life in an equal society – was at the core of New Zealand promotional strategies until a few decades ago. As Goldson (2006) states, “paintings and film images are not just pretty pictures, but are imbued with certain meaning and purposes determined by the social and economic forces that surround them”. In fact, as Goldson also notes, until a few decades ago the representation of New Zealand was part of a colonial promotional policy aimed to populate the country by attracting new settlers from Europe and particularly from English-speaking countries. Moreover, as will be seen later, New Zealand landscape will play an important role in the process of constructing the national identity.

Contemporary tourist strategies and advertising have both been influenced by pre-existing pictorial modes of landscape representation. Some recurring pictorial and cinematic patterns such as bird’s eye and aerial views, both embody and reflect the colonial and imperial will of conquering and controlling a new land (Bell, 1995; Taylor, 1998) whereas the tourist myth of unspoilt, untouched nature and native environment embodied by the slogan “green and clean” is relatively recent. According to Taylor, nowadays “nature is New Zealand’s strongest tourist referent and natural heritage is unrivalled in its status as New Zealand’s most lucrative tourist commodity” (p. 9).

Likewise, New Zealand film production followed these set patterns in the first decades of its existence, emphasising the centrality of landscape in the representation of the country. According to Leotta (2011), landscape in national film production has played a pre-eminent role both in early cinema, where it was the protagonist of many films, and in modern narrative cinema, where it has been either the protagonist or a very important background for the actions and events. In the early cinema age, landscape was the main character of most New Zealand films. This timeless representation of scenic attractions was informed, in Dennis’ words (1993) by “the directive to the Publicity Office in the 1920s to keep film free of people in order to prevent them being dated by changes in fashion” (p. 9). As Hillyer (1997) notes, “as pictured in the films of the 1920s and early 1930s the Nation and what it had to publicise largely took the form of depopulated narratives of Fjords and Fishing, with an occasional diversion into industry film” (p. 14). Sowry (1981) observes that a turning point in terms of filmic subjects, themes and contents can be considered in the famous British documentarist John Grierson’s visit to New Zealand in 1940, according to whom New Zealand film production mostly tended to focus on the representation of

landscapes and scenic views, giving very little space to the depiction of New Zealanders themselves.

In general, fiction and non-fiction films show different perspectives on landscape. New Zealand non-fiction – and more specifically tourism films and documentaries – displays a tendency to look at the most important and celebrated natural attractions in terms of their tourism potential, attractiveness and marketability: national wildlife becomes accessible to the urban New Zealand masses. Tourism films focused on landscape can be divided into three main categories: those depicting mountain environments, those celebrating thermal locations and those focusing on coastal areas. The large number of mountain-related films seems to confirm the pre-existing pictorial tendency. The depiction of Tongariro, Mount Cook, the Southern Alps, Westland, Queenstown and all the major New Zealand mountain locations focuses particularly on their tourist appeal, as demonstrated by the recurring scenes of skiers, ice skaters, hikers, climbers, hunters and swimmers. Tourist accommodation and related tourist facilities play a very important role within the narrative of these non-fiction films: the high standard of tourism services at Château Tongariro and the Hermitage is displayed as a matter of national pride.

Similarly, scenes of tourists enjoying themselves while fishing, swimming, making boat trips and playing beach games characterise the relatively small number of documentaries and tourism films set in coastal locations. Little attention is focused on the description of scenic beauty, while Rotorua – a location regularly depicted in promotional films – is normally shown as an amazing combination of extraordinary natural phenomena – geysers, thermal springs, boiling mud – and images of anthropological interest, with scenes taken from Māori actual life.

New Zealand fiction film often displays a different approach towards landscape. Rural, depopulated places, native bush and wild coastal areas are in fiction film narrative either a space of freedom and an escape from the obligations, rules and responsibilities of modern life and adulthood, or dark, menacing and frightening dimensions far from the light of reason and civilisation. The former approach is evident in classic New Zealand feature films such as *Sleeping Dogs* (Donaldson, 1977), where Coromandel Peninsula and its native bush embody the protagonist's quest for freedom or in *Goodbye Pork Pie* (Murphy, 1981) where a genuine sense of freedom from authority and rules can only be found outside of cities, in rural, depopulated areas. *The Piano* (Campion, 1993), on the contrary, displays the latter tendency: both native bush and the ocean seem to have negative connotations,

representing dark, frightening and menacing spaces: according to Fox (2009) “the New Zealand landscape gave Campion images that she could use to evoke interior psychological conditions and states of feelings arising from the experience of repression” (p. 104). In *Smash Palace* (Donaldson, 1982), for instance, the cinematic representation of the bush includes both tendencies, making it both a shelter and a prison at the same time.

If on the one hand the cultural relevance of the extraurban theme has always been a constant, on the other suburban culture and suburbs – whose sprawl in post-World War II indelibly changed New Zealand landscape – have been increasingly drawing the attention of sociologists, urbanists and artists. Suburbia – as seen in the next section – has gradually become a geographic, cultural and social dimension worthy of attention.

2.3.3 New Zealand Suburban World: Its Cultural and Cinematic Relevance

The suburb is a liminal, transitional urban area at the border between city and countryside. Due to the striking suburban expansion of New Zealand cities, this particular geographic and cultural space has assumed relevant importance in the New Zealand context. It can be considered, in Silverstone’s (1996) words, as

the embodiment of the same ideal as well as the same practical solution, imperfectly realized in both cases, and arguably unrealizable: the attempt to marry town and country and to create for middle class middle cultures in middle spaces in middle America or Britain or Australia (p. 3).

The main aesthetic feature of New Zealand suburban development is its lateral rather than vertical structure: indeed, single, detached dwellings rather than high buildings are the predominant housing units of the commuter suburbs that surround every major New Zealand city. Such urban structure reflects the national aspiration of owning a home of one’s own. According to Brookes (2001), “New Zealand had a distinctive idea of the home as a detached house, surrounded by garden – flowers in the front, vegetables out back, often weatherboard with a painted corrugated iron roof”. (p. 1).

Similarly, Perry (1994) notes how the prevailing housing typology throughout the country is the single, detached house. Over the last few decades, sociologists and urbanists have focused on the aesthetic features and urban characteristics of New Zealand’s main urban centres, with particular attention to their impressive, distinctive suburban expansion.

According to Kilmartin and Thorns (1978) the lateral structure of national suburban development and the predominant housing units of the commuter suburbs reflect a capitalistic, individualistic ethic. They noted how residential building densities have dominated New Zealand's urban areas; a rapid growth of this suburban form occurred in the 1950s and 1960s as a result of migration (both internal and from overseas) and the baby boom. The suburban world was characterised by single-family, one-storey houses, typically the three bedroom bungalow, each on its own 'quarter acre section'. Over time the size of the section has decreased, so that subdivisions are now more likely to be one fifth of an acre (around 600 square metres). The ownership of a small piece of land influenced, according to Perkins and Thorns (2001), suburban habits: "the presence of sections around most houses has resulted in gardening – both for production and leisure – being a significant part of many people's experience" (p. 37).

The spread of huge suburban 'dormitories' in New Zealand during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s brought to the surface social issues that were at the same time emerging in Western world peripheries. The isolation of these brand new residential areas, their distance from the central business districts and from the centres of political and economic power, and their lack of facilities had as a consequence what has been defined as 'suburban neurosis', a category that includes social ills such as alcoholism, drug abuse, depression and loss of sense of community. According to Perkins and Thorns (2001),

By 1970 Aotearoa/New Zealand suburbs were often seen as bland, monotonous and boring places of conformist activity, where leisure was typified by work on the house and section. Some residential place-making took on largely negative connotations, especially in areas where the state was strongly involved in the creation of the new suburbs (pp. 37-38).

The desire and traditional aspiration of many New Zealanders to own their own house and a small piece of land very often collided with wrong urban planning and the emergence of social issues. So far, the rise of a distinctive suburban identity and culture has remained largely unfulfilled. More generally, a strong cultural preconception against suburbs and suburban life still endures. In Silverstone's (1996) words:

Suburbia has remained curiously invisible in the accounts of modernity. The suburban is seen, if at all and at best, as a consequence, an excrescence, a cancerous fungus, leaching the energy of the city, dependent and inert and ultimately self-destructive. (p. 4).

Intellectuals and artists have constantly targeted and condemned suburbs and suburbia, finding them shallow, banal, uniform and monotonous (McAuliffe, 1996; Horne, 1968). At the same time – as Anglo-American literature, painting, photography and film demonstrate – they have been strongly attracted by situations and stories set in suburbs. This love-hate relationship is also evident in New Zealand film production, where both fiction and non-fiction have displayed varying and sometimes contrasting tendencies towards the theme of suburban representation.

In terms of suburban representation, New Zealand film displays contradictory and sometimes diametrically opposed tendencies, shifting from utopic to dystopic depictions. Non-fiction film and particularly documentary production during the 1940s, 1950s and until the end of the 1960s tend to celebrate city suburbs and suburban life as the most desirable prospect of life for the post-World War II baby boom generation. The rise and spread of working class/low income suburbs in these decades seem to embody, especially in NFU documentaries, the apparently inexorable growth of an equal society. This celebratory attitude is focused both on the optimism that surrounds massive New Zealand city expansion and the related construction boom, and on the peculiar morphology and scenic appeal of many hill and coastal suburbs.

From the late 1960s onwards the depiction of the suburban world in fiction film changed radically. The attention of documentarists was mainly focused on Wellington and Auckland suburbs. The dark side of suburbia became the main focus of documentaries focused both on Wellington and Auckland's urban areas such as NFU *Notes on a New Zealand City* (1971) and *The Street* (1973) or John O'Shea's *Wellington in the Sixties: The Way It Seemed* (1965): the description of problems such as suburban loneliness, loss of identity, lack of sense of belonging, spread of mental diseases, poverty and issues related to wrong urban planning, are recurring aspects of the New Zealand cinematic city throughout the second half of the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s and the 1990s.

The representation of New Zealand suburbs in national fiction film production is similarly shifting. Among all New Zealand urban areas Auckland suburban reality features in the largest number of movies, often characterised by very different perspectives. In movies such as *Once Were Warriors* (Tamahori, 1994), *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted* (Mune, 1999) or *Broken English* (Nichols, 1996), Auckland's most deprived suburban areas become the background for stories of violence, addiction, sexism, social unease and racial segregation. On the contrary, *Sione's Wedding* (Graham, 2006) and *My*

Wedding and Other Secrets (Liang, 2011) depict with lightness middle-class multicultural contexts whereas *Love Birds* (Murphy, 2011) features a wealthy Pākehā suburb. In terms of Wellington's cinematic representation, the multicultural, racial theme has not been treated so far. *Separation City* (Middleditch, 2009) provides a visual celebration of a coastal, wealthy middle class suburb in contrast with the dystopic depiction of its social and relational environment. In a movie such as *Braindead* (Jackson, 1992) Wellington's suburban hilly morphology and old-fashioned colonial houses become the ideal setting for a horror story. In Peter Jackson's movie, the use of bird's-eye views of Wellington's apparently endless suburbs is a way to visually celebrate their peculiar structure and the representation of some specific, emblematic suburban spots such as the dairy or stylistic aspects such as the colonial architecture is informed with a nostalgic attitude.

In Wellington tourism film the presence of suburbs has been fluctuating and unstable; suburbs were a recurring theme until the 1970s and their representation never matched the dystopic depiction that mostly characterised them in fiction film production. On the contrary, as analysed later, it was meant to promote Wellington as home of a wealthy and healthy middle-class lifestyle.

2.3.4 New Zealand Urbanism and Cultural Identity

It is difficult to exactly define and circumscribe the categories of urban and rural and to draw the boundaries between these two geographical, social and cultural dimensions. The Statistics New Zealand website provides its own definitions of what can be considered 'urban' and 'rural'. According to the most recent classification, in New Zealand a rural centre has a population "of 300 to 999 in a reasonably compact area that services surrounding rural areas (district territory)" ("Stats NZ - Tatauranga Aotearoa", n.d.). In this section I will deal with both small rural towns and large urban settlements/areas in relation to national cultural identity. Bell (1995) effectively described the prevailing New Zealand pattern of population:

within New Zealand, the distribution of population is such that just one and a half million people occupy all those towns and rural districts outside the five largest cities. In some parts of the country the density of population is less than one person per 10 square kilometres. From the cities it is all too easy to see these small,

dispersed places as simply – and indistinctly – “the rest of New Zealand” or “out there” (p. 11).

Bell also highlighted a new tendency that had started to characterise a number of small rural centres in New Zealand. During the 1990s, small towns and larger cities alike began to develop their own promotion strategies through the organisation of festivals and the creation of slogans, logos and marketing campaigns. Urban centres, according to Bell, “claim a new role in New Zealand culture, as new traditions and icons are established” (p. 129). This rise of local urban identities was even more evident when involving main urban areas. As Bell also noted, the new slogan created for Hamilton – “Where it’s happening” – focused on the promotion of its numerous events and attractions such as a university, a world-acclaimed agricultural research station, an attractive art gallery, a public-funded swimming pool, and a theatre. Rotorua was described as full of surprises. Palmerston North proclaimed itself the “Knowledge City”. Christchurch was still the “Garden City”, but also “The City that Shines”- an interesting and lively city characterised by attractive squares, parks and river. Dunedin’s slogan “It’s all right here!” aimed to promote its historical and architectural heritage, particularly its neo-gothic Victorian and Edwardian architecture, its Scottish history, and its surrounding natural attractions, defining itself as the “Wildlife Capital” of New Zealand.

The numerically scarce studies on the nature and characteristics of New Zealand urbanism are partially counterbalanced by more recent publications focusing on the changes that have occurred in the identity and structure of New Zealand cities over the last two decades. These works mainly focus on the two most important New Zealand cities in demographic, economic, cultural and political terms: Auckland and Wellington. During the last three decades both cities have been implicated in the phenomenon of gentrification and regeneration of their central areas, nevertheless Wellington’s socioeconomic shift and image transformations seem to attract the attention of a larger number of scholars.

Several academic works dealt with New Zealand tourism from a general point of view but only a few of them focused on the role of New Zealand cities within the context of the national tourism industry. As Hall and Kearsley (2001) noted,

in New Zealand this lack of research on urban tourism has likely been exacerbated by the perception that tourism is primarily driven by visitor attractions in wilderness and rural environments. Nevertheless, there are a number of facets of urban tourism that are clearly significant for tourism in New Zealand (p. 131).

The situation has recently changed. Indeed, over the last three decades, main New Zealand cities have started to be considered potentially appealing tourist destinations. Their appearance and their perceived image have very often deeply changed. In Hall and Kearsley's (2001) words,

It is apparent that the way in which New Zealand cities are developed and marketed has changed dramatically. Tourism may not always be regarded as a quick fix, but it has certainly become a key component of how urban places try to reimage themselves in the light of broader global economic and political processes (p. 162).

According to Hall and Kearsley (2001) Auckland, with its undisputed national preponderance both in demographic and economic terms and thanks to the importance of its port and airport, has a longer history as an urban tourist destination than Wellington, traditionally branding itself as 'the City of Sails' and promoting at the same time a wide range of attractive suburban seaside locations. Lawton and Page (1997) observed how from the 1980s tourists have shown an increasing interest in Auckland as a tourist destination. According to them, Auckland tourism history has been characterised in the 1980s and in the first half of the 1990s by "a mismatch between supply and demand with tourists undertaking urban activities while the industry is primarily offering outdoor and adventure type activities" (p. 123). More recently, as Dwyer and Wickens (2012) noted, there has been an obvious effort to make Auckland a vibrant, dynamic and appealing city through festivals and cultural events. During the last three decades, these identity changes have been accompanied by substantial and evident changes in urban structure.

Auckland's most relevant urban phenomenon is represented by its recent gentrification. Chalmers and Hall (1989) focused on both the 1960–1984 Auckland suburban expansion and on the transformations in the Auckland Central Business District throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. Auckland's city centre transformations embodied, according to Murphy (2008), a deep change in New Zealand traditional anti-urbanism. In his words, "the rush for a quarter acre paradise has now been replaced by new blocks of flats built all around the waterfront area" (p. 2522). Murphy highlighted the importance of the waterfront as the driving force for the deep changes in the urban character and identity of both Auckland and Wellington. As demonstrated through the analysis of the case studies in Chapter 5, for a new cosmopolitan urban middle class, the central areas of the main New Zealand cities have now become more appealing than traditional suburban detached houses.

2.3.5 The Case of Wellington

Wellington's urban area, with its 398.000 inhabitants, is currently the second urban area in New Zealand by population. It was chosen as the capital city in 1865 in place of Auckland ("Parliament moves to Wellington," 2017) because of its convenient and strategic location in the Cook Strait region. According to Bell (1995), the capital city of New Zealand suffered long from a negative public image, being usually associated with bad news in all New Zealand media: an important political centre and an essentially bureaucratic city, its image remained mostly negative until the end of the 1980s. However, Bell stresses the radical shift in the perception of the capital city of New Zealand that followed the 1991 Absolutely Positively Wellington (APW) campaign, highlighting its unexpected success and its capacity to turn a mostly negative image of Wellington into something positive, trendy and appealing from a tourist point of view. Wellington has recently started to promote its sophisticated urban lifestyle both nationwide and internationally.

This deep transformation has been analysed by a number of scholars in the past twenty years. Lawn and Beatty (2006) identified in neoliberalism the root of the recent changes in Wellington's identity, such as its shift towards tertiary education, cultural industries, entertainment and tourism marketing; Leotta and O'Regan (2014) noted how Wellington was the first and fastest New Zealand city to embrace the label of 'creative city'. They also stress how the recent radical changes in Wellington image and identity have mainly been driven in the past twenty years by some specific economic areas of growth such as information technology, the tv/cinema industry and tourism. Wellington is now characterised by the presence of three globally important film production companies: Weta Workshop, Weta Digital and Park Road Post Production. Such industries have brought into town highly skilled international workers; moreover being the capital city of New Zealand, Wellington gathers a wide range of skilled, well educated, high-income professionals. According to Florida (2005), Wellington has now become a nerve centre both in film production and in key areas of digital technology. In his words,

Jackson had done something unlikely in Wellington, a smallish but exciting cosmopolitan city of roughly 400,000, and one certainly not previously considered a global cultural capital. He has built a permanent facility there that is considered one of the world's most sophisticated filmmaking complexes. And he did it in New

Zealand for a reason (...). He realized (...) that with the allure of *The Lord of the Rings* he could attract a diverse array of creative talent from around the world (p. 1).

Birchfield (2002) argued that Wellington's compact morphology, its highly educated population and the urgency of a new economy replacing the old dismantled manufacturing industry were the main factors that contributed to create the perfect conditions for its transformation. Pearce (2007) and Page (1996) historically traced all the main turning points that marked Wellington's socioeconomic structure throughout the twentieth century, with particular attention to the recent growth of the tourism industry, whereas Marshall (1998) analysed the economic development in the capital in the mid/late 1990s, focusing on specific areas of growth such as information technology, call centres, and cluster industries such as earthquake technology and film and television. Page (1996) described the urban growth of Wellington during the twentieth century, focusing on its various stages until the tourism development of the 1990s.

The afore-mentioned change of identity was informed by a strong political will. Te Papa Museum has been considered the core of Wellington's recent renaissance. Brabazon (2009) argues that, since the beginning of the 1990s both the decision to open a museum of international relevance on the waterfront and the launch of the APW promotional campaign contributed to create a new image and a new tourist appeal for the city both nationwide and internationally. According to her, the promotion and integration between different, but somehow complementary sectors like tourism, cinema, music, education and food proved eventually successful. Similarly, Hall and Kearsley (2001) considered the establishment of Te Papa Museum and the rejuvenation of the whole waterfront area as turning points in Wellington tourism strategies. The traditional underestimation of New Zealand cities as potential tourist destinations turned in the early 1980s into a new interest in the potentiality of urban tourism. Indeed, tourism started to be perceived as a mechanism to redevelop inner urban areas affected by both economic and demographic decline, while heritage, cultural and sport events were seen as a way to attract investments and new visitors.

2.3.6 The Representation of Urban Centres in New Zealand Film Production

Despite the preference for landscape and rural subjects in national artistic and cultural production, the representation of New Zealand urban areas in New Zealand non-fiction film has been recurrent throughout national film history. The important role of the New Zealand small town in national cultural production and especially in literature and film production has been recently analysed by Conrich (2008). Small rural settlements feature in a number of fiction films and only in a few documentaries. Their cinematic representation shifts from the nostalgic attitude towards rural Pākehā communities and ‘good old New Zealand’ that informs a film such as *Came a Hot Friday* (Mune, 1982) and to the dark, dystopic depiction of rural Pākehā settlements reflected in *Smash Palace* (Donaldson, 1982) and – especially – in *Out of the Blue* (Sarkies, 2006). Films set in small – and often coastal – Māori communities like *Mauri* (Mita, 1998), *Boy* (Waititi, 2010), *Ngati* (Barclay, 1987), and *Whale Rider* (Caro, 2002) tend to show their remoteness and their close relationship with the surrounding empty natural landscape.

The four main urban areas – Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin – have been widely depicted both in documentaries and tourism films. Auckland and Wellington, in particular, being the most relevant cities in demographic, economic and political terms, feature in a considerable number of films.

Early cinematic tendencies in the representation of New Zealand urban centres seem to display an optimistic attitude and an enthusiasm for urbanism as a symbol of modernity. Until the 1960s, Government-funded films – both by the Government Publicity Office (GPO) and the National Film Unit (NFU) – draw postcard-like promotional images of the main New Zealand cities. Auckland’s chaotic traffic, means of transportation, new skyscrapers and efficient infrastructures are the focus of a celebration that sometimes includes some of its major – and very often suburban – tourist attractions. Wellington’s early representations mainly tend to dwell on its landscape – its hills and harbour – and on its iconic monumental, architectural and institutional attractions such as Parliament, the Cable Car, the Botanical Gardens and the National War Memorial, with a preference for the depiction, particularly during the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, of the deep architectural transformations occurring in the CBD area.

The 1960s can be considered a turning point, revealing a new complexity in the treatment of urban subjects, especially in terms of the representation of Auckland and

Wellington. New issues relating to deep changes in urban structure, migratory waves, traffic, property speculation and loss of traditional identity patterns suddenly came to light. Scenes taken from urban dystopia gradually replaced old, postcard-like reassuring images, as exemplified by John O'Shea's *Wellington in the 1960s: The Way It Seemed*, by NFU documentaries such as 1967 *To Live in The City*, 1971 *Notes on a City*, 1973 *The Street*, and the 1983 John Reid documentary *Hometown Boomtown*. From the early 1960s to the early 1980s, documentary film became the most suitable film form to describe the social issues related to the social transformations New Zealand was experiencing. On the contrary, Christchurch and Dunedin's cinematic image did not seem to change substantially throughout time. The first is described as the 'garden city' *par excellence* and as the most English in character amongst all New Zealand cities: the latter hosts an ancient and prestigious university and is quintessentially Scottish in its identity. For both of them an overview of their main tourist attractions – parks, historical buildings, churches – is normally provided. Their documentary and tourism film representation does not seem to have the complexity and articulation of Auckland's and Wellington's depiction.

The past thirty years stress a totally new cinematic gaze on New Zealand cities. Auckland is celebrated for its skyline, for its shopping district and for its multiple leisure opportunities, as shown in 1984 tourism film *New Zealand Video Tours: Auckland* or in 1991 *Visual Symphonies: Auckland*. Auckland's food and wine culture and its multicultural environment started to be displayed and celebrated from the 2000s onwards, as demonstrated by the numerous tourism films conceived and made for the Internet. Wellington is described as lively and creative, with intellectual vibes, an interesting coffee and craft beer culture, a great nightlife, as displayed in tourism films such as 1985 NFU *Promises promises*, 1991 *Visual Symphonies: Wellington*, 1991 APW and in the videos made for the Internet and realised by the local tourism board from the mid-2000s onwards. Christchurch has become a city of festivals and events, as tourism films such as 1985 *Heart of the City: Christchurch Cathedral Square*, or 1990 *Christchurch the Garden City: The City That Shines* try to demonstrate. Dunedin has a vibrant student life and an interesting nightlife, according to the tourism promos that start to circulate in the 2000s.

By contrast, New Zealand fiction film, even more than its treatment of the suburban dimension, often displays dystopic tendencies in representing the urban world. As Leotta (2011) noted, New Zealand cities are cinematically perceived as dark spaces of oppression.

From *Broken Barrier* (O'Shea, 1952) to *Sleeping Dogs* (Donaldson, 1978), from *Goodbye Pork Pie* (Murphy, 1981) to *Eagle vs Shark* (Waititi, 2007), cities – particularly Auckland and Wellington – embody the source of authoritarianism and oppression, the lack of freedom, the impossibility of happiness, the loss of identity and innocence.

New Zealand film production during the 2000s and 2010s, while clearly reasserting deeply rooted tropes of the rural and small town settings, as demonstrated by *Hunt for the Wilder People* (Waititi, 2016), *Poi E: The Story of Our Song* (Kahi, 2016), *Mahana* (Tamahori, 2016), *Waru* (Gardiner & Smith, 2017), *Pork Pie* (Murphy, 2017) and *Human Traces* (Gorman, 2017), also displays two different and contrasting tendencies in terms of urban representation. If on the one hand films such as *The Changeover* (Harcourt & McKenzie, 2017) and *One Thousand Ropes* (Tamasese, 2017), the former set in Christchurch, the latter in Wellington, strongly recall the long-established depiction of the New Zealand city as a dystopic and oppressive environment, on the other hand *Sione's Wedding* (Graham, 2006), *Sione's 2: Unfinished Business* (2012) and *What We Do in the Shadows* (Waititi & Clement, 2014) embody in the past decade a partial trend reversal. For the first time in New Zealand fiction film Auckland and Wellington's most iconic urban locations and tourist attractions – Wellington's Cuba Street, Courtenay Place nightlife and the waterfront area and Auckland's Sky Tower, skyline and harbour – were visually celebrated and openly promoted. Their tourist appeal and potential were recognised and showcased: urban tourism marketing exceeded the boundaries of tourism films and promos contaminating new media forms.

2.4 Tourism Film as a Media Form

2.4.1 Tourism Film: A Conceptual Challenge

Besides entering common usage, the term 'tourism film' is being used in specific contexts. For instance, tourism film festivals are currently held in different parts of the world, thus suggesting that tourism film can indeed be considered as a creative and a promotional media object that can be appreciated for both commercial and promotional values and aesthetic and creative qualities. The existence of such contests sheds light on the public recognition of this media form as well as on its multifaceted nature.

However, despite the very existence of tourism film, there has not yet been a significant academic engagement with its notion and definition. According to the approach adopted in this thesis, tourism film is a media form that features one or more geographical locations. It has an explicit or implicit promotional goal and invites viewers to virtually or physically experience the displayed location. It is the result of cross-institutional collaborations, it often has different purposes and objectives and it is framed by a 'tourist gaze', that is – according to Urry (2011) - a socially organised, systematised and constructed way to look at the land, shaped around certain pre-existing representations (paintings, photographs, other media texts) and expectations about the landscape. In turn, tourism films create a set of expectations that will contribute to shape the viewer's tourist gaze and might invite his/her physical or virtual visitation of the displayed location. This thesis provides a definition and description of tourism film in which the term 'film' is meant to refer to different types of technologies, encompassing a broad range of media texts in an inclusive way.

In the New Zealand context three different but complementary aspects of tourism film have changed throughout time: their form, the intertwining of relations that underpins their production and their contexts of circulation and distribution. This emerges from the analysis of tourism films from different ages. GPO's *Wellington, Capital City of New Zealand* (1925), for instance, released by a government-led film production company for theatrical screening - is a collection of moving postcards displaying to the audience Wellington's major tourist attractions. Its form clearly reveals its promotional nature. *This Is New Zealand* (1970), originally conceived and screened as a documentary for the Osaka 1970 International Expo, was ultimately screened in North America and Europe in order to promote New Zealand as a tourism destination. It is therefore categorisable as a tourism film because of its contexts of circulation. The production of the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* - a byproduct of *What We Do in the Shadows* (Waititi & Clement, 2014) - was characterised by a complex, articulated and cross-institutional collaboration between local tourist stakeholders, the film's production company, government institutions and an advertisement agency. Moreover, the themes and narrative of the film are openly promotional. Therefore, the direct involvement in its production of the institution in charge of Wellington tourism marketing, as well as its form, reveal its promotional nature. Thus, tourism film is not always immediately recognisable as such and it can be imagined as a

continuum in which some visual texts match all the criteria of the definition while others only some of them.

2.4.2 Tourism Film. A Historical Overview and a New Zealand Perspective

The importance of travel film in the context of early cinema history, its popularity amongst European, North American and Australasian audiences and its role in inspiring, shaping and laying the groundwork for future popular film forms has recently informed a lively strand of research. As highlighted by Smith (2000) and Carroll and Banes (2000) film played, an important role in constructing national identities, especially in the first decades of the twentieth century. Travel films, travelogues and promotional films have been circulated and used both as part of nationhood building strategies and for tourism promotion. This has been particularly evident in New Zealand, where government-led film production companies in charge of national publicity such as the GPO and the NFU have been regularly and systematically releasing tourism and promotional films for both domestic and international circulation from the early 1920s to the early 1990s.

According to Ruoff (2006) and Lynn Peterson (2006), travelogues can be considered the precursors of widespread cinematic forms such as ethnographic films and documentaries. Their spread and popularity in the early decades of the twentieth century happened – as Gunning (2006) noted - at the intersection of some crucial industrial, historical, social and cultural phenomena such as the development of travel, transportation and the tourism industry, the Colonial Wars and the expansion of European colonialism. However, Lynn Peterson (2006) pointed out that Western middle classes began to display a strong interest in exotic travel images even before the development and the success of the cinematic medium: indeed, between the nineteenth and the twentieth century, pictures of popular locations were being circulated through magazines, stereographs, postcards and other popular mass media. Also pre-cinematic forms contributed to prepare the ground for the birth and popularity of the travelogue, as Leotta (2011) and Colligan (2002) highlighted. According to Colligan, nineteenth and early twentieth century audiences very often became familiar with exotic locations through illusionistic paintings, cycloramas, moving dioramas and panoramas. In her words “panoramas made an important contribution to the public ‘image bank’, showing travelogues of Europe, the United States of America and Australasia” (p. XVI).

The development and growing spread of modern means of transportation also played an important role in stimulating audiences' interest and curiosity towards tourism films. Travel as a mass phenomenon contributed to shape western audiences' gaze, creating what Friedberg (1993) has defined as the "mobilised and virtual gaze" (p. 37). Indeed, as Gunning (2006) notes, during early twentieth century public lectures images were very often "projected in special theatres designed as railway cars or other means of transportation" (p. 26) while well-known showmen and world noted travellers entertained the audience with, in Dixon's words (2013), "original, first-person narratives" (p. 5). The reason for the success of tourism films in the pre-Hollywood era was described by Benelli (2006):

Travelogues could be relatively inexpensive to produce (...) they could bypass the importance of stars, the need for state of the art photographic and sound technology, and even a great deal of narrative and aesthetic sophistication if film makers could successfully convince the public that their films offered, instead, compellingly authentic (and the more exotic the better) reality to paying customers. (p. 182).

Since the early film era, in terms of tourism film production New Zealand seemed to reflect the above-mentioned trends: indeed, the representation of the country on film was linked to both tourism promotion and the construction of national identity. In this respect, the depiction of national landscapes played a fundamental role. According to Lefebvre (2007), there is a deeply-rooted relationship between cinema and the representation of landscape; similarly Leotta (2011) stressed the importance and centrality of landscape and natural element especially in New Zealand early film production. As he notes, "landscape seems to have an even more prominent role in New Zealand cinema, to the extent that several critics have stressed its structural importance in local feature films" (p. 2). Even before the spread of cinematic projection, the use of photography and film as means of tourism promotion was very popular. According to Hancox (2012),

the modern history of New Zealand (...) coincides almost exactly with the history of photography. This country is visually unique within Western culture (...). Photography has ultimately been New Zealand's most important art of colonisation. Furthermore photography has, of all the arts, been the principal mode of seeing and documenting the landscape (pp. 76-77).

If the importance of photography is widely recognised as a means to spread images of the country worldwide, from the 1920s onwards, as a consequence of the establishment

of government organisations such as the GPO in 1923 and the NFU in 1941, film increasingly became – as demonstrated by the large number of travel films produced in New Zealand – the most important medium to promote the country both nationwide and globally. Sowry (1981) historically retraced the origins of government travel movies in the scenics made by photographers working for the Ministry of Agriculture before the establishment of the GPO in 1921. Leotta (2011) recognises an everlasting interconnection between the establishment of a film industry in New Zealand and the production of tourism films both for national and international circulation. According to him “the connection between cinema and tourism in New Zealand dates back to the very origins of the cinematic medium in this country” (p. 195). Sowry (2011) stressed the numerically remarkable production of publicity film in the 1920s. In his words, “over 200 films were made, covering the country from north to south” (p. 83). Hillyer (1997) and Hickman (2015) focus on two of the best known New Zealand travelogues from the GPO’s era, *Romantic New Zealand* (1934) and *Glorious New Zealand* (1925); the former considers them examples of cinematic nation building, while, according to the latter, government filmmaking tended to depict “the New Zealand landscape in ways that consciously or unconsciously contributed to and reflected upon notions about the identity of its inhabitants” (p. 6).

The production of travel movies continued in the NFU’s era with well-known tourist promos at the end of the 1940s such as *Meet New Zealand* (1949) and *Beautiful New Zealand* (1949), reaching a remarkable peak at the beginning of the international tourist era in the 1960s and 1970s, as highlighted by Lawrence McDonald (2011a), and as exemplified by Hugh Macdonald’s *This is New Zealand* (1970), made for promoting the country at the 1970 Osaka World Expo, where according to Lawrence McDonald (2011b) “an estimated 2.1 million people viewed it” (p. 156) and released the following year in the most important New Zealand movie theatres. From the 1970s onwards, film and tourist promotion became increasingly related. Film, in McDonald’s (2011b) words, “continued to play a part as an important promotional tool” (p. 156). From the mid-1960s – as will be shown in Chapter 4 and 5 – the NFU started to systematically target TV as its preferred distribution platform, it adapted for TV circulation tourism films originally made for the big screen and produced tourism ads specifically for TV circulation. In fact, TV continued to play a very important role until recently: three of the best known recent Wellington tourism marketing campaigns – *Send Yourself to Wellington* (1999), *Have a Love Affair in Wellington* (2005) and *Spoling Yourself in Wellington* (2008) – were conceived for TV.

If on the one hand TV played a fundamental role in the circulation of New Zealand tourism film from the late 1960s to the mid/late 2000s, on the other hand the past three decades have been characterised by turning points such as the closure, in 1990, of the NFU, responsible for the majority of tourism film realised in New Zealand from 1941 to 1990 and, a few years later, by the spread of the Internet in the mid-late 1990s, which soon became an essential tourism promotional platform. The phenomenon of online tourism advertising and its consequences on tourist markets have been gaining increasing scholarly attention over the last decade. According to Avraham and Ketter (2016) “the Internet is a prime tool for promoting tourism and in recent years has become a leading instrument for delivering campaign messages (p. 4); similarly, McCabe (2009) acknowledges the value and potential of Internet-based advertising in tourism and hospitality, defining it as “part of organisational marketing communication strategies” (p. 259). More specifically, the role played by the Internet as a distribution platform and by tourism videos as tourism promotional tools has been highlighted by Woodside (2010), who specifically focuses on their importance as a means of urban promotion and by Silverman and Hallett (2015), Hudson (2008) and Avraham and Ketter (2012) who similarly acknowledge the fundamental role played by videos and social media such as YouTube in promoting, branding, marketing and selling specific locations. Connor, Wang and Li (2011) analyse tourism marketing in Web 2.0 era, stressing the multiple opportunities opened by social media such as YouTube and Dailymotion and by travel-related websites such as TvTrip or Trivop; similarly, also Egger and Maurer (2015), focus on the growing importance of YouTube and social media in modern tourism promotion.

The aforementioned growth of YouTube as a distribution platform for tourism film has been particularly evident in New Zealand, where a large number of tourism channels, promoting and marketing a wide range of New Zealand locations, has been proliferating over the last decade. The spread of Internet-based promotion in the last ten years grew simultaneously with urban tourism; indeed, New Zealand urban locations have their dedicated YouTube tourism channels, that in some cases – WellingtonNZ and VisitAuckland - feature around two hundred videos. In the Internet era, the tourism potential of New Zealand urban locations has been fully recognised.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has provided a definition of tourism film, describing it as a media form framed by a tourist gaze, whose main goals are place promotion, place branding and tourism marketing; it has identified its characteristics and evolution with particular reference to the New Zealand context. This chapter has also aimed to demonstrate how throughout its century-old history the development of New Zealand tourism film has been standing at the intersection of global and local phenomena. The study of the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film is also the study of how a set of specific urban and suburban landscapes have been displayed and depicted in national film production throughout one hundred years. As noted earlier in the chapter, New Zealand landscapes – which I divided into three categories - have been widely represented in national cultural productions and especially in film; each of them has been playing and still plays its specific role in the construction of New Zealand cultural identity. Wellington is no exception; I argued that the representation of its geographic spaces can be fully understood only in relation to a previous or contemporary national figurative and cinematic tradition. Similarly, the study of New Zealand tourism film has to be framed and placed within the development of a national film industry. Indeed tourism film has always constituted a relevant part of national film production in the almost seven decades (1921-1990) characterised by the activity of government-led film production companies; their number has recently multiplied after the introduction of the Internet, of digital technologies and social media.

If on the one hand the analysis and knowledge of local phenomena proves useful for this research, on the other New Zealand tourism film has also to be analysed with the help of broader fields of study: indeed the study of the cinematic city helps to trace the global influences that shaped and informed this media form throughout its existence. Similarly, a focus on the evolution and trends of global tourism marketing in relation to the simultaneous advancement of technology helps to insert a local production – New Zealand tourism film – into a wider frame and to understand it in a global context.

CHAPTER THREE

1912-1941. SWEET SUBURBIA AND THE BUSTLING CITY. WELLINGTON IN EARLY NEW ZEALAND TOURISM FILM

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films in the period from 1912 – the year in which the first New Zealand tourism film depicting Wellington was released - to the establishment of the NFU in 1941. It is based on the analysis of eight case studies and on the examination of surviving archival material, along with the overview of early New Zealand film production and tourism industry; it aims to highlight how in New Zealand in the first decades of the last century tourist and colonial promotion were closely intertwined and hardly separable.

In the 1920s and 1930s the New Zealand GPO was the body in charge of national tourist promotion; out of 347 promotional films made by this government-driven institution between 1921 and 1941, 102 have survived and are available for viewing; six of them focus on Wellington. Due to the relatively small number of remaining tourism films dealing with Wellington in this time frame, I decided to perform an analysis covering the whole corpus, adding one case study from the pre-GPO era and one by another production company, Sound Film Productions. They are, in chronological order: *Wellington and assorted scenes* (1912), by Sydney Benjamin Taylor, a cameraman working for the Department of Agriculture, Industries and Commerce; *Wellington Capital City of New Zealand* (1925); *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington* (1929); *Wellington Sunshine Sands* (1930); *The Maritime City* (1930); *Romantic New Zealand* (1934) all by the GPO, *Around Port Nicholson* (1934) by Sound Film Productions, a New Zealand-based private film production company, and *Glimpses of New Zealand: Wellington New Zealand's Capital City* (1935) by the GPO. Archival sources such as correspondence between institutional bodies, production documents, newspaper reviews and articles and transcripts of parliamentary chronicles have been used throughout the chapter to reinforce the textual analysis of the films.

In the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, Wellington tourism promotion was not only focused on well-known historical and scenic attractions such as the War Memorial, Parliament

Buildings, the Old Government Buildings, the Botanical Gardens, its harbour, its coastline and beaches. Indeed, the representation of Wellington in tourism films also conveyed and promoted a specific lifestyle: on the one hand, it celebrated the hectic, efficient and productive life of a city entirely inserted in the capitalist Western world; on the other hand, it depicted Wellingtonians' relaxed, informal and outdoor lifestyle. Even though landscapes and scenic attractions take the lion's share in New Zealand's early tourism promotion, cities also play an important role; their representation and the representation of their inhabitants' everyday life links an otherwise timeless collection of scenic gems to time and history, and, more specifically, to the contemporary Western world. In national tourism film production the modern facilities and means of transportation of New Zealand cities are regularly in the foreground; the emphasis on Wellington's quality of life is meant to address both potential tourists and settlers.

The focus on tourism film as an important tourist and colonial promotional tool in early New Zealand film production traverses the whole chapter: it is first addressed from an institutional point of view in the second section, which deals with the relationship between film and national publicity throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, from the beginning of New Zealand cinematic production to the establishment of the NFU. This section examines the popularity of the cinematic medium in New Zealand and its almost immediate use in the process of the constitution of a national identity as well as for tourism and colonial promotion. The third section analyses the first steps of the national tourism industry, while the fourth section examines the thematic and stylistic tendencies and the recurring themes emerging within the cinematic tourist promotion of the country. The fifth section specifically focuses on the representation of the main national urban areas in national tourism film production.

The textual analysis of the chosen case studies helps the understanding of how tourism and colonial promotion were achieved through the cinematic medium. It is performed in the sixth section of the chapter, 2.6, that addresses the themes that have emerged from the analysis of the case studies. Subsection 2.6.1 focuses on the suburban beach as a recurring theme and as a seaside recreational space for urban masses, while section 2.6.2 analyses the recurring depiction of Wellington's detached-house residential sprawl. The analysis of the beach as an integral part of suburbia brings out themes that end up questioning the current perception of the New Zealand beach as an extra-urban, wild and untamed space. At the same time I argue that the recurring depiction of Wellington's

most scenically attractive residential suburban areas embodies the New Zealand institutional desire to promote overseas an appealing environment for potential settlers. Subsection 2.6.3 examines the recurring themes in the representation of Wellington's productive/non residential areas. Urban transport, scenes taken from the industrial and productive world and a visual celebration of modern, vertical architecture convey ideas of efficiency, modernity and dynamism linked both to tourism and colonial promotion; the section then analyses the stylistic and thematic proximity between the representation of downtown Wellington and the City Symphonies, a film genre popular in the 1920s and 1930s. Finally, subsection 2.6.4 questions a belief rooted within New Zealand film studies, concerning the absence of human beings in early New Zealand film production. Through the analysis of archival sources, I aim to demonstrate how, on the contrary, the necessity of displaying the human element alongside the usual depiction of national landscapes and scenic attractions was, in the analysed time frame, strong and directly linked to the necessity of colonial promotion. In fact, the representation of city dwellers very often goes hand in hand with the depiction of tourist attractions.

Beautiful urban and suburban scenery, multiple opportunities for practising healthy outdoor activities, an excellent transport system, attractive residential areas, modern architecture, good nightlife, good job opportunities: all the elements, themes and narratives emerging from the textual analysis of the case studies are shaped around the needs and goals of national publicity.

3.2 Early New Zealand Film Production and National Publicity: A Strong Bond

An overview of New Zealand film production during the early decades of the twentieth century highlights its strong links with the local contemporary tourism industry. Its use for promotional and publicity reasons by government institutions was similarly immediate: indeed – although a number of tourism films by private New Zealand film production companies such as Sound Film Productions or international production companies such as Pathé Freres has survived – the majority of the films produced and released in the first four decades of the twentieth century was government driven. An analysis of tourism films produced in New Zealand in this period of time shows the country's overall effort in presenting and promoting itself as both an appealing tourist destination and an attractive land for new settlers. For this reason, the range of subjects and

themes displayed in early New Zealand films includes beautiful, empty and potentially settleable landscapes, the celebration of good Māori/Pākehā race relations, a depiction of local industries with related interesting job opportunities, the depiction of the country as a paradise for sporting activities and as a privileged place for a healthy, outdoor lifestyle.

The New Zealand landscape has been portrayed and promoted nationwide and overseas since the very beginning of its colonial history. Indeed, New Zealand governments started to produce and circulate images of the country long before the arrival and spread of cinema. Hancox (2012) stresses how the relationship between landscape painting, photography and tourism had always been alive and strong throughout New Zealand's colonial history. In his words, "photography has played an enduring role in publicising New Zealand and developing its tourism potential" (p. 79). As he argues, the systematic production and circulation of tourism/promotional films in the first decades of the twentieth century can be considered the logical result of an earlier important painting and photographic tradition dating back to the 1850s. Indeed, before film became the most important medium for tourism promotion, postcards depicting scenic views – mainly mountain landscapes - were widely circulated. These scenic views and landscapes were not only related to tourism promotion but also aimed to attract new settlers especially from Britain. As Taylor (1998) notes, the tourist images of New Zealand locations were mostly circulated in the 'homeland', England. According to him, they were "part of a wider corpus of colonial propaganda encouraging the emigration needed to boost what was seen by many to be a shrinking New Zealand population" (p. 11). Similarly, Ireland (2014) highlights how photography was used in the second half of the nineteenth century either to record the beauties and attractions of New Zealand's natural environment, to document social and economic progress or to portray the Māori world.

Cinema rapidly became a popular form of entertainment in New Zealand. The first public screening of motion pictures took place on October 13, 1896 at Auckland's Opera House, closely followed by other screenings held in Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin from the end of October to the end of November 1896 (Pugsley, 2011; Sowry, 1984) and, as Price (1996) stresses, between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century screenings were held even in the remotest and smallest rural communities. The cinematic medium rapidly and successfully spread over the whole country. According to Pugsley (2011) in the first quarter of the twentieth century film had definitely become "a popular part of everyday life in New Zealand" (p. 51). Pivac (2011)

and Sigley (2013) similarly highlight how cinema became in a couple of decades New Zealand's most popular entertainment.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the film industry began to see film as a means of documenting certain particular aspects of social and public life: more specifically, the potential of cinema as a publicity tool was quickly understood by New Zealand political institutions. In fact, the vast majority of the pre-GPO surviving moving films depict official events, mainly related to the political, military or sports sphere and, more particularly, local subjects such as military parades, national troops and scenes of soldiers on the war fronts. Before the establishment of the GPO in 1921, scenic views and national tourist attractions, albeit important, did not take the lion's share of film production. Overall, the celebration of New Zealand's close bonds with the motherland Britain seem to be the dominant theme in the cinematic production of this first part of the century. Despite the relatively large amount of film produced in New Zealand before the GPO's establishment in 1921, as Sowry (1981) stressed, national film production was irregular and fluctuating in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Even though the systematic government involvement with filmmaking started in 1921, since 1901 the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts had been hiring filmmakers to shoot special events. In the years between the first and the second decade of the twentieth century, the artist and photographer James McDonald - as Salmond (2011) highlighted, was the best known and most active government cinematographer. Pugsley (2011) and Price (1996) noted how these early and pioneering years of New Zealand filmmaking were also characterised by the spread of small town movie theatres and the consequent emergence of local photographers, projectionists and cameramen who supplied film to local theatres. However, according to Morton (1981) the conditions for filmmaking in New Zealand remained problematic even after the establishment in 1921 of the GPO, whose laboratories were initially situated in Wellington, in a tin shed located behind Parliament Buildings.

In the GPO's era the promotional effort became more evidently and systematically New Zealand-centred. Indeed, in the GPO's productions the number of scenes and situations portraying and embodying the bond that colonial New Zealand had with motherland Britain gradually decreased, whereas the representation of land, landscape and national locations increased and national film production more persistently conveyed a sense of national pride and self-awareness. Since the start of government involvement – as

highlighted by McClure (2012) – the tourist promotional effort has always been strong and constant. In Leotta’s (2011) words “the New Zealand governments of the first half of the twentieth century were, in fact, pioneers in the use of film as means of national publicity” (p. 16). The circulation and screening of New Zealand tourism films and tourist material within New Zealand itself, Australia and Europe was a common, consolidated and widespread practice in the third and fourth decade of the last century. Indeed, *The Evening Post* dwells, in a 1928 article, upon the success of a GPO film – whose title is not mentioned – screened at Sydney’s town hall, able to attract “more than 3000 spectators” (New Zealand Publicity. Interesting Sydney Folk, 1928); the same newspaper, in a 1925 article, describes the distribution of 2000 enlarged photographs of New Zealand scenes in London and amongst the schools of the United Kingdom (New Zealand Scenes, 1925); another article, in 1926, focuses on the circulation and screening of films and lantern lectures on New Zealand, over 600 lectures screened in different areas of Britain, in locations such as military centres, populous provincial towns and in schools of varying grades (Publicity in Europe. Films and Lectures in New Zealand. Useful Propaganda. British Empire Products, 1926).

Leotta (2011) and Feeney (2012) similarly highlight the indissoluble link between tourism and colonial promotion in late nineteenth/early twentieth century; the latter notes how the 1850s and 1860s New Zealand landscape painting tradition was directly linked to colonial promotion. Analyzing the production of pictorial, photographic and cinematic images related to New Zealand promotion, Goldson (2006) pointed out how

paintings and film images are not just pretty pictures, but are imbued with certain meaning and purposes determined by the social and economic forces that surround them. The paintings’ components, such as images of Māori, the bush, of settlement and vegetation, can no longer be understood as simple copies, pure replication of reality, innocent of meaning, but have to be understood within their context in an historical framework (p. 15).

According to Goldson, the goal of early New Zealand promotion was not only to market and sell attractive landscapes, but also to convey an image of prosperity and abundance. A large number of nineteenth century paintings displayed views taken from high standpoints, a pictorial (and later cinematic) *leitmotiv* of the colonial age; as Goldson also highlights, this specific mode of seeing and representing the landscape encouraged the viewers and potential immigrants to take possession of the land. This pictorial stylistic and

ideological convention was soon adopted in early cinematic production, very often characterised, in her words, by a “close visual match between the paintings and the cinematic footage” (p. 15).

However, in the GPO era the attempts to circulate images of the country overseas were matched by the necessity to promote the country to national audiences. In his study of the origins of nationalism, Anderson (1983) stresses the crucial role played by the mass-media in forging nationhood. According to him, “often in the ‘nation-building’ policies of the new states (...) one sees a systematic, even Machiavellian instilling of nationalist ideology through the mass-media (pp. 113-114). In fact, the role played by the widespread domestic circulation of GPO films and tourism films – and more specifically by *Glorious New Zealand* and *Romantic New Zealand* - was specifically and directly linked – according to Leotta (2011) and Hillyer (1997) - to the attempt to shape a sense of national community, and, more broadly, to construct New Zealand’s national identity. Indeed, according to the former, “the national New Zealand spirit was meant to be shaped, according to the Tourist and Publicity Department, through the very consumption of the country’s scenic views” (p. 20).

Sixty films produced and released by the GPO are classifiable as tourism film; the locations and themes they display proved fundamental to tracing tendencies and trends of the growing New Zealand tourist industry– as will be seen throughout sections 2.2 and 2.3.

3.3 Tourist Resorts, Alpine Playgrounds and Overseas Promotion: The Birth of a National Tourism Industry

With its great distance from the rest of the Western world (except for Australia), slowness of sea transport, rugged terrain, changeable and unstable weather and lack of domestic transport routes and facilities the newborn New Zealand tourism industry had to overcome - as McClure (2012) argues - a number of extremely difficult challenges during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century

McClure (2004) provides an effective analysis of New Zealand’s early tourism history, identifying some fundamental key moments and turning points. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 avoided the circumnavigation of the African continent reducing considerably the length of the journey from Europe to New Zealand and consequently increasing the number of tourists arriving by ship.

A second key moment and turning point corresponded with the government's involvement in building and promoting a national tourism industry. As McClure (2012) also highlights, even though the Government in the 1890s took control of the Milford Track and from the 1880s “bought up Māori land in the Rotorua region and took over its development” (p. 21), an official and systematic involvement started only in 1901, when New Zealand was the first country in the world to establish a government department dedicated specifically to tourism - the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, “led by a dynamic enthusiast, Thomas Donne” (McClure, 2012, p. 21). This Department was involved both in the promotion and advertisement of the country and in the building and management of important hotels and resorts in the main tourist locations, such as the Hermitage at Mount Cook and the Chateau at Tongariro. This led to the creation and circulation of the first government funded national tourism campaigns. McClure also stresses the fundamental role of Thomas Donne in shaping early twentieth century New Zealand tourist identity. Māori heritage and thermal and sporting tourism soon became the core of New Zealand promotion.

The first decades of the twentieth century were characterised, according to Alessio (1992), by numerous and lively parliamentary debates about the promotion of New Zealand. The preferred government strategies included at that time the distribution of promotional material overseas, the organization of fairs and exhibitions in New Zealand, and, in Alessio's words, the opening of “a number of offices abroad and throughout New Zealand to assist tourists and perspective investors and settlers” (p. 25). As Alessio points out, the new-born Department of Tourist and Health Resorts

used a host of techniques to promote New Zealand, including: the creation of a photographic and film section to show everyday scenes of New Zealand; the distribution of posters advertising the Christchurch exhibition; the presentation of lantern slides exhibitions with shots of cities, the Māori and New Zealand's natural wonders; taking out newspaper advertisements to influence foreign travellers to choose New Zealand as their holiday destination; and the publication of numerous pamphlets summarizing sites of interest which were sent to the leading hotels of the day (pp. 24, 25).

The description of a 1924 parliamentary speech exemplifies well the then-contemporary debate about New Zealand tourism promotion. According to *The Evening Post's* parliamentary chronicle, the Minister of Commerce H. D. Bennett

reminded the Ministers of the immense volume of tourist traffic in the world, and the amount of money it represented in expenditure. New Zealand was entitled to a greater share of the patronage of these travellers, but could not expect it till the country was better advertised (“More publicity advertising. New Zealand chamber of commerce ideas placed before Prime Minister”, 1924).

A third turning point, and an important factor that led to new perspectives and a substantial growth in domestic tourism – especially during the 1920s and the 1930s - was the improvement of the national road infrastructure and the consequent spread of vehicles for private and public transportation.

The last key moment in early New Zealand tourism corresponds with the use of film as a means of tourist promotion. If the importance of photography is widely recognised in the context of New Zealand’s early promotion, from the 1920 onwards, as a consequence of the establishment of government organisations such as the GPO in 1921 and the NFU in 1941, film became – as demonstrated by the large amount of tourism films produced in New Zealand - the most important medium to promote the country both nationwide and overseas.

Sixty of the surviving GPO’s films are categorizable as tourism films. Before focusing on the tourist representation of urban areas and, more specifically, Wellington, I performed a preliminary analysis on all the surviving GPO’s material, in order to identify characteristics and thematic and stylistic tendencies in national tourist representation. I then also examined the titles of the GPO films that did not survive in order to recognise recurring themes and subjects in the overall production. What emerged from this analysis is that New Zealand tourism films in the 1920s and 1930s displayed a relatively limited variety of themes: mountain and thermal locations, lakes, rivers, fiords and sounds, cities, sporting and outdoor activities, and scenes of Māori life.

3.4 New Zealand Tourism Film in the Early Era: Recurring Subjects and Themes

In GPO tourism films, New Zealand’s landscape is displayed as a domesticated and non-threatening space, a playground for middle-class urban masses where wildlife very often appears to be a nice frame and an appealing background for all sorts of sporting and leisure activities. According to Taylor (1998), this mode of representation clearly reflects an ideological vision. Indeed, as he notes,

early travel guides and postcards promoted and reified an ideological view of New Zealand's geography and indigenous inhabitants, one that appealed to the cosmological world-view of modernism – of progress, and the triumph of rationality over the traditional/primitive Māori, as well as over the “naive” in nature. Early tourism publications are therefore seen to have been part of a larger project in hegemony. While being symbolic in form, they contributed fully to the production of colonial power. (p. 2)

Mountain locations – in particular Mount Cook and Mount Tongariro – feature in a large number of the sixty surviving GPO tourism films. According to Davidson (2012) “this alpine playground offered a domesticated taste of what mountains and mountaineers symbolised” (p. 57). In this playground tourists are shown having fun in a safe environment and participating in all kinds of winter and summer sports, from skiing to hiking, from walking to skating. In films such as *Aorangi: In New Zealand's Alpine Playground* (1929), *Romantic New Zealand* (1935), *Happy Altitudes in New Zealand Southern Alps* (1933), *New Zealand Review n.5: Mountain Holiday* (1938) or *New Zealand's Charm: A Romantic Outpost of the Empire* (1935) tourists are filmed both during their daily activities and relaxing in the evening in comfortable and brand new mountain resorts. The opening of Mount Cook Hermitage in the 1910s and Chateau Tongariro in the late 1920s is indicative of the success of mountain tourism in the decades between the two World Wars. In Davidson's words, “increased leisure and mobility combined with expensive publicity and incentives for rail travel, opened up scenic resorts to city dwellers” (p. 57).

In the depiction of sounds, lakes and river locations, New Zealand nature is similarly represented as an inviting, domesticated space for urban masses. In *Holiday Sounds* (1937) tourists enjoy themselves, taking part in water sports, hiking or having picnics on the water's edge. *The Sounds Of The Holiday Maker: Marlborough Sounds* (1928) displays tourists on the beach and people swimming and rowing. Lakes and rivers are home to trout fishing, an activity that features in a number of tourist films. In the GPO era, sport is systematically used as an instrument to attract new tourists from overseas. Indeed, according to Alsop, Stewart & Bamford (2012), “from the late nineteenth century, New Zealand acquired a reputation among wealthy adventurous international tourists as a land for good sport. A new breed of largely ‘gentlemen travellers’ emerged” (p. 243).

Māori people, their traditions and customs, their lifestyle and the edifying description of the race relations between them and the European settlers were also used as

a vehicle of tourist promotion. Indeed, as Derby (2012) notes, “Māori as tourism icons were vigorously promoted in print from the first years of the twentieth century, but they were a prime selling point of the country’s tourism industry from a much earlier date” (p. 48). In fact, a large number of early tourism/promotional films deals with the Māori world. They are very often related to the promotion of the Rotorua district, the so-called ‘Thermal Wonderland’, focusing in particular on the Māori village of Whakarewarewa. Modern tourist facilities coexist with traditional Māori art, crafts and typical architecture, songs and typical dances, scenes of everyday life and traditional costumes against a background of hot pools, boiling lakes and erupting geysers. These are recurring themes in GPO films such as *The Māori As He Was* (1928), *Valley of Enchantments: Rotorua’s Geyser Land* (1930), *Whakarewarewa* (1927) and *Holiday Haunts: Rotorua, New Zealand* (1935).

Overall, in New Zealand tourism films from the 1920s and the 1930s the representation of mountains, sounds, river and lakes takes the lion share, whereas seaside and urban locations are shown less frequently. In the vast majority of tourism film production from the early twentieth century, New Zealand’s natural, extraurban space takes the form of an inviting, reassuring and domesticated place for the leisure of urban masses.

3.5 New Zealand Cities in the 1920s and the 1930s: Suburbs, Beaches and Bustling Central Areas

The number of tourism/promotional films dealing with urban areas is not large in relation to the overall tourism film production for this period. Yet the majority has survived until today; the analysis of their recurring themes is sufficient to delineate some specific dominant tendencies in cinematic urban representation. Indeed, alongside a usual and constant representation of the best-known urban tourist spots – the Cathedral, Cathedral Square and the Avon River in Christchurch, neogothic Otago University’s buildings and the railway station in Dunedin, Queen Street, the waterfront and the skyline in Auckland – and a certain taste for stereotyped and conventional description shaped around their cultural heritage or their climatic characteristics – ‘English Christchurch’, ‘Scottish Dunedin’, ‘Sunny Napier’ and ‘Sunny Auckland’ – the depiction of New Zealand urban areas displays a few specific constants.

First of all, suburbs play a very important role in urban promotion. Indeed the celebration of the suburban sprawl and suburban single-detached housing features in the

vast majority of New Zealand urban tourism films, as demonstrated in government tourism films such as *Beautiful Avon, Waterway of Christchurch* (1928), which features large suburban detached houses with their ‘quarter acre paradise’ or *The Out of Doors: The Environs of Auckland, New Zealand* (1929), which visually celebrates the vast extension of Auckland’s suburban residential areas through bird’s eye view and aerial shots or – again – in *Down South* (1928) or in *Glimpses of New Zealand: Round About Dunedin* (1930), that features birds’ eye views of Dunedin’s coastal suburbs.

Coastal areas and more specifically beaches are similarly depicted as a purely suburban space, as an integral, constitutive aspect of the suburban landscape and lifestyle and as a recurring cornerstone of urban tourist promotion. The above-mentioned *The Out of Doors: The Environs of Auckland, New Zealand* or the GPO’s *Pleasure Island. Kawau Island. Auckland* (1929) or, again, *Romantic New Zealand* (1934) focus on Auckland’s coastal areas, suburban beaches and – more generally – on Auckland’s surroundings as an integral part of Auckland’s tourist experience, a theme that – as shown later – will traverse Auckland’s tourism promotion also in the following decades. Similarly, in GPO’s *Glimpses of New Zealand: Round About Dunedin* (1930), Dunedin’s coastal suburbs and local suburban beach-going are in the foreground while the depiction of Napier’s beaches and coastal areas is the visual and thematic backbone of GPO’s *Know New Zealand First no. 151: Sunny Napier, the Brighton of New Zealand* (1929).

The representation and celebration of urban modernity and efficiency, urban busy life, means of transportation and hectic traffic is another recurring theme in the GPO’s urban tourism films, as demonstrated by GPO films such as *City of Plains* (1930), that focuses on the Christchurch city centre and on the hectic coming and going of bikes, cars, trams and pedestrians; similarly, in *Dunedin City* (1926), the depiction of the city is characterised by a focus on the incessant flow of vehicle and pedestrian traffic, while *Glorious New Zealand* (1925) features views of Auckland’s Queen Street traffic.

In the first decades of the twentieth century Wellington is – amongst all New Zealand cities – the most frequently represented in tourism film; indeed, eight films from this period portray the capital city of New Zealand with a clearly explicit tourist and promotional goal. A textual analysis of these eight case studies on the one hand confirms some of the aforementioned existing visual and thematic patterns – the recurring presence of the suburban beach, the celebration of public means of transportation and city traffic, the focus on the expanding suburbs and on the suburban lifestyle. On the other hand, it

highlights an increasing attention on the human dimension by portraying Wellingtonians during their working and leisure time. In this first part of the twentieth century, the tourist promotion of Wellington - more than any other New Zealand urban centre – is linked to the promotion of a specific, recognizable lifestyle.

3.6 Suburban Lifestyle and Capitalist Dynamism: the Multilayered Dynamics of Wellington's Representation

3.6.1 The Particular Appeal of Wellington's Suburbia

As highlighted in the previous section, the presence and depiction of suburban space is a constant in the cinematic tourist promotion of New Zealand's main urban areas – Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin and Wellington. Especially in early New Zealand tourism film, suburban areas seem to be – as with the most famous monuments, locations and attractions – an integral part of urban tourist promotion. They are generally represented either as coastal areas or beach playgrounds for city dwellers or as a large sprawl of detached and semi-detached residential houses.

In fact, public urban beaches and urban coastal areas are the place for leisure outdoor activities *par excellence* in Wellington. *Romantic New Zealand* (1934) – one of the GPO's best known productions of the 1930s - while briefly focusing on the capital city of New Zealand, dwells upon its sandy beaches; the narrator highlights “its forty-five miles of coastline” and “abundance of sheltered bays” while people of all ages engaged in beach and sea activities are portrayed in one of the city's bays. The importance of coastline and beaches in the tourist representation of Wellington is also clearly portrayed in the silent film *Sunshine Sands: Wellington's Holiday Land* (1930), a visual celebration of suburban Wellington that depicts a day trip to a suburban beach, whose different stages are precisely described in a joyful tone by inter-titles. The trans-harbour ferry carries beachgoers from the city centre to suburban “Day's Bay sunshine sands”. After showing images from the harbour-crossing and the landing of the Wellingtonians on a crowded beach, this GPO film dwells on scenes of beach life: people of all ages and families are portrayed during their leisure time. Inter-titles go hand in hand with images. All the usual seaside sports and activities are featured: canoeing - “frail canoes skim the shining surface” -, rowing, sailing -, “a wind jammer comes to port” -, swimming, sunbathing, diving. However, Day's Bay

offers tourists and visitors more recreational options: tennis courts, “where there are nets that snare no fish...the tennis courts” and tennis players are depicted as well as the Pavilion, a tourist infrastructure, that subtitles describe as a “refreshment centre” that features facilities such as cafés, bars and restaurants surrounded by a luxuriant park. At sunset, the ferry carries tourists back to the city. Wellington’s suburban coast and beaches seem to be the ideal location for a short holiday, an ideal tourism product for both tourists and city dwellers’ consumption.

The beach is geographically near the city centre, linked to the idea of mobility, easy accessibility and easy escape from hectic city life. It appears to be easily reached by modern means of transportation (either by ferry or car – a number of parked cars is visible on the beach’s fringe), provided with all tourist facilities and represented as a proper playground for urban masses in the same way as some other New Zealand natural attractions – Mount Cook, Mount Tongariro and Rotorua - are depicted in these early decades of the twentieth century. The suburban beach is also related to a specific, healthy lifestyle, as demonstrated by the recurring presence of beach and water sport activities.

Wellington and Assorted Scenes (1912), a collection of scenes taken by Sydney Taylor while he was official cameraman working for the Department of Agriculture, Industries and Commerce, similarly dwells upon moments of suburban beach leisure. Lyall Bay Beach is the protagonist. However, differently from *Sunshine Sands: Wellington’s Holiday Land*, the representation of the suburban beach does not seem to be driven by any particular agenda. If the 1930 GPO film displayed Day’s Bay as a list of sport/leisure attractions, particularly focusing on its easy accessibility from the city centre in *Wellington and assorted scenes*, no means of transportation are shown; however, the number of men wearing street clothes, suits and hats and the number of women in long dresses reveal a likely proximity to and an easy accessibility from the city centre. Moreover, the initial long take, besides lingering upon the beach, also features parts of the suburb: it is therefore clear from the beginning that Lyall Bay and its beach are a suburban fringe of the city. This film does not feature any evidence of organised tourism and tourism facilities, except for changing sheds. Rather than focusing on the different leisure attractions and on the tourist potential of the location, this film dwells on different types of people and different types of faces. Children are depicted through both long and medium shots playing games on the sand while groups of adults sit and chat next to them; another medium shot shows groups of young boys in bathing suits smiling at the camera; young girls in long skirts dip their

feet in the sea, while only a few people dare to swim. Here suburban beachgoing seems to be a joyful, egalitarian ritual that brings together all types of people; its representation is mainly related to the description and promotion of a relaxed, informal, healthy lifestyle.

Not only suburban beaches, but also urban seaside – the coastal areas in Wellington’s city centre – are depicted as a tourist/city dweller consumer product. *Wellington and Assorted Scenes* features scenes from Te Aro Baths and Oriental Parade. After briefly focusing on young Wellingtonians diving and swimming with an urban background at Te Aro Baths, the film portrays through a long panoramic shot boats moored at Clyde Quay Marina. Similarly, *Wellington, Capital City of New Zealand* (1925) also displays boats and boat sheds at Oriental Parade and people rowing at Clyde Quay Marina as an important and integral part of urban landscape and urban lifestyle.

GPO’s *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington* (1929) and Sound Film Productions’ *Around Port Nicholson* (1934), briefly focus on two beaches at the extreme fringe of the city. The former features an aerial view of Breaker Bay beach on a day of rough seas, inhospitable, empty, apparently isolated and far away from the city yet surrounded by groups of scattered suburban houses; the latter portrays Red Rocks invaded by a flock of sheep. Here the suburban beach is no longer a playground for city dwellers’ consumption and is not related to the tourism industry, tourist rituals or a healthy lifestyle; on the contrary, it seems to fully embody the fringe between the inhabitable and the uninhabitable, the encounter between the urban and the extraurban (be it rural or marine space). Even though in these two case studies the beach displays its liminal geographic and cultural nature, it is still an integral part of Wellington’s representation and, in some sense, inseparable from the representation of the city itself.

In the fields of sociology and human geography, the beach is generally defined and described as a liminal space (Preston-Whyte, 2008; Brown, Fox & Jacquet, 2006; Coldicutt, 2014). According to Shields (1991), experiencing the beach implies a condition he defines as ‘in between-ness’, that is, a loss of social coordinates, and, in his words, “a liberation from the regimes of normative practices and performance codes of mundane life because of its interstitial nature” (p. 84). The somehow ambiguous and transitional nature of the beach is similarly highlighted by Matthewman (2004), who stresses its cultural and social importance as a “site of escape, leisure and identity formation” (p. 36). He states that

The beach is a littoral zone, a sandy shore between sea and land. The beach is also a liminal zone, a coast between nature and culture located at the threshold of space

and place. The beach therefore transgresses many of the binary oppositions through which we make sense of the world (p. 36).

The beach as a geographic and cultural space is of great importance in New Zealand. Māori and Pākehā maintain a diametrically opposed relationship with it. According to Turner (1999), white New Zealanders maintain with the beach a specific relationship. In his words, “Pākehā truly find themselves at the beach” (p. 31). As he highlights, the beach as a place for leisure is a concept related to contemporary, European colonial culture; white New Zealanders see it as a place for regeneration, a circumscribed and ahistorical leisure space, whereas for the Māori the beach has always essentially been a place of work and sustenance. Both Leotta (2011) and Matthewman (2004) examine the role and importance of the beach in national cultural identity drawing similar conclusions. The former, while analysing the representation of Karekare Beach in one of the most known New Zealand feature films – Jane Campion’s *The Piano* (1993) – identifies it as the quintessential and most touristically appealing New Zealand beach: in his words, it is “empty, wild and untamed” (p. 87). The latter points out the contrast between the perception of the beach in Australian and New Zealand popular culture. According to Matthewman, Australians tend to prefer urban, highly urbanised and commercialised beaches – for instance Sydney’s Bondi Beach – whereas the ideal and most loved New Zealand beach – Piha – is out of the way, dangerous and wild.

In fact, the cultural perception of the beach in New Zealand seems to have changed throughout time. Its representation as a liminal, wild, natural and untamed space appears to be quite recent, featuring worldwide tourism campaigns such as *100% pure New Zealand*, describing and promoting the country as pure and uncontaminated – however, for decades, at least for the first four decades of the twentieth century – the representation of the beach in New Zealand tourism/promotional film has been reassuring. As shown in the surviving tourism films from the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, rather than an extraurban far-away, wild and lonely place, the beach is nearly always a suburban fringe of the city or town, a highly domesticated and comfortable space for urban holidaymakers and leisure seekers. This seems to reflect a more general coeval attitude in tourist national promotion. As noted in the previous section, early twentieth century tourism films depict New Zealand’s natural environment in an inviting and reassuring way; New Zealand is an interesting destination for both lovers of nature and outdoor activities and for potential settlers.

The depiction of the beach as a suburban space and integral part of Wellington's urban context seems to go hand in hand with the promotion of a specific lifestyle. The necessity of separating workplaces from residential areas and work from life - according to Williams (1987) the main reason for the spread and success of suburban areas and suburban lifestyle in the Western world - finds in suburban beaches its full and more visible expression. From this point of view, early twentieth century New Zealand beach-going and, more generally, the New Zealand suburban beach as the privileged, egalitarian and democratised meeting point for urban masses - directly linked through the means of transportation to the capitalistic system but at the same time evidently connected to an idea of newness and physical and moral renewal - assumes an unexpected and so far unexplored importance in the definition of national cultural identity.

3.6.2 Suburban Sprawl and Colonial Agenda

The visual celebration of the suburb in its purely residential sense is – as previously highlighted – the other mode through which Wellington's suburban space is put on display in tourism promotional films. One film in particular, *Sunshine Sands: Wellington's Holiday Land*, dwells on suburbs, making them protagonists. Intertitles describe them as 'climbing' and the hills surrounding the harbour as 'thickly clustered with red roofed dwellings'. The film opens with scenes taken in a hilly suburb – apparently Brooklyn – overlooking the whole harbour. The panoramic view captures dwellings surrounded by lush vegetation, a passer-by who calmly strolls on a footpath and a tram from downtown that is gradually approaching. These scenes convey an overall impression of brightness, beauty, wealth, healthiness and a proximity to the city centre, as evidenced by the tram. At the same time the suburb appears very distant from central Wellington – in fact the city centre and the harbour are visible only in a far-away background, through the houses and the lush vegetation. The same film similarly depicts Day's Bay, in the Eastbourne area. This suburban area seems to be even more affluent than the one previously depicted and more scenically attractive: it overlooks a bay and a beach, portrayed through an aerial shot, and houses are literally immersed in greenery and built – according to the intertitles – on 'sunlit slopes'.

However, rather than focusing on specific Wellington suburbs, tourism/promotional films often tend to linger visually on urban expansion and suburban

sprawl. Therefore, what seems to be important in promotion is not just the focus on particular practical, potentially attractive aspects of Wellington suburban areas – their good standards of life, their healthy housing, their greenery, their panoramic location and good transportation systems – but also a more abstract idea of incessant urban growth and economic, social and demographic advancement, as portrayed through recurring bird's eye views of expanding city limits. *Wellington, Capital City of New Zealand* (1925) features a long bird's-eye view from Wellington's northern to southern suburbs, which includes a number of barely recognizable hilly and flat suburban areas. A similar bird's eye view representation of suburbs – and more particularly coastal suburbs - is observable in *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington* (1929) and in *Romantic New Zealand* (1934).

In general, the presence and appealing representation of suburban Wellington appears to be influenced by both tourist and colonial promotion. Indeed, on the one hand Wellington is attractive for potential tourists since it features a number of beautiful coastal locations and beaches. On the other hand Wellington beaches also embody an appealing and healthy lifestyle; finally suburbs – green, sunny, scenically beautiful, well linked to the city centre – represent an opportunity for new settlers to enjoy an appealing, healthy and happy lifestyle.

3.6.3 Recurring Themes and Ideological Roots in the Celebration of Wellington's Urban Modernity

Alongside the depiction and celebration of suburban space and suburban lifestyle, Wellington early tourism films frequently feature images and scenes of urban mobility, work and architectural verticality. The representation of these three recurring themes appears to be specifically linked to the depiction of Wellington's central, most productive and non-residential areas.

The Maritime City, a nine minute 1930 GPO film, after an initial aerial long take on Wellington harbour, dwells long upon images of both urban and ship transport, its representation of urban mobility shifting from naturalistic to stylised. Initially the camera is placed right in the middle of Lambton Quay, capturing the incessant coming and going of trams, cars and pedestrians; this mimetic approach – the camera is an invisible, immobile eye focused on urban life – conveys a lively and realistic impression of Wellington's hectic urban life. The following two shots are taken from a moving tram, providing the viewers

with the impression of travelling for one minute along busy Lambton Quay, identifying themselves with the experience of urban mobility. After dwelling for more than one minute on Lambton Quay, this film lingers on Courtenay Place, according to the subtitles the “centre of the spreading tramway system”: initially the camera is - once again - placed in the middle of the street to capture the bustling city traffic: the takes are accelerated, conveying the dynamism and vitality of a thriving environment. Earlier 1925 GPO’s *Wellington Capital City of New Zealand* dedicates one minute out of six and a half to the depiction of central city traffic. The camera is placed in the middle of the action; trams and their passengers are the protagonists here, intersecting their trajectories and moving at a slow pace very close to the camera lens; despite focusing on the same central city locations, the Lambton Quay and Manners Street/Courtenay Place areas, this film, different to *The maritime city*, makes no use of accelerated motion or shots taken from means of transportation. Overall the representation of Wellington city centre life is less stylised and the overall impression conveyed is more naturalistic. A very similar focus on the crossing trajectories of trams, cars and pedestrians in the Lambton Quay area is also a feature of *Glimpses of New Zealand. Wellington, New Zealand’s Capital City* (1935).

Ship transport – both connected to passengers and freight mobility - also plays an important role in the celebration of Wellington urban (and suburban) mobility. Indeed, before the rise and spread of intercontinental air transport in the 1960s and 1970s, New Zealand was connected to the rest of the world by sea; if the beach (or rather the suburban beach) is the quintessential leisure space for early twentieth century New Zealanders and Wellingtonians, the sea is essentially a place of work and connection to the outside world. Moreover, Wellington’s urban structure – a number of suburbs are spread all around Wellington harbour - made marine suburban transport necessary. For these reasons, the celebration of maritime transport, and, more specifically, the constant depiction of the port of Wellington as a fundamental local and international interconnection hub, are recurring themes in the majority of Wellington tourism films from the 1920s and 1930s. In *Wellington Sunshine Sands*, the trans-harbour ferry is the easiest way to reach the northern beach suburbs and the journey of the holiday makers is followed through three different shots: the first one, taken from the wharf, displays the ferry’s slow headway; the second one – a long shot probably taken from another boat – portrays the ferry during the harbour-crossing; the third and last shot dwells upon the landing and the setting down of passengers. Within this film, maritime transport appears to be efficiently integrated with urban vehicle

and rail transport; moreover, it is a service accessible by everyone, directly and naturally linked to the egalitarian and democratised ritual of suburban beachgoing.

On the contrary, *Deep harbour The Port of Wellington* focuses on the role of Wellington's port as an international transport hub, visually celebrating Wellington Harbour's entrance, its subtitles asserting that "ships from half the world apart converge at the entrance way". Similarly, *Around Port Nicholson* and *The maritime city* focus through aerial shots on the incessant coming and going of ships, cargos and ocean liners: this depiction of chaotic maritime traffic evokes a functioning interconnection of remote New Zealand with the rest of the world. New Zealand is no longer a faraway and isolated country, and it is potentially appealing for both new tourists and settlers.

The representation of Wellington as an efficient and productive urban centre is not only restricted to images of the local urban transport system, but also features scenes directly taken from the local industrial world, adhering to the lively 1920s' and 1930s' GPO tradition of films dealing with local productive activities. Wellington's textile, food and manufacturing industries are shown in the first half of *Around Port Nicholson*; within this sound film, a stereotyped representation of Fordist man-machine interaction and the consequent celebration of 'modern times' (and, of course, of Wellington and New Zealand modernity) and a detailed description of industrial automation clearly prevails in the depiction of factory workers, whose faces are barely visible. In fact, human beings, and more particularly their hands - repeatedly portrayed - appear to be mere complementary accessories of the automated industrial system.

However, Wellington's productive hub seems to be - in the 1920s and 1930s - its port: Wellington is very often depicted as a harbour city. Port activities and dock workers are the protagonists of two GPO films: *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington* and *The Maritime City*. The former dwells upon the incessant coming and going of ships in the harbour, describing in detail the activity of the signalman and the Harbour Board, depicting in its last part the whalers moored at the waterfront and ready to sail - according to the titles - "off to the white Antarctic"; the latter portrays and visually celebrates the hectic rhythms of port activities such as loading and discharging or ship repair by shooting dock workers in action. Different from the depiction of factory workers in *Around Port Nicholson*, here dock workers' faces are shown and a degree of stylization is also observable: port activities are shown through accelerated motion shots that convey a general idea of dynamism. Wellington is, according to both films, a national and

international commercial hub where commerce carriers load – as *The Maritime City*'s subtitles state – “for the far off British isles” and “coastal vessels distribute the cargoes for other New Zealand ports” or where – according to *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington*'s subtitles – “ships from half the world apart converge at the entrance way”.

The optimistic projection of Wellington towards the future is similarly reflected in tourism films' focus on downtown vertical architecture. The tendency to display urban areas by depicting their tall, modern, concrete buildings is particularly evident in *Wellington, Capital City of New Zealand* and in *The Maritime City*. Both films provide panoramic views of central buildings, more specifically lingering on two Wellington urban locations *par excellence*: Lambton Quay and Courtenay Place. The latter film, in particular, features a tram ride through Lambton Quay, using both static and moving-camera shots. The dynamic shots are taken from a tram that traverses the route of the 1855 shoreline, as highlighted by the intertitles: “Tall buildings stand where once the foreshore lay”. The representation of mobility and the celebration of architectural verticality are combined in this film to convey an overall impression of modernity. More particularly, the dynamic shots portray the slow succession of the facades of Lambton Quay buildings; the static one, taken from a camera placed in the middle of an intersection in a no longer recognizable city location, features two tall modern concrete buildings whose size absorbs much of the viewer's attention. A similar focus on the vertical city risen from the sea is observable in *Romantic New Zealand*: Lambton Quay once again symbolically represents the hub of urban modernity and a long take lingers on the facades of tall concrete buildings. *Around Port Nicholson* provides an unprecedented depiction of Wellington's central business district at night time. A fast-paced juxtaposition of quick cuts features city neon lights. According to the narrator's voice-over “outside the cabaret electric signs abound, most of them well known to the citizens”: they light up on tall vertical buildings and advertise all sorts of goods, shops and shows: the futuristic city also lives and shines at night. New city centre vertical buildings embody an idea of progress and optimism: as *Around Port Nicholson*'s voice-over states, “splendid office buildings (...) prove that Wellington is progressing at all points”.

The representation of central Wellington as the productive, non-residential area of the city is informed by two ideological roots. On the one hand, the visual celebration of the energy and dynamism of the urban capitalistic world appears to be consistent with a widespread *zeitgeist* and its related artistic and cultural expressions; on the other hand, the

general impression of modernity and efficiency emerging from Wellington tourism films is linked to tourist and colonial promotion and, more precisely, to the necessity of presenting New Zealand's capital city as a thriving and appealing destination for both tourists and potential settlers.

Downtown Wellington as it emerges from the analysis of these case studies is a cohesive and functional system whose life is ruled by technology; modern means of transportation – trams, cars, ferries, ships – and modern means of production – manufacturing industries characterised by a Taylorist organization of labour – are the gearwheels of a well-established urban mechanism. In the urban space of productivity, human beings – the Wellingtonians – stand like a blurred presence in the background, pedestrians walking on footpaths, or crossing the streets, tram or ship passengers, car drivers, factory workers intent on their work; mechanical efficiency and a visual celebration of urban capitalistic society and modern architecture seems to prevail in any possible attempt at social and sociological analysis. The overall character and tone in representation are mostly non-problematic, joyful and celebrative, lacking any type of criticism, carefully avoiding the depiction of conflict and echoing in terms of style and recurring themes coeval artistic and cinematic productions.

Interestingly, themes such as urban work, modern urban architecture and means of transportation constantly feature the so-called coeval City Symphony genre. Even though there is no archival evidence of City Symphonies' circulation in New Zealand before the end of 1936, the year in which Alberto Cavalcanti's *Nothing but Time* and René Clair's *Paris Asleep* (1923) were mentioned in an *Evening Post* article amongst a number of films recently shipped to New Zealand from abroad ("Ancient Films. American Collection", 1936), yet Wellington tourism films display a number of similarities with this film genre, showing a common and shared perception of the urban theme.

In McArthur's (1997) words, City Symphonies can be defined as "the modernist cinematic response to modernity which were appearing in many societies in the interwar period" (p. 38). Although the origins of the City Symphony genre are mainly European – Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin, Symphony of a Great City* (1927), Alberto Cavalcanti's (Brazilian born but mainly based in France, Italy and Germany) *Nothing but Time* (1926) and Dziga Vertov's *Man With a Movie Camera* (1929), respectively a German, a French and a Russian film, are indeed the best known urban films from the 1920s – American and Brazilian films such as Paul Strand's *Manhatta* (1921) or Adalberto Kemeny's *São Paulo*,

São Paulo. A Metropolitan Symphony (1929) testify to the worldwide spread of urban themes in cinema. According to Barber (2002):

as a last stand before the arrival of sound synchronization, a rush of city films appears across Europe, especially in Germany, France and the Soviet Union, in which the visual city's fluid forms determinedly took pre-eminence, their compelling images engrained with their own imminent vulnerability to archaism (pp. 31-32).

As Trione (2014) highlights, in the City Symphonies the city itself and its mood become the main protagonists of the films; everyday life is shaped by the power of technology and city dwellers are depicted as an integral part of urban mechanism. According to Strathausen (2003), modern means of transportation and the new possibilities in mobility deeply change in the first decades of the twentieth century the perception of the entire world, which is presented, in his words, "in a constant state of flux" (p. 24). Cities are the places *par excellence* where modernity happens; as highlighted by Hielscher and Jacobs (2015) and Weihsmann (1997) the constant focus on trams, cars, commuter ferries and rushing urban traffic are modernity's more visible expressions, as displayed in Hammid's *Aimless Walk* (1930), in *São Paulo. A Metropolitan Symphony*, in *Manhatta*, in *Berlin, Symphony of a Great City* and, as Turvey (2011) noted, in Vertov's *Man With a Movie Camera*.

Colonial and remote New Zealand's capital city and European and American nerve-centres display apparent similarities in their cinematic representation. As previously pointed out, this reflects a well rooted contemporary cultural convention that is a general tendency towards the celebration of cities as nodal points of the Western capitalistic world and lifestyle. However the drive for colonial promotion seems to overlap and coexist with further ideological discourses: the focus on efficiency, newness and work opportunities conveyed by some of the analysed tourism films - *The Maritime City*, *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington* - probably aims to present the country in the most appealing way to potential European audiences and to new potential settlers.

Nevertheless, in these first decades of the twentieth century the cinematic promotion of New Zealand's capital city is not only limited to the celebration of its suburban and central areas. In fact, Wellington's city identity is also built around the representation of its citizens' habits and everyday life.

3.6.4 Wellingtonians are Part of the Picture: A Turning Point in Cinematic Sensibility

In the years between the 1920s and the 1930s a debate took place in New Zealand involving national publicity, tourism and educational departments and institutions. The nine years that separate the release of two GPO milestones – *Glorious New Zealand* (1925) and *Romantic New Zealand* (1934) – are indeed the time in which a new awareness begins to emerge in terms of the cinematic promotion of the country. In a film production context that was focused – until the mid 1920s – on the representation of local scenic views and natural attractions, the necessity of depicting and representing aspects of the country such as urban life and human and productive activities became more urgent. At that time, a successful silent tourism film like *Glorious New Zealand* became the benchmark for further promotional cinematic production. This tourism film, directed by G.J. Anderson under the supervision of Arthur Messenger and circulated first nationwide and then overseas, immediately reached classic status, meeting with an enthusiastic reception. In *The Evening Post*'s words

The Publicity Department has received many congratulatory messages in regard to the film, which is generally acknowledged as a great tribute to New Zealand's scenic wonders. Among the messages received were felicitations from the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education and Mr. T.M. Wilford. ("Glorious New Zealand. A splendid picture", 1925).

The same newspaper defined it as a "scenic classic" whose role was to place New Zealand "before the world as a tourist resort"; it was essentially a scenic film, focusing on the most important scenic attractions and representing "the cream of two years of cinematographic effort" ("Glorious New Zealand", 1925). This first GPO success is characterised by a traditional approach in terms of New Zealand's representation. Indeed, according to the film's intertitles, New Zealand offers a "varied and wonderful scenery" and "a never ending panorama of scenic gems".

In the early 1930s talkies quickly spread worldwide, and a debate over the production of a new, technologically updated tourism film dealing in more detail with New Zealand as a whole suddenly ignited. This film would have focused more thoroughly on non-scenic aspects and, unlike its predecessor, would have been primarily conceived and made for overseas audiences. According to the intentions of the General Manager of

Filmcraft Ltd², R.W. Fenton, it would have been “a feature length film covering the whole of the Dominion” (Fenton, 1932). The focus would have been moved from the celebration of local scenic attractions to the depiction of the productive world. Primary and manufacturing industries would have taken the lion’s share. In an unsuccessful attempt at fundraising, Secretary of Industries and Commerce and General Manager of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts and Publicity, George Clinkard, wrote to the Secretary of the New Zealand Dairy Produce Board stating that in this new film “each of the dairying, pastoral, fruit and honey industries would be well featured” (Clinkard, 1931). A week later, in another effort to find sponsors for this new project, the dynamic Clinkard sent a very similar letter to the Secretary of the New Zealand Meat Producers’ Board (Clinkard, 1931). In another letter addressed to the New Zealand Railways Publicity Manager, he presented and described this new promotional cinematic project as follows:

As you are aware, some years ago a similar film was released throughout the Dominion under the title of ‘Glorious New Zealand’ and no doubt helped to stimulate the tourist traffic. The new film will be in sound and will be shown abroad as well as locally and will certainly be one of the biggest advertising schemes ever launched. The film will include scenery, sport, industries and items of general interest. (Clinkard, 1932).

He also described his ideas for this new film in a letter addressed to the Director of the Education Department: “The film will include the best of our scenery, sporting items, principal cities, primary industries, bird life, public services, educational institutions and items of general interest” (Clinkard, 1932). The correspondence between Clinkard and the New Zealand Tourist League³ highlights even more clearly the terms of the debate and the possible changes and shifts in terms of themes and style:

The film will consist in large part of scenic views but will deal also with the photographically acceptable features of our main primary industries, our city life, transport, resources, etc. The film is therefore not of exactly the same character as *Glorious New Zealand*, which was based purely upon the scenic values. (Clinkard, 1932).

² Advertising and motion picture studios set up in Miramar in 1928 to process Government Publicity Office films.

³ Auckland-based association active in the 1920s and 1930s and dedicated to the promotion of New Zealand as a tourism destination.

As Clinkard states in the same letter “we shall be able to give a fairly comprehensive view to overseas people of what New Zealand is to-day”. After a decade dominated by the representation of New Zealand as a scenic playground and sporting paradise, the presence of subjects such as industry, transport, educational institutions, cities, urban life and city people was eventually legitimised and even desired in order to provide international viewers with a more thorough representation of the country. Although still very relevant, scenic views became just one of the many aspects New Zealand wanted to promote abroad.

This new GPO promotional film, called *Romantic New Zealand*, was finally released on the 25th of May, 1934 at Dunedin’s Grand Theatre and soon met with audience and critical acclaim especially nationwide and in Australia, matching Clinkard’s high expectations. In his words to the President of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce, *Romantic New Zealand* “when shown abroad will be a wonderful advertisement for our country” (Clinkard, 1934). New Zealand newspaper reviews were also enthusiastic. In *The Evening Post*’s description, “it is a picture from which one can scarcely choose a portion for special mention, for it deals very comprehensively with the Dominion from practically every point of view”. Moreover, “the main cities are depicted with a wealth of interesting detail” (*Romantic New Zealand* opening at the state centre, 1934); *The Dominion Post* highlights its success in Perth, Sydney and Great Britain (“*Romantic New Zealand*”, 1935). Clinkard, writing to the editor of *The Waikato Times*, could not hide the satisfaction for the positive reception of this tourism film, that “is meeting with such success and that it looks like realising its main object – the attraction of increasing numbers of visitors to the unrivalled attractions of the Dominion” (Clinkard, 1935).

This film provides a wide overview of contemporary New Zealand, dealing with scenic tourist attractions, the national economic and industrial world, scenes taken from Māori life; main urban areas play a very important role here. Auckland’s impressive demographic growth is on display; the most populous New Zealand city, whose traffic and modern architecture are depicted. embodies, according to the voice-over, the jump from “savagery to civilization”. Similarly, the Wellington Central Business District skyline is celebrated; more importantly the two most important New Zealand cities have in common the depiction of suburban beaches, the ritual of suburban beach-going and the related suburban lifestyle. Different to *Glorious New Zealand*’s urban representation, leisure time and lifestyle are now an integral part of the picture.

Whilst it is partially true, as Hillyer (1997) has noted, that the depiction of the human element in GPO films was generally not frequent, mostly stereotyped and very often limited to the representation of scenes taken from the manufacturing sphere, the tourism films from the 1920s and 1930s featuring Wellington linger long over the life of Wellingtonians. The lack of psychological analysis and the non-problematic representation of the human element that characterise these films probably reflect contemporary conventions: in fact, as highlighted by Jelavich (2003) and Trione (2015), in the *City Symphonies* from the 1920s and 1930s also the representation of city dwellers is very often stereotyped and conventional.

The depiction of Wellingtonians in their work and leisure time challenges a deep-rooted notion related to early New Zealand film production. As Dennis (1993) notes, in the 1920s the GPO's directive was to avoid the representation of New Zealanders since they could have been "dated by changes in fashion" (p. 9). However, the late 1920s and early 1930s show a trend reversal which contradicts the famous British theorist and documentarist John Grierson's (1940) words about the representation of New Zealand in national film production. New Zealand was seen, in his words, "as a mere tourist resort plus a butter factory" (p. 21). A comparison between 1925 *Wellington Capital City of New Zealand* and tourism/promotional films from the late 1920s and early 1930s evidences this shift. The latter, as well as giving the usual conventional representation of the most famous urban tourist spots – Parliament, the War Memorial, Oriental Bay - and urban scenic views – the harbour and panoramic views of the city from the Mount Victoria lookout – is also characterised by a focus on Wellingtonians, their life and their habits.

In fact, Wellingtonians are portrayed in a number of work and leisure activities. If the scenes taken from industrial work that feature in *Around Port Nicholson* evoke a contemporary tradition of New Zealand films mainly focused on working activities and on the depiction and description of automation as a symbol of modernity and productivity, the scenes portraying the port of Wellington and its workers are connected to the celebration of a specifically local and distinctive character: the capital city of New Zealand, in tourism films from the 1920s and 1930s, is often represented and described as a port city. In films such as *Deep harbour: The Port of Wellington* and *The maritime city* dock workers and shipbuilders, differently from factory workers in *Around Port Nicholson*, are entirely and extensively depicted during their activities. Their importance lies in their role: they

facilitate the trade and exchange of goods and the circulation of people, linking the country to the rest of the world and obscuring its sense of geographical remoteness and isolation.

If, as previously pointed out, leisure time is for early twentieth century Wellingtonians closely linked to the well-established ritual of beachgoing, other tourist films provide further insights on their leisure preferences. For instance, 1934 *Around Port Nicholson* features the first cinematic representation of Wellington nightlife. Young men and women are portrayed during a cabaret show: for the first time Wellingtonians' faces are depicted through close ups and medium close ups. Both audience's and jazz musicians' amused expressions are the protagonists of the video. The whole sequence has a hectic pace: it starts focusing on men and women in the audience, it then briefly depicts musicians playing and finally, with a shot from above, represents dancers performing on stage. Accelerated motion conveys an impression of energy and dynamism.

Apart from beachgoing and bustling nightlife, seaside strolls, fishing and bird feeding seem to be Wellingtonians' favourite free time rituals. In *Wellington capital city of New Zealand*. Wellingtonians are portrayed calmly walking the paths, entering and re-emerging from the lush vegetation; *Around Port Nicholson* features scenes of men and children fishing in Oriental Bay; people of all ages are portrayed strolling, relaxing and chatting on benches and feeding pigeons and seagulls in the Oriental Parade area and in the Parliament Gardens.

The representation of Wellington people in tourism/promotional films from the 1920s and 1930s provide an overview of some of their most representative working places and favourite leisure activities, portraying them both at work and in their free time. Nine years separate 1925 *Wellington Capital City of New Zealand* and 1934 *Around Port Nicholson*, the latter innovative in themes and style; nine years also separate 1925 *Glorious New Zealand* – basically a collection of scenic gems - and 1934 *Romantic New Zealand*, a more mature and thorough tourism/promotional film dealing with a variety of subjects. During these nine years a new sensibility in terms of cinematic tourist promotion emerges and becomes visible.

3. 7 Conclusions

The presence and representation of urban areas and more specifically of New Zealand's capital city in tourism film production from the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s brought

out certain tendencies and recurring themes. On the one hand, this overview of early New Zealand film production and tourism film, together with the analysis of the eight case studies, has confirmed some consolidated beliefs in New Zealand film studies: firstly, the strict interconnection and intertwining between tourism and colonial promotion in the first part of the twentieth century; secondly, the systematic use of film as a promotional tool since the very beginning of New Zealand film production; thirdly, the circulation and use of tourism film in the process of the constitution of New Zealand national and cultural identity; finally, the prevalence in New Zealand early tourism/promotional films of New Zealand's natural environment, landscapes and scenic views.

On the other hand, this chapter has also added new elements of discussion to the existing scholarly debate. In fact, I stressed the recurring presence and importance of suburban space in early tourism/colonial promotion with, a particular focus on the New Zealand (and Wellington) beach as the suburban playground *par excellence* at the beginning of the last century and I focused on the visual and cinematic representation of the suburban sprawl as a promotional tool, a symbol of progress and national growth. I then analysed the celebration of Wellington's urban modernity, identifying its ideological roots in the Western capitalist world as well as a stylistic and thematic continuity and proximity between the representation of downtown Wellington and European and American City Symphonies. Finally, through the examination of archival documents I provided evidence of the behind-the-scenes institutional discussion about the themes to include in New Zealand tourism promotion; through the textual analysis of the case studies I questioned and partially contradicted a deeply rooted belief in New Zealand film studies – the lack of interest in human representation and the consequent absence of human beings in early film production.

Almost 20 urban tourism films from the GPO era have survived from a corpus that – according to the list of GPO's titles published by Dennis in 1981 – amounted to 30. One tourism film about Wellington, one about Dunedin and eight about Auckland and Christchurch have been lost. If on the one hand these films could have added more elements to the analysis of New Zealand cities' representation and promotion in this time frame (especially in terms of Christchurch and Auckland), on the other the surviving corpus – although still rather marginal in comparison to other popular extraurban subjects – seems to play an important and specific role in New Zealand tourism promotion. Indeed, it links the country to ideas of quality of life, efficiency, modernity, progress, egalitarianism and

opportunity. More broadly, the representation of Wellington's urban and suburban landscapes in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s appears to be a multilayered process driven by the simultaneous intertwining of tourism promotion, national publicity and colonial agenda.

CHAPTER FOUR

1942-1966. UNPREDICTABLE CLIMATE, ROLLING HILLS AND SPECTACULAR COASTLINE: THE MANUFACTURING AND MARKETING OF WELLINGTON'S OWN CHARACTER

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films from the establishment of the NFU in 1941 to 1966, the year in which Auckland-Mangere International Airport became fully operational. It is based on the textual analysis of five case studies and on the examination of academic sources and surviving archival documents, on an overview of New Zealand film production, a focus on the national tourism industry and an analysis of New Zealand tourism film in the 1940s, 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. First, it aims to demonstrate how in these twenty-five years a new stylistic and narrative approach emerged in the tourist representation of the capital city of New Zealand; secondly, it intends to show how stylistic and narrative elements of the previous cinematic era continued to live alongside elements of thematic and stylistic change; thirdly it identifies the early 1960s as the starting point of New Zealand tourism film's process of hybridisation with other film forms. I have chosen 1966 as the final year of the timeframe, as it was a moment of transformation in the national tourism industry: in that year Auckland Airport started to host international flights and long-haul jets connecting New Zealand to Asia and South America; as a consequence, tourist flows to New Zealand increased significantly.

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s three companies covered most of New Zealand's film production: the government-led NFU and two independent companies, Pacific Films and Neuline Film Studios. Of the one thousand and two hundred films by the NFU, of the almost two hundred by Pacific Films and of the around forty by Neuline Film Studios held at Ngā Taonga-The New Zealand Film Archive, approximately one hundred and fifty can be classified as tourism films. The vast majority of these films – around one hundred and thirty – were made by the NFU, with a significant percentage forming an integral part of popular newsreels such as the *Weekly Review* in the 1940s, *New Zealand Mirror* in the 1950s or the *Pictorial Parade* in the 1950s and 1960s, while the remaining production was

shared between Pacific Films, Neuline Film Studios and other minor companies. More than twenty of the one hundred and thirty NFU films deal with New Zealand cities: four of them deal exclusively with Wellington as a tourist destination; others provide a general overview of New Zealand, looking at its capital city in detail; still others focus only briefly on Wellington. This chapter focuses on five case studies, which, in chronological order, are: *Beautiful New Zealand* (1949), *Wellington Wharves & Eastern Suburbs* (1950), both by the NFU; *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* (early 1960s, uncertain date) by Pacific Films and *Amazing New Zealand* (1964) and *Toehold on a Harbour* (1966) - the first colour films among the analysed case studies - both by the NFU. *Beautiful New Zealand* and *Wellington Wharves & Eastern Suburbs* are emblematic of the 1940s and 1950s; in fact, like many other tourism films from the same period, they do not visibly differ from early twentieth century conventions, sharing with tourism films from the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s a similar stylistic, thematic and narrative approach. From the early 1960s a new cinematic attitude in the tourism representation of Wellington rapidly sets in. *Amazing New Zealand!*, *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* and *Toehold on a Harbour* fully embody this 'new wave', displaying the emergence of new tendencies such as the creation and representation of Wellington's specific character and the direct involvement of Wellingtonians as an integral part of the tourism representation. Moreover, from the late 1950s/early 1960s onwards, colour starts to be systematically employed in tourism film production and New Zealand tourism film starts to integrate characteristics and techniques taken from other film forms – documentary, fiction film, art film.

Archives New Zealand holds a large number of production sheets and correspondence related to two of my case studies, *Toehold on a harbour* and *Amazing New Zealand!*. Through the examination of this archival material, I aim to provide an overview of the circulation and reception of New Zealand tourism films in new contexts. From the early 1960s, New Zealand tourism institutions started to use tourism films as a promotional tool to systematically target international film festivals, new national markets and new media. Archival documents also bring to light the discussion about the tourism representation of Wellington that fuelled the NFU between the 1950s and the 1960s; they also reveal the relationship existing at that time between the Tourist and Publicity Department, the NFU and Wellington City Council in terms of Wellington's promotion.

The second section of this chapter deals with film production and film culture in New Zealand from 1941 to 1966. At that time, the almost complete absence of fiction film

production was balanced by a wide production of non-fiction film by the NFU and other independent companies that became the training ground for a new generation of filmmakers. Furthermore, television spread in the 1960 and became an important distribution platform for tourism films. The national tourism industry, whose situation and transformations in these twenty-five years are analysed in the third section, was characterised from the 1950s, and especially from the early 1960s, by increasing numbers of tourists travelling to New Zealand. In the fourth section of this chapter, a close analysis of tourism film production highlights how the early 1960s can be considered a period of transformation in terms of this particular media form. Non-fiction film production – documentaries, newsreels and tourism films – highlighted, from the early 1960s onwards, remarkable changes compared to previous production in terms of style and themes. There was a new focus on New Zealand's relatively easy accessibility, on the quality of the national transport system, on the tourist appeal of main urban centres and, more specifically, on New Zealand's and Wellington's 'own character'. The fifth section focuses on the co-existence of sometimes contrasting tendencies in the representation of New Zealand cities, highlighting the emergence in the 1960s of a new approach towards the treatment of the urban theme.

I have divided the sixth section, which contains a textual analysis of the case studies, into two subsections. The first – 3.6.1 - focuses on the elements of thematic and stylistic continuity with the previous cinematic era. A number of themes are repeated, albeit with some variations in terms of narration and visual treatment: the emphasis on suburban representation, and, more particularly, on the visual celebration of the suburban beach; the visual celebration of Wellington's suburban sprawl and expanding suburbs; the focus on Wellington as a transport and commercial hub; and the attention paid to the vertical architecture of the Central Business District.

The second subsection – 3.6.2 - examines, with the help of archival evidence, the elements of change in the representation of Wellington compared to the previous cinematic period. New aspects emerge: the intention of the Wellington City Council and the Tourist and Publicity Department to depict and promote New Zealand's cities, especially Wellington, in new and different ways, through the recognition and manufacture of a specific city 'character' linked to its peculiar morphology, weather and lifestyle and its use as a tourism promotional tool. Finally, the third subsection – 3.6.3 - focuses on the emerging attention towards Wellingtonians as individuals with a voice and a face of their

own and no longer as members of stereotyped and ideal categories; moreover, it stresses the use of new techniques and stylistic solutions such as the moving aerial track, the close-up, the use of indirect interview, a more deliberate use of soundtracks and – more broadly – tourism film’s gradual hybridisation with other fiction and non-fiction film forms.

If the 1940s and 1950s – apart from the introduction of colour during the 1950s – tended to repeat earlier visual, thematic and narrative patterns of tourism representation and depiction of Wellington, the first half of the 1960s showed, concurrently with deep changes in New Zealand’s tourism industry and identity, the rapid emergence of tendencies that would shape and inform Wellington tourism promotion, national tourism strategies and tourism film throughout the following decade.

4.2 The Temporary Decline of Fiction and the Coming of Age of New Zealand Non-Fiction Film

The already limited production of fiction films in New Zealand in the first four decades of the twentieth century saw a further decline in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, with only three feature films released between 1941 and 1966. John O’Shea’s *Broken Barrier* (1952), *Runaway* (1962) and *Don’t Let It Get You* (1966). Despite now being considered “essential milestones in the history of New Zealand cinema” (Leotta, 2011, p. 36) and despite displaying some key themes of New Zealand cultural identity – for instance Māori – Pākehā relations, the representation of national landscape and the celebration of the ‘man alone’ character – these films were unable, due to their limited resonance and low public and box-office success, to shape a national cinematic identity and to lay the foundations for a national film industry.

In a traumatic historical period characterised by the involvement of New Zealand on the world stage during World War II, by the gradual transition from the colonial to the post-colonial era and by the timid, embryonic emergence of a national and cultural identity still enclosed in the 1940s and 1950s between British and American influence, non-fiction film – whose production, on the contrary, further increased in the post-war – was mainly responsible, at least until the spread of television in the early 1960s, for the representation of the country.

From the early 1940s to the early 1990s, the NFU took over from the GPO and regularly released a number of non-fiction films dealing with a variety of themes such as

immigration and/or tourism promotion, political propaganda, civic education, sports chronicles and, particularly from the early 1960s onwards, social investigation. In the same period, other independent production companies such as Pacific Films and Neuline Film Studios, both established in the second half of the 1940s, in Sowry's words, "by the regular production of documentaries and television commercials, kept the independent film industry alive" (p. 11). The situation of New Zealand filmmaking in the post-World War II era was somehow problematic. In fact, it was characterised by an almost non-existent national fiction film production and by a national film industry incapable of rising, caught as it was between the scarcity of resources and the overwhelming competition of European (and particularly British) and American film production. In Leotta's (2011) words,

During the 1940s film production in New Zealand suffered a steady decline.

The New Zealand film industry had already stumbled during the 1930s, with the passage from silent to sound films. This transition necessitated the use of more expensive sound-recording equipment, often unaffordable for local film-makers. After the war this structural weakness of the film industry contributed to a significant drop in production (pp. 34–35).

As Petrie and Stuart (2008) and Mirams (1945) noted, even though a mature national film industry was yet to come, the popularity of cinema as a form of entertainment remained strong and even increased in New Zealand in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. As Mirams points out, only in the United States, the world nerve centre of the cinema industry, was cinema attendance higher. New Zealand's isolation, New Zealanders' hunger for entertainment and their desire to feel connected to the rest of the world were, according to Babington (2007) and Mirams (1945), the main reasons that determined the prolonged success of the cinematic medium within the country. Indeed, according to the former, "in the pre-television and pre-Internet worlds films were one of a geographically isolated country's primary windows on the world" (p. 2).

Another important reason for the continuing popularity of cinema in New Zealand was the late arrival of television in the country. Indeed, as Butterworth (2002), Simmons (2004) Dunleavy (2005) and Dunleavy and Joyce (2011) note, television was introduced in New Zealand only in 1960, relatively late in comparison with other Western countries (including Australia, where television broadcasts started in 1956) and it took years before it spread widely in New Zealanders' homes. Lacking this private form of entertainment until the mid/late 1960s, New Zealanders kept going 'to the movies' regularly, and cinema

attendance remained for a long time very high. In Petrie and Stuart's (2008) words, "television arrived later in New Zealand which meant the popularity of the movies was sustained for longer, peaking at 41 million admissions in 1960/1961" (p. 19). As they also point out, similar to other countries, the spread of television ended up causing a gradual, incessant and inexorable decline in New Zealand cinema's attendance from the second half of the 1960s onwards. In fact, as Simmons (2004) has stressed, "by 1966, 500,000 television licenses had been issued" (p. 59). By the late 1960s, television had become a mass phenomenon in New Zealand: in fact, as Dunleavy and Joyce (2011) highlight "becoming the 'must-have' commodity for a majority of New Zealand households by the late 1960s, the television set took root first in middle-class homes" (p. 33) and, as they also point out, by the end of the decade, the national coverage project was concluded. As Martin (2014) stresses, the new television market was looking for new products and the relationship between the New Zealand film industry and New Zealand television became increasingly important throughout the 1960s and especially in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when filmmakers began to work specifically for television.

However, despite its very high cinema attendances, New Zealand was still far from creating its own autonomous film industry; furthermore, despite New Zealand formally gaining full independence from the United Kingdom in 1947, the process of creation of a mature national and cultural identity was still embryonic. Horrocks (1999), notes how post-World War II New Zealand was still strongly influenced by British culture. Drawing on the contents of the documentary *Cinema of Unease* (Neill & Rymer, 1995) he stresses that due to the pervading British influence, New Zealand in the 1950s "determined to be as English as possible from the other side of the world" (p. 132). If British influence was still dominant, especially in terms of high culture, New Zealand's cinema audiences displayed in this period a strong attraction towards North American productions, as Babington (2007) and Mirams (1945) note. In fact, in the realm of New Zealand popular culture, America and Hollywood had started to play an important role.

The very limited production of fiction films in this timeframe – stressed by Petrie and Stuart (2008), Belich (2001) and Sowry (1984), – its low impact on New Zealand's culture and society and the consequent lack of a strong national cinematic identity was counterbalanced by the emergence of non-fiction and documentary as the most significant segment of film production. Immediately after the end of World War II, Mirams (1945)

identified non-fiction as the only cinematic genre capable of making a substantial contribution to New Zealand film.

The NFU, from its establishment in 1941 and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, produced most of the documentaries, tourism/promotional films and newsreels made in New Zealand, becoming the main production centre in the country. The outbreak of World War II suddenly brought out new needs in terms of cinematic production; as Sowry (1984) pointed out: “with the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 the demand for publicity films ceased and it was intended that the Government Film Studios should close” (p. 10). Initially, in the first five years of its existence, the NFU mainly dealt, as Peters (2011), Weckbecker (2015) and Alsop (2012) noted, with war-related topics, such as the strategic education of New Zealand troops and the celebration of New Zealand’s war effort.

The *Weekly Review* remained the most popular NFU series for its first nine years. With the change of government in 1949, the production of this very popular reel stopped, as Alsop (2012) noted. According to him “with its 459th issue, leaving the nation without regular adequate pictorial events until the advent of television in 1960” (p. 95). As both Sowry (1984) and Alsop (2012) stressed, it was partially replaced from 1952 to the early 1970s by a monthly magazine, the *Pictorial Parade*.

However, the establishment of the NFU was not merely related to the involvement of New Zealand in the world conflict. As Conrich and Murray (2007) argued, the famous British documentarist John Grierson’s open criticism of the GPO’s production of the 1920s and 1930s contributed to partially re-defining the thematic and stylistic boundaries of non-fiction film in New Zealand. In 1940, his advice to portray the “face of a New Zealander” – that is to favour situations taken from the life of real New Zealanders rather than providing the audience with stereotyped, reassuring and conventional representations of the nation – had great resonance within the national film industry. Even though – as already noted in Chapter Two – a visible and significant change in terms of content, style and approach had already started in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Grierson’s critical contribution to New Zealand non-fiction film influenced the ensuing production. However, contrary to Grierson’s expectations and recommendations, New Zealand’s non-fiction production continued to be closely supervised by the government. In Peters’ (2011) words,

The eventual setup of the NFU was similar to Grierson’s recommendations.

However, there were two key differences. First was the Unit’s lack of autonomy from the government (...). The second difference was the Unit’s

uncertain position as an entity set up to service wartime needs rather than a public body whose status was secured by Act of Parliament (p. 105).

After the end of the war – according to Weckbecker (2015) – the main purpose of NFU production became public relations and the civic education of New Zealand citizens. Both Campbell (2011) and McDonald (2011a) highlighted the centrality of this institution for national cinematic production in the post-war period. Documentary film, as Peters (2011) pointed out, gained great importance in the 1940s and 1950s, thanks mainly to the Labour government's support. Also Goldson (2005) stressed the importance of documentary film in the early NFU age: "the genre was consolidated here during World War II, the historical moment that national identity became a preoccupation" (p. 249).

Besides being an important political and propaganda tool, the NFU also became in the post-World War II era a renowned showcase for talented local directors. From the early 1940s to the international success of the 1960s, the style of New Zealand documentary film was significantly transformed. NFU documentaries from the 1940s and 1950s were characterised – as Campbell notes – by the "absence of critical social commentary and an emphasis on the positive achievements of the government in office" (p. 25). Furthermore, even though early NFU films displayed a visible change in film themes, in Campbell's (2011) words, NFU documentaries from the 1940s and the 1950s remained "spare, unadorned, laconic" (p. 2). In fact, according to him, NFU documentaries until the early 1950s mostly celebrated "the state of self-satisfied complacency of the prosperous little nation at the bottom of the world" (p. 25). The representation of a happy nation and the celebration of national governments' achievements gradually left room, from the early 1960s, for more stylistically and narratively sophisticated productions, some of which became internationally known and awarded. The 1960s were characterised by the international success of New Zealand documentaries, as McDonald (2011a) points out, "seven NFU documentaries of the 1960s won prizes at international film festivals" (p. 141). Despite the quality of non-fiction production in the 1960s, according to Campbell (2011), the NFU's activity could not replace an absent film industry. He notes how,

due to its position as official government film-making body and its technical role in acting as processor of the film stock for the independents, the Unit maintained its place as the nation's central film-making force through the 1950s and the 1960s. The Unit's principal function was to fulfil the priorities

of tourism and government propaganda rather than to make ‘art’ documentaries as a stand in for an absent feature film industry (p. 130)

The NFU helped a new generation of filmmakers to grow. Campbell notes how “NFU filmmakers often referred to themselves as a ‘gang of enthusiasts’ – a term that aptly describes the Unit’s focus as a training ground and creative hub. Filmmakers effectively self-trained, building up skills through accumulation of knowledge” (p. 110).

In fact, since the early 1940s and during the following decades the NFU, alongside independent production companies established by former members of the NFU such as Pacific Films and Neuline Film Studios, became the creative training ground for a new generation of New Zealand filmmakers, as Conrich and Murray (2007) highlighted.

Similarly to what happened in the early decades of New Zealand film and especially in the GPO’s era, tourism films from 1941 to 1966 also constituted a relevant cinematic genre in New Zealand. In fact, as previously noted, tourism promotion was one of the main NFU goals; a relevant portion of non-fiction production in the 1941-1966 time frame displays a clear tourism promotional goal. As will be seen later in the chapter, tourism films from this time reveal elements of both continuity and discontinuity, in terms of themes and style, with the previous era. If the late 1920s/early 1930s can be considered a turning point in the tourism representation of New Zealand, the early 1960s embody an even more visible change.

4.3 A Gradual but Inexorable Growth. New Zealand Tourism Industry from Isolation to Interconnection

A new wave of optimism spread throughout New Zealand during the Centennial Exhibition held in Wellington in 1939/1940 for the centenary of the Treaty of Waitangi. The country put itself on display for six months and more than two and a half million domestic and international visitors – much more than New Zealand’s population at that time – attended the event. The exhibition was an important opportunity to celebrate and promote not only the already renowned national natural and scenic beauties, but also to highlight New Zealand’s progress and the country’s economic and social achievements over one hundred years. The representation of New Zealand was gradually becoming more complex and articulated; a national conscience was about to rise. Also the tourism industry

seemed to enter a dynamic new phase. Then World War II suddenly broke out. McClure (2004) described this situation as follows:

A month before war broke out, the first British passenger air service had been due to fly travellers from Britain to New Zealand on a 10-day journey that would conquer the vast distances that separated Europe from New Zealand. Then war was declared and travel for pleasure from Britain to New Zealand was halted completely. Only a trickle of visitors kept arriving from Australia and America (...). The encouraging growth in tourism numbers and spending that New Zealand had seen in the late 1930s fell quickly (p. 161).

The number of international visitors remained dramatically low during the wartime period and international tourism practically disappeared in New Zealand.

After the end of the war – in the late 1940s and in the 1950s – the tourism industry had to deal with a multifaceted situation. On the one hand, a general and widespread optimism related to the fast and impressive development of the civil aviation industry urged successive New Zealand governments to think long term, planning a new wave of tourism advertising. New tourism campaigns were launched in the United States and Europe, in order to successfully promote the country. New Zealand was inserted, as McClure (2004) and Collier (2011) stressed, in South Pacific airline tourist routes that already included popular tourist destinations such as Australia and Fiji. Journalists and publicists from overseas were invited to New Zealand in order to promote the country abroad and governments began to directly control and renovate a number of hotels in strategic tourism locations, as well as building new ones in other potentially attractive spots. Cruise ship arrivals increased and national land transport improved significantly, especially in terms of rail and road systems. On the other hand, especially in the second half of the 1940s, the number of arrivals remained very low; as Collier (2011) highlighted, “by 1948 tourist accommodation was under pressure and most of New Zealand’s visitors were coming from Australia” (p. 67). New Zealand was struggling to reach the level of other Western tourist destinations.

As McClure (2004) and Howell (2008) emphasised, the arrival of long-range jets in the early 1960s and the opening, at the end of 1965, of Auckland’s new airport, made New Zealand a destination relatively easy to reach. Auckland Airport became fully operational in 1966 and from the second half of the 1960s onwards tourism in New Zealand

shifted from being a niche industry to one of the most relevant sectors in the national economy.

The end of World War II did not automatically coincide with an increase in tourist arrivals in New Zealand. On the contrary, the economic and social situation in the countries involved in the conflict was such that a full recovery for the tourism industry would have taken a matter of years; there was almost no increase in the number of visitors to New Zealand in the years immediately following 1945. The euphoria initially caused by the great success of the Centennial Exhibition, along with the high, optimistic expectations related to the development of technology and transport, eventually had to deal with the reality brought by the end of the war. As McClure (2004) noted, “although the skies would be no longer clouded by war, few realised how long it would take before people could travel the world again purely for pleasure” (p. 166). In the 1940s and 1950s, the tourism industry also had to face structural and cyclical issues. As McClure and Collier (2006) highlighted, the chronicled lack of well-trained staff went hand in hand with the poor quality of accommodation. Furthermore, only the Tourist and Publicity Department could at that time afford the management of hotels and resorts, thus beginning an age of strong government participation in tourism development.

In the decade 1945-1955 public participation materialised in two different ways: by rescuing existing, historical hotels and resorts and by building new ones in strategic locations. In this decade, as McClure (2004; 2012) noted, the government took control of Waitomo, Waikaremoana, Wairakei, Tokaanu and Tongariro in the north, The Hermitage, Te Anau and Milford in the south. In the 1950s, a slow but gradual improvement in the national hospitality industry coincided with growing tourist numbers. Although the tourism situation remained problematic, the 1950s were characterised by a widespread optimism. First of all, as Hancox (2012) pointed out, travelling through New Zealand had become much easier: “the rail system peaked in the early 1950s, when it was served by more than 1350 stations” (p. 79). Alongside land transportation, big improvements were expected to happen shortly in the airline industry. As McClure (2004) stresses, “New Zealand offered a refuge from the nightmares of war-torn Europe, and advances in aviation technology were expected to revolutionise the ease and speed with which travellers could cross the long distances from England to America” (p. 166). New Zealand visitor numbers were forecast to grow strongly: new advertisement campaigns were planned and launched in strategic markets such as the United States, and the Tourist and Publicity Department organised

tours around New Zealand for foreign travel agents and publicists (McClure, 2004). Alsop (2012) noted how at that time “all tourist literature is revised and rewritten by the Tourist Department with a view to speedy and comfortable air transport becoming the chief stimulus to world travel” (p. 94). As he also pointed out, the main target market in the late 1940s and early 1950s was the United States. Indeed, in 1949, New Zealand’s effort in attracting American tourists materialised through the opening of a Tourist and Publicity Office branch in San Francisco.

A number of tourism scholars including Wolfe (2012), Hancox (2012), Collier (2006) and McClure (2004) emphasised the importance of long-haul jet aircrafts as a turning point in national tourism. In fact, during the first half of the 1960s, even before Auckland Airport became fully operational, visitors’ arrivals kept constantly increasing (Collier, 2006) and the government started to build a number of small hotels in various tourist locations to meet the extra demand (McClure, 2004). As Wolfe (2012) has noted, in 1965 Air New Zealand’s first DC-8 – an aircraft capable of flying from New Zealand to Asia or America with no stopovers – landed at Auckland Airport, and from this time onward tourist numbers skyrocketed. In McClure’s (2004) words, “in 1965 overseas earnings from tourism had grown by 36 per cent in two years and by 1967 the South Pacific had become the fastest growing destination in the world” (p. 211). If the 1940s fluctuated between optimism and harsh reality and the 1950s embodied a slow but constant recovery, the 1960s – with its technological achievements and an always growing number of visitors – defined tourism as one of the fastest growing and most promising sectors of the national economy. In 1959, six years prior to the opening of the Auckland international hub, Wellington Airport opened at Rongotai. The opening of the new airport, despite effectively connecting the capital city to the rest of the country and to Australia and legitimately inserting it in national tourist routes, could not – due to land scarcity – enable long-haul jets to land. Auckland was going to be, for decades to come, the main gateway to New Zealand.

This disproportion in terms of tourist arrivals between the two major New Zealand cities is clearly shown by a 1964 international visitor survey carried out by the Auckland Tourist Bureau. In terms of the distribution of bed/nights throughout New Zealand, Wellington was well behind Auckland and stood sixth overall, behind Auckland, Rotorua, Christchurch, Mount Cook and Queenstown (Research Section Tourist and Publicity Department, 1964). However, as another analysis carried out by the Research Section of

the Tourist and Publicity Department demonstrates, despite the still relatively marginal role of the capital city of New Zealand in the national tourist context, New Zealand as a whole kept growing as a tourist destination throughout the 1950s and the 1960s. Arrivals in 1954 were 19,506 and by 1959 they had become 31,173. Five years later in 1964, just over a year before the opening of Auckland Airport, the arrivals from overseas had more than doubled at 69,704. Australians represented about half of the arrivals, followed by United States and British citizens. (Research Section Tourist and Publicity Department, 1986). At the dawn of the long-haul jet era, New Zealand had already become a well-established tourist destination.

4.4 Urban Images, Suburbanism and Scenic Views: Continuity and Change in New Zealand Tourism Film Production

An overview of the New Zealand tourism films from 1941 to 1966, along with the examination of related archival documents, reveals important changes in terms of their circulation and reception. Even though domestic circulation remained a fundamental aspect – as shown by the NFU's *Amazing New Zealand*'s busy projection schedule in the North and South Islands⁴ and by the presence of films clearly made for a domestic audience such as NFU's *Glad they came* (1950) – tourism films started, especially from the early 1960s, to specifically target new international markets and audiences, new media and new market segments.

In the 1960s, the New Zealand government began targeting television as a promising medium for the spread of tourism films. The New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department repeatedly and unsuccessfully tried to get television broadcasting rights for an iconic tourism film such as *Amazing New Zealand!* in the United States. Indeed, to penetrate the fast-growing and very promising American tourism market – the United States and New Zealand were linked, from the mid-1960s, by a new, direct flight – theatrical circulation alone was no longer sufficient. Moreover, specific national audiences and market segments were targeted either for tourism or immigration promotion, as demonstrated by *Holiday for Susan* (1962), a tourism film that evidently addressed the Australian market and, more specifically, an audience of young potential Australian

⁴ In terms of *Amazing New Zealand!*'s domestic circulation, nzonscreen.com ("Amazing New Zealand!") highlights how this NFU film headlined a season of shorts in New Zealand cinemas.

tourists and – once again – by *Amazing New Zealand!*, whose circulation and use in The Netherlands testifies how, still in the 1960s, tourism films were used to attract new settlers. Finally, thanks to the attention paid from the early 1960s on by NFU directors to formal and stylistic aspects such as music, soundtracks and narration, a number of New Zealand tourism films were considered worth entering in European and North American film festivals, as the case of *Amazing New Zealand* demonstrates. In a time of global and diverse circulation and deep stylistic and formal changes, New Zealand tourism films also began to display, especially following Wellington's 1939 Centennial Exhibition, new thematic tendencies in terms of the representation and promotion of the country.

This event constituted a turning point in the tourism representation of New Zealand. As both Waite (2013) and McClure (2004) note, the exhibition mostly dealt with the achievements made by the country in its one hundred years of existence. Landscapes and scenic beauty were no longer the only aspects of New Zealand to emphasise and promote nationwide and overseas. In McClure's words,

The whole project was an act of bravura by a Labour government willing to spend £500,000 on a modern, urban image of New Zealand that would embody the government's forward-looking political programme and emphasise the country's place in the western world. It would both unite New Zealanders in an understanding of their past, and provide a springboard for the government 'to leap off into the future' (p. 152).

One Hundred Crowded Years, a celebrative feature film released by the NFU at the end of 1940 during the Centennial Exhibition, effectively embodies this new wave in national representation. As Beime and Bennett (2011) highlight, in this film cities and the modern urban world in general are put on display. Beside the efficiency of a modern health system, national child welfare and an education system, the film also celebrates the achievements of New Zealand's housing programme, the expanding cities and the suburban sprawl as symbols of the country's incessant growth and progress. According to O'Shea (1999), "the production of *One Hundred Crowded Years* clearly showed the Labour Government's interest in the image of New Zealand as a social welfare country" (p. 8). Renwick (2004) highlights the positive reception of the film in New Zealand. Indeed, as he points out, despite the NFU's unsuccessful attempts to sell the film abroad, it was widely appreciated and positively reviewed nationwide.

This new focus and emphasis on New Zealand's – and particularly Wellington's – modernity and urban sophistication was not random nor extemporaneous. As Feeney (2013) noted, in the 1940s New Zealand's population was shifting from being rural to mostly urban. This process was further accelerated in the post-war period, when waves of population from the rural districts moved to the main urban centres in search of better opportunities. New Zealand cities grew and rapidly changed their physiognomy. According to Feeney (2013) this new aspect of cultural identity – informed by images of modernity and capitalistic urbanism – was matched in the post-war era by a new national awareness.

The national enthusiasm for modernity – and more specifically for the cinematic representation of urban modernity – was not unprecedented in New Zealand. As already noted in Chapter Two, the celebration of urban New Zealand – despite not being the main focus of New Zealand tourism films – was a relatively relevant aspect of New Zealand tourism promotion in the early decades of the 20th century. In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s it maintained and even increased its importance; however, as an overview of the tourism films from these decades demonstrates, scenic views, landscapes and mountain locations continued to occupy the lion's share of national tourism promotion.

New Zealand tourism films produced between 1941 and 1966 do not display significant differences in terms of the promoted locations compared to the ones produced and released in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s. The most iconic, popular and best-known tourist spots – Tongariro, Taupo, Rotorua and Waitomo in the North Island, Queenstown, Mount Cook, the Alpine Lakes and Milford Sound in the South Island – continued, also in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, to be the heart of national tourism imagery and strategy. New Zealand continued to promote and market itself mostly as a destination for mountain, sport and outdoor enthusiasts. On the contrary, seaside destinations were very seldom displayed and promoted, despite New Zealand's 14,000 kilometres of coastline. As in the early decades of the century, seaside and beaches continued to be portrayed as an appendix, a fringe of important urban centres, a suburban weekend destination for urban beach-goers and not a destination in themselves, as shown in NFU films such as *Nelson* (1952), *Tauranga, Bay of Plenty* (1952), *Toehold on a Harbour* (1966) or in Robert Steele's Production film *Auckland Holiday* (1956).

A number of tourism films from the 1940s and 1950s tends to reinforce already existing conventions, repeating the themes, plot and approach of earlier productions. Indeed, films such as Neuline's *Tongariro National Park* (1955) and NFU's *Weekly review*

267. *Winter Sports at Hermitage* (1946) and *Snows of Aorangi* itself (1955) display the plot structure ‘landscape – sport activities – accommodation’, popular in 1920s and 1930s tourism promotion. More specifically, after focusing on the beauties of mountain landscape, these films linger over the activities of skiers, ice-skaters and winter sports lovers to emphasise the quality of the accommodation and the wide range of night-time activities provided by historic resorts such as The Hermitage and Chateau Tongariro.

Other films, rather than dealing with a specific location, present New Zealand as a destination in itself, or more precisely, as a collection of attractive tourist spots. NFU’s *Beautiful New Zealand* (1949) shows the country’s most renowned tourist attractions. The voice-over commentary is descriptive, and overall the style, both in terms of narrative structure and visual treatment, recalls the tourism films from the 1920s and 1930s. *Introducing New Zealand* (1954) evokes the style of *One Hundred Crowded years* in its celebrative tone. In fact, after initially focusing on the country as a collection of its best-known thermal and mountain attractions, it describes its social and economic achievements. Emphasis is also on air transport: New Zealand is now “well linked to the rest of the world”. However, this picture-perfect postcard style starts to include elements of greater complexity at the beginning of the 1960s.

As noted in the previous section, technology and transport improvements in the 1950s and 1960s represented an important turning point in the tourism industry, leading to a dramatic rise in the number of visitors entering New Zealand. The growing importance of tourism in the national economy is well explained in the NFU’s film *Glad They Came* (1961), an instructive documentary made for New Zealand hospitality workers and New Zealanders in general, in order to raise national tourism awareness. In a situation characterised, according to McClure (2004), by a rapidly increasing number of tourists arriving from overseas, national scenery becomes, even more than before, a resource and a product to sell. According to the voice-over, “once a remote country”, New Zealand is now easily accessible due to the massive improvements in air transport. The main aim of the film is to make New Zealanders aware of the importance of tourism for the national economy: “tourism industry includes everyone” and an increase in the number of visitors would bring advantages (and money) to everyone. Therefore, New Zealanders “should be friendly and hospitable” to the tourists. The goal is to “make New Zealand one of the most popular world tourist resorts” and to provide tourists with a positive holiday experience.

As the voice-over states at the end of the film, recalling the title, “let’s make them glad they came”.

This new tourist awareness informed most of the following tourism film production. A new tourist appeal based on easy accessibility and a good transport system, urban life and national character set in, and a young audience started to be targeted more systematically. This is well reflected in the stylistic and thematic approach of three NFU films from the first half of the 1960s. A fictional story is at the centre of *Holiday for Susan* (1962). An Australian woman – Susan – flies to Auckland, where she meets her New Zealand friend, Lorraine, in order to take a tourist trip around the country. As usual, the film displays the most renowned New Zealand tourist spots. However, attention is focused on new aspects. First, as the voice-over states, “travelling is so much easier and so much more fun these days”. New Zealand is no longer a faraway and remote destination; on the contrary, it is relatively easy to reach, especially from Australia. The two women travel the country by plane – from Auckland to Rotorua, from Rotorua to Wellington, from Nelson to Christchurch, and drive a rental car through the South Island. The New Zealand transport system is efficient, the roads are safe and the country is at the same time beautiful and very easy to travel. Second, particular emphasis is placed on urban life. Auckland and Wellington are – albeit briefly – both described as appealing and ‘young’ destinations in terms of shopping opportunities and nightlife and legitimately included in the tourist tour of the country. Third, besides providing beautiful scenic locations and multiple opportunities for sport lovers, New Zealand can also be suitable, enjoyable and fun for younger tourists, as the two protagonists of the film demonstrate. At the same time, *Holiday for Susan* explicitly targets a specific national audience – Australians – and, for the first time in New Zealand tourism film production, identifies and clearly targets a well-defined new market segment, youth.

The South Island by Coach (1964) also evokes the appeal of the road trip; however it focuses on a slightly more mature audience. The coach trip includes a number of famous tourist spots. It is described as a pleasant and easy way of travelling. According to the voice-over, tourists who choose to travel by coach will have “no worries about transport, accommodation and luggage”. It is also an opportunity to make good friends, enjoying at the same time the quality, comfort and nightlife of resorts such as The Hermitage at Mount Cook. As with *Holidays for Susan*, this is a film that emphasises the ease of travelling in New Zealand – an easily accessible country for everyone.

New Zealand as a unique tourist experience is at the core of the 1964 film, *Amazing New Zealand!*. This film, as other early 1960s' productions such as *Holiday for Susan*, displays increasing, unprecedented attention to stylistic aspects such as sound, music and narration; artistically ambitious, it took part and received awards in five different North American and European film festivals, including Venice, where it was awarded a bronze medal of Saint Mark ("Amazing New Zealand!", n.d.). At the beginning of the film, a calm, reflective and persuasive voice-over describes New Zealand as "isles of astonishment, full of surprises, where nothing is as you'd expect it to be". The emphasis is not only on New Zealand's scenic appeal; for the first time, a tourism film insists on New Zealand's uniqueness. Some of the country's most recognisable attractions, those peculiar to New Zealand, such as Waitomo Caves and the Rotorua geysers and the strangeness of local fauna, aim to become symbols of a land that appears to be unlike any other.

The effort of spreading and circulating this tourism film nationwide and overseas through participation in international film festivals, cinematic projection and television circulation was strong and constant, and showed the diversity of its intended audiences: potential tourists in Asia and the United States, potential new migrants in The Netherlands and film critics in both Europe and North America,

Soon after its release in 1964, a large number of screenings was planned both in the North and the South Island. The exchange of letters between N.H. Lobb, Chief Executive of the New Zealand Travel and Holiday Association and F.I. Thomas, Administration Officer of the Tourist and Publicity Department, shows how, in the second half of 1964, the film had been booked by movie theatres and town halls all over the country, including in both main urban centres and small rural towns (Lobb, 1964). *Amazing New Zealand!* was at that time under contract to American Columbia Pictures Industries for a seven-year world theatrical release. Even though the effort of spreading and circulating this film overseas was particularly strong – as the correspondence between A.T. Campbell, the Public Relations Officer of New Zealand House in London and A.C. Williams, the Director of the Publicity Division of Tourist and Publicity Department shows – Columbia Pictures did not allow the television usage of this film in most Western countries. In A.T. Campbell's words,

Columbia referred the matter back to their New York Office who have cleared the use by us of the film on television in Latin America, Burma, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan and Vietnam – not a very useful collection of territories from

our point of view but they are checking up on further European countries.
(Campbell, 1966).

Although this was defined as a “not very useful collection of territories”, Japan was eventually targeted as a potentially promising market. Indeed, six months before Columbia’s clearance for television use in Japan, S. Odell from the Tourist and Publicity Department contacted J. Ulm from Qantas to arrange a Japanese language dubbing of the film (Odell, 1966).

In terms of television release, Columbia Pictures had therefore set very strict rules. In fact, there was a ban on television screening of *Amazing New Zealand!* in many of the most interesting and promising tourist markets. H. Williams, Director of the Publicity Division, writing to A.T. Campbell, London Public Relations Officer, expressed his concern about the lack of a television broadcast for this tourism film:

I would be grateful if you take this matter up with Columbia. We do value our good relationship with them, but we feel how, now that they have had some two years of protected distribution, it should be possible for them to indicate those territories where *Amazing New Zealand!* could be released for television without causing undue embarrassment to them. We are particularly interested in the U.S.A., but would be pleased to have Columbia agreement in respect of any territory (Williams, 1966).

The mostly unsuccessful attempts of New Zealand institutions to get television rights for some of the most promising Western tourist markets – namely the United States and several European countries – show how New Zealand gradually started in the 1960s to identify and target markets other than Australia and Britain. It also demonstrates how the appearance and quick spread of television changed the balance of power between cinema and television, the latter rapidly becoming an essential medium for tourism promotion.

Throughout the 1960s, the need for immigration promotion also remained strong and intertwined with tourist promotion. The correspondence between Hale, Secretary of External Affairs in Wellington, and the New Zealand consulate in The Netherlands, shows how copies of *Amazing New Zealand!* were also sent to The Netherlands Emigration Service in order to attract both new tourists and migrants. The necessity of attracting new migrants, especially from Britain, The Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, became increasingly strong in post-World War II New Zealand. According to Hartog and Winkelmann (2003) “some 41,000 Dutch immigrated to New Zealand between 1947 and

1997” (p. 686) with a peak of arrivals in the mid/late 1950s and early 1960s. Belich (2001) stresses the importance of Dutch migration to New Zealand in the post-World War II period. According to him,

the main Dutch inflow (...) came from the metropolitan Netherlands and was assisted and organised by its government and New Zealand’s, with the main spasm in the 1950s and the last in 1972-76. The total inflow was almost 40,000 people” (p. 538).

Early 1940s newspaper political chronicles also testify to the positive attitude of the New Zealand Government towards immigration from Northern Europe (the Evening Post, 20 August 1943). Therefore, a tourism film like *Amazing New Zealand!* also became an immigration promotional tool to be circulated in countries such as The Netherlands, as the content of the above-mentioned letter well exemplifies:

As far as the Netherlands Emigration Service is concerned, it would be true to say that many of the viewers in their audiences are interested primarily in the aspects of migration. Nevertheless, in each audience there are others, parents of those already in New Zealand, etc., and it is quite likely that our film persuades them, or at least tilts the balance, in favour of a journey to our country. (Hale, 1965).

Once again, New Zealand institutions proved to be interested in using tourism films as a means to attract both tourists and settlers.

The early 1960s showed both elements of continuity with the previous period, for instance in the choice of locations in tourism films and in the persisting relationship between tourism and immigration promotion, and elements of change. One of the main elements of discontinuity with the earlier tourism film production was the introduction and gradual spread of colour throughout the 1950s. From the early 1960s colour started to be used systematically, as shown in NFU tourism films released in the early/mid-1960s such as the previously mentioned *Amazing New Zealand!*, *Holiday for Susan* and *The South Island by Coach*. Even though, as Martin (2014) notes, the first colour feature made in New Zealand by a New Zealander, Rudall Hayward’s *To Love a Māori*, was released in 1972, colour started to be used on a regular basis by the NFU much earlier, since the early/mid-1950s. According to the Archives New Zealand website, NFU’s prolific cameraman and director Brian Brake went “to London to learn about colour cinematography and on his return he would shoot films for the NFU, including *Snows of Aorangi* (1955) which was

the first New Zealand film nominated for an Oscar⁵ (Brian Brake, n.d.). Indeed, as Sowry (2016) pointed out, in the post-World War II era, NFU colour films were frequently employed for tourism promotion.

From a thematic point of view, urban modernity increasingly became an important element in New Zealand promotion. Moreover, new national markets and market segments were specifically targeted; the advent of television represented a new market and outlet for New Zealand filmmakers and the film industry and international film festivals started to be targeted more systematically as important showcases. More broadly, a change in the cinematic promotion of the country, informed with ideas of ‘local character’ and ‘local specificity’, is evident from the early 1960s onwards. If the tourism films produced in the 1940s and 1950s do not differ much from earlier cinematic conventions, from the 1960s, together with the spread of long-haul jets and consequent increase in the arrival of tourists, New Zealand tourism films start to display new themes. Accessibility, good transport system and urban appeal are the main and most visible elements of this change.

4.5 Urban Representation: Celebration and Prejudices

In terms of urban representation, the period 1941–1966 highlights two contradictory tendencies in tourism films. The first one recalls old and deeply-rooted New Zealand scepticism about urbanism whereas the second one explicitly celebrates urban growth and the cities’ attractiveness as a symbol of progress. The emergence of such contradictory tendencies is not only limited to tourism films, but crosses the whole of New Zealand non-fiction film production. More specifically, a combined analysis of some of the NFU’s documentaries and newsreels focusing on New Zealand’s contemporary urbanism helps to reveal even more clearly the coexistence of these contrasting approaches.

A celebration of suburbia and its quarter acre sections and a certain discomfort towards the hectic pace of modern city life is displayed in the 1954 NFU documentary *Introducing New Zealand*. This film provides a visual representation of busy and modern Wellington’s city centre, comparing the recent architectural trend of multi-storey buildings with the traditional suburban sprawl. The narrator highlights how New Zealanders prefer to live in single detached houses with their own gardens rather than in modern city-centre

⁵ It was nominated in the Best Short Subject (Live Action) category in 1959 (Snows of Aorangi, n.d.).

flats. This fascination with suburbia and a certain scepticism towards the contemporary urban lifestyle also emerges in the description of New Zealand cities, characterised – according to the narrator – by “crowded city streets, where the people are the people of any other city, hurried, a little unsmiling, keeping to themselves”. *Toehold on a Harbour* (1966) features a similar description of suburbs as Wellingtonians’ favourite areas, peaceful and far away from the chaos of the city centre.

Despite the tendency to celebrate life in suburbia, New Zealand tourism films mainly provide, in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, a positive image of cities and urban life. Urban reality is reassuring and the modernity of cities fully embodies the achievements of the country. The NFU and Neuline’s film *New Zealand Today – Four Cities* (1941) displays a quick overview of New Zealand’s four major cities. Visual and narrative themes from the 1920s and 1930s are repeated: Wellington’s suburban sprawl is celebrated and so are suburban beaches and beach-going; Christchurch has an “English atmosphere”, nice parks and particular architecture; Dunedin’s coastal suburbs are visually emphasised through a bird’s eye view; emphasis is also put on its “Scottish antecedents” and gothic architecture; Auckland is celebrated for the hectic pace of its urban life, for its skyline, and its suburban beaches. The repetition of earlier modes of representation is also displayed during the 1950s. The NFU’s *Christchurch Garden City of New Zealand* (1952), like other tourism and promotional films from the 1940s and 1950s such as *One Hundred Crowded Years* (1940) and *Introducing New Zealand* (1954), links tourism with immigration promotion. In this film, a representation of busy city life and traffic and the city centre’s best-known tourist spots goes hand in hand with the celebration of suburban landscape. Detached and semi-detached houses with their own ‘quarter acre sections’ in bloom are one of the protagonists of the film, along with the parks and gardens, where people enjoy themselves walking, playing tennis or rowing on the Avon river. The highlighted English character of the city is also embodied by schools and colleges that provide their students with a wide range of sporting activities. NFU’s *Canterbury is a Hundred* (1950) depicts a very similar image of Canterbury’s major city, where “comfortable wooden houses” and their gardens and flowers are put on display; parks and sporting activities, the English character and productive activities are also emphasised. NFU’s *Centennial City* (1948) focuses on Dunedin’s centennial celebration, emphasising the city’s history, schools and industries.

A less traditional, more complex and articulated representation of New Zealand urbanism – especially in terms of Auckland and Wellington – emerges from the second half of the 1950s. In Pacific Films' *Pacific Magazine 23. Report on Auckland* (1956), the city's size and population are matters of pride; modern multi-storeyed flats in the city centre are seen as a solution for relocating the inhabitants of the poorest and unhealthiest suburbs and old semi-detached houses are demolished to make room for blocks of flats; the Harbour Bridge and modern city architecture are openly celebrated. The film shifts from an enthusiasm for urban modernity to a concern for urban problems such as overpopulation and traffic. However, the tone is overall openly optimistic. A similar emphasis on Auckland's growing population, modern vertical architecture and expanding suburbs is shown in the NFU *Pictorial Parade 98 – Expanding Auckland* (1960) and in *Pictorial Parade 154 – Auckland Half a Million* (1964).

Ron Bowie, the NFU's Director, openly criticises cameraman Lynton Diggle's 1963 treatment for *This Auckland*, a tourism film released in 1967, clearly exemplifying NFU's new approach towards urban promotion. In fact, Ron Bowie:

First, congratulations on a concise and clear presentation of a good treatment. It was felt however, that it was a little "safe" and a "routine" approach. More unconventional and "off-beat" themes are lately meeting with approval (...) the purpose of this film is not necessarily to attract tourists, but to let overseas people know what one of our cities looks like and how people live in it. You will be pleased to know that it is not necessary to show everything (...)" (Bowie, 1963).

In the early 1960s, urban tourist representation should no longer be a list of all the most attractive tourist spots. In fact, according to Bowie - "it is not necessary to show everything". The representation of New Zealand cities in tourism films should, on the contrary, raise the reputation of the country, by manufacturing and spreading images of urban lifestyle and modernity.

Due to the relative abundance and variety of films made in the period covered by this chapter, the tourism representation of Wellington highlights even more clearly the different approaches, tendencies and turning points that characterised urban promotion and representation in New Zealand from 1941 to 1966.

4.6 The Promotion of Wellington's 'Personality'

4.6.1 Suburban Celebration and CBD's Architecture: The Persistence of Deeply-Rooted Conventions

Tourism started to play an important role in New Zealand's national economy from the late 1950s onwards, along with the development of transport, and more particularly, with the spread of aviation industry technology. However, before the establishment of an efficient national tourist system and before tourism marketing became for New Zealand a goal in itself, immigration and tourism promotion continued to be closely linked in terms of the representation and promotion of New Zealand cities, and Wellington in particular. This is especially evident in the tourism films released in the 1940s and the 1950s.

An iconic 1950 NFU production, *Journey for Three*, provides important insights into the relationship between settler culture and urbanism in the post-World War II era. This forty-five minute long docu-drama was conceived and made for a British audience. According to Phillips (2005), it was shown in British cinemas to encourage immigration from the United Kingdom. The film narrates the journey of three British working class immigrants to New Zealand and their often challenging experiences in their new country. During his journey by ship, the male protagonist, Harry, remembers his hard times in London where he used to live, and his job in a factory. Unhappy and frustrated with his suffocating life, he needed – according to his own words – “to get away from the city” because he “wanted a bit of room”. Also one of the female protagonists – the Scottish Cassie – “decided to try here in New Zealand”, after a disappointing experience of life in London. New Zealand seemed to embody – still in the 1950s – an opportunity to escape from the gloomy, urbanised and overpopulated Europe. Along with the representation of New Zealand as a place of peace and new opportunities far away from the hectic and impoverished post-war Europe, the film displays these three new settlers engaged in quintessential New Zealand leisure activities such as hiking and skiing. According to Sigley (2011),

The more apparently egalitarian access to such outdoor leisure pursuits as hunting, tramping, horse-riding, skiing and tennis was a marked feature of the film's construction of New Zealand as a latter day “South Seas Paradise”

bountiful provider of pleasures that “Better Britons” living here neither idly dreamed of, nor eyed enviously, but experienced in the flesh. (p. 169)

As Goldson (2006) noted, New Zealand has often been depicted by national publicity as an escape from Britain’s existential darkness and unhealthy weather and lifestyle. Outdoor leisure activities and sports, beautiful landscapes and open empty spaces feature in most of this film. In the early 1950s, the dream of immigration to New Zealand is still an anti-urban – or at most suburban – dream. Certain projections of this dream – the fulfilment of desires such as ‘a bit of room’ and the need to stay ‘away from the city’ – continued to shape and inform the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Suburbs are, once again, a liminal space where landscape and the city merge and integrate, and suburbia – that is suburban life and lifestyle – is still a life *in limine*, on the threshold, at the same time inside and outside the city.

Suburbs and their cinematic representation continue to play a very important role in Wellington tourism films in the 1941 to 1966 period. Patterns and themes from the previous cinematic era are repeated, albeit with some variations. In fact, suburban landscape – be it hilly or coastal – suburban sprawl, suburban beaches and suburban lifestyle and habits continue to feature in the tourism promotion of the capital city of New Zealand. The integration of the natural and the human element, the cinematic depiction of the merging of Wellington’s landscape and its inhabited areas becomes increasingly more evident and recurrent throughout the 1940s, 1950s and the 1960s.

The NFU’s *Wellington Wharves and Eastern Suburbs* (1950) mainly features scenes from Wellington’s eastern and southern suburbs, dealing with three different modes of Wellington’s suburban representation: one that focuses exclusively on the natural coastal environment, one that visually celebrates the suburban sprawl and one that depicts the suburban beach as Wellingtonians’ favourite urban playground. The film opens with a static shot that captures Wellington’s harbour mouth on a sunny, windy day. The camera is placed by the shoreline, right in the middle of Breaker Bay’s coastal bush and rocks. The strong winds bend the vegetation all around the camera and a ship heading out to the open sea rolls and pitches at the mercy of the waves. The depicted location is quite easily recognisable, even though there is no sign of human presence or commentary. A pure, untouched and unpopulated landscape features in the first thirty seconds of the film: wild, non-urban nature is portrayed as an integral part of Wellington. However, suburban sprawl soon becomes the real protagonist of the film. After portraying Moa Point, its rugged

coastline and its scattered houses, two static and extremely long takes from above – the first one ninety-five, the second one thirty-five seconds long – linger over Kilbirnie/Lyall Bay and Miramar and present the quintessential characteristics of suburban landscapes. Indeed, the typical elements of Wellington's suburban landscape – hills, beaches, green slopes and a vast symmetrical sprawl of detached houses spreading over the flat areas – are on display for a very long time and seem to merge perfectly into each other. The views are taken from high standpoints – the viewer and potential settler is supposed to look down on the beautiful settlement. This particular visual approach – a view taken from high ground or a hill – keeps repeating specific pre-existing patterns of pictorial and cinematic representation displayed in much of the New Zealand pictorial production from the mid/late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century cinematic production. This stylistic approach was informed – as Goldson (2006) has noted and as already highlighted in the previous chapter – by reason of colonial promotion and linked to colonial ideas of space appropriation.

Alongside the contrasting images of uninhabited and densely populated suburban areas, *Wellington Wharves and Eastern Suburbs* features scenes of suburban beach leisure. As with the tourism films from the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, Wellington's bays and beaches become the favourite playground for city dwellers. A thirty-two seconds long static shot depicts Evans Bay in Hataitai. Overall, the cinematic representation of this coastal suburban area conveys impressions of wealth and affluence. Sailing boats are slowly crossing the bay, other boats and yachts are moored against a background of big houses built on luxuriant green slopes. Similarly, in *Beautiful New Zealand* (1949) the visual representation of suburbs is also linked to ideas of healthy (and wealthy) middle-class lifestyle: the voice-over lingers on the description of an affluent suburb, where "the buildings sit in the sun on steep slopes". *Toehold on a Harbour*'s depiction of Oriental Bay, with its hectic multitude of people of all types and ages and its variety of swimmers, divers and sunbathers, fully embodies – on the contrary – the concept of an urban egalitarian playground.

Even in the second half of the 1960s, suburbs continued to play an important role in the promotion of Wellington. In fact, even though the NFU's *Toehold on a harbour* (1966) displays a significantly different and innovative approach in the description and tourism promotion of the capital city of New Zealand, it still subtly but evidently promotes and celebrates suburbia. While an aerial tracking shot visually celebrates the apparently

never-ending expansion of the suburban residential areas, the voice-over describes them as “further and further away from the crowded city”. A rapid succession of recently urbanised hilly and plain areas conveys an impression of unstoppable progress and growth, and overall the tone of the narration is optimistic. The dynamic aerial tracking shot of suburban Wellington also seems to contrast with the static, pictorial cinematic conventions of the previous decades. The “inhospitable hills” – as the voice-over describes them – have been conquered by the city, becoming an integral part of Wellington’s peculiar landscape. The original natural element – the rugged, hilly or coastal landscape – and the human element (suburbs) once again seem to merge and harmonise, with suburbs, city and landscape, becoming one. This film similarly features another recurring theme of Wellington’s suburban celebration – the city’s coastal areas. As with the visual celebration of suburbs, Wellington’s coastline is also represented in motion. The footage is taken from a moving car that runs along the city’s coastline. The voice-over poetically describes it as “a string of beaches and bays curving for thirty-two miles through the city and suburbs like a bright blue ribbon”. Beach-going and all the beach-related leisure activities seem to have become in the 1960s a mass phenomenon. The great number of boats, the crowded beaches of Houghton Bay and Oriental Bay, the queue of beach-goers’ cars parked along the road – all these link the space of the beach with mass tourism consumption.

The representation of Wellington’s suburbs in New Zealand tourism films has always been informed by the necessity of promoting and displaying specific projections of the colonial dream that never changed: an egalitarian society, a quarter acre section for everyone, a healthy environment and lifestyle, a beautiful landscape and nature all around. On the one hand, post-World War II underpopulated New Zealand needed to attract, as Phillips (2005) noted, migrants from Europe with a promise of better life conditions: thus, the representation of detached and semi-detached houses became a powerful promotional tool addressed to potential new settlers. On the other hand, the cinematic depiction of the sprawl of brand new houses all around the city centre aimed to put on display, as Weckbecker (2012) highlighted, the contemporary achievements of the Labour Government in terms of welfare policies and housing. Indeed, the celebration of the suburban social and cultural model and the emphasis on suburban expansion – besides being displayed in a large number of tourism films – also featured in several NFU newsreels and documentaries from the 1940s, focusing on Wellington’s new residential areas in the Hutt Valley. According to the commentary of the NFU’s iconic *Housing in New Zealand*

(1946), “a nation’s prosperity isn’t measured in exports and show and false fronts. It’s in the way people live”. Therefore, the depiction of suburbia through documentaries, newsreels or tourism films also seems to specifically address domestic audiences. This emphasis on New Zealand as an egalitarian society appears to be linked to the attempt to enhance national pride and reinforce national identity. New Zealand is depicted – through the images spread by the NFU – like a land where prosperity is directly linked to suburban lifestyle; according to this self-congratulatory narrative, New Zealand is celebrated as the land where New Zealanders themselves can legitimately aspire to the suburban ‘quarter-acre paradise’.

However, the ideas and images of change with the most impact, be it economic growth, technological development, urban and architectural transformations or the speed and increasingly fast rhythms of capitalist modernity, were still, as in the early decades of the century, mostly conveyed through the depiction of central city areas. Suburban Wellington merges with the landscape; the city centre transforms it. A recurring theme in Wellington tourism films from 1941 to 1966 is the attention paid to the deep morphological and architectural changes occurring in the central city from the time of its foundation. The area where high-rise government buildings and commercial and residential skyscrapers stand now was, until a few decades earlier, sea and coastline. This celebration of the human effort to modify the original landscape often recurs in the cinematic tourism promotion of Wellington, starting from the 1920s and the 1930s, as highlighted in the previous chapter. If suburbs embody the spirit of a horizontal and residential expansion, the city centre symbolises a vertical, commercial and capitalist projection. In both cases, land has been taken, either from the bush or the sea. The central business district visibly represents the progress of the nation in just over one hundred years of existence. *Amazing New Zealand!* (1964) highlights how the Wellington commercial district was an entirely human creation. According to the narrator, “when they needed flat land for the commerce, they filched it from the sea and city streets follow the curves of the old beaches and bays”. The same focus on the reclaimed land is shown in the NFU’s *Beautiful New Zealand* (1949). The voice-over commentary states that “when the first settlers came to Wellington, the land these buildings stand on now was reclaimed to form the streets of the business area of the city”; similarly, NFU’s *Toehold on a Harbour*’s (1966) narrator, explains that “the thriving new settlement desperately needed land, flat land, so the land was made, reclaimed from the sea”.

Wellington's city centre and business district are represented almost invariably in their vertical architectural majesty. *Amazing New Zealand!* features views of central city buildings overlooking the harbour taken from a high standpoint. The shoreline is hidden and invisible and the blue of the sea contrasts with the grey concrete buildings; both *Beautiful New Zealand* and *Toehold on a Harbour* include shots of Central Business District skyscrapers taken from the street. The use of low-angle shots and their fast juxtaposition emphasises in *Toehold on a Harbour* the size of the buildings. Interestingly, the same film also features scenes of Aro Park on a working day; people sit, chat, eat and relax in a small green area surrounded by the flow of city traffic. For the first time in the cinematic representation of Wellington a central area other than Oriental Bay or the Botanical Gardens is linked to ideas of urban leisure. Differently from the above-mentioned films, *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* celebrates the idea of verticality as an ongoing process. Construction sites and construction workers are on display. Skeleton frames of vertical steel overlook the underlying urban and suburban extension; urban transformation is under way. The growth not only includes the recently urbanised suburban hills – it is vertical as well as horizontal.

In the post-World War II era the cinematic representation of Wellington continued to be linked to images of mobility. The depiction of the capital city of New Zealand as a strategic nerve centre for domestic and international connections kept playing an important role in tourism films from the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. The development of transport technology in these decades caused an increase in the number and size of Wellington's transportation facilities – Wellington Airport at Rongotai, for instance, was totally renovated and significantly enlarged at the end of the 1950s and Wellington Railway Station opened in the late 1930s. As a natural consequence, tourism films started to feature an increasing number of scenes focusing on means of transport.

Beautiful New Zealand features scenes of majestic ocean liners and ferry boats moored in the harbour. According to the voice-over commentary, "transport between the two (islands) is maintained by air and by seagoing ferryboats that link Wellington to the South", whereas the early 1960's film *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* deals with commuters at the railway station. The former mostly focuses on commuters' faces and expressions in the railway station lobby, whereas the latter depicts them as they swarm through the lobby and outside the station. After depicting the railway station, *Wellington*

architecture, Wellington people features scenes that show port and airport activities and central city traffic.

Wellington Wharves and Eastern Suburbs – after portraying an interislander ferry headed to the South Island at the mercy of the waves – provides one of the first scenes of Wellington’s air transportation, where passengers board a TEAL (the forerunner of Air New Zealand) seaplane to Sydney. Through these two sequences, the link between the capital city, the South Island and Australia is emphasised. However, only *Toehold on a harbour* provides a complete overview of Wellington’s different transport options. The initial aerial shot of Wellington’s hilly suburbs ends with the landing of the airplane at Wellington Airport; the aircraft gradually approaches the runway and the aerial view captures and celebrates the characteristic location of the airport, built between two sea masses, and the surrounding suburban sprawl of Rongotai. Later on, the film portrays huge ocean liners, moored in the “busy port”; their profiles either blend with the high-rise architecture of the city centre or contrast with the suburban architecture of Mount Victoria and Oriental Bay. More particularly, this film focuses on images of traffic flowing from and to the city. Emphasis is on city road tunnels: a rapid, hectic sequence of consecutive shots features trams, buses, cars and the Wellington Cable Car entering and exiting road and railway tunnels.

Rugged, hilly city landscape has been permanently transformed and perforated, to allow suburban commuters to get to the city. As in the city centre’s land reclamation and concrete vertical architecture, transport infrastructure has also left a heavy mark on the original environment. If the suburban sprawl is mimetic and tends to blend with the original characteristic of the land, following the curves, slopes and roughness of Wellington’s landscape, the urban development – strongly linked to ideas of economic progress and easy mobility – changed the appearance of Wellington forever.

4.6.2 A New Wave in the Tourism Representation of Wellington: Elements of Change in Wellington Tourism Films

The celebration of the suburban sprawl, the suburban beach, the vertical city and means of transport broadly represent elements of continuity with the previous cinematic era and with earlier cinematic practices; however, an analysis of Wellington’s tourist representation from 1941 to 1966 also displays and brings to light a new stylistic approach

and new emerging themes. Since the beginning of New Zealand film production, the tourism representation of important New Zealand urban centres such as Christchurch and Dunedin was evidently shaped around their strong ethnic, cultural and aesthetic identity, as respectively the English and the Scottish City. The two most populous New Zealand urban areas – Auckland and Wellington – lacked such recognisable character; in fact, their tourism representation mostly combined images of suburban landscape and downtown architecture and life in order to provide the audience with a general overview of the two cities. However, from the late 1950s/early 1960s both Auckland and Wellington tourism promotion started to identify, display and promote specific elements of local character. If Auckland's identity was mostly metropolitan – it was (and it still is) New Zealand's only metropolis and its size and population were often emphasised in tourism films. Wellington's Public Relation Office together with the NFU began to shape and manufacture a new identity built around its environmental characteristics and – more precisely - its morphology and weather.

As shown by *The Patterns of Tourist Organisation* – a 1964 governmental pamphlet on New Zealand tourism institutions by the Research Section of the Tourist and Publicity Department – the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department was at that time composed of three different divisions: the Hotel Division, in charge of managing hotels and resorts in some of the most famous New Zealand tourist locations, the Tourist Division, whose head office was in Wellington and was mostly in charge of administrative, training and promotional services, and the Publicity Division, which also comprised the Information Section, the National Publicity Studios and the NFU, the latter incorporated in the above-mentioned Publicity Division in 1950. An important aspect of the NFU's production was tourism promotion. More specifically, the NFU's services were described as the production of

news and feature films in black and white and colour, covering all aspects of New Zealand. Many of its films are made for purely tourist publicity purposes and these are widely distributed overseas to the best advantage of the tourist industry (Research Section of Tourist and Publicity Department, 1964)

In the first half of the 1950s, the need for a film specifically focused on Wellington's tourism promotion was becoming more and more evident. Members of two different sections of the Publicity Division started to discuss the topic, as shown in a 1953

letter from the Director of Information Services in the Department of Tourism and Publicity to the Manager of the NFU:

Please submit a rough treatment and estimate of cost for a 16 mm colour film on Wellington not exceeding one and a half reels in length. The film should be produced in the documentary style but should include the most attractive scenic shots (the Director of Information Services in the Department of Tourism and Publicity, 1953).

Four years later – in 1957 – a member of the Wellington City Public Relations Office and a member of the NFU were still discussing the same issue and the film on Wellington had not yet been produced. Indeed, Arthur Feslier, City of Wellington Public Relations Manager, wrote to both Mr. Odell, the Director of Information Services, and to the Manager of the NFU asking for information relating to the production of a tourism film on Wellington:

I have learned unofficially that your Department is considering the production of a film about the City of Wellington. As you can understand, this office will be particularly interested in the production and we will be pleased to offer you any help we can. (Feslier, 1957).

Feslier himself wrote just a few months later an eight-page tourism booklet entitled *Wellington, Most Memorable City of Your New Zealand Holiday*, published in 1958 by the New Zealand Travel and Holidays Association. This graphically appealing work features both black and white and colour photographs depicting coastal and hilly suburban locations alongside typical city centre views. More importantly, it features in its narration a number of new themes that will become increasingly important in Wellington's tourist promotion and tourism film throughout the 1960s. In fact, besides recalling a number of traditional elements in Wellington's promotion – the city is "supremely sited", is a transport hub, is a city of hills, its harbour is scenically beautiful and its city centre has been built on reclaimed land – it also pays attention to new aspects. First of all, the city's rugged morphology becomes a protagonist in tourism representation. According to the booklet, "homes have often been built on sections carved from the very steepest of slopes" and the trains coming from northern suburbs go through "a series of tunnels bored through the northern hills". Second, Wellington weather and climate start to be used as Wellington's typical and recognisable elements. Despite being windy, "Wellington's climate is one of the most invigorating and healthy"; furthermore,

the summer, extending from November until March, brings long periods of brilliantly fine weather and the remainder of the year provides a climate which, while somewhat unpredictable, is never extreme. Even the winds of Wellington can produce sights and sounds to enthrall you. In a high southerly there is the mighty spectacle of nature at play in the great waves beating against the southern shores of the North Island in Wellington.

Wellington's coastal drive, with its "little bays and beaches" and its "magnificent views of the city" becomes – as in later tourism films – an important promotional element. After focusing on a number of Wellington's cultural and institutional attractions and after dealing with the imminent opening of Wellington Airport at Rongotai, the booklet's last paragraph provides a synthesis of Wellington's attractions,

New Zealand's capital offers you, the visitor, the chance to enjoy many of the facilities you could experience in the great cities of the world. Wellington has incomparable beauty in its harbour and its hills, and we know that for years after your visit you will recall New Zealand's capital as perhaps the most memorable city of your Pacific journey.

Wellington – described for the first time as a 'memorable city', is good both for spending holidays and living in – "here is a wonderful place to live for a week or for a lifetime".

Simultaneously with the interest of Feslier and Wellington's Public Relations Office, NFU staff started to develop different treatments for a new film. Some of these treatments, for instance the ones written by Ron McIntyre or John King, NFU's cameramen and directors, were still repeating earlier conventions in their approach and thematic choice. The former mostly focused on the institutional role of Wellington as the capital city of New Zealand and home of Parliament and featured the celebration of Wellington early history, the latter dealt with images of the city centre, urban traffic and suburban expansion. However, towards the end of the decade, a new approach in the treatment of Wellington – more similar to the one Feslier showed in his 1958 pamphlet – began to take shape.

Indeed, NFU director and producer Oxley Hughan in 1958 and 1959 worked on a different treatment that started to reveal and develop the themes and approach that would eventually emerge in the 1966 film *Toehold on a Harbour*. His foreword reveals the new direction that Wellington's tourism promotion was going to take,

The following treatment (...) tries to suggest a feeling. With subtleties of colours and angles the film could build up impressions, that added together,

make up Wellington – a film that could be only Wellington, and only in colour (...). We can shoot for colour, light, the changing patterns of colour – something of Monet, something of Turner – and yet when assembled unmistakably and individually Wellington. The city will be woven into the colour and the commentary will be quiet, a little dry and affectionate. There is an excellent chance of making a film that is not only different, but one that can be charming, appealing and well remembered. (Hughan, 1958).

A week later, Hughan, reflecting on a possible structure for this film, conceived a section called “The city – its individuality” which would have included elements such as “houses clinging to hill sides in awkward places (...), the city steps (...), zig-zags (...), steep roads” (Hughan, 1958). Just over a year later, trying to identify shots to include in the film, he chose to focus on themes that would become essential in *Toehold on a Harbour*: city traffic, city tunnels, hilly suburbs and steps, and coastal suburbs (Hughan, 1959). Seven years later Hughan’s ideas about the representation of Wellington converged in *Toehold on a Harbour*. The synopsis of the movie, sent by Hughan (1968) to the New Zealand Embassy in Belgium for the Brussels 16th International Folklore Film Festival, highlights these new tendencies. Hughan is the producer of this film. In his words, the film,

gives a series of personal, sometimes humorous impressions of Wellington
 (...) the city has grown on a site that was more perpendicular than horizontal
 (...) Wellington is a city of striking contrasts and elusive character (...)
 difficult terrain is a leading theme.

In the same synopsis, the director of the movie, Mike Ryan, explains his personal approach to the cinematic treatment of Wellington. “We wanted to show what we thought most typical (...) scenes of wind-blown streets and landscape, for instance, as well as the sunny beaches and city lights that are photographed more often”. Some of the most easily recognisable local characteristics were strategically identified as new promotional tools and became the core and strengths of this new promotional approach.

Besides being a turning point in the cinematic representation and promotion of Wellington, *Toehold on a Harbour* was widely circulated outside New Zealand. Before its participation in the International Brussels Folklore Film Festival in 1968, the the NFU sent the film to North America and Australia. A letter from Wilson Scott, travel commissioner for the New Zealand Government in Los Angeles, to Oxley Hughan refers to its circulation in the United States: “Further to your letter of 22nd November, a copy of the 35 mm. film

“Toehold on a Harbour” has now been received and forwarded to the Academy of Motion Picture, Arts and Sciences in Hollywood, California”. (Scott, 1965). Another letter from the General Manager of the NFU, Geoffrey Scott, to the General Manager of the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, S.M. Searl, confirms the circulation of the film in Australia: “Contractual theatrical distribution arrangements have now been concluded for (...) Toehold on a Harbour through Australia” (Scott, 1965).

In the tourism films from the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s the presence of Wellington’s characteristic landscape – its coastline, hills and harbours – was mostly descriptive, but from the end of the 1940s and increasingly through the 1950s and 1960s, it acquired a symbolic meaning, as shown in *Toehold on a Harbour*, becoming closely linked to the manufacturing and fabrication of the city’s personality. Wellington’s tourism and film institutions identified and built the city’s character and personality, which were shaped around its morphological and meteorological characteristics; in fact, in post-World War II era tourism films, rugged terrain and unpredictable weather along with the combination of Wellington’s institutional role and its relaxed, easygoing lifestyle gradually became essential elements of the city’s tourism promotion. *Amazing New Zealand!* describes Wellington as a “city of hills”, whose “buildings sit in the sun on steep slopes”. The emergence of the landscape as a distinguishing feature becomes even more evident in *Toehold on a Harbour*, which fully embodies this new approach in Wellington’s tourism promotion. The city is described as “colourful, casual”. According to the voice-over, its geographic location, its steep hills and difficult site shaped its character. The city is “unusual” due to its characteristic morphology; it is also “determined” because it expanded, finding “space for itself where it was not”. Its hills are “inhospitable” and its streets “twist down to the sea”. The city struggled “to grow in this site for just over a century”. All these elements gave the city its character, making it a city “unlike any other in New Zealand”. In *Toehold on a Harbour*, Wellingtonians have their say on the city. In their words, Wellington is described as windy – “there’s the wind” – full of ups and downs and steps, “lovely” and “interesting”; moreover, “its location gives it character”. Besides being a city of character and interesting landscapes, it is also the capital city. As one of the interviewees says, “things are run from here, aren’t they?”.

Also suburbs have been planned according to Wellington’s morphology. Due to the scarcity of flat land, houses were (and still are) very often built in unlikely locations. As the voice-over states, “now it looks like citizens compete to see who can perch a home in

the most precarious position”. Wellingtonians walk up and down the steps every day from the hilly suburbs where they live to the city’s central business district where they work. According to this film, not only the hills, but also Wellington’s thirty-two miles of coastline, are an element that makes the city unique, “something else more sophisticated cities may envy”. In *Toehold on a Harbour*, images reinforce the concepts expressed by the commentary. The initial aerial view of the hilly western suburbs visually highlights and emphasises Wellington’s rugged morphology right from the start; footage taken in the city centre on a day of strong winds shows Wellingtonians struggling to stand and walk; a coastal suburban street is portrayed during a storm in which waves invade the roadway and hit passing cars; other shots capture houses built in unlikely precarious hilly locations. The overall tone – highlighted by a lively soundtrack – is lighthearted and humorous. What can be considered as negative aspects – bad weather, steep slopes, lack of space – are intentionally turned into those peculiar characteristics that make the capital city of New Zealand “unique”. Its uniqueness and its multifaceted nature are highlighted by the voice-over: “here is a town, fickle but fascinating, putting on a different face for each newcomer”.

A turning point, this film was preceded by tourism films that highlighted – albeit briefly – the uniqueness of a city landscape. From the late 1940s onwards the focus of Wellington’s tourism promotion starts to be on Wellington’s personality and character.

4.6.3 The Face of a Wellingtonian: The Emergence of Individuality in Wellington’s Tourism Films

Beach-goers spending their leisure time on Wellington’s suburban beaches; dockers working at the port; people taking a stroll in the Botanical Gardens; fishermen and families relaxing at Oriental Bay; nightlife-lovers dancing in night clubs; car drivers stuck in central city traffic; commuters swarming out of the railway station: the presence of Wellingtonians in Wellington tourism films is a long-term one, corresponding to the beginning of Wellington’s cinematic tourism promotion. Nonetheless, while it is true that Wellingtonians have always been an integral part of the picture and their representation has been useful in tracing their lifestyle and habits, their presence has always fallen into and has always been limited to well-defined and somehow stereotyped categories: beach-goers, drivers, families, nightlife lovers, commuters, port workers and *flâneurs*. However, in Wellington’s tourism films from the early 1960s, increasing attention is paid to individuals.

Wellingtonians' faces and – in one case, namely *Toehold on a Harbour* – even Wellingtonians' voices are for the first time on display. More specifically, in an age in which documentaries represented large part of national film production, a certain formal, stylistic and narrative convergence between documentaries and tourism/promotional films became evident. This is clearly shown in NFU's *Toehold on a Harbour*, in which Wellingtonians are directly involved through the use of techniques borrowed from documentary. Indeed, this film features indirect interviews, a technique that Kydd (2011) describes as follows,

Indirect address is a common way of structuring interviews in a documentary.

This is when an interviewee appears to talk to someone offscreen rather than directly to the camera. (...) When the interviewer is not seen the effect is more casual than a direct address approach as the person speaking appears just to be relating accounts of their experiences, unaware of the camera. (...) Even if we neither see nor hear the person the interviewees are speaking to, we infer their presence and the interview subject does not have that power to talk directly to us (p. 71).

In this tourism film the audience does not see the interviewer or hear their voice, but this person's presence behind the camera is easily inferred. Eight Wellingtonians – four men, four women – talk to the camera after being arguably asked their impressions and opinions about the city. All the answers provided draw a clear portrait of the capital city. First of all, the weather is unpredictable and strongly linked to the image of the city. "Wellington? Well, there's the wind", the first interviewee says, while the second defines the weather as a city's "downside". Wellington's peculiar morphology features in two of the interviews. A woman complains about "these hills...and all the steps", whereas another man describes the city as "interesting. I think the location of the place definitely gives it character". Two of the interviewees openly express their enthusiasm: "I think it's lovely" and "Well...I hated it when I first came (...) but I think it's beautiful". The capital city of New Zealand is described through the voice of the interviewees as definitely not an easy city, but at the same time an interesting, attractive and important one. In a middle-aged man's words "It's not the biggest city, but it's the capital, isn't it? Things are run from here, aren't they?". Besides, it is a city that welcomes outsiders: "I am not a Wellingtonian, like most people I came to Wellington because of my work", as a young woman states.

The sum of positive and negative answers, along with the locations chosen for the interviews, which all take place on city streets, and along with the chosen sample of interviewees – ordinary people of both genders – conveys a general impression of immediacy. However, the set of concepts, ideas and impressions expressed ends up perfectly matching the overall tone of the film and the idea the film aims to express. Wellington, despite being a complicated city due to its morphological and meteorological characteristics, is an important, interesting and welcoming city, a city – according to one of the interviewees – with its own specific “character”.

The emergence and depiction of Wellingtonians as a set of individuals rather than members of stereotyped categories is also visible in the 1960s Pacific Films’ *Wellington architecture, Wellington people*. However, this black and white silent film deals with this particular theme very differently from *Toehold on a Harbour*. Similar to other post-World War II tourism films, it focuses on commuters. After initially lingering over the railway station’s majestic neoclassical architecture and after visually celebrating the empty vastness and high ceilings of its concourse with the use of long, static takes, it captures with an overhead shot the swarm of commuters as they step off the trains and walk outside the station; it then provides a variety of portraits of commuters, thus shifting from the depiction of urban mass transport and urban mobility to a more delicate and intimate portrait of individual characters captured in their everyday life. The faces of commuters sitting in the lobby or on the platforms and waiting for the train now become the protagonists. Medium close-ups focus on the facial expressions of people of different ages and sexes, some sad, some pensive, others tired. A little girl swings her legs on a bench while the train is pulling away from the platform. These faces suddenly and unexpectedly emerge from the urban crowd; this whole film has a meditative mood and finds its own balance in the alternation of stasis and movement. Far away from any rhetorical, promotional and openly planned celebration of urban life, without commentary, voice-over or subtitles, it provides an unusual depiction of Wellington in a collection of visually and emotionally powerful shots. Overall, the film deals with some of the most significant architectural spots in Wellington, lingering with long takes over the central city’s construction sites and vertical architecture, depicting construction workers at work and focusing on the architecture of the railway station and St Paul’s Cathedral – the current Old Saint Paul’s - in Thorndon. Besides, with the emphasis on architecture and on the character

and faces of Wellington's people, this film uncommonly omits any kind of suburban depiction.

The cinematic attention paid to the everyday life of common people in urban contexts was a recurring theme in British and French film production in the late 1950s and early 1960s. More particularly, some characteristics of British Free Cinema seem to have influenced the style and approach of *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People*. Murphy (2013) defines the style of free cinema as “poetic realism” (p. 40); also Wright Wexman (2010) highlights its poetic approach and style. This film movement emerged and spread in Britain, as Kuhn and Westwell (2012) point out, between 1956 and 1959, and focused, according to Dixon and Foster (2013) on the “unvarnished reports of events rather than interpretations of them” (p. 280). The goal was to provide as honest a representation of contemporary life as possible. Antakly de Mello (2008) and Ali Issari (1979) stress the importance of everyday life in Free Cinema. The latter notes how “actors in these films were real people, going about their day-to-day business – no glamorised actors, no stars and none of the pomp and show of the conventional cinema” (p. 53). The focus was on everyday life in urban contexts. In his words, “The free cinema film-makers did turn the camera eye on everyday life in their society, somewhat in line with Vertov's theories” (p. 56). Bordwell and Thompson (2010) and Cieutat (2013) note how Free Cinema was strongly linked to the representation of the British urban world and British working class. Similar stylistic characteristics were displayed by another contemporary movement known as the ‘cinéma vérité’, strongly influenced, as with the Free Cinema movement, by documentary film. According to Gomery (1991):

Cinéma vérité emerged during the 1950s and early (...). The adherents of the style stressed capturing ongoing events, with minimum interference by the filmmaker (...) The filmmaker was encouraged to make every effort to stay out of the way and not to influence ongoing events. To practitioners of cinéma vérité the filmmaker ought not to consciously present a point of view, but rather let the events recorded on film speak for themselves (p. 335).

Both Ali Issari (1979) and Mamber (1974) emphasise ‘uncontrolled situations’, an objective approach and the absence of scripts as the main stylistic features of this film movement. A non-mediated and observational approach to everyday life and situations was the main goal of both Free Cinema and cinéma vérité.

Despite having a promotional goal and depicting well-known Wellington locations, *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* displays evident thematic and stylistic similarities with these two slightly earlier film movements both in terms of the chosen subjects – common people in everyday situations and in urban environments – and in terms of style – a tendency towards a poetic representation of reality.

Amazing New Zealand!, *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* and *Toehold on a Harbour* present a number of formal and stylistic innovations. Along with the appearance onscreen of Wellington people, interviewed and portrayed through the use of close ups and medium close ups, the use of techniques such as aerial shots in *Toehold on a harbour* conveys a new, unprecedented impression of mobility and dynamism in the representation of Wellington's urban landscape. Similarly, the use of sound and soundtracks in tourism films starts to be more deliberate. In the films preceding the 1960s music was used as a simple background, but in *Amazing New Zealand!* and especially in *Toehold on a harbour*, it highlights, emphasises and strengthens the power of the images, as demonstrated by the hectic and persistent pace of the instrumental track that accompanies the initial ninety seconds' flyover of the city. These stylistic changes involve narration itself, which in *Amazing New Zealand!*, *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People* and *Toehold on a Harbour* becomes more intimate, informal and reflexive in its tone.

Unlike in previous decades, a number of Wellington tourism films from the 1960s do not simply feature and promote a series of attractive locations; they gradually start to hybridise with other fiction and non-fiction film forms. Indeed, the formal and representational convergence between tourism film and other film forms becomes increasingly evident. Documentary techniques are borrowed in *Toehold on a Harbour*, in which interviews are used in order to strengthen and validate the film's promotional message; similarly, *Wellington Architecture*, *Wellington People*'s visual and narrative treatment recalls European film movements such as Free Cinema and Cinéma Vérité, which were in turn strongly influenced by documentary films. Fictional narratives and a fictional plot are employed for the first time in order to promote the country in *Holiday for Susan*. As has emerged from this chapter, from the early 1960s, New Zealand tourism film's boundaries become looser and increasingly difficult to identify and define. Moreover - as will be seen below - the process of incessant hybridisation and contamination with

other film forms will continue to characterise the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and in the new millennium the development of New Zealand tourism film.

4.7 Conclusions

This chapter – through the textual analysis of five case studies covering twenty-five years of film production, the examination of archival documents and the overview of academic sources – has aimed to trace and show the elements of continuity and change that characterised New Zealand tourism film production in the 1941-1966 time frame, with particular reference to the tourism representation of Wellington.

From a thematic point of view, case studies from the 1940s and 1950s mostly tended to repeat earlier conventions in the representation of Wellington such as the intertwining of tourism and colonial promotion in the representation of suburban landscapes and the link between the depiction of Wellington central areas and the celebration of Wellington as an efficient outpost of the Western capitalist world. On the contrary, case studies from the early 1960s onwards are characterised by the identification and use of New Zealand's and especially Wellington's specific character as a tourism promotional tool and by the direct involvement of Wellingtonians in promotion. More broadly – as shown through the examined archival documents - the necessity for a new approach towards the cinematic promotion of New Zealand's main urban areas – namely Auckland and Wellington – fuelled the debate between national institutions and film production companies in the late 1950s/early 1960s.

From a stylistic point of view, from the early 1950s colour began to be used regularly in government tourism film production; from a formal point of view, in the early 1960s New Zealand tourism film started to display the tendency to integrate techniques and characteristics from other film forms, especially documentary and art-film. More specifically, the 1960s can be identified as the starting point of a new era that in the following decades will be even more evidently marked by a continuous process of redefinition of tourism film's boundaries.

The early 1960s represented a turning point also in terms of tourism film's contexts of circulation and platforms of distribution. TV – a new medium – started to be seen as an interesting international platform of distribution and therefore targeted by the NFU; similarly, the NFU started for the first time to enter its tourism films in international film

festivals with the dual aim of promoting New Zealand and affirming national pride and national identity.

As has emerged from this chapter, in an era characterised by a growing degree of complexity, by the remarkable growth of the tourism industry and by the spread of TV, the dynamics of the development of the New Zealand tourism film become increasingly complex and articulated.

CHAPTER FIVE

1967-1991. NEW ZEALAND AND WELLINGTON TOURISM FILM IN THE AGE OF TV: THE LONG ROAD TO ‘ABSOLUTELY POSITIVELY WELLINGTON’

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to trace the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film from 1967, the year following the opening of Auckland International Airport, to 1991, when the *APW* marketing campaign was released, initiating a new era in Wellington’s tourism marketing; it also aims to analyse the broader context of national tourist and film industry, with particular attention on the formal, stylistic and thematic developments of New Zealand tourism film.

This chapter argues that New Zealand tourism film was adapting throughout the late 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s to formal, stylistic and narrative patterns borrowed from both television and art-cinema, expanding at the same time its circulation through an increased variety of platforms of distribution; moreover it highlights how – especially from the mid-1980s – the representation of Wellington starts to be shaped around the manufacturing and promotion of its specific urban lifestyle and local community.

More specifically, it claims that three factors influenced tourism film’s development during this period. First of all, the development of New Zealand screen industries, characterised by the unprecedented collaboration and interpollination between the NFU, the independents and television and by the spread of television narrative conventions such as commercials and news reports, visibly affected tourism film’s formal and narrative characteristics. Secondly, the international tourism boom that followed the opening of Auckland-Mangere airport created new tourism markets that New Zealand tourism films targeted through a variety of distribution platforms: television broadcast, theatrical screening, film festivals, tourist offices, travel clubs, trade legations, embassies, travel agencies and, from the late 1970s, VHS. Moreover, the fragmentation of the tourism offer and the proliferation of new tourism forms during the 1970s and 1980s influenced

New Zealand tourism film, which started to depict an unprecedented variety of locations and leisure activities.

This chapter, through the analysis of five case studies, also argues that Wellington's tourist representation and tourism marketing were characterised, especially from the 1980s onwards, by the manufacture, celebration and promotion of a specific city's lifestyle and a related 'tourist experience' marked by a wider variety of leisure options and by an optimistic, forward-looking and non-conformist attitude. Moreover, it highlights how the active participation and contribution in tourism films of Wellington's local community played an important role in Wellington's tourism films from the mid-1980s/early 1990s.

Similarly to Chapter Two and Chapter Three, this chapter's argument relies on the use and analysis of academic sources and archival documents and on the textual analysis of selected case studies; in addition, it employs information drawn from an interview with New Zealand director Hugh Macdonald. An insider of the New Zealand film industry for decades - employed by the NFU from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s and author of a number of short films, among which multi-awarded *This Is New Zealand* (1970) and *This Auckland* (1967) – Macdonald helps to confirm and contextualise information previously drawn from textual analysis and from the examination of primary and secondary sources. More specifically, the interview provides a profile of New Zealand tourism films' stylistic evolution and patterns of production, distribution and circulation. It also provides a more accurate overview of the NFU in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, with information related to its relationship with New Zealand political power along with a focus on its relationship with television and the independents.

The coexistence of different distribution platforms – cinemas, TV, and, from the late 1970s, VHS – along with the growing focus on New Zealand tourism promotion makes it difficult to quantify the number of tourism/promotional films produced and released in New Zealand in this chapter's time frame. However, what emerged from the examination of archival catalogues is that, from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, tourism films dealt with the capital city of New Zealand only while providing a general overview of the country, whereas, from the mid-1980s and especially in the early 1990s, a tourist focus on Wellington gradually took hold.

The case studies are, in chronological order, *This Is New Zealand* (1970) by the NFU, a promotional film ultimately used for tourism promotion that features the capital city of New Zealand and displays new tendencies in tourism promotion such as the

increasing importance of visual narratives and music and the total disappearance of the voice-over; *It Is Called New Zealand* (1972) by the NFU, a tourism film that reflects in its use of music and voice-over New Zealand tourism film's prevailing stylistic and narrative tendencies of the 1970s; *Promises Promises* (1985) by the NFU - the only tourism film produced in the 1980s that specifically focuses on Wellington -, which represents a stylistic and thematic turning point in the depiction of the city. Indeed its speculations and reflections on the city's future and identity describe Wellington's gradual shift to the neoliberal era. *APW* (1991) by Saatchi & Saatchi, a tourism advertisement that initiates a new age in Wellington's city promotion both on a stylistic and a thematic point of view: its protagonist is Wellington's local community and its use of editing, cinematography and music is innovative. *Visual Symphonies: Wellington* (1991) by TVNZ, a tourism film that – similarly to *APW* - uses a TV format in order to convey a specific image of the city (optimistic, non-conformist, open-minded, inclusive).

I selected these case studies in order to show how in the 1967-1991 period visual texts of different types – promotional films, documentaries, commercials, TV report/shows - were used for place-promotion, place-branding and tourism marketing, becoming tourist promotional tools by systematically manufacturing, presenting and promoting Wellington's local character, its local specificities and its particular local identity. Alongside a reflection on the changing nature of tourism film and on its compatibility and overlapping with this variety of media forms, these case studies reflect the diversity of tourism films' distribution platforms from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s: indeed, one of them was made for the Osaka International Expo (*This is New Zealand*), two for television, one for theatrical projection and one for VHS.

The second section of this chapter focuses on the situation and development of the New Zealand film industry in the time frame 1967-1991. Particular attention is drawn to the relationship between the thematic and stylistic developments of New Zealand fiction and non-fiction and to their influence on tourism film production. The third section traces the development of the national tourism industry, emphasizing its changing patterns in terms of international and domestic tourist flows, the simultaneous emergence of new tourist habits and their connection to broader, global tourist dynamics. The fourth section deals with tourism film production in New Zealand, addressing the role played by political institutions along with tourism film's new thematic approach and its new contexts and patterns of circulation and distribution. The fifth section focuses on the representation and

promotion of New Zealand's urban areas in tourism film. Finally, the sixth section – divided into two subsections, 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 – describes the new tendencies in the tourist representation of Wellington. More specifically, it shows how new formal and narrative ways of “telling” and promoting the capital city of New Zealand became established throughout the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s and how a new tourism marketing strategy began to take hold from the mid-1980s culminating in the 1991 *APW* campaign.

During the twenty-four years covered in this chapter, the New Zealand film industry gains international recognition, while New Zealand increases its importance as an international tourist destination. New Zealand tourist offer starts to be characterised by a growing complexity and diversification in which cities and urban tourism play an increasingly important role, as demonstrated by the developments of Wellington's promotion and tourism marketing. At the same time tourism film explores new narrative, formal and stylistic paths mainly borrowed from television and is circulated through an increasingly wide range of distribution and exhibition platforms.

5.2 Television, the Independents and the NFU. Hybridisation and Mutual Influences in National Tourism Film Production

In the 1960s, the upheaval provoked by the quick rise and spread of television in New Zealand delineated a new situation in terms of national film production. From the early 1960s onwards, for the first time and differently from what had been happening in the previous decades – dominated by the GPO and the NFU – New Zealand screen industries were characterised by the presence of three main players: television itself, the NFU and the independents. The relationship between these three creative sectors was characterised by mutual suspicion and distrust, as Murphy (1996) stressed; however, the presence and importance of television in New Zealand became increasingly pervasive throughout the whole decade. Television broadcasts started in Auckland in June 1960 and television's degree of penetration in New Zealand society became widespread over the second half of the 1960s, as Dunleavy (1999), Churchman (1997) and Innis (1972) noted. Television – besides being the main cause of movie theatres' closure and decline – as a side effect opened up new horizons for both the NFU and the independents, as Lawrence McDonald (2011a) highlights:

As the 1960s went on, television progressed from its rudimentary beginnings to production of more demanding forms of documentary and drama. The need to increase the output of these programmes would have implications for both the NFU and the independents in the decade to come. There would be opportunities for the NFU to redefine itself as more than the maker of government-sponsored tourist and publicity films, while the independents would be offered the chance to move beyond the making of commercials (p. 151).

Television itself also indirectly advanced independent cinema productions by providing independent filmmakers with good quality equipment and trained staff for hire and with the infrastructure that would allow a number of them to work and grow professionally, thus facilitating - as Stephens (1984) - points out, the emergence in the second half of the 1980s of that period of great cinematic turmoil known as the New Zealand New Wave. A similar situation is also described by the NFU director Hugh Macdonald, who claims that, especially at the beginning of television broadcasting in New Zealand, the relationship between the independents, the NFU and television was in fact of mutual exchange. As he states, “television and the independents benefited from having the Unit”. More specifically, the Unit had cameras and sound recorders that “helped the reporters to make the item”. That time was also characterised— as he notes – by rivalry and competition between the NFU and independent companies, especially John O’Shea’s Pacific Films (H. Macdonald, personal communication, December 10, 2016).

From the second half of the 1960s onwards, under the growing influence of television and mainly due to the fast proliferation of TV commercials, the narrative and stylistic boundaries of tourism films further expanded. Even though the arrival and spread of television was later in New Zealand than in other Western countries, from 1961 the first TV commercials were broadcast, quickly becoming a permanent and significant presence with New Zealand audiences (Horrocks, n.d. and Dunleavy, 2014). In the years to come, television was destined to become a fundamental distribution platform of tourism film, both on an international and a national level. Indeed - in an age problematic for New Zealand domestic tourism - a number of New Zealand tourism campaigns and tourism films were specifically conceived and made for television domestic broadcast in order to reverse the negative trends of domestic tourism. They borrowed stylistic elements from TV news reports and television commercials, gradually becoming television commercials themselves, as the *New Zealand Is Yours* series (1973/1974/1975) or *Don’t Leave Home*

Till You've Seen the Country (1984) - both by the Tourist and Publicity Department – demonstrate. On the contrary, NFU's productions such as *It Is Called New Zealand* (1972) and *Promises Promises* (1985) – the former, stylistically ambitious, openly inspired by *This Is New Zealand*, the latter less experimental and more influenced by earlier NFU stylistic conventions - show the persistence and coexistence of different tendencies within the NFU's production in this period.

If on the one hand the role of television and television commercials proved important in reshaping tourism film's stylistic and narrative boundaries, on the other, from the second half of the 1960s, and throughout the 1970s and 1980s, tourism films also started to display unprecedented attention to formal and narrative aspects in the direction of different forms of artistic experimentation and hybridization, as demonstrated by *This Is New Zealand* (1970), a film made by the NFU for the 1970 Osaka Expo. Its different contexts of circulation and reception well exemplify the polysemic nature of tourism film. Indeed, the film was originally meant to be “a hint of information” for the Japanese audience; through its domestic circulation it later became – similarly to NFU's *Glorious New Zealand* and *Romantic New Zealand* in the 1920s and 1930s - a means to construct national pride and national identity, as Hugh Macdonald himself argues in the 2013 documentary *This Was New Zealand*. It finally toured the United States, Canada and Europe, where it was employed as a tourism promotional tool (H. Macdonald, personal communication, December 10, 2016). Lawrence McDonald (2011b) observes how *This Is New Zealand* “represents the apotheosis of this kind of film, which it transports onto a higher plane, becoming a popular and nationalistic spectacle” (p. 157). According to the New Zealand On Screen website, “two million people saw it in Osaka and over 350,000 New Zealanders saw it in its homecoming theatrical release” (This is New Zealand, n.d.).

From 1967 to 1991 tourism films' boundaries expanded both in the direction of television conventions and artistic experimentation. In order to stimulate the growth of domestic tourism, the NFU started to exclusively target national audiences using television as a distribution platform. Simultaneously, both national film and tourism industry grew at a remarkable rate. More specifically, the fast-growing number of international tourists made tourism an increasingly important source of revenue for New Zealand, consequently increasing the importance of tourism marketing and tourism film as a vehicle of tourism promotion.

5.3 International Boom and Domestic Decline. New Tourist Patterns in The Long-Haul Jet Era

Growing tourist flows, new target markets and visible changes in tourist patterns and behaviours characterised the New Zealand tourism industry in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. From the second half of the 1960s onwards, tourism in New Zealand shifted from being a niche industry to one of the most relevant sectors in the national economy. McClure (2004) highlighted its increased importance, emphasizing the expansion of the tourism industry in the 1960s and stressing how it rapidly became one of the mainstays of the New Zealand economy along with traditionally strong sectors such as dairy production, forestry and manufacturing. The quick expansion of tourism in the country was closely connected with the advent of the long-haul jet era and the opening of Auckland International Airport. New Zealand's government played a fundamental role in helping and facilitating these processes. According to McClure (2004),

Once the government had decided that Auckland was the logical gateway to the Pacific, construction began at Mangere in 1960 and the airport was ready for action in 1965. (...) The purchase of jet aircraft, construction of facilities and recruitment of extra airline staff involved huge capital expenditure and marked a major government investment in facilitating trade, promoting New Zealand's identity and expanding the flow of overseas tourists to New Zealand (p. 206).

The advent of wide-bodied jets a few years later allowed an increasing number of tourists to reach New Zealand. According to Collier and Harraway (2006), "advances in aviation technology, in particular the introduction of (...) the wide-bodied jumbo jet in the 1970s, resulted in mass international tourism as air travel became economical, quick and relatively safe and comfortable" (p. 26); Moreover, according to McClure (2004) the spread and dramatic improvements of air travel in the second half of the 1960s also brought for the first time to New Zealand a growing number of overseas publicists and tourist agents.

Along with the changes in the New Zealand tourism industry, the opening of the Auckland-Mangere International Airport in December 1965 redefined the country's national and cultural identity. Indeed, as Howell (2008) notes, "the airport's official opening and the parallel arrival of the jet age exemplifies and brings together a number of issues central to the understanding of locality and New Zealand's imagined relationship to the global". (p. 42); indeed, according to her, the opening of Auckland airport was "an

opportunity to dramatically re-produce, re-present and re-imagine global socio-cultural change and spatial-temporal relations brought about by the advent of the jet aircraft” (p. 45).

In addition to the technological advancements in aviation technology, deep changes in the international economic system also strengthened the role of tourism within the national economy. Indeed, as McClure (2004) and Kitson (1973) stressed, the entry of New Zealand’s main commercial partner - the United Kingdom - in the Economic European Community in 1973 and the consequent decrease in commercial transactions between New Zealand and its former Motherland - suddenly increased the importance of tourism as a possible source of revenue. More specifically – alongside already established markets such as the Australian one – new markets started to be systematically targeted in tourism promotion. The constant growth of East Asian tourist markets as a global phenomenon in the 1970s and 1980s is analysed by Pearce, Morrison and Routledge (1998); its emergence and importance for New Zealand is analysed by Hall and Kearsley (2011), McClure (2004) and Kitson (1973). These three studies emphasise the importance of new tourist markets such as the German and especially the Japanese ones. In the 1970s New Zealand tourist offices were opened – as McClure notes – both in Germany and Japan, following the increasingly high number of arrivals from these two countries. The Japanese market seemed to be especially interested in a country like New Zealand: not too far, unspoilt and not too different from Japan in terms of landscapes, climate and geography. As she points out, one of the NFU’s best known productions from the 1970s - *This is New Zealand* (1970) – technically sophisticated and stylistically ambitious - was used as a promotional tool specifically addressed to the Japanese market and audience: indeed – according to the documentary *This Was New Zealand* (Macdonald, 2011) - it was projected for months at the 1970 Osaka International Expo and achieved great public acclaim before achieving even greater success in New Zealand the following year.

According to Boniface and Cooper (2001) the 1970s and 1980s can be overall considered a period of remarkable growth in New Zealand’s tourist industry. In these two decades, as they argue, “this growth has been achieved, in spite of the remoteness of this small island nation from the world’s major trade routes and centres of population, by successful promotion and development of the country’s resources” (p. 344). While the number of arrivals in New Zealand kept growing until reaching – as Hall and Kearsley (2011) highlighted - 500.000 per year in the mid-1980s, new tendencies and patterns in

tourist behaviours started to gradually emerge. McClure (2004), Hall and Page (1999) and Collier (2011) stress how – especially from the 1970s – landscapes and scenic beauty were no longer sufficient to satisfy and entertain visitors from overseas, even though scenic locations such as Milford Sound were gaining increasing popularity. New facilities and entertainment options were needed – things to do and not just things to see - as well as more quality and professionalism in terms of the hospitality industry. The 1970s and 1980s were globally characterised by a growing focus on the diversification of tourist options, as emphasised by Pearce's (1998) and Pearce, Morrison and Routledge's (1998) works. According to the latter "in tourism the recognition of market segmentation came (...) in the 1970s and 1980s. Today most tourism marketers regard market segmentation as a prerequisite for effective market" (p. 55). According to the global changing nature of tourism, a whole range of new types of tourism – for instance urban, rural and backpacker tourism - started to be promoted in New Zealand.

Particular effort was put into increasing the tourist relevance of national tourist destinations. In the 1980s and early 1990s urban tourism linked to cultural and entertainment options was globally taking hold, as noted by Hall and Pearce (1999) and Hughes (2000). New Zealand was – once again - no exception. Large hotels such as the South Pacific and the Intercontinental in Auckland were opened, according to Collier (2011), in order to accommodate a larger number of tourists. However, the opening of international brand-chained large hotels – as Christoffel (2010) highlights – was not only limited to the main gateway and most populated city of the country - Auckland - but also affected Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Queenstown. A number of recreational options also began to be available in New Zealand cities, especially from the 1980s; Warren & Taylor (2003) consider the opening of Auckland's casino in the 1980s a symbol of New Zealand urban renaissance.

New Zealand tourism experience in the 1970s and 1980s started to be increasingly marked by what Sharpley (2002) defined "the consumption of goods and services" (p. 312), a trend that will become more evident - as will be seen in Chapter Five – in the 1990s and 2000s. Alongside the emphasis on the promotion of urban tourism, the 1970s and especially the 1980s saw the emergence of new tourist trends such as wilderness tourism, whose importance is highlighted by Hall and Page (1999), farm tourism, whose development in the 1980s is traced by Pearce (1990), Māori tourism which – as Young (1989) notes - knew in the 1980s a strong and unprecedented boom and, as Christoffel (2010) stressed,

backpacker tourism. In terms of international tourist flows, the 1980s mostly confirm previously existing trends. According to Hamilton (1988), the unstoppable growth of international tourism throughout the 1980s was mainly driven by new Asian and European markets such as Japan, that even surpassed the United Kingdom in terms of arrivals, Singapore and Germany. South East Asia continued to be constantly targeted by tourist promotion, as Page (1989) highlighted; as a consequence - as Hall and Page (1999) showed - arrivals from South Korea soared in the late 1980s and early 1990s, making it a new, important market. Collier (2011) stressed how the number of international arrivals in New Zealand kept constantly growing at least until the beginning of the Persian Gulf War in 1990, when they temporarily decreased for the first time.

The positive trends of international tourism were counterblanced by the difficulties of domestic tourism, that fell significantly throughout the 1970s and the 1980s: in fact – as Collier (2011) also observed, even though tourism campaigns specifically addressed to the domestic market were released in the country by the Tourism and Publicity Department, the number of domestic overnight holidays kept constantly decreasing until the end of the 1980s. Hamilton (1988) also deals with the situation of domestic tourism in the 1980s, highlighting its gradual and unstoppable decline and providing negative projections for the years to come. Similarly, she discusses the decline in the number of New Zealand urban tourist destinations (with the only exception of Auckland).

The late 1980s/early 1990s were finally marked by deep institutional changes in terms of national tourism management, as Collier (2011), Pearce, Morrison and Routledge (1998) and Treloar and Hall (2005) stress. While the New Zealand Ministry of Tourism continued to be the government department in charge of policy and research, in 1991, ninety years after the foundation of the Department of Tourism and Health Resorts in 1901 and twenty-four years after the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism itself in 1967, a brand-new institution - the New Zealand Tourism Board (NZTB) – was created by the National Government. The NZTB mostly took charge of the marketing of New Zealand and promoted it overseas as a tourist destination. Hall and Kearsley (2011) describe its role as follows: the NZTB “ensures that New Zealand is marketed as a visitor destination to maximise long-term benefits to New Zealand, develops, implements and promotes strategies for tourism; and advises government and industry on the development, promotion and implementation of those strategies” (p. 79). According to McClure, the NZTB initiated a new and more effective era in national tourism promotion, a sector

previously marked by strong fragmentation. In her words “with the challenge of creating a fresh image of New Zealand, the new era of the Board was about to begin” (p. 267). NZTB’s goal - three million tourists per year by the year 2000 – gave an idea of the great optimism and ambition that characterised the New Zealand tourist sector in the early 1990s after forty years of almost unstoppable growth.

The developments of the national tourist industry clearly influenced tourism film production. Indeed – as noted in the following section - the distribution of New Zealand tourism films in this period closely reflects the reality of constantly growing tourist markets. Furthermore, the tendency towards the tourist product’s diversification is reflected by the unprecedented variety of tourist options they display and promote.

5.4 Television Circulation, Theatrical Distribution and Film Festivals: The International Spread of New Zealand Tourism Films

During the first half of the 1960s New Zealand tourism films began to feature – as noted in Chapter Three – elements such as the interpollination between tourism promotion and fictional narratives and the use of techniques borrowed from documentary film and news reports. Moreover, it started to display the emergence of a meditative, reflexive tone in the voice-over and the total disappearance of the voice-over itself, as shown in important NFU and Pacific Film productions. This gradual redefinition of tourism film’s narrative, stylistic characteristics continued and became increasingly stronger and more evident throughout the second half of the 1960s, the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s.

New Zealand’s air connection with the rest of the world, related images of air transport – more specifically aircrafts landing and taking off at national airports – and the emphasis on the quality of the national airline, Air New Zealand, started to play an even more important role in a number of productions from the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. NFU’s *Come on to NZ* (1980) opens with an animated sequence featuring planes and the noise of a takeoff as a background sound; in this film, specifically conceived for the American audience, the efficiency and frequency of flights from the west coast of the United States to New Zealand is strongly emphasised as well as the number of different air companies flying to New Zealand. In the NFU’s earlier *C’mon to New Zealand* (1969), made for Australian circulation, the quality of Air New Zealand’s service is openly celebrated. According to the voice-over “Air New Zealand really looks after you. (...)”

They dine you and wine you”. Scenes and images related to New Zealand’s air connection with the rest of the world also feature in *About New Zealand* (1968), *Good Times Two* (1968), *This Is New Zealand* (1970), *New Zealand Is Yours* (1974), *Right Next Door* (1985) and *Impressions of New Zealand* (1985).

Alongside the focus on air connections, aspects such as the representation of the diversity and variety of entertainment options and the depiction of new types of tourism gradually took hold. New Zealand’s urban nightlife, that – as noted in Chapter Two – had featured for the first time in local tourism films in the early 1930s, occasionally reappearing in the following three decades, became a constant presence from the late 1960s onwards. Nightlife in all its nuances – from classy to ethnic restaurants, from striptease clubs to discotheques, from theatre plays to concerts – was celebrated and promoted in a number of well known NFU productions such as *This Is New Zealand*, *Promises Promises*, *Come on to New Zealand* and the almost homonymous *C’mon to New Zealand*, *Good Times Two*, *Impressions of New Zealand* and *New Zealand Is Yours*, and continued to play an important role in New Zealand’s tourism promotion until the early 1990s, as clearly shown by the APW television advertisement discussed later in this chapter.

During the 24 year period at the centre of this chapter and along with the depiction of New Zealand as a young and entertaining tourist destination for nightlife lovers, the gradual emergence of new types of tourist habits and behaviours also started to play an increasingly important role in tourism film production. Indeed, besides being a destination for both young and older tourists, New Zealand was also promoted as the right place for family holidays. As previously noted, emphasis is placed on the concept of local and authentic: in *Right Next Door*, an Australian family travels all around the country by campervan, thus discovering and enjoying ‘real New Zealand’: a chat with Barry Crump, playing a local fisherman at a rural pub and a lunch on the rocks with freshly caught fish fully embody the spirit of an ‘authentic holiday’ far from the main tourist routes and the constraints of organised tours. *Come on to New Zealand*, while emphasizing all the different tourist and entertainment options available, specifically focuses on farm tourism as a way to live with and like the locals. It also promotes extreme outdoor activities – helicopter tours, motorboat races, hang gliding – as a potential and attractive tourist option. New Zealand tourism promotion seems to gradually distance itself from better established types of tourism – organised coach tours, scenic tours and ski holidays – to promote emerging and alternative ways of travelling.

From the mid/late 1960s, the increased narrative, stylistic and thematic complexity of tourism films went hand in hand with the emergence of different contexts and modes of circulation. A number of NFU tourism films were conceived and made throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in order to target specific international markets such as the Australian, the American, the Japanese and the New Zealand domestic market itself. Besides their usual focus on English speaking countries, more and more frequently tourism films started to address non-anglophone markets – especially in Europe and Asia - and had to rely on voice-over commentary translations. Tourist promotional campaigns also started to target specific market segments such as young or middle-aged people. Moreover, as a consequence of the worldwide spread of television, more and more tourism films started to be exclusively conceived for television circulation while others originally made for cinematic projection were adapted to this new medium or purchased by television networks for television broadcasting. Even if with changing fortunes – as the cases of *Good Times Two* (1968) and *This Auckland* (1967) demonstrate – NFU tourism films continued to participate in important film festivals and competitions in Europe, Asia and America. Finally, new players such as Air New Zealand and New Zealand National Air Corporation (NAC), New Zealand's international and national airlines, respectively, started to be directly involved in New Zealand tourism promotion. Hugh Macdonald thus describes tourism films' context of circulation throughout the 1960s and 1970s,

Tourism films were circulated in New Zealand High Commissions and Trade Legations (...) They had cinematic release mostly in Australia and the UK but occasionally they got in the American market and quite a few ended up to be in French language versions and other European languages versions and they would run cinematically as well and that probably finished by about the end of the 1970s (...) about that stage the cinemas were not running shorts. (H. Macdonald, personal communication, December, 10, 2016).

From the early 1980s onwards, as he also points out, the circulation of tourist films mostly involved – besides New Zealand High Commissions and Trade Legations – also travel clubs and travel agencies; copies in 16 mm and in VHS were specifically made for this purpose. (H. Macdonald, personal communication, December, 10, 2016).

The existing archival documents related to three important NFU tourism films, *Good Times Two*, *C'mon to New Zealand* and *This Auckland*, help to further and more thoroughly trace New Zealand tourism films' patterns of circulation in the 1960s and the

1970s. What clearly emerges is that in the age of the television boom, theatrical distribution still continued to play a very important role.

The NFU had high hopes for *Good Times Two* and it seemed to be very optimistic in terms of its reception and public success. This feeling was clearly expressed in a letter dated 10th of September 1968 and sent by Shennan, NFU assistant manager, to the New Zealand High Commission in London. According to him, “(...) this production could become another *Amazing New Zealand*. This is how we feel about it at the moment” (Shennan, 1968). Two weeks later – the 23rd of September - Shennan decided to probe through the New Zealand High Commission in London the possibility of theatrical distribution. In Shennan’s words,

(...) We would be grateful if you could explore the possibilities of theatrical distribution and presumably you will try Columbia first and go down the line. Universal and Paramount in New York have indicated that they are interested in taking one reelers for U.S.A. (...) *Good Times Two* could be maybe one of these (Shennan, 1968).

At the end of the 1960s New Zealand itself along with English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and South Africa still seemed to be New Zealand tourism film’s preferred target markets. On the 30th of October of the same year, the New Zealand High Commission Public Relation Officer informed Scott, NFU’s General Manager, that Columbia had unexpectedly rejected the film and he would therefore try to contact Universal and Paramount as agreed one month earlier (New Zealand High Commission Public Relation Officer, 1968). In the meantime, the correspondence between Putman, Films Officer of the Tourism and Publicity Department and Kellenbrock from A.E.K. Distributors shows how a contract for the distribution of *Good Times Two* had been concluded in South Africa (Putman, 1968); similarly, the correspondence between Scott, NFU’s General Manager and Carey, General Manager of Universal Pictures in Australia, demonstrates how this film in the first half of 1969 was being distributed in Australia through Universal Pictures (Scott, 1969).

Besides the efforts to penetrate overseas markets through important and well-known production and distribution companies, domestic circulation continued to play a very important role. At the end of 1968 Shennan wrote to Croft from International Film Distributors in Auckland in order to find national distribution for *Good Times Two* (Shennan, 1968); eighteen days later the contract was concluded (Croft, 1968). Four-and-

a-half months later Croft himself sent to the NFU *Good Times Two*'s national projection schedule, which not only included all the major New Zealand cities but also such minor centres as Waimate, Oamaru and Point Chevalier (Croft, 1969).

Along with the constant efforts of reaching domestic and overseas audiences through theatrical distribution, television also started to be targeted even more systematically than before. Indeed, the NFU tried to sell - through the New Zealand High Commission in London - *Good Times Two* to an English television network, Yorkshire Television Limited, which rejected the offer, describing the film as follows:

The photography is superb, but the commentary is so unsatisfactory from any point of view that the film would not stand a chance, even on stand by. However, if the film could be supplied with a music and effects track only, I think it would be worth showing to our head of presentation, who has to make the final decision anyway (Mountford, 1969).

Rather than losing the opportunity of television broadcasting in Britain, two weeks later the NFU was willing to accept Mountford's advice. the NFU's General Manager Scott's idea was to completely replace the harshly criticised commentary with music and sound in order to make it attractive for both English television and continental Europe: indeed, without voice-over commentary, translations were no longer necessary and the film could be more easily and widely circulated outside the anglophone world (Scott, 1968).

The NFU also started to plan television circulation quite soon for *C'mon to New Zealand*, a tourism film originally conceived and made for the convention of the Australian Federation of Travel Agents. In fact, the very positive reception of the film within the community of Australian travel agents encouraged the producers to explore and target other distribution channels – more specifically television and international film festivals. However, in order to become attractive for television networks, the fifteen minute long film had to be cut and made suitable for television broadcast. In September 1969, Fowler – NFU's Assistant Producer – contacted Scott in order to agree on a number of amendments and cuts that would turn the tourism film into a sixty/ninety seconds television commercial for Australian broadcasting (Fowler, 1969). Two months later Campbell - the Tourist and Publicity Department Tourist Promotion Executive Officer – in a letter addressed to Scott reiterated the need for a wider circulation for *C'mon to New Zealand*. In his words

In its present form the *C'mon to New Zealand* is suitable for screening only to travel agencies but the film has been so well received that the Department feels it should

be adapted for general consumer screenings. This would not involve any amendments on the pictorial side, but it would be necessary to re-record a new commentary and to dub this in (Campbell, 1969).

Along with television circulation, the participation of New Zealand tourism films in international film festivals became increasingly important in the late 1960s – early 1970s. Although with little success, *Good Times Two* was sent to both British Film Academy Awards and Discover the Pacific – A Festival of Films, as the correspondence between the NFU's Assistant Manager Shennan and the New Zealand High Commission in London (Shennan, 1968) and – again – between Shennan and Plake, Executive Director at the Pacific Area Travel Association (Shennan, 1968) demonstrate. However, this ambitious and formally quite innovative tourism film did not meet the tastes of the juries and did not reach the final in either of the two film festivals. Similarly, *C'mon to New Zealand* was sent to various film festivals. At the beginning of 1970, Searl, Tourism and Publicity Department's Film Officer, in a letter sent to Scott, in order to discuss the participation of this tourism film in the Phnom Penh Festival, explained the importance of constantly targeting international film festivals. According to him, "Whilst we are always pleased to win an award, our main purpose of entering films in festivals is to have New Zealand represented and to take advantage of the often considerable and influential audiences who view these films" (Searl, 1970). NFU's General Manager Scott, while writing to Hall, Publicity Representative of the Tourist and Publicity Office, strongly supported the participation of *C'mon to New Zealand* in the Australian Federation of Travel Agents' Film Festival (Scott, 1969); one year later NFU's Assistant Manager Shennan contacted Nemec, Director of the International Film Festival of Tourist Trade Publicity Films held in Hradec Králové, Czechoslovakia, in order to confirm *C'mon to New Zealand's* participation (Shennan, 1970); a couple of months later, Sperber, film coordinator of the San Francisco International Film Festival wrote to NFU's staff to confirm *C'mon to New Zealand's* acceptance into that festival (Sperber, 1970).

The 1967 NFU's film *This Auckland* had better luck than both *Good Times Two* and *C'mon to New Zealand* in terms of international recognition. The NFU – confident in the quality of the film – systematically targeted a number of film festivals. Hughan, NFU's Producer, in a letter sent to the New Zealand High Commission in London described the effort of targeting international film festivals. According to him,

We are giving *This Auckland* quite a thrashing at the film festivals, but it is a light and breezy film and very popular, in addition to entering it at Vancouver and Hollywood we are putting it in for the Pacific Area Travel Association Festival (Hughan, 1967).

The correspondence that Hughan had with the New Zealand Embassy in Belgium proves the participation of this film in the Brussels International Film Week (Hughan, 1967)⁶. NFU's efforts were finally rewarded. In September 1967, Luigi Chiarini, Director of the Venice International Film Festival, informed the NFU of the success of *This Auckland*, awarded the Plaque Lion of St. Mark (Chiarini, 1968). In October, 1968 Nemec, Director of Tourfilm 1968, held in Czechoslovakia, informed the NFU that *This Auckland* had been awarded a prize for its "advertising efficacy" (Nemec, 1968).

Along with its circulation within the film festival's network, the NFU and the Tourist and Publicity Department also continued to look for theatrical distribution both in New Zealand and overseas. The NFU's General Manager Scott expressed interest inspreading *This Auckland* overseas in a letter addressed to the New Zealand High Commissioner in London. In his words, "It does appear to me that *This Auckland* would be a suitable subject for commercial exploitation. Probably the best approach would be to Columbia, which you could arrange in London" (Scott, 1967). Several months later, a contract was concluded with Columbia Pictures itself for the theatrical circulation of the film in the United Kingdom, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Greece, Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark (Scott, 1968); according to the letter sent by the New Zealand High Commission to Columbia "the royalty payable in respect of the rights herein granted shall be 300 pounds" (the New Zealand High Commissioner, 1968). In 1969, after obtaining distribution in most of continental Europe, the New Zealand High Commission in London and the NFU were in touch to arrange a French translation of the film, as the correspondance between New Zealand High Commissioner and the NFU's General Manager Scott (the New Zealand High Commissioner, 1969) and between the NFU's Assistant Manager Shennan and the New Zealand High Commissioner (Shennan, 1969) displays. A contract was also concluded in terms of domestic distribution and circulation with Rank Film Distributors in Auckland (Scott, 1967); in the meantime Scott had been constantly in touch with the New Zealand Government Tourist Office in Sydney to find a

⁶ Another letter that he sent to the New Zealand High Commission in London shows that the film was also sent to the Hollywood Oscar Awards (Hughan, 6th of November, 1967).

good distributor for Australia (Scott, 1967). Besides film festivals, television and big production and distribution companies, New Zealand tourist offices overseas were also involved in the promotion and circulation of New Zealand tourism film: Kerr, New Zealand Government Tourist Officer in New York, aware of *This Auckland's* promotional potential, was constantly in touch with Scott in order to find effective distribution channels in the United States (Kerr, 1967).

As previously highlighted, air transport spread massively in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the number of flights to New Zealand. As a consequence, airline companies also started to be increasingly interested in tourism film as a promotional channel. As Bowie – NFU's producer stated in a letter sent to Hamilton, Advertising Supervisor at CWH Hamilton & Co Ltd - *C'mon to New Zealand* "was made in conjunction with the National Airways Corporation". *Good Times Two's* success in Australia convinced Air New Zealand to contact the NFU. In a letter addressed to Scott, McNicoll, Air New Zealand Special Promotion Controller showed interest in the *Good Times Two's* Australian projection schedule explaining that

already through devious sources we have heard of the tremendous plug given to Air New Zealand in the closing stages of *Good Times Two*, and, although I have not as yet had the pleasure of viewing the film, look forward to doing so shortly" (Air New Zealand, 1969).

British Overseas Airways Corporation's advertising agents in Canada were interested in having a copy of *This Auckland* to use for promotional purposes; Scott arranged the film's shipment (Scott, 1969).

The remarkable growth of the tourism industry in the period 1967-1991 – mostly caused by the advancements in aviation technology - increased government and Air New Zealand's efforts to target new tourist markets through tourism film. Television broadcasting started to be regularly targeted both nationally and internationally and tourism film gradually adapted to TV stylistic and narrative conventions. The focus on international circulation through a variety of different platforms such as travel agencies, embassies, as well as international film festivals, became stronger and more constant. Finally, in an age of marketing segmentation and diversification of the tourist offer, a number of promotional themes emerged. Urban tourism began to play an important role and New Zealand urban space started to be depicted as increasingly attractive and appealing.

5.5 Urban Appeal and Cities' Character: The Increasing Importance of New Zealand Cities in National Tourism Film Production

At the end of the 1960s, *About New Zealand* (1968) - one of the hybrid NFU productions that aimed to provide viewers with general information about New Zealand promoting at the same time the country's lifestyle and beauty – opens with scenes depicting the hustle and bustle of New Zealand's urban life. Images of a busy city street, presumably in Auckland, crowded with hundreds of pedestrians and cars, were chosen to match the voice-over commentary: "65% of New Zealanders work and live in the cities". The anonymous flow of people unknowingly captured in their everyday business is described as "ordinary New Zealand citizens in an ordinary New Zealand street". Interestingly, in 1968 the "ordinary" New Zealander was represented and defined as urbanised. According to Hugh Macdonald, the growing popularity of the urban theme in tourism promotion was a reflection of profound changes in New Zealanders' self-perception. In fact, during the 1950s and 1960s the country was evidently and deeply changing. In his words, "we did not see ourselves any longer as being a nation of farmers" (H. Macdonald, private communication, December 10, 2016).

The increasing importance of urban tourism throughout the 1970s and 1980s has been globally recognised since the early 1980s and tackled by Kolb (2006), Page and Hall (2003) and Nowacki and Zmyslony (2011). According to the latter,

(...) it was connected with the need of the revitalization of city centres, the developments and diversification of cultural activities in the cities as well as with the increased consumer interest in the heritage and urban development of cities with the pursuit of new forms of activities and services offered for tourists (p. 10).

In New Zealand, this growing focus on cities as an exciting provider of a number of tourist activities seems to have its roots in the late 1960s-1970s.

From the late 1960s, the effort to depict New Zealand's urban areas as places as lively and attractive as possible was consciously planned. This is clearly shown in a production sheet for NFU's *Good Times Two* (1968). Michael Ryan – *Good times two's* director – asked Creed, from the Tourist Government Bureau in Auckland, for a shot depicting central Queen Street for its film. In Ryan's words, this shot should feature "Queen Street – looking down towards the wharves. Maximum crowd and traffic. The point of this shot is to make look Auckland like a dynamic metropolis (!)" (Ryan, 1968). Hugh

Macdonald himself – *This Auckland*'s director – confirms how one of the film's main goals was to depict Auckland as a dynamic city (H. Macdonald, personal communication, 10 December, 2016).

Urban modernity, however, unlike in the previous decades, was not only celebrated through the representation of daring vertical architecture, urban transport and hectic city traffic. As previously highlighted, from the mid-1960s, New Zealand cities and urban life started to be depicted as an exciting collection of different entertainment options. This unprecedented emphasis on the 'things to do' rather than on 'the things to see' played an important role in the above-mentioned *About New Zealand*, which features scenes of cultural life – art galleries, theatres – along with inevitable scenes of suburban beach leisure. In other contemporary tourism films/advertisements a specific focus on local urban nightlife became a pivotal element in promotion. In *New Zealand Is Yours – Nightlife* (1974), urban nightlife with all its different entertainment options – night clubs, restaurants, pubs, discotheques – is a valid reason in itself to promote New Zealand cities; *C'mon to New Zealand* (1969) goes even further, featuring a scene of uncommon and unprecedented audacity: a topless stripper dancing at a strip club. *Good Times Two* (1968), and *This Is New Zealand* (1970) also linger on nightlife scenes. If *This is New Zealand* was originally conceived and made for Japanese circulation and *C'mon to New Zealand* specifically addressed the Australian market, in *Good Times Two*, the promotion of urban nightlife is specifically used to attract young tourists and more particularly young Australians.

This sense of market differentiation became increasingly clear throughout the 1970s and 1980: emphasis was put on different tourist attractions depending on the targeted countries. Interestingly, in the films conceived for and circulated in the American market, the emphasis on urban nightlife tended to disappear. On the contrary, the focus was on the small size, tranquility and safety of New Zealand's urban centres. According to NFU's 1980 *Come on to New Zealand*'s voice-over commentary, New Zealand "is a safe country, you can walk without being molested. (...) Our cities are not so large that they engulf you". In 1974 Pacific Films' *Rollin thru New Zealand with Kenny Rogers*, Kenny Rogers' band members – besides openly valuing New Zealand's rural idyll and quality of life – highlight the paucity of its nightlife scene; NFU's *Right Next Door* – a tourism film for the Australian market that barely mentioned cities – rather than focusing on the hectic pace of New Zealand city nightlife, described the country as the right place to escape from the crowd and the stress of modern life.

Similar to the previously analysed time period, the time frame 1967-1991 also presented contradictory tendencies in terms of urban representation. As already noted, New Zealand tourism film either represents the country as modern and highly urbanised or as basically rural and far-away from the stress of contemporary life. Moreover, the dichotomous representation of city and suburbs that characterised part of tourism film production in the period 1941-1966 is also repeated. Although the expansion and rise of New Zealand cities is celebrated in *About New Zealand* through the depiction of construction sites and shining glass and concrete skyscrapers, New Zealanders – according to the voice-over commentary – do not want to live “on top of each other”, preferring traditional suburban houses to modern blocks of flats. Also, *This Auckland* contrasts urban to suburban life and urban to suburban landscape. Quality of life is here evidently linked to the suburban world. Scenes depicting city centre life go hand in hand with the voice-over commentary, that describes Auckland as a “city of design and disorder” as a “technologically advanced city” and as a contemporary, expanding metropolis facing a number of problems. It is also – however – a city with a high standard of living, as the scenes featuring wealthy suburbs aim to demonstrate. Idyllic images of suburban life also characterise *This is New Zealand* and *It Is Called New Zealand*. In these two films emphasis is no longer on the suburban sprawl depicted through moving aerial shots. On the contrary, suburban landscape is mostly celebrated from the inside: the former features a slow tracking shot of detached suburban houses, their private swimming pools and their lush private gardens; the latter provides a quite similar representation of the suburban ‘quarter acre paradise’ conveying a wealthy, attractive and reassuring image of suburbia: in this ideal world people are doing their gardening or relaxing in the sun or returning home, slowly driving their cars on their own private front driveways. Once again, suburbs are depicted as tranquil and wealthy areas far away from fast-paced urban life. In the early 1970s the celebration of New Zealand’s ‘suburbia’ is still an integral part of tourism promotion.

The period 1967-1991 also increasingly led to a redefinition of Wellington and Auckland’s tourist identity. Important New Zealand urban centres such as Christchurch and Dunedin were - even in the 1980s - depicted and promoted according to a well-established formula (English and Scottish cultural heritage, respectively), as the 1985 *New Zealand Video Tours: Christchurch* and *New Zealand Video Tours: Dunedin* by Reynolds Film and Video Productions’: demonstrate. On the contrary, the video from the same series

dedicated to Auckland, *New Zealand Video Tours: Auckland* (1984), shows how the tourist promotion of the largest New Zealand city had been changing from the late 1960s, to the mid-1980s. Back in 1967, *This Auckland*, albeit repeating some of the strong promotional themes of early/mid-1960s – Auckland as a modern and complex metropolis, the only New Zealand metropolitan area, the “most advanced New Zealand city”, according to the voice-over – starts to shape a new tourist identity. If the coming of age of Wellington’s tourism promotion can be identified in the manufacturing and representation of its specific character - as shown in NFU’s 1966 *Toehold on a Harbour* - similarly *This Auckland* lays the foundations of a new era for Auckland’s tourism.

First of all, landscape and climate play a considerable role also in the shaping of Auckland’s own character. Wellington’s weather is windy and unpredictable; Auckland’s is subtropical, hot/humid and similarly unpredictable. It’s a sunny city overall, compared to Wellington: *This Auckland* emphasises these climatic conditions, highlighting the importance of the relationship between Aucklanders and the sea. Suburban Aucklanders find relief from summer heat either in their own private or in public swimming pools or, again, on suburban beaches crowded with people of all ages; boat culture - a very important trait of Auckland’s urban culture and tourist representation directly linked to its morphology and climate – is openly celebrated in some of the final shots of the film. Auckland’s mild and warm climate and its related outdoor lifestyle are not the only elements of the city’s emerging personality. Its peculiar morphology becomes an integral part of its specific character. If Wellington’s rugged and hilly landscape became a promotional tool in *Toehold on a Harbour*, lush volcanic soil, sixty extinct volcanic cones and Rangitoto Island became Auckland’s distinctive and iconic elements. Seventeen years later, in 1984, another tourism film exclusively focused on Auckland - *New Zealand Video Tours: Auckland* (1984) – recalls the same promotional themes – volcanic landscape, boat culture and colourful sails in the harbour, suburban beaches, mild climate and the omnipresence of water – even though with some minor variations. In fact, the fast pace of city life is no longer emphasised: according to this film’s voice-over commentary, visitors find Auckland “peaceful and pleasurable” and enjoy “quiet corners even in the heart of the city”. This new approach to Auckland’s promotion paid off. As noted in the Introduction, Auckland – traditionally branded as ‘the City of Sails’ and whose tourist reputation and popularity had been in the previous decades stronger than Wellington’s - further increased

the number of its visitors during the 1980s (Chalmers & Hall, 1989; Hall & Kearsley, 2001; Lawton & Page, 1997).

Hugh Macdonald traces the making of *This Auckland*, remembering how its first version was actually made by NFU cameraman Lynton Diggle. However, since Diggle's version proved in fact not to work very well, the task of completing it was given to Hugh Macdonald himself. According to him, he was given by the NFU and by the Tourism and Publicity Department total freedom to choose the style, approach and contents he preferred. As he says, "The only way I restructured that, was to make a light, entertaining film". In fact, Macdonald's tone was not greatly appreciated by Aucklanders. Indeed, according to him, "they detested it up there" because "it did not treat Auckland as a serious subject". *This Auckland* is characterised by a humorous, entertaining and light-hearted tone and by attention to detail. Indeed, in Macdonald's opinion, in order to achieve its promotional goal, a tourism film should entertain and engage rather than just providing the viewers with a list of information. As he points out,

people are not going to be entertained by something that is told very seriously without any hint of humour (...) If it's funny they're going to remember it (...) I treated tourist film like any other assignment I was given, that is to make it visually interesting and to capture people's attention by the right use of the right music which would capture whatever mood that you wanted to give to them and also, overall make it interesting and entertaining (H. Macdonald, personal communication, December 10, 2016).

Parallel to this 'new wave' in tourism promotion embodied by Hugh Macdonald's work, the process of the manufacture and marketing of New Zealand urban identities reached a more advanced stage in the period 1967-1991. The effort to depict New Zealand cities in tourism films as attractive places was planned and urban tourism promotion became increasingly multi-faceted, featuring new elements such as entertainment options and night-life, while the traditional juxtaposition between 'the urban' and 'the suburban', the vertical city and the suburban sprawl continued throughout the 1970s.

5.6 From Art Film to TV Ads, From Reflection to Action. The Multifaceted Nature of Wellington Tourism Film Between 1966 and 1991

5.6.1 Creative, Interesting, Nonconformist, Unique: Wellington's Lifestyle As a Thematic Cornerstone in Tourism Promotion

As noted in Chapter One, the situation of domestic tourism and national urban destinations during the 1980s was problematic. At the end of this decade, despite the efforts made to make New Zealand cities more attractive from a tourist point of view, Wellington still seemed to be affected by tourists' lack of appreciation. A survey by the Wellington City Information Centre and Public Relations Office (1989) evidently reflected this state of affairs: the capital city of New Zealand, according to tourists' and visitors' descriptions, was characterised until the very end of the 1980s by a lack of weekend attractions and nightlife. The most valued tourist attractions had remained the same since the beginning of the century: the Cable Car, Parliament Buildings and the Mount Victoria lookout. No one mentioned the waterfront, nightlife city's cafés as tourist attractions. Similarly, in 1994 NZTB's pamphlet *An Invitation to Invest in New Zealand*, Wellington is not even mentioned as a strategic tourist location. It simply did not exist from a tourism point of view. However, the domestic and international tourists' perception of Wellington started to change in the early 1990s; this trend was reflected in a well-conceived and well-realised promotional strategy.

Saatchi & Saatchi's APW (1991) television tourism/promotional advertisement was the culmination of a place branding campaign originating between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s in Wellington's two local newspapers, the *Dominion Post* and the *Evening Post*. The 1980s, besides being a difficult time for the local tourist scene - as the above-mentioned 1989 survey has shown - also coincided with a period of economic downturn that started at the beginning of the decade, as Leotta and O'Regan (2014) and Page (1996) highlighted. Indeed, according to Paul Elenio (2014), "In the aftermath of the 1987 share market crash, the economy took a sharp dive and Wellington, in particular, was affected as dozens of companies shifted their head offices to Auckland and elsewhere" (p. 184). The marketing campaign - as Elenio also noted - quickly gained the support of politics and institutions; Hall (2014) noted how its main goal was to rebrand the city, increasing at the same time Wellingtonians' self-esteem and civic pride in a dark age of

economic recession and uncertain perspectives. Positively Wellington Tourism (PWT)'s website synthesises *APW*'s origins:

In 1991 the local newspaper and design agency Saatchi & Saatchi created a campaign celebrating innovative business endeavour - 'Absolutely Positively Wellington' (APW). The campaign didn't just speak to the corporate community as was the original plan, it was embraced by the people of Wellington. They fell in love with their city all over again. The initial local print campaign soon expanded into a national television campaign. ("The Absolutely Positively Wellington legacy", n.d.)

The APW campaign was conceived and created – according to Elenio (2014) and *The Dominion Post* (2014) – by the *Dominion Post* and *Evening Post*'s advertising manager Ty Dallas and by the advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi's Chief Executive Kim Wicksteed in order to improve Wellington's dull, bureaucratic and overall negative image. It rapidly gained remarkable national popularity and an unexpected international resonance. On the one hand, according to the above-mentioned *Dominion Post* article, the campaign "ushered in an era when our café scene began to flourish, Courtenay Place was being transformed into party central, and our tired civic sector was being upgraded". On the other hand, "by the early 1990s the city's skyline of cranes on construction sites had all but disappeared, unemployment was high, and companies were closing their doors" ("Wellington remains absolutely positive", 2014).

However, this deep change in New Zealand's capital city's identity and promotion strategies was not sudden or totally unexpected. Indeed, a NFU production - *Promises Promises* (1985) - can be legitimately considered as the forerunner of this new marketing approach, centred mainly on the celebration of Wellington's urban culture through the depiction of scenes taken from the local community's everyday life and featuring its preferred places and socialization habits. This tourism film, in fact, already quite explicitly featured most of the elements that six years later would shape and characterise the *APW* marketing campaign. *Promises Promises*, besides providing the audience with a celebration of Wellington's lifestyle, shows an unprecedented focus on the future. Eighteen years after the release of the NFU's *Toehold on a Harbour* (1966) – a period of time characterised by the sporadic presence of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films – the capital city of New Zealand became the protagonist again.

As highlighted in Chapter Three, *Toehold on a Harbour* was characterised by the manufacturing and marketing of a Wellington-specific character shaped on its unique morphology and unpredictable weather; *Promises Promises*, while recalling some of these promotional elements, introduces new themes in Wellington's tourist marketing. In some of its scenes, the wind in the city centre is so strong that it prevents people from walking straight and even knocks down pedestrians; big waves crash on a southern suburban coastal road while apparently unconcerned cars pass through. Moreover, similarly to its 1966 forerunner, *Toehold on a Harbour*, *Promises Promises* also features scenes of suburban coastal leisure. The suburban beach still remains Wellingtonians' favourite playground, as a view of overcrowded Scorching Bay and scenes depicting people engaged in water sports seem to demonstrate; images showing urban traffic and the hectic pace of urban life go - once again - hand in hand with images of suburban relaxation and rough weather. However - even though this 1985 NFU production uses some promotional elements - Wellington's weather, its landscape, its suburban beaches - previously used in Wellington tourism films, the content and tone of its voice-over narration along with the emergence of new themes embody the beginning of a new era in Wellington tourism marketing.

At the dawn of Wellington's neoliberal era and in an age of deep socioeconomic transformations, this film mostly tries to set new standards, challenges and goals for Wellington and Wellingtonians in the years to come, promoting an optimistic, forward-looking philosophy. The voice-over narration's tone is allusive, metaphorical, indirect, insisting upon abstract categories such as hope, imagination, courage and dreams. The film's opening sentence - pronounced by a reflective, mature and reassuring male voice - focuses on the idea of Wellington's future: "Everyone, everywhere has visions for the future; a capital city like Wellington looks ahead a lot". "Exploring, considering, imagining" are the key points of this new attitude. According to the voice-over narration, the capital city of New Zealand is characterised by an intrinsic, unstoppable dynamism: "Nothing stands still; in places like Wellington things change". This statement matches scenes of urban life and changing weather. Soon after, scenes of crowded ethnic restaurants, pubs and cafés are used - for the first time in Wellington's tourist promotion - to introduce notions of style, or, rather, urban lifestyle: according to the voice-over, "in the end the round of expectations sets a certain style and style fashions all our hopes and aspirations", while images of busy city centre hairdressing salons and clothes shops convey a reflection on trends: "Setting a trend takes a kind of courage and ambition".

Imagination, hopes, aspirations and dreams; dynamism, style and trend: the first half of *Promises Promises*' narrative centres on similar semantic fields. Scenes of horse races and horse race betting, scenes of public auctions and stock exchange, scenes of pedestrians hit by sudden gusts of wind and girls focused on their shopping in a city centre shop: *Promises Promises*'s first seven minutes convey an image of Wellington's lively, unpredictable but engaging urban lifestyle; at the same time a number of scenes of families with children embody the city's projection into the future. These images are mostly matched by diegetic sound and voice-over reflections. Then, quite unexpectedly, the film starts to deal with Wellington's institutional importance and role. However, this theme is represented in a quite unusual way. If, on the one hand, the depicted Parliament ceremonies symbolise the historical depth of a deeply-rooted "ritual tradition", on the other hand politics are described as quintessentially unpredictable, as the quick succession of scenes featuring recent political campaigns, elections and televised debates aims to demonstrate. Politics themselves – rather than lending the city the notorious grey, institutional and bureaucratic appeal – become an integral part of its distinctive, dynamic and exciting lifestyle. After lingering on the city centre's dynamic nightlife, quality cultural entertainment options – the film also features Kiri Te Kanawa performing at the Opera House – and scenes of suburban leisure, *Promises Promises* ends with an evocative moving aerial sequence of the Central Business District at dusk. This long sequence displays tall illuminated skyscrapers standing out against suburban hills and an impressive full moon, accompanied by repetitive, hypnotic electronic background music. The final, evocative voice-over's sentence seems to synthesise and condense the whole content of the film: "Promises, promises, eternal rays of hope that illuminate the city of our dreams". This statement, along with the film's final credits – "Thanks to the people of Wellington, New Zealand, that made this possible" – emphasise the importance of the local community in Wellington's tourism representation and promotion.

A similar approach in Wellington's tourist representations will also shape the 1991 APW television commercial. Indeed, this one and a half minute long commercial, rather than celebrating Wellington's character and uniqueness, openly promotes its lifestyle. Wellington citizens themselves, already significantly acknowledged six years earlier in *Promises Promises*, become for the first time the undisputed protagonists of the city's marketing and promotion. Dozens of scenes portraying Wellington's urban and suburban life situations – most of them evidently staged and just a few genuinely captured by camera

– feature a great variety of different characters. There is little evidence here of Wellington’s traditional promotional elements: shots are almost exclusively taken on bright sunny days or at night-time, therefore wind and rain are not depicted; suburban hills are a mere, sporadic background; there’s no trace of the visual celebration of the urban sprawl; suburban beaches also have very little relevance in this commercial. On the contrary, *APW* puts into the foreground the local community, displaying it as a complex yet cohesive system of individuals of different ethnicity, gender, age and social status. Wellingtonians and their diversity are the main actors in this commercial. They are shot while engaged in a wide range of leisure activities – sports, dance, music, nightlife – and while taking active part in the shooting by mimicking the lyrics and dancing to the rhythm of the catchy soundtrack/jingle – a cover of *I’m a Believer*⁷ – even holding and showing to camera – in some of the final shots – signs with the black and white *APW*’s logo.

The fluid and adapting nature of tourism marketing and tourism film is further shown in a 1991 TVNZ programme – *Visual Symphonies: Wellington*. This programme, which Conrich and Murray (2007) describe as “a satirical travel series on towns and cities in New Zealand” (p. 273). These comic travel documentaries are examples of place-promotion and place-marketing. In fact – as also noted in the next section – the constant celebration of Wellington’s unique atmosphere and the lifestyle that traverses it suggests the presence of a strong, well-defined tourist/promotional editorial line.

In this ten-part series made for domestic circulation, New Zealand comedian Ginette McDonald plays one of her best-known characters, ‘Lynn of Tawa’. This naïve, working class, suburban female character tours New Zealand and Australia in order to provide New Zealand audiences with an entertaining and appealing portrait of ten different locations. Every episode has a similar structure. While presenting to the audience some local attractions – for instance Waiheke Island in Auckland, Queenstown and ski resorts in Otago, the Avon River and Akaroa in Canterbury – she meets and interviews a wide range of local people; their informal and humorous talks usually focus – albeit not always explicitly – on the notion of place-identity.

In the episode about Wellington, Lynn/Ginette deals with local artists, artisans, politicians, restaurant owners and eccentrics of various kinds. Similarly to *Promises Promises*, *Visual Symphonies* recalls the theme of Wellington’s political importance,

⁷ A song written by Neil Diamond and performed by American/English pop-rock band The Monkees.

turning it into an appealing aspect of Wellington's identity. Wellington becomes, in Lynn of Tawa's words, a "hotbed of political intrigue"; however, besides being the place where important decisions are made it is also an "intellectual melting pot" and an "intense" and "exciting" city. More precisely, as one of the interviewees states, its unpredictable climatic and seismic nature creates a constant tension, a sense of instability and a feeling of imminent danger that makes life in it "enigmatic". Therefore, to live in the capital city of New Zealand is like "living on the edge". The well-established process of overturning aspects of identity normally perceived as negative – Wellington's weather, its morphology, its bureaucratic and institutional nature – goes one unexpected step further. Even earthquakes themselves and their frightful inevitability become an integral part of the city's character and lifestyle. More remarkably, this TV programme highlights and openly promotes for the first time the city's cultural and creative environment. First of all Wellington is defined as an "educated city" and "the most cultural place in New Zealand". Its cultural urban world is then extensively displayed and celebrated: art and craft studios, restorers, street artists and street dancers, theatres, outdoor cultural events, sophisticated restaurants and similarly sophisticated restaurant owners (in fact café and food & wine culture are increasingly becoming an integral and essential part of Wellington's identity) and vintage car exhibitions draw the portrait of a thriving, intellectual and non-conformist urban environment. Although this programme mostly focuses on the representation of Wellington's lifestyle and community, Wellington's characteristic landscape – the deep blue harbour, the green hills rolling to the sea, the waterfront, all shot on bright sunny days – still feature in a number of scenes. In *Visual Symphonies: Wellington*, the representation of the "picturesque" – according to Beeton (2005) a traditional cornerstone of the 'tourist gaze' – plays an important role in the tourist representation of the city. Indeed, Lynn of Tawa/Ginette McDonald often chooses Wellington's scenery as a background for her interviews. Her interview with politician Winston Peters at Mount Street Cemetery in Kelburn, for instance – with its picturesque background views of the city taken from that high standing location – aims to convey a portrait of Wellington's unique and appealing morphology.

Similarly to the APW TV ad, *Visual Symphonies: Wellington*, was also conceived and made for domestic broadcast. Interestingly, the tourist gaze they openly try to construct and promote within the country is mostly centred on the notion of tourism as experience.

Indeed Wellington, besides being shown as an interesting and appealing destination, is described as a city to experience and live in.

5.6.2 Artistic Ambitions and Television's Influence: New Ways of 'Telling' and Promoting the City

During the first half of the 1960s New Zealand tourism films began to display – as noted in Chapter Three – new tendencies in terms of stylistic approach, narrative structure and featured themes. This gradual redefinition of tourism film's boundaries continued and became increasingly stronger and more evident throughout the second half of the 1960s, the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, influencing and shaping the tourist representation of Wellington. These changes in the narrative approach, along with formal and stylistic innovations, established a new way of “telling” and promoting the capital city of New Zealand.

The role and importance of the voice-over – from the early 1930s the traditional cornerstone of New Zealand's tourism film narrative – is deeply questioned within the NFU's productions from the 1970s and 1980s. In fact, from the early 1970s onwards an increasing number of tourism films – following the example of tourism films from the 1960s such as *Wellington in Vision* (1965) and *Wellington Architecture, Wellington People* (early 1960s) - aims to convey impressions and emotions rather than descriptions and explanations. *It Is Called New Zealand* (1972) relies for the first time on a female voice-over that sporadically intervenes through the whole length of the film accompanying from time to time, with a reflexive, meditative tone, images and music: more specifically, within this tourism film verbal narratives tend to fade and melt into images and music. Scenes of Wellington's urban centre and urban life come in succession without any apparent order. The Parliament, construction sites in the city centre, tall, vertical buildings, urban traffic and urban means of transportation, faces in the crowd and a celebration of the central city through a moving aerial shot go hand in hand with the background music. Differently from other NFU productions such as *Toehold on a Harbour* or *Promises Promises*, this impressionistic approach does not openly manufacture and promote any specific Wellington character or lifestyle. This re-definition of the importance of voice-over commentary and the increasing emergence of music as an integral part of tourism films' narrative is taken to the extreme in an earlier, iconic NFU production, *This Is New Zealand*

(1970), where the total absence of commentary is balanced by the sophisticated combination of images and soundtrack. Traditional Māori music and a piece of classical music – *Karelia Suite* by Finnish composer Jean Sibelius – accompany images of New Zealand taken in quick succession and running on a tripartite screen. The wide range of displayed themes – urban and country life, urban, suburban, and rural landscapes, nightlife, scenes of working life – provides a general, evocative impression of the country. Wellington's Central Business District and the harbour are – as in *It Is called New Zealand* – shown through a moving aerial shot. More generally these two NFU films from the 1970s seem to share a very similar approach in terms of the chosen subjects and stylistic choices. *This Is New Zealand*, in fact, also features images of city traffic, faces in the urban crowd, vertical architecture and construction sites, adding some scenes from Wellington's nightlife – restaurants, night clubs and discotheques.

Tourism films specifically made for television broadcasting start to borrow narrative techniques from television advertisements. For instance, the disappearance of verbal narratives in voice-over commentary and their substitution with the combined use of music, songs and advertising slogans, is also apparent in *APW*. This ninety second-long tv commercial does not only initiate – as highlighted in the previous section – a new era in Wellington's tourism promotion but also shows the complete merger of tourism/promotional message and television advertisement. It is characterised by a hectic succession of shots depicting Wellington's urban life; originally made for domestic circulation, it relies – as already noted – on a famous pop hit, 1966 *I'm a Believer*, to convey its promotional content. More precisely, *APW* uses a specifically-made remake of the song, in which a male and a female voice alternate repeatedly singing its first verse and chorus; towards the end of the advertisement, the catchy “Absolutely Positively Wellington” slogan is sung several times, overlapping the chorus and melting with the song itself. Overall, the song's chorus – “Then I saw her face, now I'm a believer, not a trace of doubt in my mind. I'm in love, I'm a believer! I couldn't leave her if I tried” – besides sounding like a declaration of love to the city of Wellington, seems to condense the advertisement's message through the insistent repetition of a few sentences: Wellington is surprising, full of opportunities and it has an appealing lifestyle, optimistically projected into the future. *It Is Called New Zealand*, *This Is New Zealand* and *APW* embody a tendency towards the disappearance of the voice-over in tourism promotion – a tendency that is also evident in another NFU production – *Impressions of New Zealand* (1985) – which, similarly to *This is*

New Zealand, only relies on images and music to convey its promotional message. Moreover, the television commercial formula displayed in *APW* – one/one and a half minutes characterised by the coexistence and close interaction between images, music and jingles – had already been tested in commercials such as the *New Zealand Is Yours* (1974) series that the NFU realised for TVNZ broadcasting.

APW aims to convey a general impression of urban dynamism through the occasional use of fast motion, the constant use of hectic editing characterised by very quick cuts and the consequent, frantic succession of different images. Moreover, it displays an unprecedented and particular use of camera shots. In fact, the camera often zooms in on most of the displayed characters, not just depicting a number of different situations but entering them. The active participation of the camera with the action seems to go hand in hand with the active participation of Wellington's community in the advertisement, conveying the impression of a collective, shared promotional effort. These stylistic and formal devices contribute to represent New Zealand's capital city as a spontaneous and nonconformist, eccentric and sophisticated, vibrant and dynamic, trendy and stylish city. Six years after the goals set by *Promises Promises*, *APW* aims to portray Wellington as a city that proved itself up to those expectations and ambitions. Towards the end of the commercial, an aerial shot of an *APW* mega banner hanging outside the Beehive seems to prove and seal the synergy between political institutions and the local community in terms of Wellington's urban marketing and tourist promotion.

In both the NFU's *Promises Promises* (1985) and TVNZ's *Visual Symphonies: Wellington* (1991) the narrative approach towards Wellington's tourism promotion is less experimental compared to the previously analysed case studies. The former – made for theatrical and VHS distribution – is characterised by a slow, reflective pace; the latter is a piece of infotainment whose narrative backbone is interviews. *Promises Promises'* narrative is structured around a small number of key ideas: faith in the future, hope, ambition, optimism. The voice-over commentary provides the film's narrative backbone. Overall, the film consists of a stream of meditations about New Zealand's capital city's identity and future perspectives along with scenes of urban and suburban landscape and life. Unlike the vast majority of previous tourism film production, the commentary does not aim to provide an explanation or description of the displayed images and scenes. In fact, the narration proceeds here through analogies: every abstract concept tackled by the voice-over is matched to related, equivalent images and scenes. Even though all the most

important tourist attractions and scenic locations of the city are displayed throughout the fifteen and a half minutes of the film, there is no easily recognizable narrative linearity. In this respect, the film recalls a number of New Zealand tourism films produced for both theatrical and television circulation in the late 1960s and 1970s such as *It Is Called New Zealand* (1972) and the *New Zealand Is Yours* (1973/74) series. Moreover, *Promises promises* also evokes – in its use of the voice-over – the style and approach of other previous NFU productions such as *Amazing New Zealand* (1964) and – again – *It Is Called New Zealand* (1972).

In terms of editing, *Promises Promises* displays a series of sudden, unpredictable cuts. Its narrative backbone – a verbal flow of reflections and meditations – is matched by the depiction of a series of scenes taken from Wellington's urban life. These continuous jumps from one scene to another – from the crowd in Lambton Quay's shopping district to the celebration of the vertical architecture in the CBD, from a panoramic view of the harbour to the waterfront, from the loud crowd at a horse race to a political debate at Parliament, from windsurfers in the harbour to families with children in a park – makes this film a juxtaposition of sometimes contrasting situations. Moreover, the camera is very often placed in the middle of the action, like an invisible eye ready to capture every detail of the city's everyday life. All the depicted Wellingtonians seem to be unaware of being filmed: a child gets ready for his fishing session on the waterfront, two girls exchange opinions on their new bikinis at a city centre clothes shop and ladies show off their colourful hats at a horse race. Although some of the displayed situations are most probably staged – the child on the waterfront and the bikini girls, for instance – *Promises promises'* use of cinematography displays the intention to promote the local community's life by showing it from the inside.

As stressed in Chapter Three, documentary and news report techniques started to be used in tourism films from the 1960s to convey their promotional message. That was the case with NFU's *Toehold on a Harbour* (1966), where indirect interviews with local people aim to strengthen in viewers the impression of authenticity. In the early 1990s – an age of Wellington's tourist renaissance – interviews with locals once again become an important promotional tool in tourism films. TVNZ's 1991 *Visual Symphonies: Wellington*, is not easily categorizable: the overall light-hearted, entertaining and comedy-like tone, along with the clear aim of promoting and market Wellington's attractions, people and lifestyle, make it far both from documentary and news report. If in *Toehold on*

a Harbour interviews were just a brief yet effective section of the film, in *Visual Symphonies: Wellington* they undoubtedly become the narrative backbone of the programme. However, differently from its NFU antecedent, it makes use of direct interviews: that is, host Ginette McDonald-Lynn of Tawa is shown asking well-known Wellingtonians of different age and sex and from different walks of life for their reflections, opinions and ideas on the city. Locals themselves draw a portrait of their city as a thriving, intense and culturally engaging place; even though an editorial line can be easily guessed between the lines and by the host's approach, tone and questions, yet their voice and presence convey an overall impression of authenticity. In *Visual symphonies: Wellington* – similarly to 1966 NFU's *Toehold on a Harbour* - we hear the voice of Wellingtonians. Every interviewed character embodies one of the many microcosms that constitute Wellington and that contribute to the construction of Wellington's identity. Lynn/Ginette briefly immerse herself in these little intertwined worlds, moving from one to another. However, Lynn/Ginette's comments and impressions between one interview and the other work as a caption that provides this text with a narrative linearity and comprehensibility. Moreover, the camera work - characterised by the use of medium close-ups of both the interviewer and the interviewees during the interviews, closely reflects the style of a TV report, as well as the absence of soundtracks and music as substitutes for the verbal narratives.

From the late 1960s Wellington's tourism film becomes an increasingly flexible and stylistically multi-faceted media form. Indeed, the emergence of new and unprecedented artistic ambitions displayed in films such as *This Is New Zealand* and *It Is New Zealand*, the redefinition of well-rooted narrative approaches, the gradual reshaping of editing and cinematography into television techniques and formats such as commercials, news reports and infotainment shows tourism films to adapt to different types of platforms and to absorb and borrow techniques from other film forms.

5.7 Conclusions

In a national film scene marked by the increasing interpollination and hybridisation between television, the NFU and the independents, and in a tourist era marked by marketing segmentation and by growing flows of international tourists from new markets, New Zealand tourism film displays its changing nature, adapting to a variety of formats and

gradually expanding its context of distribution and circulation. At the same time - as a consequence of the attempt to restore the struggling domestic tourist market and to revitalise national urban areas in crisis – a new tourist emphasis on New Zealand cities gradually set in.

The examination of the five different case studies at the centre of this chapter brought out new tendencies in the tourist representation of Wellington in the time frame 1967-1991. First of all, the overall attitude towards the city's tourism marketing changed from the 1980s onwards. From the manufacturing and promotion of its peculiar character, shaped around its rugged morphology and unpredictable weather, New Zealand tourism/promotional films moved to the celebration of its specific lifestyle and to the promotion of Wellington as a 'tourist experience'. NFU's *Promises Promises* initiated this new approach to tourism marketing, depicting a city with ambitious plans for the future; six years later, 1991 Saatchi & Saatchi's *APW* and TVNZ's *Visual Symphonies: Wellington* portrayed a thriving, diverse, entertaining and interesting city. Wellingtonians themselves increasingly became the protagonists of tourism promotion, actively participating in these tourism films.

The change, however, also involved tourism film's stylistic and narrative aspects. Indeed, as shown in NFU's *This Is New Zealand* and *It Is Called New Zealand*, the gradual redefinition of the role of voice-over commentary and background music along with the use of new formats such as TV commercial and direct interviews made tourism film increasingly multifaceted and articulated. A new way of "telling" the city took hold.

Marketing campaigns such as *APW* laid the foundations of Wellington's contemporary tourism marketing. The celebration of the local community's life, spaces and habits visibly took hold along with an optimistic focus on Wellington's future perspectives. Some of the cornerstones of Wellington's tourism marketing in the previous decades – the celebration of the suburban sprawl linked to colonial promotion, the emphasis on monumental and institutional locations, the panoramic views of the harbour – play, from the 1970s onwards, a less important role in the city's promotion. The gradual dissolution of Wellington's static and postcard-like tourist representation that started in the mid-1960s seems to find its culmination in the hectic pace of the iconic *APW* television commercial.

CHAPTER SIX

1992-2017. MULTIPLE FORMS, A SINGLE URBAN NARRATIVE: WELLINGTON TOURISM FILM IN THE NEOLIBERAL ERA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse the development of Wellington tourism film in the context of New Zealand film production from 1992, the year following the release of the APW place branding and tourism marketing campaign, to the present day. The research work performed in this chapter starts from the assumption that the tourism representation of Wellington within such a time frame and its underlying tourism marketing and place-branding dynamics can be analysed only by taking into account the set of economic and social transformations that marked New Zealand starting from the neoliberal turn of the mid-1980s, whose impact on the city was introduced in Chapter Four. Indeed, this new political and social context, characterised by the privatization and sale of public assets and businesses, by the transformation of public institutions into profit-driven corporations and from the closure or downsizing of government departments and government-led institutions, coincided with the redefinition of Wellington economic and social assets and – as a consequence – with the reshaping of local urban identity. Phenomena that marked Wellington's neoliberal era such as its shift from an administrative and bureaucratic centre to an advanced tertiary sector centre and the growing importance of cultural and creative industries in the city's productive fabric have been informing local tourism marketing campaigns and have been shaping Wellington tourism film production.

Through the analysis of six different case studies, this chapter argues that in the twenty-five year period analysed the tendency towards the fragmentation of tourism film into a variety of different media forms becomes even more evident. Indeed, the institutions in charge of New Zealand and Wellington tourism marketing started to use new types of visual texts in order to promote the city. Over the last decade, tourism strategies started to rely on social media. Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) and PWT created their own YouTube channels and Facebook profiles in the second half of the 2000s. Both institutions started to circulate through them a number of byproducts of New Zealand fiction-film production such as movie-themed airline safety videos and movie-themed city video guides.

Recruitment videos addressed to a highly-skilled international audience and promoting local enterprises alongside local lifestyle and local attractions have a prominent place in Wellington's tourism YouTube channel, thus providing a new interpretation of the well-rooted links between New Zealand tourism marketing and migration policies. Furthermore, a number of globally-known New Zealand film productions have been intentionally used for the first time as New Zealand and Wellington tourism promotional tools.

This chapter's argument relies on the use and analysis of academic sources and on the textual analysis of selected case studies. Moreover, the use of information drawn from three different interviews helped to obviate the absence of archival documents and the impossibility of directly accessing primary sources potentially useful for this research, such as production sheets and correspondence. I conducted interviews with New Zealand director Robert Sarkies, Wellington Regional Economic Development Agency (WREDA) marketing manager David Perks and public relations professional Anna Dean.

Sarkies, director of one of the case studies - the *It's not Just a Weekend If It's in Wellington* YouTube series – traced the professional dynamics, the creative process and the thematic and stylistic choices behind the making of this tourism film series, at the same time providing a personal, broader reflection on the role and importance of tourism film. David Perks, thanks to his institutional role and to his extensive professional experience in tourism marketing, analysed the development of Wellington's place marketing throughout the last two decades, focusing on current promotional strategies and on Wellington's goals for the future; more specifically, he identified tourism marketing and related tourism marketing strategies as the driving forces of Wellington's overall future economic growth. Anna Dean, who was in charge of the promotion of the 2014 New Zealand horror comedy *What We Do in the Shadows* (Waititi & Clement), provided useful information related to the making of one of the case studies – the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* (2014) – tracing at the same time the development of her marketing campaign, strongly characterised by the creation of informal professional networks and by the cooperation between local film industry and local tourism institutions.

The creation of institutions specifically in charge of New Zealand and Wellington tourism marketing respectively in the early and mid-1990s along with the spread of the Internet and social media from the early 2000s contributed to dramatically boost tourism marketing and place-promotion, increasing the number of New Zealand and Wellington tourism films released in the time period at the core of this chapter. Indeed a few thousand

tourism films have been produced in New Zealand in the last twenty-five years; several hundred of them depict and promote New Zealand urban centres, while a few hundred focus specifically on Wellington.

The selected case studies reflect an age characterised by the coexistence of TV and the Internet as tourism film distribution platforms. In chronological order, they are: *Send Yourself to Wellington* (1999), a TV tourism commercial that at the end of the 1990s put Wellington cultural institutions into the foreground – especially the recently opened Te Papa – as the core of local tourism marketing; *Have a Love Affair with Wellington* (2005) and *Spoil Yourself in Wellington* (2008), both TV commercials that introduce important narrative, thematic and stylistic innovations in Wellington tourism promotion; the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* (Waititi & Clement, 2014) a tourism video on the Wellington NZ YouTube channel that embodies the contemporary strong connection between Wellington as a cinematic hub and its tourism marketing strategies; the *It's Never Just a Weekend When It's in Wellington* series (Sarkies, 2014) on the Wellington NZ YouTube channel, which I considered as a single case study and that displays the distinctive stylistic features of digital video production in the social media era, and the *LookSee* series (2017) eight recruitment videos on Wellington NZ YouTube channel which I considered as a single case study and that draw a parallel between Wellington as an ideal and stimulating career destination and a good place to live in and visit.

The second section of this chapter provides an overview of Wellington's recent economic and social context, tracing the transformations that reshaped Wellington's identity and influenced local tourism marketing. It then focuses on a number of factors that shaped Wellington tourism film over the last twenty-five years: Wellington's socioeconomic shift from an administrative-bureaucratic capital city to a hub of the advanced tertiary sector, the spread of digital technologies and the gradual spread of the Internet and social media as distribution platforms for contemporary New Zealand film, the global success of New Zealand film production as a vehicle of tourism promotion and the related emergence of a new type of tourism – film-induced tourism. The third section focuses on the importance of the structural changes that involved the bodies in charge of tourism marketing, drawing also on the contents of the interview with David Perks and highlighting the growing interrelation between private and public players in tourism promotion. The fourth section examines thematic and stylistic tendencies in New Zealand tourism film, with particular attention to the phenomenon of film-induced tourism

promotion. The fifth section describes the dominant tendencies of New Zealand's main urban centres in tourism promotion and tourism film production. The sixth section - subdivided into four subsections - through interviews and the textual analysis of six case studies traces and examines the contemporary production dynamics of Wellington tourism films as well as formal, stylistic and narrative tendencies in the representation of Wellington.

In an age characterised by the gradual transition from TV to the Internet and by the use of social media as tourism film's main distribution platform, films of a different nature have been adapting to tourism marketing and used for tourism promotion. This phenomenon shows the tendency of New Zealand tourism marketing to employ a variety of different visual texts as promotional tools and the role and importance of the contexts of screening and circulation in transforming a visual text into a tourism film. At the same time, the institutional background of tourism film and tourism marketing has been marked by a process of growing and deepened interaction and partnership between local tourism bodies, the film industry and local private stakeholders such as hotels, cultural and creative industries, local businesses and enterprises. The increasing involvement of the private sector in local tourism management was a reflection - as will be seen in section 5.2 - of the downsizing in the national and local public sector that followed that set of neoliberal policies adopted by Labour governments in the mid and late 1980s.

6.2 Fiction Films Become Tourism Films. The Intertwining of Film Production and Tourism Marketing in Neoliberal New Zealand

The developments of New Zealand film production, and, more specifically of Wellington tourism film from the early 1990s have to be framed within the analysis of the economic, social and cultural context that characterised New Zealand over the last three decades. Indeed a set of relatively recent phenomena that shaped contemporary Wellington's identity and informed most of its tourist campaigns - the transformation of Wellington into an advanced tertiary sector centre, a hub of cinematic production and a film-tourism destination, the progression of the public/private partnership in the context of local tourism promotion and the role and importance of city-branding in the creation of local tourism marketing campaigns - can only be understood by taking into account the transformation of New Zealand into a neoliberal system. The neoliberal age, that

manifested itself in New Zealand in 1984, was initially marked by ‘Rogernomics’, the policies adopted by Roger Douglas, Minister of Finance in David Lange’s Labour government. As Larner (1997; 2005), Harvey (2005) and Curtis (2016) point out, the neoliberal era was characterised in New Zealand by a large and systematic programme of liberalization and privatization of government assets and services, by the sale of state-owned enterprises and – more broadly – by a quick shift from a paternalistic and well-rooted welfare system to a competition state. This new economic, political and social context in Boston’s definition (1997) was marked by “a more market and less state ethos” (p. 129). On the one hand, as Belich (2001) noted, the adoption of these policies was mostly supported by the middle class and continued with the National governments throughout the 1990s; on the other, according to King (2003), it increased unemployment and caused the impoverishment of the working class.

Within this political and economic context, Wellington – city of ministries, government departments and state-owned enterprises – was severely affected by job losses and population decrease. As already noted in Chapter Four, the 1987 stockmarket crash can be identified as a watershed in Wellington’s recent history. According to Rob McIntyre (2001) – Totally Wellington’s Chief Executive in the early 2000s – part of Wellington’s workforce quickly shifted in the late 1980s towards private initiative. In his words,

A lot of people were changing careers. People were moving out of Government and looking for opportunities to set up business. At the same time Wellington City Council had positive regulations in terms of people being able to open new places. That kicked off the product development and we saw an explosion of cafs (p. 62).

Between the 1980s and the 1990s Wellington was facing the necessity to rethink and replan its economic structure and to redefine its urban identity. In this regard, Brabazon (2013a) observes that in Wellington “in the post-manufacturing age, with population haemorrhaging and economic growth stagnant at best, a new rationale and reason for both economic and social development had to be found” (p. 242). If the spread of cafs and a related caf-culture in the late 1980s/early 1990s can be symbolically considered a starting point in the gradual process of reconstruction of Wellington’s socioeconomic structure and identity, a set of different, intertwined and more complex elements also played an important role in this respect throughout the 1990s and 2000s. The shift towards an economic system shaped around a network of private companies in the advanced tertiary sector that has characterised Wellington in the last twenty-five years was possible, according to Morrison

(2011), thanks to the reorganization of the public sector following the introduction of neoliberal policies, to the rise of the local film industry (especially connected to Peter Jackson's international success), to the growth of a Wellington-based creative class and to the place-branding strategies adopted by local governments and mayors. The recent emphasis on Wellington as a creative capital and a hub of cinematic production alongside its branding and related tourism marketing strategies can similarly be understood only if framed in a contemporary New Zealand neoliberal paradigm. As Harvey (2005) critically observes, neoliberalism tends to create a market where it never existed; the integration of culture and creativity into market-driven strategies produced as a consequence their marketing and their competition within the free market. In this regard, Muñoz Larroa (2015) and Prince (2010) stress how, although certain policies relating to creative and cultural industries originated in the UK, they were transferred and translated into New Zealand's specificities, becoming important to local economic policy discourses. Within this ideological frame, cities themselves – as Brabazon (2013b) noted, taking Wellington as an example - become branded products that compete on the national and international markets. The debate on the recent commodification of culture and creativity and city branding has had its supporters and its detractors. On the one hand – as noted in Chapter One - Florida's (2005) provided an enthusiastic account and analysis of Wellington's urban transformations throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, with particular reference to the growth of creative industries and the related spread of a local creative class. On the other, Volkerling (2009) and Brabazon (2013b) took a more critical approach towards Florida's theories. The former highlighted how "Florida made little attempt to account for the origin of the qualities of Wellington's current urban culture" (p. 296), observing how Florida's theories "have done little other than to redescribe characteristics of the city that were already apparent and are grounded in historical circumstances". (p. 299). The latter once again questioned the inclusion of the knowledge economy in the domain of the market. According to Brabazon, Florida's work

offer methods to codify and map the transformation from Fordism to post-Fordism and the new manufacturing economy to a new knowledge economy. But there is a cost when activating this vocabulary. Consumption becomes not only a method of acquisition, but a way of being (p. 251).

Besides an overview of the politic, economic, social and cultural dynamics at play in New Zealand and in its capital city in the last thirty years, three intertwined cinematic, technological and political phenomena have also to be taken into account in order to provide a context for the development of New Zealand and Wellington tourism film. First of all, in March 1990 - after forty-nine years of activity and in accordance with the neoliberal policies - the government-led NFU was shut down even though it was formally sold to TVNZ first, and nine years later purchased by Peter Jackson (Stark, 2011; Lealand, 2011). Secondly, parallel to the closure of the NFU, the fast spread of the Internet in New Zealand radically changed – as Newman (2008) traced – the New Zealand media world. The Internet provided a new, revolutionary distribution platform for tourism films and the promotion of film-tourism both through websites such as newzealand.com and *Lord of the Rings* (LOTR)/Tolkien fan base websites such as TheOneRing.com, TheOneRing.net and planet-tolkien.com. At the same time, in a context characterised by the spread and easy accessibility of digital technologies and by the disappearance of an institution like the NFU that had monopoly over film production and postproduction, tourism videos made for social media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook proliferated. Lastly, a small number of successful films released in the mid-1990s along with Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings* (LOTR) trilogy's release in the 2001/2003 period repositioned New Zealand on the map of world cinema, contributing to make New Zealand and Wellington international film production hubs, turning at the same time the country and its capital city into a film-tourism destination (Beeton, 2005).

The decade following the closure of the NFU was marked by the global and largely unexpected success and recognition of New Zealand's fiction film and national film industry. This unprecedented situation has in the last twenty-five years been raising a number of questions about the definition (and re-definition) of New Zealand's cultural and cinematic identity. Indeed - on the one hand - an important part of this cinematic success was built on the representation and spread of local stories, local characters and local settings, as *The Piano* (Campion, 1993), *Heavenly Creatures* (Jackson, 1995) and *Once Were Warriors* (Tamahori, 1994) demonstrate. On the other hand, Peter Jackson's film production throughout the first decade of the new millennium led to the emergence of hybrids between local settings and local know-how and – as Jones and Smith (2005) and Horrocks (2011) note – American pop culture and assets. This dichotomy between the 'local' and the 'global' or, rather, the 'local' and the 'commercial' – as Hardy (2011)

defines these polar opposites - and the related efforts to find a balance between the need to represent New Zealand on the big screen and the dynamics of an increasingly globalised film industry, characterised the time frame 1992-2017.

Although the intricate debate about what can or cannot be legitimately defined as “New Zealand cinema” and “local film production” has strongly marked national cultural discourses over the last two decades, as a matter of fact a relatively small number of films produced and/or set in New Zealand from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, became mass cultural products, thus providing local settings and local landscapes with an unprecedented level of exposure, making them known and familiar to an increasingly larger section of international viewers. In a period of time when the main, institutional source of tourism promotion (and tourism films) – the NFU - no longer existed and the spread of the social media as the main distribution platform for tourism films was still yet to come, a few local feature films turned into being effective tools and vehicles of tourist promotion themselves. Film and tourist industry became increasingly intertwined.

The consequences generated in terms of the local tourist industry after the release of Jane Campion’s *The Piano* in 1993 – an Australian/French co-production set in New Zealand and directed by a New Zealander - are commonly recognised as the starting point in New Zealand of the phenomenon that Beeton in 2005 defined as film-induced tourism (or film-tourism). The realisation of the tourist potential of local fiction film gradually took hold from the positive and unexpected repercussions that this movie had on New Zealand’s tourism. Indeed Leotta (2011) stresses the importance of New Zealand’s landscape in the film’s narrative and its role in attracting new visitors to New Zealand. More specifically, Leotta highlights how “the international success of *The Piano* also contributed to putting New Zealand on the global map for movie-goers who had previously never been exposed to images of the country” (p. 71). Even though New Zealand’s landscape had already featured in iconic New Zealand movies such as *Goodbye Pork Pie* (Mune, 1981), *Sleeping Dogs* (Donaldson, 1977) and *Smash Palace* (Donaldson, 1982) only with *The piano* did it achieve a broad, international exposure. Indeed, according to Leotta, “the landscapes in *The piano* have helped position New Zealand within the competitive global market for tourist destinations” (p. 88). Ultimately, a critically acclaimed auteur film like *The piano* became what Hill (1994) defined as a tourism generator, initiating a process that Tzanelli (2004) describes as “the cinematic consumption of New Zealand” (p. 27). This consumption was characterised by a specific type of tourist gaze constructed around the

mobility of cinema fandom and defined by Tzanelli herself (2007) as “the cinematic tourist gaze” (p. 145)

The gradual process of the merging of tourism marketing and fiction film, the overlap of fiction with tourism film and the dynamics related to the development of film-induced/cinematic tourism took a further step forward a few years later, in 2001. Eight years after *The Piano*, Peter Jackson released the first chapter of his trilogy – *The Fellowship of the Ring*; at the beginning of the 2000s the *LOTR* series emerged as a cinematic phenomenon able for the first time to effectively link peripheral New Zealand to Hollywood, the nerve centre of global film production - as Lealand (2011) stressed.

The importance and the global box office and critical success of this film franchise are highlighted by both Thompson (2007) and Leotta (2011); in fact thanks also – as they both argue – to the crucial role the Internet played in terms of the popularity of the *LOTR* locations, Jackson’s trilogy contributed to the global spread of images of New Zealand’s landscape on a much larger scale than *The Piano*. However, similarly to the debate aimed at establishing whether or not *LOTR* was to be considered a New Zealand film, a lively academic discussion flourished about the representation of national landscape in Jackson’s blockbusters. According to Jutel (2004), “it is New Zealand as film set that is valued as a tourist destination, through the space of Middle Earth: a mixture of the actual and the imaginary” (p. 62). In this respect, Tzanelli (2004) points out that

place is always a category socially constructed through an index of real and imagined references. The construction of New Zealand’s natural backdrop as Middle Earth in the *LOTR* films and film reviews is an excellent example of this process (p. 26).

Moreover – as Lealand (2011) claims – the relationship between actual landscapes and the ones shown in *LOTR* is problematic, as the local settings displayed in the films have been widely digitally manipulated, so that most of them are barely recognizable or even unrecognizable.

However - regardless of the ‘New Zealandness’ and ‘authenticity’ of the locations displayed in Jackson’s works - the benefits received by the local tourist industry after the release of the trilogy were unprecedented, yet not totally unexpected. In fact, a decade after the closure of the NFU, the New Zealand government returned to being an active part in the process of promoting the country through film production, although differently from in the past. Throughout much of the twentieth century the government promoted the country

nationwide and overseas by constantly releasing tourism films through its own bodies - the GPO and the NFU; from the second half of the 1970s the New Zealand Film Commission (NZFC) supported local film production and the local film industry. Already at that time one of the NZFC's goals - as Shelton (2005) highlights - was to put NZ on the map as a tourism destination. However, only with the start of the new millennium was local film production more systematically used as a means to promote the country within the global tourism market. Indeed, according to Jones and Smith (2005)

The New Zealand government identified tourism promotion as a key opportunity created by the films (*LOTR*), boosting the profile and awareness of New Zealand as a destination and potentially attracting visitors motivated by the films (p. 936).

Page (2007) and Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007) note how the new awareness of fiction film's potential in re-branding and re-marketing the country led political institutions to systematically use *LOTR*'s success to improve both local film and tourist industries. In this regard, Glen Croy (2010) stresses the systematic connection TNZ created between *LOTR* and New Zealand and - more generally - the TNZ tendency to use non-conventional publicity tools such as films. Indeed, according to him, TNZ immediately identified Peter Jackson's trilogy as a tourism marketing opportunity, using its website as a means to convey and spread the link between the film and the country. Similarly, Jones and Smith (2005) highlight how the New Zealand government "launched funding packages to promote and assess positive spin-offs from the trilogy" (p. 929). However, New Zealand government and TNZ's interest was not just to globally spread and promote appealing images of the country through local film production, but also to boost local film industry by attracting international productions. Tax-breaks to attract the so-called 'runaway productions' precisely exemplifies the government's attitude towards cinema in the 2000s; according to Lealand (2011), they helped to attract to New Zealand a number of globally known productions, including *King Kong* (Jackson, 2005) *The Last Samurai* (Zwick, 2003), *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion the Witch and the Wardrobe* (Adamson, 2005).

The gradual redefinition of New Zealand and Wellington as destinations for film-induced tourism alongside their new role as hubs for international film production (and post-production) was made possible mainly by Peter Jackson's decision to be based in Wellington. In fact, the impact of his films on the local film industry and local economy was such that since the late 1980s/early 1990s new cinematic infrastructures were created in the capital city of New Zealand.

Werry (2011), while taking a historical perspective in analysing the development of New Zealand film industry in the neo-liberal era, describes the spread of film-induced tourism in Wellington after the release of LOTR in the early 2000s. In her words,

Since the first film's release, tourist companies have led tourists to the now vacated filming locations around a city still peppered with banners that brand it as the home of the new national industry, a city materially transformed by that industry (p. 207).

As Horrocks (2011) argues, in the small New Zealand film industry, the presence of Peter Jackson makes a difference. According to him, "since Jackson's first large-budget Hollywood-style film – *The Frighteners* (1996) – his studio has become a kind of separate industry or a new layer to the New Zealand industry as we have described it so far" (p. 17). Wellington strengthened from the 1990s onwards its role of cinematic capital of New Zealand - as Leotta and O'Regan (2014) observed. According to Lawn and Beatty (2004), "Jackson's coup in winning the production for the city led to a new nickname for the country's capital as 'Wellywood'" (p. 125). 'Wellywood' soon became a brand enthusiastically embraced by tourism agencies and local government, as Goldsmith (2012) has stressed. More specifically, creative industries, film-making and film-going have become one of the essential aspects of Wellington's identity in the post-industrial age and a cornerstone in its tourist promotion, as Huffer (2011) underlined while analyzing the role played by filmmaking and film production in Wellington's tourism promotion.

These two companies quickly became internationally known and have provided, since the second half of the 1990s, important overseas productions with visual effects, props and costumes, as Granger (2011), Hawker (2014) and Burgess and Sibley (2014) highlight. According to Callaghan (2009), Weta has been deeply involved in the recent transformations of Wellington and New Zealand's economy, perfectly embodying the role and importance of advanced tertiary sector and locally-based knowledge business in contemporary New Zealand and Wellington economy, becoming part of what Stark (2011) describes as "the rapidly expanding Peter Jackson's ecosystem in Wellington" (p. 283). The new role of the capital city of New Zealand as a creative hub has been emphasised by both Grant (1999) and Leotta (2015). The former states that "Peter Jackson has helped significantly to put New Zealand cinema on the map, because of his own success and by producing scripts for other filmmakers and making accessible resources to realise them"

(p. 26), whereas, according to the latter “film – and Jackson’s film-making in particular – provided both visibility and tangible character to Wellington’s claim to being a creative hub and a provider of advanced post-production services” (pp. 68-69).

In parallel to the convergence between New Zealand fiction film and tourism marketing, to the redefinition of New Zealand as a cinematic tourist destination and to the rebranding of Wellington as a creative cinematic city, the spread of the Internet throughout the late 1990s and especially in the early/mid 2000s opened up new possibilities for New Zealand tourism film. In general, the importance of social media in tourism over the last decade has been thoroughly analysed and acknowledged by the academic community. Hays, Page and Buhalis (2013) have stressed the importance of the Internet and the use of Web 2.0 by national tourism organizations, arguing that “the creation and accessibility of the Internet have fundamentally changed how travellers access information, the way they plan for and book trips, and the way they share their travel experiences” (p. 211); Hay and Reino (2016), Zeng and Gerritsen (2014) and Leung, Law, Van Hoof and Buhalis (2013) analysed the strategic importance of YouTube as a tourism marketing tool. The latter, after acknowledging the importance of social media in tourists’ decision-making, also highlight their importance for tourist stakeholders. According to them, “academic scholars (...) noted the capacity of social media in helping tourism and hospitality companies to engage potential guests, increase their online presence, and thereby lead to greater online revenues” (p. 4).

As will be seen later in this chapter, New Zealand and Wellington tourism and hospitality companies and organizations – relying on the international success of local productions such as *LOTR*, and *The Hobbit* trilogy (Jackson, 2012-2014) - started to extensively circulate through YouTube and Facebook portraits of New Zealand as ‘Middle Earth’ and of its capital city as a dynamic cinematic creative hub, as the Middle of Middle Earth” (as Wellington has dubbed itself). Following the release of *What We Do in the Shadows* (Waititi & Clement, 2014) it was also renamed ‘vampire capital’, as extensively analysed later in this chapter.

Contemporary phenomena such as the marketing of culture and creativity and city-branding are rooted in a set of deep transformations that redefined and reshaped Wellington’s socioeconomic structure and urban identity from the late 1980s onwards, causing its shift from a bureaucratic capital to an advanced tertiary sector hub. Indeed, most of the promotional cornerstones of contemporary Wellington’s tourism marketing and

related tourism film production - Wellington as a cinematic city, as a film production and post-production hub, as a cultural and creative capital - reflect and embody the spirit of the neoliberal times and the changes Wellington underwent throughout the last three decades. These transformations, besides generating a new vocabulary and a new imagery for tourism marketing, led – as will be examined in the following section – to a deep reorganization of local tourism institutions and policies.

6.3 New Zealand and Wellington Tourism Marketing in the Last Twenty-Five Years: Place-branding and the Involvement of the Private Sector

The establishment of a public/private partnership in terms of national tourism marketing can be recognised as a distinctive feature of the 1990s. As seen in Chapter Four, such dynamics underpinned the release of the APW place-branding/tourism marketing campaign. Indeed, created thanks to the cooperation between Saatchi & Saatchi and Ty Dallas - chief executive of the *Dominion Post* and the *Evening Post* - it was supported by local political institutions and originally aimed to target the corporate community. The increasing involvement of private stakeholders in local and national tourism management appears to be itself a reflection of the neoliberal agenda that marked part of the 1980s and the 1990s. In 1991, as a matter of fact, a government department was replaced by a body managed by the private sector: indeed – as previously mentioned - the NZTB became in 1991 the body in charge of tourism marketing and promotion, replacing the Ministry of Tourism, that continued to exist with reduced responsibilities.

The creation of the NZTB in 1991 is generally considered a turning point in the recent history of New Zealand tourism. According to Collier (2006), from the early 1990s the recognition of the importance of tourism in the process of national economic recovery rapidly spread at an institutional level and the results achieved by the NZTB became evident in the short term. In 1994 the then Minister of Tourism John Banks, in a promotional booklet released by the Ministry of Tourism - *Invitation to invest in New Zealand tourism* (1994) - , synthesised the government's perspective on tourism and the characteristics of the NZTB:

Tourism is a key component of our growth strategy and we have demonstrated our belief in the potential of the industry by establishing the New Zealand Tourism Board. This is a private sector-managed organisation which has replaced a former

Government department and is acting as the “main spring” to co-ordinate public and private sector tourism activities. (p. 3).

The importance of New Zealand’s tourism industry in the early 1990s, its renewed structure and the NZTB’s role and ambitious goals in the context of New Zealand’s contemporary economy are also well explained and synthesised in a promotional film – *Visibility* (1992) - produced by the NZTB itself one year after its establishment. The film alternates a voice-over narration and interviews with important key informants of national tourism institutions such as the then Minister of Tourism, John Banks, and the then chairman of the NZTB Norman Geary. After acknowledging tourism as the main New Zealand export industry, the voice-over highlights how tourism gives “a very valuable contribution to our economy” and notes how “visitor numbers doubled in the last decade”. Banks’ intervention stresses the necessity to improve local tourism industry “to get even more benefits than before, to turn the potential of the industry into reality”. To achieve this goal New Zealand political institutions will have to work with the private sector and invest in tourism campaigns. According to Geary, “the NZTB has been charged with the responsibility of making the New Zealand tourism industry one of the success stories of the 1990s”. Moreover – he adds - three million tourists are expected to come to New Zealand by the year 2000. In the film, Banks concludes by observing that

For the first time in the history of the tourism industry in New Zealand there is a time alignment of the agenda of the private sector and the public sector, a cohesive strategy to develop the tourism industry by maximising the resources of the government and the private sector.

One of the main NZTB tasks was to market New Zealand in the global tourist market. Similarly to what was happening at a regional level in Wellington, tourism marketing at a national level also took the form of place-branding. *100% Pure New Zealand* tourism marketing campaign is a clear example of this. McClure (2004), after tracing the long and turbulent process that led to the release of this campaign in 1999, synthesises its characteristics. In her words,

the campaign slogan was *100% Pure New Zealand*. “Pure” was intended to describe the undiluted, intense form of experience that New Zealand provided, as well as suggesting a place untainted by the pollution of the developed world. The use of 100% intensified the image (p. 286).

There is general agreement on the role of this campaign in stimulating and increasing tourist flows to New Zealand, as both Yeoman (2012) and Weaver and Lawton (2007) stress. More specifically, the latter emphasises the campaign's versatility, that is its capability to adapt to different markets by using "the common logo and slogan but different activities and images in the key inbound markets of Australia, Japan, The United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and Singapore" (p. 215). They also stress how the campaign – that initially focused on some of the most popular New Zealand tourist attractions such as outdoor activities, landscapes and adventure tourism – after 2001 intercepted and used the popularity of Peter Jackson's films to introduce a new promotional element by marketing New Zealand as a cinematic destination. As Robinson, Lück and Smith (2013) observed, in 1999 – parallel to the launch of *100% Pure New Zealand* – the NZTB renamed itself with its current name - TNZ. Similarly to what was happening at a national level, the 1990s were also marked by the establishment – for the first time in the city's history - of a body specifically dedicated to Wellington's tourist marketing. According to Pearce (2007), Wellington City Council played a fundamental role in this process of the gradual transformation of Wellington into a renowned tourist destination. Peirce (2007) points out how this body was named in 1995 – the year of its foundation – Tourism Wellington; it was later named Totally Wellington and in 2004 it was renamed PWT. Peirce and Ritchie (2007) underline how in the mid/late 1990s Tourism Wellington mostly targeted the domestic market with effective tourist campaigns; it was, in their words, "the first regional tourism organisation to develop a significant domestic marketing campaign in New Zealand" (p. 73). According to their description, PWT

is the region's official tourism organization that markets Wellington as New Zealand's ultimate urban destination (PWT, 2003). It is a charitable trust, funded by Wellington City Council, and its objective is to help generate wealth and a vibrant lifestyle for Wellington City by increasing visitation and its economic impact (p. 73)

Simultaneously, with the general reorganization of New Zealand's and Wellington's tourism institutions and the adoption of new tourism marketing strategies, the overall tourist growth of New Zealand was continuous, reaching three million visitors in 2015 despite two temporary decreases in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the former due – as Collier (2006) has highlighted – to the 1997/1998 Asian financial crisis and the latter to the concurrent impact of 9/11, the Iraq War and the SARS virus on global tourism and

mobility. In this specific case - as stressed by both Collier (2006) and McClure (2004) – New Zealand's distance from the rest of the world played a positive role: the country was perceived as basically safe and the decrease in the number of arrivals was indeed much smaller if compared to other tourist destinations.

As Collier and Harraway point out (2006), the traditional tourist markets and main source of inbound tourist arrivals remained in the 1990s and early 2000s Australia, the UK, the USA and Japan. The flow of Japanese tourists to New Zealand continued in the 1990s up to the early 2000s, as demonstrated by Morris (2002). Other countries emerged in the mid and late-2000s as well-established and fundamental tourist partners. China - first of all – which as both Yeoman (2012) and Becker (2013) note, replaced Japan as New Zealand's fourth tourist market, but also South Korea, which the NZTB identified in 1996 as the most promising market along with Taiwan, and finally, as Page (2007) stresses, Northern Europe. Page also notes that one million tourists entered New Zealand in 1992 and two million in 2003. These numbers, although positive, did not always match the government's expectations. Encouraged by the constant positive trend of the national tourist industry, in the 1980s and 1990s tourist forecasts tended to be unrealistically optimistic as the 1989 conference proceedings *Tourism 2000 New Zealand Grow for It* and 1994 *Small Business Survey New Zealand - Tourism Industry*, 1994 *Invitation to Invest in New Zealand Tourism* by the NZTB and Rudman (1994) demonstrate. According to Page (2007), three million tourists were expected in New Zealand in the year 2010. In effect, this goal would be achieved – as previously noted - a few years later, in 2015.

As Collier (2006) highlights, parallel to the constant growth in international arrivals, domestic tourism seemed to confirm in the 1990s and 2000s the problematic patterns of the previous decades. In fact, it continued to stagnate. Moreover, New Zealand tourist options continued to be characterised by a growing tendency towards market segmentation. For instance, the identification of New Zealand with adventure tourism became increasingly stronger during the 1990s. Page (1997) and McClure (2004) identify Queenstown as New Zealand's and the world's point of reference for adventure tourism. The importance of nature-based tourism in New Zealand from the 1990s onwards – more specifically ecotourism and wilderness tourism - is also stressed by Weaver and Lawton (2006) and Hall and Page (2006), whereas Getz (1997) recognises the role played by other emerging types of tourist options such as food and wine and event tourism, that were

particularly beneficial for the tourist enhancement of urban areas and Wellington in particular.

However, two market segments strongly related to the development of Wellington as a tourist destination and to its representation in New Zealand tourism film have been gaining particular importance in the last two decades. One is urban tourism, that started to play an increasingly important role in national tourism marketing policy from the 1980s; the other - film-induced tourism - that from the mid-1990s onwards constituted a totally new and explosive element in national tourist world will be examined later in this chapter.

Pearce (2007) argues that in the last three decades urban tourism played an increasingly important role in a national tourism marketing traditionally shaped around the promotion of local nature, landscape and wildlife attractions. In 2001 Boniface and Cooper observe how cities have become very important tourist destinations in New Zealand; three years later McClure (2004) underlines the characteristics of this new phenomenon, that positively affected both domestic and international tourism. According to her

The belief that nature is sufficient lure for tourists has meant that for most of the century, New Zealand's tourist publicity has concealed the country's cities. The focus on urban tourism in the last two decades has risen from local initiatives rather than centralised government direction. Many regional tourism offices have highlighted the charms of their town and cities (p. 290).

In a tourist context marked by the increasing importance of urban destinations, the capital city seems to take the lion's share. Most of its contemporary tourism marketing has been institutionally-driven and determined by – as Pearce (2007) notes – the “emphasis Positively Wellington Tourism places on being ‘the arts, heritage and culture capital’ of New Zealand” (p. 17). The opening of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum in 1998 is commonly considered the turning point in this process of deep redefinition of local urban identity. In effect, Te Papa – which rapidly became the city's main tourist attraction and a nerve centre of national cultural identity – seemed to fully embody the role played by cultural and creative industries in a post-industrial era. Pearce also emphasises Wellington's significant growth in tourism after the opening of Te Papa in 1998. According to him,

While Te Papa was very much a national project it was also part of the redevelopment of the Wellington waterfront and occurred at a time when the city was undergoing a period of new found confidence epitomised by the Absolutely Positively Wellington campaign, significant urban development including other

major projects such as the city stadium, the emergence of a café culture, greater emphasis on the promotion of events, increased attention to tourism through the establishment of a new destination marketing organization (Totally Wellington) and the much needed new airport terminal upgrade (p. 9).

Carey, Davidson and Sahli (2013) and Collier (2006) have similarly underlined the fundamental importance of this cultural hub for Wellington's tourist development: according to the former, it represents the main attraction and leisure venue both for locals and visitors, around which a number of other complementary activities and attractions have rapidly grown and flourished, while the latter stresses the importance of Wellington as New Zealand's cultural capital and the importance of culture in attracting tourists. Doorne (2010) identifies a link between Te Papa's promotion of national identity and Wellington's tourist marketing strategies while Peirce and Ritchie (2007) argue that Wellington's cultural leadership in New Zealand is also related to the presence of a number of cultural bodies and cultural attractions such as Te Papa, the Royal New Zealand Ballet, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra and Katherine Mansfield's birthplace.

At the end of 2015 the agency in charge of Wellington tourism marketing underwent further reorganization, changing its name again. WREDA – Wellington Regional Economic Development Agency – set as its goal not just to attract new tourists and visitors to the capital city of New Zealand, but to constantly improve Wellington and the Wellington region's importance in the South Pacific area. David Perks, former chief executive of PWT and currently WREDA's venues and project development general manager, traces the process that led to the creation of this institution and synthesises its goals. According to him, its goal and vision "is about Wellington becoming the most vibrant, liveable and prosperous city-region in Australasia in the next eight years" (D. Perks, personal communication, May 29, 2017).

Overall, aspects such as the creation of institutions in charge of New Zealand and Wellington's tourism marketing, their continuous process of reorganization, the increased involvement of private players and stakeholders in tourism management and the increasingly important role of place-branding are characteristic features of the last twenty-five years and a direct reflection of neoliberal policies. Within this ideological framework - as will be seen in the next section – tourism marketing and tourism film will gradually adjust to the simultaneous spread of the Internet, that soon became tourism film's main distribution platform.

6.4 New Zealand Tourism Film at the Turn of the Millennium. The Coexistence of TV and the Internet, the Fragmentation of Tourism Marketing and the Emergence of New Zealand as a ‘Cinematic Destination’

During the 1990s/early 2000s - before the massive spread of the Internet and the release of the *100% Pure New Zealand* campaign – tourism film production continued to address TV as its most important domestic distribution platform. The dominant thematic trend in New Zealand tourism film production during the 1990s was to display the country as the ideal playground for outdoor activities and extreme sports lovers. This is reflected in a 1993 NZTB promotional series for domestic TV circulation – *New Zealand Tourism Board. A Real Slice of Heaven*. Indeed, this series depicts in two one minute-long advertisements both characterised by fast-cut editing and a Dave Dobbyn rock soundtrack, a young couple engaged in rafting, bungee-jumping, sky-diving, fishing, sailing, whale- and dolphin-watching. Moreover – even though sports and nature are the prevailing promotional elements here – an appealing hint of local urban nightlife is also displayed. Overall, these commercials seem to target a young audience keen on adventure and fun. Other production companies repeat this trend: indeed, 1994 *A Taste of Freedom*, produced by Capcom for the New Zealand-based tour operator Freedom Tours, presents the country as the perfect destination for young adventure-lovers. According to the film’s voice-over

New Zealand, nowhere in the world is such a tremendous variety of spectacular scenery packed into one small country (...). Young people, however want more than scenery, they are adventurers looking for action, excitement, fun and good times. This film is a taste of typical New Zealand freedom.

If adventure tourism takes the lion’s share during the 1990s, other forms of tourism are promoted, as shown by the 2002 TV documentary *The Real New Zealand*, that describes the growing popularity of farmstay and homestay experiences and 1992 *Convention New Zealand* by the NZTB that aims to promote New Zealand’s conference and convention facilities within the North American market.

Starting from the mid-2000s, seventeen years after the closure of the NFU, the production of tourism films in New Zealand suddenly increased to a remarkable extent. In fact, as previously stressed, in the mid-2000s TNZ - the institution in charge of national tourism marketing – mainly due to the immediate global rise of social media such as YouTube and Facebook, started to regularly produce and release videos conceived and

made specifically for the Internet. To this day, over three hundred and forty tourism videos have been uploaded on the *100% Pure New Zealand* YouTube channel since September 2007, not to mention the importance of regional YouTube channels such as *Visit Auckland*, *WellingtonNZ*, *Christchurch I-site Visitor Centre*, *DunedinNZ* and *Hawke's Bay*, each of which features a number of videos that goes from a few dozen to around two hundred. Considering the variety of currently existing New Zealand tourism channels and related Facebook pages, the number of videos made for tourism promotion and released in New Zealand over the last ten years - although not exactly quantifiable - is most likely to be estimated at a few thousands. Compared to the time periods analysed in the previous chapters, these are unprecedented numbers.

On the one hand the spread of tourism videos can be seen as the natural consequence of an era - the digital contemporary era - characterised, according to Ohanian and Phillips (2013) and Iordanova and Cunningham (2012) by the democratisation of computing and by the dissemination and easy accessibility to digital technologies and digital contents. On the other, the fragmentation of tourism marketing matches the proliferation and customization of tourist options that have marked the last three decades and that - according to Smith, MacLeod and Robertson (2010) - is a reflection of the post-modern world, a world "characterised by globalization, hyper-consumerism, the experience economy and new developments in technology" (p. 129). Williams (2004) argues that "tourism has become highly eclectic, a pastiche of different interests, visits to sacred, informative, broadening, beautiful, uplifting or simply different sites. The postmodern tourist simply has a lot more choices" (p. 72). Urry (2002) defines this multitude of activities and possibilities as "games to be played" (p. 91) while Ritzer and Liska (1997) highlight how the availability of different technology platforms - YouTube, for instance - allows tourists to virtually access sites without actually travelling.

An overview of the ten *100% Pure New Zealand* subchannels and of their one-hundred and twenty-nine sections helps to map the trends around which TNZ has been shaping New Zealand tourism promotion. In particular, the aforementioned tendency towards tourism marketing fragmentation becomes increasingly strong and visible during the past decade. Overall the *100% Pure New Zealand* channel describes New Zealand as a country characterised by a wide range of destinations, capable of providing tourists with every type of experience, from sports, to food and wine, from art and culture to star-gazing. The North and the South Island have their own dedicated subchannels, each of which is

divided into a number of sections; similarly, the four most popular urban destinations also have a dedicated subchannel divided into four sections, respectively dedicated to Auckland, Wellington, Queenstown and Christchurch. This variety of different locations is not just to be seen, but also – and more importantly – to be used or, more precisely, ‘consumed’, in line with what Urry described as the “consumption of tourist-related services” (1990, p. 23). The above-mentioned variety of leisure, culture, sport, nature and food and wine options reflects what Shaw and Williams (2004) and Urry (1995) described as the rise of post-Fordist specialized, individual, tailor-made modes of tourist consumption. Duffy (2009; 2012) sees the multiplication of nature tourism attractions and activities as a direct reflection of the neoliberalisation and commodification of nature; the focus on a variety of available tourism activities and the definition of the tourist’s identity through the consumption of specific tourist services and experiences appears to be an expression of the neoliberal agenda. Such tourism tendencies gradually developed throughout the 1970s and the 1980s and reached their peak in the age of social media. In this respect, the subchannel *New Zealand must do* lists and summarises in its twenty-two sections a variety of available leisure options, from shopping to art and culture, from walking and hiking to cycling and mountain biking, from skiing to fly-fishing.

The boundary between the ‘things to see’ and ‘the things to do’ becomes blurred in the last two decades, as locations are more than ever before naturally related to specific activities. Queenstown is the home of extreme sports, as shown in videos such as *Adrenaline Queenstown* (2007), *Queenstown New Zealand: Bungy to Bars* (2016) and *Queenstown: Snowboarding to Skydiving* (2015); Coromandel Peninsula is the perfect place for surfing, as *Surfing the Coromandel, New Zealand* (2014) aims to demonstrate; Rotorua is obviously a world-famous thermal destination because of its hot pools, according to *Rotorua, New Zealand. Hot Pools to Hangis* (2016); the Waikato region – where Matamata/Hobbiton is located, is described in *100% Middle Earth, 100% Pure New Zealand* as 100% Middle-Earth and as an ideal destination for film-tourists.

In terms of the targeted markets, well-rooted tendencies co-exist with new ones. New Zealand’s most important tourist market – Australia – continues to be directly addressed in videos such as *Everyday a Different Trail with Megan Gale: Exploring New Zealand History and Culture* (2016), where Australian model and actress Megan Gale is the protagonist in a cycle tour of New Zealand. In a few videos promoting Wellington, such as *Inspired Journeys: Featuring Gelato Messina* (2015) and *Inspired Journeys: Featuring*

Thomas Langford (2015), well-known Australians visit and experience the capital city of New Zealand. If tourism videos for the Australian market are part of a fifty year-old tradition – as demonstrated by films such as *Holiday for Susan* (1962), *Good Times Two* (1968), *Come on to New Zealand* (1980) and *Right Next Door* (1985) - for the first time the institution in charge of New Zealand tourism marketing directly releases videos with foreign language subtitles. These videos, subtitled in German, Portuguese and Malay/Indonesian can be found in the *New Zealand Around the World Section*, while videos from the James Cameron series are subtitled in Korean. They clearly address some fast-growing tourist markets, such as the Korean, the Malaysian and the German.

In this context film-tourism marketing emerges – as outlined in the previous sections - as a new promotional element whose roots can be traced to the mid-1990s, after *The Piano*'s (Campion, 1993) release. A few years later, Peter Jackson's trilogies were released in a more favourable and receptive institutional context. Indeed, according to Beeton (2016), the New Zealand government started to be directly involved in film-driven tourism marketing by making available tax-breaks intended to attract foreign film productions and by funding tourism campaigns depicting New Zealand as 'the Home of the Middle-earth'. Moreover, the simultaneous spread of the Internet and the new opportunities opened up by the creation of social media took the phenomenon of Peter Jackson to the next level.

In effect, the tourist promotion related to Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* (2001-2003) and *The Hobbit* (2012-2014) takes up an important part of *100% Pure New Zealand's* YouTube channel. The *100% Middle-earth* subchannel includes twenty-seven videos of a variety of types. Ten of these videos – *The Hobbit production diary series* - are dedicated to *The Hobbit*'s 'behind the scenes' and display the work of Weta Workshop and Weta Digital. Other videos celebrate and promote Hobbiton in Matamata, Waikato, or, more generally, the equating of New Zealand with Middle-earth. One video features an interview with Peter Jackson about New Zealand and the remaining testify to the involvement of Air New Zealand in film tourism promotion or even more directly address the fan base, such as *The Hobbit Fellowship Fan Contest* (2014) or the *What Would* (2016) series.

What clearly emerges as a central thread in this subchannel is the attempt to validate the identity of New Zealand/Middle-earth through the voice of *The Hobbit*'s film crew members, actors and Peter Jackson himself. More generally, the tendency to recruit celebrities in order to promote the country – a tourism marketing device that has its roots

in the 1985 NFU's *Right Next Door* - becomes in the 2010s stronger and stronger. In *Peter Jackson Talks About New Zealand* (2013), the director explains how New Zealand landscapes perfectly match what he described as "the strong sense of landscape in the book": indeed, according to him, from now on New Zealand will be recognised as Middle Earth. Jackson, towards the end of this three and a half minute video also stresses how local film production – and more precisely his films – have an impact on the New Zealand economy. In fact, they generate "a lot of benefits for local economies and especially with something like these movies. They generate tourism (...)". *New Zealand the Real Middle-earth* (2016) precisely traces the origins of the relationship between New Zealand and Middle-earth. According to the voice-over,

Fifteen years ago, in a time before Facebook, Snapchat and Instagram, there was a Kiwi filmmaker with an inspired idea. *The Lord of the Rings* would become a film trilogy and so it began the journey of discovery to find Middle-earth, a place where incredible landscapes would become magical movie backdrops. The filmmaker had to look no further than home. New Zealand – The real Middle-earth.

In *New Zealand Home of the Middle-earth* (2013) actors and producers have their say on New Zealand. Philippa Boyens, *The Hobbit*'s writer and co-producer, states that she "cannot imagine making this film anywhere but in this country". In Ian McKellen's words, "This is the Middle-earth I had always pictured". Similarly, Martin Freeman celebrates the beauty of local landscape. According to him, "the backdrop is so beautiful that people would think it is CGI. It is too perfect!". *The Hobbit Cast Talks About New Zealand* (2013) is even more openly promotional. The interviewed actors draw an appealing tourist portrait of New Zealand by referring to their personal experience; according to them, New Zealand is an ideal destination not just because of its diverse and breathtaking scenery, but also for the variety of sport and outdoor activities it offers, from hiking to skiing, from rafting to wine tasting. Moreover, the hospitality and friendliness of local people makes a difference.

This contemporary emphasis on film-tourism is not limited to the celebration of New Zealand as a cinematic place and as a country where world class film facilities – such as Weta Digital and Weta Workshop - are located. In fact, personalities from different film traditions and industries are involved in the tourist promotion of the country. A quintessential Hollywood director – Canadian James Cameron – now based in New Zealand, is the protagonist of *James Cameron in 100% Pure New Zealand* (2016), a

tourism video that both the *New Zealand.com/100% Pure New Zealand* website and the YouTube channel put in the foreground. This ninety second video depicts the director and his wife walking and hiking against a backdrops of various picturesque New Zealand scenes – glaciers, bush, mountain trails with a slow, meditative piano music in the background. Cameron’s voice itself works as a voice-over commentary. The director’s words are taken from a public speech about the concepts of “discovery” and “curiosity” that implicitly aim to convey the image of New Zealand as a pristine and unspoilt land, yet to be discovered. The *New Zealand.com/100% Pure New Zealand* website provides a small amount of information relating to James Cameron’s relationship with New Zealand; according to it “four years ago, James Cameron and his wife Suzy chose New Zealand as their second home. Inspired by the infinite possibilities of nature, they’ve teamed up with Tourism New Zealand to create a series of videos that will engage your curiosity” (“See New Zealand through the eyes of world-renowned filmmaker James Cameron”, n.d.).

James Cameron’s contribution to New Zealand’s tourism promotion is not just limited to this single video; the ten videos (plus the subtitled ones) that constitute the James Cameron series, all uploaded in the *New Zealand.com/100% Pure New Zealand* website and related YouTube channel in 2016, represent a very important tourist marketing campaign of the post-*LOTR* and *Hobbit* era, further reinforcing the intimate connection between the film and tourism industry in New Zealand. Indeed one of TNZ’s goals is to depict the country as a perfect place for filmmaking and as a global hub for film production through the words of an insider. This is evident in *James Cameron Filming for 100% Pure New Zealand* (2016), that describes New Zealand as the perfect place to host overseas film productions. In his words, “I think people who are unfamiliar with New Zealand and are making their first project here would be pleasantly surprised by everything. The availability of crews, the work ethic to collaborate, the workmanship is all here”. In fact - although this is never openly mentioned - Cameron chose New Zealand to produce all three *Avatar* sequels thanks to a subsidy deal concluded in 2013 with the New Zealand government (New Zealand investment and business guide, 2015).

In 2016 TNZ also recruited a Bollywood star – actor Sidhart Malhotra –for a tourism marketing campaign specifically addressed to the Indian market. Malhotra – according to the TNZ website – “proved a very popular ambassador helping raise the profile of New Zealand as a holiday destination in India (...). India provides New Zealand with enormous promise and opportunity in the longer term as a valuable market” (New

Zealand second home to tourist ambassador Sidhart Malhotra, 2016). Similarly to the James Cameron series, the five videos that feature the Indian actor – uploaded on YouTube in April 2017 – provide an overview of the country and its related leisure options. Malhotra, like Cameron, is shot while directly engaged in the activities he describes; however, the fast and dynamic pace of images and music along with Malhotra's energetic attitude is far from Cameron's slow, mature, reflective and spiritualistic tone. Moreover, while Cameron is mostly depicted hiking or biking, Malhotra is shown riding a motorbike, sailing a boat, skydiving at Auckland's Sky Tower or kayaking. This series, besides specifically addressing an Indian audience and the Indian market, through its editing, its soundtrack and through Malhotra's displayed sporting activities seem to address a much younger audience.

Alongside the growing tendency to directly involve in promotion well-known protagonists of important film industries, New Zealand tourism film also explores in recent years new narrative solutions. Air New Zealand safety videos themselves become vehicles of tourism promotion. On the one hand *The Most Epic Safety Video Ever Made* (2014) and *An Unexpected Briefing* (2012) from the Air New Zealand YouTube channel embody the already analysed, well-established connection between local film culture and local tourist industry; on the other hand, they further push tourism film's boundaries by adapting airline safety videos - a film form traditionally very distant from tourism promotion – to the needs of tourism marketing. In about four minutes, each video provides the passengers with all the necessary information about the aircraft safety. However, their narrative is specifically aimed at reinforcing the connection between New Zealand and Jackson's cinematic Middle-earth. In *An Unexpected Briefing* passengers and actual members of Air New Zealand's cabin crew sit among *Hobbit* characters on an Air New Zealand aircraft; Peter Jackson, Richard Taylor from Weta Digital and some of the best-known actors of the trilogy are easily recognizable. If this safety video is exclusively set in an Air New Zealand aircraft, *The Most Epic Safety Video Ever Made* takes a step forward in promotion. In fact, it displays a more complex attention to narrative plot and setting. Two young *Hobbit* fans are the protagonists of the video, which is mostly shot outdoors, portraying some of the most important *LOTR* and *Hobbit* movie sets both in the North and the South Island. Moreover, the plot of this four minute video is conceived in order to display some of the best-known New Zealand outdoor leisure activities such as kayaking and bunjy-jumping.

New Zealand current tourism marketing strategies are clearly reflected in New

Zealand tourism film production. Promotional tendencies from the early 1990s – New Zealand as the ideal tourist playground – are now taken to the extreme through the fragmentation of tourist options. However, the main contemporary tourism marketing strategy aims to describe New Zealand as the cinematic place *par excellence*, as the place where the films are actually made and shot and as the place loved and openly endorsed by filmmakers and actors.

6.5 Auckland's and Christchurch's "Out of Doors", Dunedin's and Wellington's Urban Vibes. Emerging Patterns in the Representation of New Zealand Cities

In the context of New Zealand's tourism film expansion and multiplication, the promotion of local cities has been playing a progressively more important role. In the last twenty-five years urban tourism has become a fully established sector of tourism promotion and tourism marketing, completing a tendency that in New Zealand started – as stressed in the previous chapters – a few decades earlier. Even though it is not possible to identify a common strategy for the promotion of the main national urban centres, as shown later in this section a number of similarities can be stressed in terms of the representation of Wellington and Dunedin; at the same time, Christchurch and Auckland seem to share a quite similar approach in tourism marketing.

Interestingly, Auckland relies more than other New Zealand cities on well-rooted, traditional tourism marketing themes, albeit with a few variations. The traditional emphasis on the city's size and population is still an important promotional tool, as shown in *Auckland and Northland* (2014), a video included in *100% Pure New Zealand's* YouTube channel and in *Auckland. One City, Two Worlds* (2017), *Cruise to Auckland* (2014) and *City Splendour* (2012), tourism videos included in *Visit Auckland's* YouTube channel. However – as these videos display – the most populated New Zealand city, besides promoting itself as a cosmopolitan urban centre characterised by a large number of dining and shopping options, continues to regularly display and emphasise the tourist appeal of its surroundings to the point that they very often become the main element in the city's tourist promotion. The nearby natural attractions always played an important role in the tourist depiction of the city, as already noted in Chapter Two, Three and Four; this tendency further increases throughout the 2000s and the 2010s. If an important aspect of Wellington's tourist promotion throughout the twentieth century was the visual celebration

of its suburban characteristics - its scenically appealing coastal and hilly suburbs and its suburban beaches – Auckland mostly relies on its extraurban attractions, marketing itself as a metropolis surrounded by a number of scenically appealing locations in order to attract tourists to the city. The above-mentioned YouTube videos show how locations such as Waiheke Island, the West Coast beaches, the Bay of Islands and Northland regularly feature in Auckland's tourism videos as an integral part of the city's promotion and as an extension of the city itself.

Importantly, urban leisure in Auckland is mainly related to outdoor, extraurban activities. Auckland is still described – using a long-standing slogan - as 'The city of sails' and the ideal place to engage in sea sports; bungee-jumping and sky-walking from the Sky Tower are also extensively promoted as typical Auckland's tourist activities. Auckland's tourist identity seems to be characterised by a dialectical relationship between the urban and the extraurban. The New Zealand city *par excellence*, rather than manufacturing and marketing a specific and well-recognizable urban lifestyle, mostly relies on extraurban images and 'vibes' for its promotion; more specifically, the contrast generated by the city's size, population and economic importance and its outdoor, informal and sporty nature becomes in these last two decades a cornerstone of its tourism marketing.

A very similar tendency characterises the current tourist representation of Christchurch. The main city in the South Island – although heavily damaged by the earthquake in 2011 – is still able to provide visitors with a series of attractions. First of all, the process of reconstruction itself is promoted as a valid reason in itself to visit the city. Tourism videos such as *Cruise to Christchurch and Akaroa* (2014) and *Christchurch – The Ever Evolving City* (2014), the former on *100% Pure New Zealand*, the latter on *ChristchurchNZ* YouTube channel, celebrate with adjectives like 'exciting', 'vibrant', 'evolving' the fast and engaging pace of Christchurch's rebirth. The references to traditional promotional themes and slogans such as the 'Garden City', the English cultural heritage and the Botanical Garden do not seem to be key promotional elements anymore. On the contrary and as with Auckland, the promotion of the city is more than ever before characterised by a symbiotic interdependence between the city itself and its surroundings. Coastal towns such as Akaroa and Kaikoura, thermal locations such as Hanmer Springs and the Southern Alps – with all their related mountain activities - are promoted along with Christchurch itself and are described as beauties at the city's doorsteps.

If Auckland and Christchurch strongly rely on their scenic surroundings, both

Dunedin and especially Wellington constructed during the last three decades a tourist image more centred on the representation and celebration of a similar, specific urban lifestyle. According to Dunedin-born director Robert Sarkies the mutual influences in terms of tourism marketing between the capital city of New Zealand and Dunedin can be traced back to 1988, when Dunedin's *It's All Right Here* campaign was released for TV domestic circulation, influencing the 1991 better known *APW* campaign. In his words,

Dunedin has been often inspired by Wellington (...). Every city was inspired by that original *Absolutely Positively Wellington* campaign. (...) Dunedin did a campaign before that (...) which was called *It's All Right Here*, that was the first, very big city campaign (...) it was definitely successful in creating local pride in a time where Dunedin was quite depressed as a town because quite a lot of factories were closing down and everything was moving to Auckland. (...) That campaign was a source of inspiration for this sort of big campaign including *APW*. (R. Sarkies, personal communication, May 26, 2017).

Dunedin and Wellington enter their contemporary tourism marketing era with *It's All Right Here* and *APW* tourist ads between the late 1980s and the early 1990s. Both cities were trying at that time to overcome hard economic and social times: indeed, as Sarkies highlights and as already mentioned in Section 2, the closure, privatization or relocation of a number of state-owned enterprises and government departments visibly affected both cities' economic and social assets. Although these commercials display some stylistic and editorial differences, their use of soundtrack and their emphasis on the celebration of the local community and local lifestyle show evident similarities; the representation of local urban 'vibes' becomes a cornerstone in the promotion of both cities. However, while Dunedin, through its official YouTube Channel *DunedinNZ*, balances a well-defined representation of its specific urban identity with an overview on its surroundings, in the *WellingtonNZ* YouTube channel, as examined in the following sections of this chapter, Wellington seems to be - a unique case in New Zealand - self-focused and self-sufficient in terms of tourism marketing, not relying on the concurrent promotion of nearby attractions and locations.

The promotion of an appealing urban lifestyle is a key element of both cities' promotion. Dunedin's tourism marketing strategies are well presented in *Introducing the Dunedin Brand* (2013), a video on *DunedinNZ* YouTube channel. In this video, Luke Johnston from the Dunedin-based Brand-Aid branding agency synthesises the goal of

contemporary Dunedin's promotion: "Dunedin needs to be more interesting, authentic and intriguing than other cities". In order to do that Dunedin's marketing campaigns will "use locals to tell us stories". Indeed, some of the locals are interviewed: according to one of them, Dunedin "is full of unusual characters"; according to another interviewee "people in Dunedin are pretty interesting"; finally, in another local person's words, people from Dunedin have a strong "sense of humour" and "don't take themselves too seriously". The direct involvement of local people in tourism marketing and promotion is perfectly represented in the *Insiders Dunedin* series that includes thirty-two videos uploaded on the DunedinNZ channel over the last four years. Short interviews with a number of characters from all walks of life – surfers, musicians, artists, fishermen, brewers and many others – aim to provide the audience with a portrait and an extensive overview of the local community. Alongside this emphasis on the 'local character', Dunedin's official YouTube channel relies on three main promotional elements. First of all, cultural heritage. According to *Dunedin Heritage Building* "Dunedin is reputedly the best preserved Victorian and Edwardian city in the Southern Hemisphere and it has New Zealand's highest concentration of heritage buildings". However, its attractions also include important museums and art galleries. In the words of *Dunedin Art & Culture* (2012), "Dunedin is the centre of New Zealand learning, arts and culture". Secondly, education, and more specifically the promotion of the local university also plays an important role, as shown by the *Study in Dunedin* series, released in 2015, in which international students are interviewed. Thirdly Dunedin is able offer its visitors a high-level coffee/beer/food & wine experience, as displayed in the *Dunedin Food Stories* series or in videos such as *Otago farmers market* (2012) or *Speight's Brewery Dunedin* (2012).

The aforementioned systematic attempt to manufacture and circulate appealing images of local urban 'vibes' and lifestyle along with the systematic use of local people's voice to further validate tourism promotion also strongly marks Wellington's current tourism marketing campaigns, whose national and international success stands – as highlighted in the following sections - at the intersection of a variety of cultural, economic and social phenomena.

6.6 Wellington Tourism Marketing and Wellington Tourism Film in the Post-APW Era: the Age of Public/Private Partnership

6.6.1 From Marketing the City's Cultural Capital to Selling Emotions. Three Wellington Tourism Films from the End of the TV Era

As previously stressed in this chapter, the twenty five-years from 1992 to 2017 were characterised by the spread of the Internet throughout the late 1990s and the 2000s, and by the emergence of social media in the mid-2000s. However, the vast majority of tourism videos on the WellingtonNZ YouTube Channel were released after the 2010s. In terms of tourism film distribution platforms, it is therefore possible to identify the 1990s as the realm of TV, the 2000s as a transitional decade in which TV still played a very important role in conveying tourism promotion and the seven years that separate us from 2010 as the realm of the Internet and YouTube.

If, on the one hand, the succession of the above-mentioned technological transformations could lead to the interpretation of these twenty-five years as an age of shifts and turning points, on the other hand tourism marketing and the related tourism film production have been marked - in the time from the closure of the NFU in 1990 until today - by strong and evident elements of continuity. Indeed, these two and a half decades are pervaded by a continuous progression of the public/private partnership in terms of Wellington's urban rejuvenation and transformations, Wellington's tourism marketing campaigns and Wellington's tourism film production. This intertwining between public and private interests became increasingly evident in the 1990s, during which local tourism marketing institutions were characterised - as stressed in section 5.2 - by a process of continuous reorganization. Similarly, the city's appearance was changing markedly, thanks to the planning and construction of some of its most important current tourist attractions. David Perks traces the history of Wellington's tourist renaissance throughout the 1990s. According to him, the main driver of the change was the common will of the local productive sector and political institutions in the first half of the 1990s to totally transform the identity of Wellington, until then, in his definition, "a grey city of grey bureaucrats". In order to achieve this goal - as he says - it was planned "to build Te Papa, to build the Stadium, to put beaches in Oriental Parade, to rejuvenate Cuba Street and Courtenay Place and to create Zealandia, all things that would bring more visitors, but that would also be

for locals”. Simultaneously, as Perks also stresses, an agreement was reached between the city council and the hoteliers to keep hotels open during weekends and school holidays; indeed, due to the city’s low tourist appeal and lack of demand during holiday times, hotels were usually open only on working days. (D. Perks, personal communication, May 29, 2017).

The above-mentioned cooperation between public institutions and private stakeholders started in the early 1990s with the launch of the APW place branding campaign and became increasingly systematic and evident after the establishment in the mid-1990s of an institution specifically in charge of Wellington’s tourism promotion. The release of tourism campaigns and tourism films from the 1990s onwards was regularly characterised – as will be seen later - by an increasingly articulated professional synergy and cooperation between this institution, private local stakeholders (hotels, museums, local businesses, the airport), advertisement agencies, public relation professionals, film directors and local film personalities.

There were three Wellington tourism marketing campaigns that marked the period from the late 1990s to the late 2000s, still characterised by the predominance of TV as the main tourism films’ distribution platform: *Send Yourself to Wellington* (1995), *Have a Love Affair in Wellington* (2005) and *Spoil Yourself in Wellington* (2008), the first one released by Wellington Tourism, the other two by PWT as TV commercials for domestic circulation and each embodying a new phase in Wellington’s tourist promotion.

Send Yourself to Wellington, a campaign that marked the late 1990s and early 2000s, was launched in the mid-1990s and was conceived in order to introduce the capital city of New Zealand to New Zealanders who, at that time, had little knowledge of Wellington’s tourist attractions. In David Perks’ words,

One of the first television commercials that we made was *Send yourself to Wellington for a Wellington Weekend*. It was absolutely clear that this is what you have to do: instructions; in the first instance that worked really well for Wellington, because New Zealanders needed to be told that ‘this’ was an ok thing to do. (D. Perks, personal communication, May 29, 2017).

Similarly Mark Blumsky (2010), Wellington’s mayor during the second half of the 1990s, stresses how this campaign was inspired by the necessity to attract more tourists at weekends, to boost the local hotel industry; it was specifically aimed at transforming Wellington into a well-established and appealing destination for the domestic tourism

market. Perks' and Blumsky's words are clearly reflected in the 1999 *Send Yourself to Wellington* TV ad, in which – as an article on New Zealand Management highlights - Totally Wellington, Air New Zealand and Te Papa were the key investors (Wellington gets a life!, 2001). This thirty second ad specifically focuses on Wellington's cultural offerings – indeed soon after a catchy opening jingle, a female TV announcer promotes exhibitions at City Gallery and Te Papa in combination with cheap Air New Zealand fares from Christchurch and Auckland. Apart from actually instructing the audience of potential tourists on how to move from one museum to the other – “stroll along the Waterfront to Te Papa” - this thirty-second ad already includes some of the recurring themes of contemporary Wellington tourism promotion. Wellington's tourist image at the end of the 1990s closely resembles the current one: the recently redeveloped, Te Papa-dominated waterfront has already become one of the main Wellington's culture and leisure precincts, as a shot featuring cyclists, runners and strollers by the edge of the sea and against the background of CBD's skyscrapers demonstrates; this ad also displays how Te Papa started to play a fundamental role in the manufacturing of Wellington's new tourist image between the 1990s and the 2000s. Opened in 1998, it is the protagonist of this tourism video, being displayed both through a moving aerial shot and through a moving shot from the sea that visually celebrates its majesty and its modern architecture; Te Papa appears to be a landmark for the surrounding urban landscape characterised by the Oriental Bay Marina with its moored boats, the recently rejuvenated waterfront and the vertical CBD skyline. Alongside the focus on the new Wellington urban look, a quick succession of images promoting Wellington's nightlife, its sport and cultural events, its main tourist locations, its food and wine options - characterises the second half of the ad. *Send Yourself to Wellington*, similarly to *APW* – embodies the conflation and the merger between tourism film and TV ad. *APW* is a commercial that explicitly aims to sell a product; it reflects a time in which the capital city of New Zealand increasingly gained credibility as a tourist destination thanks to a number of new attractions that were in the meantime being inaugurated - Te Papa Museum, Zealandia, Westpac Stadium - or rejuvenated – Cuba Street, Courtenay Place, the Waterfront.

According to David Perks, towards the mid-2000s New Zealanders were ready to be told a more sophisticated story about their capital city. The tourism marketing approach changed radically; it started to systematically play on audience emotions. In Perks' words,

as we get into the opening of Te Papa and the Stadium - perhaps in 2003, 2004 - there was a realization that the message needed to become more sophisticated, because New Zealanders were used to going on beach holidays or going to the mountains or going to the lake, not going to the city (...). So a television commercial was made about a love affair where a couple was filmed (...). It really talked to the emotions of individuals rather than just saying 'this is a place to go', and then (...) in 2008 we launched *Spoil Yourself in Wellington* and that was new things to see and new emotions to be enjoyed by visiting Wellington. (D. Perks, personal communication, May 29, 2017).

The first campaign Perks mentions is the 2005 domestic tourism marketing campaign *Have a Love Affair with Wellington* by the Wellington-based advertising agency Clemenger BBDO. In Mitchell's (2008) description, "it revolves around a 20- or 30-something year old female appearing to have an affair while on holiday; an affair which turns out to be with the city she is visiting" (p. 215). In fact, in the one minute-long TV ad of the same name, an apparently well-educated and sophisticated young male and a similar female start flirting at a local café after some casual eye-contact. The whole ad narrates, through a slow-paced, dreamlike sequence of scenes shot in some of the best known Wellington's tourist locations and attractions – the waterfront, the City Gallery, Lambton Quay's shopping precinct – their love affair throughout a day, from morning to night time. The use of slow motion characterises almost every shot of this ad; the couple's inner reality, its growing harmony and intimacy are the real protagonists and Wellington plays the role of the sophisticated, interesting, perfect background for a love story; a place to fall in love in and to fall in love with. Overall, this is a *sui generis* TV ad that displays unprecedented characteristics. First of all Wellington's particular urban landscape and morphology are not portrayed or visually celebrated as an integral part of the city's tourist experience. On the contrary, *Have a Love Affair with Wellington* mainly focuses on Wellington's interiors, its cafés, its restaurants, its nightclubs, its luxury hotel bedrooms and halls; the depiction of the weather itself is not sanitized; indeed, in one of the few outdoor scenes – the one that portrays the couple during a stroll on the waterfront – the sky is cloudy and the wind is blowing. The slow, almost hypnotic flow of images is matched by a slow, sensual electronic soundtrack. Wellington's tourism marketing campaigns gradually switched from the manufacturing and celebration of a peculiar, optimistic, exciting and non-conformist local vibe shown in 1991 APW to a more specific portrait of the capital city of New Zealand

as the national cultural hub in *Send Yourself to Wellington* and, finally, fourteen years later, as a more complex, multi-layered tourist destination able to provide tourists and visitors with an intimate, deeper experience in *Have a Love Affair with Wellington*. As will be seen in the following sections, the tendency to depict Wellington's tourist experience as an emotionally rewarding and enriching encounter rather than just as a consumption of locations and activities will become increasingly important in the following decade.

As Perks highlighted, three years after *Have a Love Affair with Wellington*, 2008 TV ad *Spoil Yourself in Wellington*, also by Clemenger BBDO, similarly played the love story/emotions card, although in a different way. On the one hand this ad's plot closely recalls *Have a Love Affair in Wellington*: a girl meets a young man in town, they wander around Wellington and they finally seem to fall in love. As well as in the 2005 tourism marketing campaign, the relationship is sealed with an engagement ring. On the other hand, the overall tone, the fairy-tale setting and the narrative devices adopted represent a totally new element in Wellington's tourism promotion. This TV ad revolves around the journey of discovery of a 20-something year old girl around Wellington. This sixty second-long journey is marked by a series of stages, each one characterised by a gift that the girl has to unwrap. Initially – at Lambton Quay's Old Bank Shopping Arcade – the girl unwraps something that she discovers to be a shop window containing a pink long dress that she immediately wears; after starting her Wellington stroll, she unwraps a mysterious big building that turns out to be Te Papa Museum, she then unwraps a painting at the City Gallery and she finally encounters, behind red velvet stage curtains opening in the middle of the street – St. James Theatre. *Spoil Yourself in Wellington*'s formal and narrative evolution is apparent if compared to the previously analysed TV ads. The unusual gifts the young visitor unwraps do not only symbolise Wellington's shopping, cultural and entertainment attractions; they convey an image of Wellington as a place where the unexpected usually happens and where the boundaries of actual reality constantly merge with a dream-like urban environment. In the middle of her journey the girl unexpectedly meets a young man who accompanies her in the final part of her wander through a number of typical Wellington activities – shopping, exhibitions, nightlife – and eventually gives her an engagement ring. Even though if compared to *Have a Love Affair in Wellington* this ad displays a clearer focus on specific and recognizable city locations – the Old Bank Shopping Arcade, Te Papa, St. James Theatre, the Botanical Garden, the Cable Car, the

harbour - similarly to its predecessor it aims to describe Wellington as a destination able to deeply resonate with tourists and visitors.

Spoil Yourself in Wellington's release time – the late 2000s – is approximately the watershed after which the use of the Internet and YouTube for tourism promotion and tourism film circulation became massive and systematic. As shown in the following sections, this shift in distribution platforms also often led to stylistic, formal and narrative transformations. However, analysis of the post-2010 case studies will reveal an increasingly evident and stronger intertwining between the public and the private sectors both in terms of the creation of tourism marketing campaigns and in the production and realization of tourism films.

6.6.2. The LookSee YouTube Series: How Wellington Tourism Marketing Strategies are Trying 'to Get People into the Shop'

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the conflation between tourism, colonial promotion and settler culture was one of the recurring trends of Wellington tourism films from the 1920s to the 1960s. As the case studies analysed in Chapter Two and Three demonstrate, appealing images of the landscape and of the city's attractions were very often matched by the visual celebration of Wellington's suburban areas, of its urban/suburban lifestyle and of its modern facilities. The presence of such promotional elements in tourism film was linked in the first half of the century to a colonial settler project, mostly addressed to labourers and conducted in order to boost population growth in an under-populated country.

Today, in a deeply transformed socio-economic context, a number of videos recently published on Wellington's YouTube tourist channel still aims to attract a totally different workforce. Indeed these videos - part of a series called *LookSee* – specifically target tech and IT professionals. The *LookSee* YouTube series is meant to globally advertise the *LookSee* programme, promoted through the WellingtonNZ website. According to this website,

Wellington is the South Pacific's tech and innovation capital, bubbling with innovative tech companies developing leading edge solutions and exporting them to the world. Our tech industry is flying along and we need more people. (*LookSee Wellington is Now Underway*, n.d.).

LookSee's target audience – professionals aiming to work in innovative tech companies – reflects and embodies Wellington's current identity as a hub of the advanced tertiary sector. David Perks explains the presence of these videos on the Wellington tourist YouTube channel and the current conflation between tourism marketing and migration. What emerges from his words is that in the context of current Wellington tourism strategies, tourism marketing is a bait used to attract students, business, skilled migrants and investments. In order to be successful a 'single story' has to be manufactured and told to the audience. In Perks' words,

tourism marketing is a shop window to a place (...). People will always see that tourism imagery, the words, the videos, whatever (...) that goes around tourism first, so if you get the tourism marketing right, you can get people into the shop and (...) they will come here to live here, study here, invest here, make film here, do business here (...). I think one of the things we've been absolutely rock-solid in our approach to this, is that a good place to visit is a good place to live and a good place to live is a good place to visit (D. Perks, personal communication, May 29, 2017).

The *LookSee* programme mainly showcases Wellington's career opportunities and attractions on YouTube through the *LookSee* series, which in turn seems to encapsulate Perks' views on tourism promotion. Indeed Wellington is depicted at the same time as an ideal place to visit, work and live in.

This series – twelve videos originally posted on the *Workhere New Zealand* YouTube channel, eight of which are currently embedded in the *WellingtonNZ* tourist channel – addresses overseas professionals with the specific goal to promote Wellington as the destination of a life-changing career trip. In these videos, whose length varies from fifty-three to one hundred and forty-three seconds, foreign tech professionals who recently moved to Wellington talk to the camera describing their life in Wellington. The only exceptions are *LookSee Wellington – The ultimate career trip* (2017) and *LookSee – Employer* (2017), that feature Wellington's mayor Justin Lester; his role is both to give the *LookSee* programme institutional legitimacy and to present it to the audience. According to what he states in *LookSee Wellington – The ultimate career trip*, the programme's goal is to attract "tech talents from all over the world for what we think is one of the greatest tech and innovation hubs on the planet"; however, there will be a preliminary selection as, in Lester's words "we don't want just anyone, we want the best".

Out of the eight videos that form the series, two feature interviews with Wellington's mayor while six feature interviews with six different professionals. The interviewees are all white caucasians originally coming from English speaking countries – the United States, Canada, South Africa, the United Kingdom. Despite the recent and systematic effort to market New Zealand internationally and especially in Asian countries, such selection of skilled interviewees recalls early-twentieth century New Zealand immigration policies shaped around notions of linguistic and cultural compatibility.

The videos - whose length varies from seventy-five seconds to two minutes - mostly focus on Wellington's job market, work culture and lifestyle, all sharing the same narrative structure. Indeed, the six professionals conclude the description of their life in Wellington by encouraging viewers to "come have a look", that is – paraphrasing WREDA's vision and David Perks' words – to 'come into the shop' first as visitors/tourists. From a thematic point of view, the series shifts from the emphasis on local lifestyle to the promotion of local quality of life. In the late 1980s, 1990s and 2000s Wellington's tourism marketing was mostly about spreading the image of an attractive, non-conformist and vibrant urban lifestyle, and to use it as a place/branding and tourism marketing tool; very recently the focus has moved to the description and celebration of everyday life in the city through the words of its citizens. By contrast, the diverse and dynamic urban community depicted in the *APW* (1991) TV ad and the series of politicians, eccentrics and artists showcased by Lynn of Tawa/Ginette McDonald in *Visual Symphonies: Wellington* (1991) are succeeded by a series of individuals, all skilled and recently settled professionals, whose words seem to reinforce the new role played by Wellington as a global hub of the tertiary advanced sector.

First of all, the work culture in New Zealand is relaxed and informal compared to the rest of the world; in *LookSee Wellington – Sarah Young* (2017), the young British protagonist, highlights the flexibility of New Zealand's working hours. However, it is the work/life balance that takes the lion's share in promotion. Wellington's size and urban structure easily allow movement from workplaces – that are mostly located in the CBD, Te Aro or Miramar – to the waterfront or urban and suburban beaches. According to Scottish developer Stuart Whitehead in *LookSee Wellington – Stuart Whitehead* (2017), Wellington's morphology allows easy enjoyment of the waterfront, the Town Belt with its sporting options and the city centre with its important coffee and beer scene; according to the Scottish IT specialist Fiona Duffy in *LookSee Wellington – Fiona Duffy* (2017),

Wellington's good weather makes a difference; Lance Lones, an American employed at WETA, in *LookSee Wellington – Lance Lones* (2017), describes all the activities it is possible to do during weekends and lunch-breaks thanks to the number of leisure opportunities and attractions in Wellington and the Wellington region; Steven McDonald from Xero, in *LookSee Wellington – Steven McDonald* (2017) describes Wellington as a family-oriented city that provides families with a large number of leisure options, a city in which "every day feels a little bit like a weekend". This "little city with a small village vibe" – as Sarah Young describes it, is interestingly often compared to London, which still seems to embody and symbolise – as in 1950 the NFU's docudrama *Journey for Three* – the problematic, hectic, stressful Western metropolis from which the three wish to escape. Sarah can easily walk to work and go shopping and stroll on the waterfront within the same day, activities that were impossible in her previous London experience; Ben Amor, in *LookSee Wellington – Ben Amor* (2017) similarly stresses the importance of the Wellington waterfront and beaches; more importantly he highlights how a good quality of life is within everyone's reach in Wellington, "I have a yacht in the middle of the capital city, I couldn't do that in London, there's no way, you know, I'm not Richard Branson". Wellington is described as the ideal blend of urban vibes, symbolised by local coffee, craft beer culture and nightlife - small town atmospheres - embodied by its safe, slow-paced, outdoor, lifestyle and by the quality of its human relationships, and by its natural attractions – represented by its urban and suburban beaches, its harbour and its green town belt.

From a visual point of view, the depiction of Wellington in the *LookSee* series includes some of the cornerstones of Wellington's previous tourism representation such as the celebration of the vertical city and the suburban beach. The videos show the Wellington professionals portrayed through medium close-ups, scenes that depict them directly engaged in a number of Wellington-related activities and scenes that have the more general purpose of celebrating Wellington's landscape and its human and natural environment. The 'vertical city' is still a strong and recurring visual theme, albeit with some differences. The city centre and CBD buildings and skyscrapers rise directly from the sea as a shining wall enclosed between the waterfront and the surrounding green hills; the vertical architecture is no longer shot directly from the street and no longer conveys an intimidating sense of unstoppable economic growth. On the contrary, there is now a well-defined and recognizable skyline, whose profile seems to integrate perfectly with the surrounding landscape; as shown in *LookSee - Sarah Young* and *LookSee - Ben Amor*, moving aerial

shots from the hills to the waterfront are often used to celebrate Wellington's compact urban structure and its peculiar and appealing merging of urban modernity and landscape. Similarly, the celebration of the urban and suburban beach as Wellingtonians' preferred playground still plays a remarkable role in Wellington's promotion. Crowded Scorching Bay Beach, Lyall Bay Beach and Oriental Bay Beach are constantly displayed either through moving aerial shots or very wide shots: in *LookSee - Steven McDonald* and *LookSee - Lance Lones* they are portrayed as ideal places for leisure, socialization and sport – surfers are indeed regularly depicted – and as an integral part of the city and as added value for the city.

More generally, what emerges from the textual analysis of these videos is how this highly skilled workforce seems to be urban rather than suburban. Images of suburbs and suburban sprawl totally disappeared in these videos – in fact only images of Wellington's suburban beaches survived. The city centre has currently become home of this highly-skilled creative class and central locations that in the late 1990s symbolically represented and embodied Wellington's urban renewal in the neoliberal age – Te Papa, the waterfront, Civic Square – are still constantly depicted and celebrated in this series, mainly through moving aerial shots. The waterfront, in particular, that features in all the videos – is shown as a privileged space for outdoor activities and socialization.

However, what constitutes a turning point is the direct participation of the interviewees in some of Wellington's leisure activities. Wellingtonians are not just asked for their opinions and impressions on the city; they are portrayed living and directly experiencing it. Moreover, the audience is involved in the life and everyday activities of *LookSee's* protagonists through the constant use of follow shots, as shown in *LookSeeWellington - Heidi Borner*, *LookSeeWellington - Sarah Young* and *LookSeeWellington - Lance Lones*. The *Looksee* protagonists are engaged in what roughly constitutes the whole range of Wellington's possible recreational opportunities and attractions, from mountain-biking to shopping, from craft beer tasting to beach-going, from museum-going to coffee tasting; their direct involvement seems to further validate their words and the content of the videos. All the tourist activities that lie at the heart of recent Wellington promotion are also directly enjoyed by the locals on a daily basis.

Moreover, this campaign highlights Wellington tourism marketing (and tourism film) public/private partnership in the cooperation between Wellington's political institutions – embodied by the Wellington mayor's direct involvement – and the private

sector - represented by the involvement of the aforementioned professionals working for city-based companies such as ANZ, Weta, Xero, Loyalty New Zealand, Orange Umbrella in terms of Wellington's place promotion, city branding and tourism marketing. The persistence of a settler culture and a settler gaze, the boundary between tourism marketing and the need to attract new migrants become once again blurred in contemporary Wellington place-branding. However, these two aspects seem to be interconnected and intertwined more than ever before, although with remarkable differences. First of all today new migrants have to fit into the highly-skilled Wellington job market and they are selected through a very competitive process; secondly, the prevalent emphasis on the symbolic city centre location reinforces the link between the new creative class and Wellington's central area. The suburban sprawl, suburban landscape and suburban housing - which used to address a different target market in the first half of the twentieth century - are no longer used as a promotional tool.

Finally, Wellington's image as it emerges from the *Looksee* series seems to reflect and match Turner's (2007) description of New Zealand's identity in the neoliberal era. In his words, New Zealand's identity is "driven by (...) the idea that New Zealand is a business, a corporation, a corporate body (...) corporatised, media-driven and government sponsored" (p. 91). Indeed, the main goal of this series is to present and promote Wellington as the headquarters of a number of world-class and globally known companies to an international audience of skilled migrants. Wellington promises to be the destination of a life-changing trip, both for the city's lifestyle and attractions and - more importantly - for its career opportunities. Therefore, to become a Wellingtonian means to acquire a privileged, prestigious status and to obtain what Turner defined, referring to New Zealand, an "increasingly branded citizenship, that is, an identity you can consume, like any other kind of goods" (p. 87); in neoliberal times, citizenship of Wellington becomes a status symbol in itself.

6.6.3 Plausible, Creative, Honest: the '*It's never just a weekend*' Series and Robert Sarkies' Personal Interpretation of Tourism Film

It's Never Just a Weekend When It's in Wellington - a 2014 Wellington brand campaign directed by New Zealand director Robert Sarkies - combines and further develops thematic, stylistic and narrative tendencies typical of previous Wellington tourism

marketing campaigns. The length of the five videos that comprise this series range from fifteen to sixty seconds; they were uploaded on WellingtonNZ YouTube channel starting from the longest one, released in November 2014 to the last one, released in March 2015.

These videos' goal to display, promote and market the capital city of New Zealand as an appealing tourist destination is evident from their title and from their narrative and visual characteristics. Moreover, they do not target any 'niche' or any specific type of visitor – not film-lovers or skilled migrants –, rather addressing a vast audience of potential tourists. *It's Never Just a Weekend When It's in Wellington – 60 seconds* employs a narrative device already used in the 2005 TV tourist ad *Have a Love Affair with Wellington* and in 2008 *Spoil Yourself in Wellington*, featuring a young and attractive tourist couple whose day in Wellington is displayed from morning to evening. This tourism marketing campaign has a purely urban character and no reference to Wellington's suburban world, suburban lifestyle and outdoor attractions; in Sarkies' video the tourist couple is engaged during the day in a very wide range of activities; almost all of them take place in very central locations. After waking up in a luxury hotel bedroom, the two lovers go for a walk on the waterfront, have a coffee at a trendy café and have lunch on Cuba Street; they then briefly separate for some shopping in Lambton Quay/Willis Street area to conclude their afternoon together, visiting the City Gallery, taking the Cable Car, going to the Mount Victoria Lookout and to Te Papa Museum. Night time is about enjoying local nightlife, so the young couple goes out for dinner, enjoys clubs and live music, goes to the movies at the Embassy Theatre and then for a final walk on Oriental Bay Beach against the picturesque backdrop of illuminated CBD skyscrapers. The video is obviously meant to display all the activities tourists can possibly do in central Wellington on a weekend, but fictionally condensed in a twenty-four hours, dawn-to-dusk narrative frame.

Following a trend established in the 1990s, the emphasis on central Wellington and its symbolic locations intends to convey images of Wellington's exciting urban lifestyle. As seen in the analysis of the previous case studies, Wellington tourism film features from the mid-2000s sophisticated couples and targets a similarly sophisticated audience that specifically looks for purely urban attractions: café culture, craft beer culture, live music, ethnic restaurants, art exhibitions. According to David Perks - a single story about the city had to be told in order to make tourism marketing effective. *Have a Love Affair with Wellington*, *Spoil Yourself in Wellington*, the *LookSee* series and *It's never just a weekend*

aim to tell the audience the same story, that Wellington is a thriving urban centre that perfectly suits sophisticated, well-educated visitors and migrants.

Sarkies adjusts to such an image by representing Wellington as an exclusively urban playground filled with multiple, culturally engaging leisure options. Following a tourism marketing trend popular in the 2000s and embodied by *Have a Love Affair with Wellington* and *Spoil Yourself in Wellington* this campaign also attempts to manufacture and market an image of Wellington capable of evoking emotions and resonating with the viewers at a deep level. As Sarkies states, through this campaign he tried to convey to the audience Wellington's peculiar, specific 'vibes'. In his words,

My aim with that ad was to evoke something of the experience of landing in Wellington for the first time, its café, craft beer, music scene, to build something that really bottled an experience (...), something evocative with a huge amount of energy in it (R. Sarkies, personal communication, May 26, 2017).

Wellington's actual reality had to be embellished and glamourised in order to capture the audience's attention; the representation of Wellington had to be as much as possible appealing to the target audience. Indeed, according to him,

Commercials reflect some essential truth and then – because it's advertising – embellishes that truth a bit – and glamourises that truth a bit – then it has a high chance of being successful because it's speaking to something that's true and that resonates with people. (R. Sarkies, personal communication, May 26, 2017).

Sarkies acknowledges the big potential of tourism marketing campaigns and related tourism film production. According to him, effectively manufacturing and circulating a culturally engaging, creative image of Wellington is fundamental in order to change locals' self-perception. Therefore tourism marketing is meant to tell a story that not only potential tourists but also Wellingtonians will have to believe. Through tourism marketing campaigns like his, Sarkies argues, "you end up incrementally building a new truth because the people who live there start - if it's successful - to buy into the idea of Wellington actually being a creative place" (R. Sarkies, personal communication, May 26, 2017). Sarkies' words about the role potentially played by local residents in the process of place-branding echoes a contemporary scholarly debate. Indeed both Braun (2010) and Jeuring (2017) emphasised the importance of local people in enhancing the reputation of a tourism destination; according to the former, the role played by locals is strategic in order to attract "visitors, new residents, investors and companies" (p. 1); similarly, Aitken and Campelo

(2011) and Saraniemi and Ahonen (2008) note that the effectiveness of a place-branding campaign is directly related to the successful involvement of the local population.

In his interpretation of the script, Sarkies – currently based in Wellington but originally from Dunedin - merged his memories and impressions, trying to convey to the audience a specific ‘sense of place’ shaped around his personal memories and around what he defines as his own “intense experience” of the capital city. The making of this series was characterised by a triangular relationship between a client – PWT –, an advertising agency (Assignment Group) and Sarkies himself. As Sarkies also points out, he started to work on a previously existing script turning it into an ad; his treatment for this tourism marketing campaign was eventually chosen from three treatments from three different directors who worked to visually develop a script that Jamie Hitchcock – creative director at Auckland-based advertising agency Assignment Group – specifically wrote for PWT. As he explains, “the production company I am associated with - Capital City Films - was hired by the agency to produce the spots with me directing”. Sarkies defines this professional experience as “creativity within defined parameters” (R. Sarkies, personal communication, June 21, 2017). More specifically, during his creative process Sarkies had to constantly interact with both PWT and Assignment Group, in a triangular employment relationship. His role was to write and present a treatment shaped around Assignment Group’s brief. Assignment Group accepted his treatment and presented it to PWT, which had the final word and agreed on him being the director of the campaign. In his words, “I was responsible for making the ad to their brief and present things like locations, casting etc to agency and client for feedback and approval along the way ” (R. Sarkies, personal communication, June 21, 2017).

As previously noted – although his professional relationship with the advertising agency and the client was formal and precisely defined – Sarkies points out how creativity and honesty can be identified as the main guidelines of his work. However, since the contents and themes of the videos were mostly decided by PWT and Assignment Group, his definition of creativity mostly refers to the shooting stage. As he said, “I tend to present things like casting and locations carefully in pre-production and gain the trust of agency and client so that I have plenty of freedom during shooting”. The articulated relationship between creative talents such as actors, directors and PR managers, advertisement agencies and political institutions (namely PWT and WREDA) is – as will also be seen in the

following section – one of the characteristic features of contemporary Wellington’s tourism film production.

Four of the five videos that comprise this series were extracted from the original, sixty seconds-long one and entitled respectively *It’s Never Just a Weekend When It’s in Wellington – 45 Seconds*, *It’s Never Just a Walk When it’s in Wellington – 15 Seconds*, *It’s Never Just a Night Out When It’s in Wellington – 15 Seconds* and *It’s Never Just a Coffee When It’s in Wellington – 15 Seconds*. These five videos share the same images, soundtrack, formal and stylistic features, differing only in length, the 15 second-long videos setting an unprecedented brevity record in terms of Wellington tourism film production. The soundtrack – a fast paced guitar-rock song by the Eversons - a Wellington band - matches Sarkies’ hectic editing and the very large number of images condensed in only one minute’s time. Indeed, the shots’ average length is less than one second; the urban, emotional journey of the two protagonists is portrayed through the use of close ups and medium close ups that focus on their facial expressions, whereas a number of wide shots capture images of their roaming around the city. The life of the lovers throughout one day is depicted through a succession of fast and slow motion scenes that seems to be more related to the description of their personal, inner experience of time rather than to the simple depiction of chronological time.

The video focuses on a fast succession of details and emblematic images that aim to display and celebrate Wellington’s urban ‘vibes’ and identity: street artists, baristas, cafés, vintage shops, restaurants, live music, cocktail bars, a craft brewery, some panoramic shots of the city skyline and the waterfront, art exhibitions, the Cable Car and the Mount Victoria lookout. Other images, on the contrary, capture details from the two lovers’ relationship and intimacy, their hands, their knowing gazes, their smiles, their complicity. More generally, there seems to be a perfect merge between the lovers’ intimate, personal experience and Wellington’s urban landscape, public spaces and surrounding, exciting and welcoming environment. Wellington seems to happily embrace the two lovers and it emerges as the ideal setting for the holiday of a fun-loving couple.

This series was conceived and made for YouTube in an era in which this social media had already become a frequently targeted tourism marketing tool – as analysed in section 5.1. Moreover this series was specifically and openly inspired by another social medium, Instagram, which was Sarkies’ main stylistic source of inspiration. According to him, “Instagram could be the key...I thought if I could make something that felt like it was

Instagram (...). I wanted to reflect real people in that situation” (R. Sarkies, personal communication, May 26, 2017). To create and convey the impression and feeling of a visually engaging succession of pictures taken on an exciting Wellington weekend, Sarkies had to carefully focus on the editing of his videos. In his words

In this commercial there is a huge number of cuts (...) it’s crazy how fast it’s cut and it’s interesting because I felt that the modern audience is so used to ultra fast cutting from music videos and alike (...). We are perfectly able to take everything in when it’s cut as fast as this, so it’s sort of an exercise, pushing the limits of what you can pack in. (R. Sarkies, personal communication, May 26, 2017)

Sarkies’ stylistic choices recall what Darley (2000) defines as a distinctive feature of digital video production, that is “the intensification and augmentation of image combination or montage” (p.103) and the tendency to borrow and refer to other visual texts – Instagram photographs in this case. Although narratively and thematically consistent with the ‘single story about Wellington’ described by Perks, this series displays stylistic and formal innovations that are a sign of our contemporary time marked by the coexistence and intertwining of social media and digital culture.

6.6.4 Welcome to the Vampire City. Film-Driven Tourism Promotion and Film-Induced Tourism in Wellington.

As previously noted in this chapter, film-induced destination marketing is one of the most visible and relevant phenomena of New Zealand tourism marketing in the last twenty five years. On the one hand it became a direct by-product of Peter Jackson’s New Zealand/Hollywood trilogies; on the other it was sometimes related to purely local film productions such as *What We Do in the Shadows* (Waititi & Clement, 2014)

Vampire’s Guide to Vellington is a two-minute video posted on the *WellingtonNZ* channel on June 8th, 2014, 11 days before the actual New Zealand release of Taika Waititi and Jemaine Clement’s mockumentary/horror comedy film *What We Do in the Shadows* (2014). This film narrates the everyday life of a community of vampires flatting in the Wellington suburb of Miramar; the *Vampire’s Guide to Vellington*, directed by Waititi and Clement themselves and produced by Waititi and Winstanley, represents a good example of a local feature film’s byproduct specifically used as a tourism marketing tool.

The style and content of the film and related video guide play with typical Gothic horror and expressionist conventions and atmospheres and on the contrast between the familiar – that is, well-known and easily recognizable urban locations - and the unfamiliar, represented by the vampire's world, behaviours and clothing. Overall, the representation of Wellington as it emerges in the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* is a parody of the dark, nocturnal urban atmospheres typical of Gothic fiction. The three vampires walk through the city at night, but there is nothing dreadful in their activities – a pedal-boat ride in the harbour and a relaxing stroll – and in what they see - street artists, shops, bars, restaurants, cinemas. The city itself is a reassuring, welcoming place. More broadly, *What We Do in the Shadows* and the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* can be inserted in a tradition of Gothic film parodies that, according to Elliott (2008), has traversed film history from the 1930s until now.

In this two minute and 16 second video, Viago Von Biltzenberg, one of the main movie characters - a pale-faced vampire with a strong German accent, dressed in an eighteenth century costume and played by Taika Waititi – presents to the audience a number of Wellington's attractions. The vampire's accent – 'Vellington' is how he pronounces the city's name -, his look and his overall tone make this tourism video an amusing and entertaining piece of place-marketing. In the first part of the video - consistent with its vampire-nature - Viago is interviewed at night, holding a glass of red wine/blood, sitting on an armchair in an old-fashioned living room illuminated by the feeble light of a table lamp. The second part of the video features Viago and two of his fellow vampires during a night stroll around some of Wellington's most renowned nightlife locations. The scenes depicting the three vampires' walk feature Viago's voice-over. As Viago states,

Vellington is a very friendly city (...) a great place for going out and it's got a really nice waterfront (...) My flatmates and I we love Cuba Street and Courtenay Place. There are so many good places to party and human friends say that also restaurants are very nice!

The video was shot at night and it features scenes taken in Cuba Street, Courtenay Place and on the waterfront. Similarly to the previous case studies, the representation (and promotion) of Wellington is exclusively limited to its city centre and, more specifically, to its nightlife/entertainment precinct. Some of the scenes directly involve the protagonists of the movie strolling, buying cinema tickets or riding a pedal boat in the harbour; the association of fictional movie characters to a specific location and their direct involvement

in tourism promotion is a narrative device that had already been used – as previously stressed - in the Hobbit-themed Air New Zealand safety videos. However, this two-minute video is mostly made of night scenes displaying street musicians, the Cuba Street night market, bars and baristas, craft breweries, restaurants, the Embassy Theatre and vintage clothes shops. Overall, the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* alternates and intertwines the realms of fantasy and reality: fictional characters list a number of tourist and more specifically nightlife attractions in the Te Aro area. This *Vampire's guide to Vellington* aims to convey the portrait of a vibrant, non-conformist and sophisticated urban centre.

Prior to its release, *What We Do in the Shadows* was characterised by a viral marketing campaign of which the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* became one of the best-known outcomes. Anna Dean – a Wellington-based public relations and marketing professional – was its creator; she was directly hired and paid by the film's producers, Taika Waititi and Chelsea Winstanley. According to her, in order to promote this horror comedy, “there was also a P&A budget for advertising from the Film Commission, which is standard for such films. *What We Do in the Shadows* was in a strange space where it was ‘self-funded’ but also had a component from the Film Commission” (A. Dean, personal communication, June 21, 2017). Dean's words help to trace the making of this tourism video. Dean decided to shoot *The Vampire's Guide to Vellington* right after an interview Taika Waititi had with the 20/20 TV show in Wellington. During this interview Waititi impersonated his character Viago Von Biltzenberg. According to Dean,

I arranged for it to be shot at a flat that was at the end of Courtenay Place (...) we did the shooting of the walking around; the video just actually went and walked along Courtenay Place, went up to the Library and did an interview there, walked back along to the Embassy and then finished so it was all done very quickly and I put that together in a week. (A. Dean, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

As previously highlighted, this video was part of a broader campaign that lasted six weeks. Dean stresses how the presence of extramaterial from the original shooting turned out to be fundamental in planning the promotional campaign. In her words,

What they had was a whole lot of extra material that hadn't made it into the film, so a lot of background interviews and things like that, because it was shot like a documentary, so there's a lot of extra footage and they thought they would make those into short videos and release those on YouTube (A. Dean, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

However, what Dean particularly highlights is the role played by a number of Wellington's stakeholders in the realization of the campaign. Local tourism marketing institutions, local businesses and companies co-operated in order to boost a local film production, made with local resources and directed and played by Wellingtonians. Dean argues that one of the campaign's turning points was the relationship she was able to create with PWT in order to take advantage of *What We Do in the Shadows*' tourist potential; more specifically, the idea of actively involving Wellington Airport in the promotion of the film proved to be eventually effective. Dean's plan was to temporarily change the original 'wind-blown' Wellington sign erected in 2012 on a Miramar hillside into 'Vellington', where the blood-red capital V was supposed to be a homage to the soon-to-be-released vampire movie. After contacting Angela Monahan from PWT - who immediately agreed with Dean's idea - Dean got in touch with Wellington Airport and negotiated with the airport for them to pay for the sign to change to 'Vellington'. (A. Dean, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

The collaboration with Wellington Airport initially raised an emblematic issue related to the sign change. According to Dean, the airport management strongly leaned towards 'Wellywood', considering this conflation between Wellington and Hollywood a more effective way to promote both the city and the local film industry. Anna Dean's idea and Vellington sign eventually succeeded; however, this apparently secondary issue gives the idea of the still existing uncertainty and debate around what should or should not be defined as local New Zealand cinema. Dean describes the Miramar studios as the "Miramar machine (...) just a kind of American manufactured company". On the contrary, in Dean's opinion, Waititi and Clement are originally from the Wellington area and have been based in Wellington for a long time, having deep roots and strong connections in the capital city of New Zealand. As she says, "Jemaine and Taika are part of Wellington community, this is where they come from", for this reason, and because it's been shot entirely in Wellington, *What We Do in the Shadows* can be legitimately and genuinely considered 'local', unlike Peter Jackson's globally known productions. The success of this marketing campaign and the active participation of different city institutions helped, according to Dean, to raise attention on Wellington as a centre of independent film production. As she claims,

I managed to convince the airport - they originally had suggested that the sign was going to be Wellywood (...) the way I convinced them was saying: 'this is a way to show your support for independent Wellington cinema, independent

Wellington film, not the big studio Miramar machine, but the independent speakers. Taika and Jemaine have done incredibly well at an international stage, but they're not part of that Miramar...so this would be a way to show your support to a wider Wellington film community'. (A. Dean, personal communication, June 6, 2017).

As she also points out, PWT website's front page also changed its name in Absolutely Positively Vellington for the occasion, promoting a tour that included most of the locations in which the film was shot; hotels were also encouraged to change their booking form including a 'vampire night' specifically designed to promote the film; finally, a variety of local actors – from businesses to sports team – were involved in this film-induced destination marketing campaign. In Dean's words,

Depending on the organisation it was more or less easy to convince them. Obviously each brand could see the benefit of being associated with Taika and Jemaine. They were also proud of them as Wellingtonians who were making films here, so they came onboard. I know Tuatara had been looking for a high profile project to associate with. The airport took the most convincing as it was a big spend for them but they got a lot of goodwill from the community for it as well as unique video content for their channels. (A. Dean, personal communication, June 21, 2017).

The businesses – as she also notes - did not receive any type of subvention for their cooperation. More broadly, the nature of the professional relationships established during this marketing campaign was mostly extemporaneous and informal, made of immediate decisions. Wellington's small size and population, its being a tight-knit community and Wellingtonians' good will and converging interests played a fundamental role in defining the spontaneous nature and rapid completion of this campaign. According to Dean's description,

No contracts existed. Wellington is a small town and everyone knows everyone so verbal agreements hold. It also all came together very quickly so it was decide now or miss out. It was largely based on the personal work connections that I had (...) combined with the star power and great work of Taika and Jemaine that everyone wanted to feel part of and support (A. Dean, personal communication, June 21, 2017).

This film-driven tourism marketing campaign was characterised by the direct involvement of Wellington's political, productive and social fabric; moreover, the cooperation between

creative personalities – in this case Waititi and Clement – PR professionals (Anna Dean) and political institutions (PWT), embodies and reflects – as previously seen - typical contemporary tourism film production patterns. Indeed, on the one hand the animated graphics which conclude the *Vampire's Guide to Vellington* highlight the direct participation of PWT in the making of this video. On the other, YouTube videos such as *Behind the Lid – Vellington Sign* (2014) on Wellington Airport's channel and *Viago feat Hurricanes - Poi E* (2014) on the Hurricanes' channel testify to the association of private Wellington enterprises with a local film production, further reinforcing the intertwining, cooperation and partnership between the public and the private sectors in Wellington tourism marketing as a characteristic feature of this chapter's time frame.

6.7 Conclusions

From the mid-1990s and throughout the following twenty years images of New Zealand landscapes have been spread internationally; the circulation and popularity of New Zealand images went for the first time much beyond the circle of New Zealand embassies and trade legations, travel-lovers, backpackers, travel agents and tourism professionals. Unspoilt Karekare Beach depicted in *The Piano*, spectacular North and South Island landscapes portrayed in both Peter Jackson trilogies and scenes of Wellington nightlife and urban attractions shown in *What We Do in the Shadows* reached global audiences and made a decisive contribution towards the transformation of New Zealand and its capital city into 'cinematic places' specifically targeted by film-tourists or 'cinenauts', according to Leotta's (2011) definition.

In this context - to paraphrase David Perks' words, Wellington tourism marketing institutions have been telling a single story about the city in the course of the last twenty-five years. Such coherent neoliberal narrative, that relied (and relies) on the depiction of the capital city of New Zealand as a thriving and sophisticated cultural and creative urban centre, headquarter of world-class IT and tech companies, hub of cinematic production and home of an international and globalised creative class, has been informing the selected case studies and a great portion of the overall Wellington tourism film production. In order to 'get people into the shop' this one story has been manufactured and used as a promotional tool in the context of neoliberal New Zealand, an age characterised by the spread of the private initiative, by the marketing and 'commodification' of culture and creativity, by

place-branding as core tourism marketing strategies and by the increasing involvement of the private sector in national and local tourism industries. The audience targeted from this ‘single story’ has recently dramatically expanded following the spread of the Internet and social media.

From a formal point of view, if from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s tourism film was characterised by a gradual process of hybridization with TV commercials, TV news report and fictional narratives, in the 1992-2017 time frame it exploded in a myriad of different forms. This chapter demonstrated how for the first time in New Zealand, different types of local films productions – dramas, fantasies, mockumentaries, airline safety videos - were intentionally used and sometimes consciously conceived as vehicles of tourism marketing, place-promotion and place-branding; the analysis of the case studies similarly showed how a recruitment video series uploaded on the *WellingtonNZ* YouTube channel can itself be considered part of a broader place/tourism marketing strategy and movie-themed videos of varied nature became fundamental tourist promotional tools over the last two decades. Nowadays, tourism film can take the form of a horror comedy, of an Instagram-inspired, hectic paced fifteen-second digital video or of an interview with a young, skilled, Wellington-based professional. If on the one hand – as noted above – Wellington tourism marketing has been narratively coherent in the last two decades, on the other the extremely flexible, ephemeral and adaptable nature of tourism marketing has become such that nowadays almost every type of visual text has in itself a tourist/promotional potential and can therefore be used as a tourism film.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has analysed the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film production from 1912 to 2017, examining the social, political, economic and cultural factors that have influenced and shaped it. Moreover, relying on textual analysis, the examination of archival documents, the use of interviews and the review of scholarly sources, it has tried to trace the characteristics, the dynamics of development, the distribution platforms and the contexts of circulation of New Zealand tourism films from the beginnings of national film production in the early 1900s until 2017. Furthermore, by providing an interdisciplinary approach that draws together an historical perspective on the relation between film production, media culture and tourism marketing strategies in New Zealand, this thesis aims to be an original contribution to film studies in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The interdisciplinary focus on the converging evolution of New Zealand tourism and screen industries characterises the entire thesis and has helped to identify the long-standing relationship between visual arts and tourism promotion and their intertwining as the backbone of this research. Indeed, the need to produce and circulate images of the country – originally paintings and soon thereafter photographs and films – for publicity purposes both nationwide and overseas is a thread that has been constantly traversing New Zealand history from the colonial period until the present. The production, release and circulation of tourism film has often been characterised, in New Zealand, by the multiplicity and complementarity of its objectives. Indeed, the effort to attract both tourists and settlers to New Zealand has been a constant policy since the beginning of British colonialism and tourism promotion has been a long-standing government-led policy in New Zealand, as demonstrated by the early establishment of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts in 1901. At the same time, the institutions in charge of tourism promotion and tourism marketing have tried to stimulate the growth of domestic tourism through tourism campaigns and tourism films specifically conceived and released for the domestic market. Moreover, New Zealand tourism film has often been employed at national level in the process of construction of cultural nationhood and, at local level, to enhance Wellingtonians' civic pride and self-perception.

At the turn of the twentieth century, film started to be systematically employed to advertise and promote the country. More specifically, the production, release and

circulation of films whose goal was to raise tourist interest and stimulate tourism flows towards the country and its capital city became increasingly frequent after the establishment of government-led film production companies such as the GPO in the early 1920s and the NFU in the early 1940s. Film production continued to grow simultaneously with the rise of mass tourism and the emergence and spread of TV during the 1960s. It finally increased to a remarkable extent at the beginning of the new millennium, when the explosion of digital culture, the global spread of the Internet and the introduction of web 2.0 and social media created new channels of distribution. More broadly, this thesis has highlighted how the interlinked stories of tourism film and tourism marketing have traversed New Zealand film history over the course of the last century.

After providing a definition of tourism film as a media form that features a geographic location with an explicit or implicit promotional goal (see 1.4.1), this thesis highlighted four main themes specifically related to New Zealand film production. First, the development of New Zealand tourism film has been characterised by complementary aspects that have been changing and transforming throughout the analysed time frame: their form, the intertwining of relations that underpins their production and their contexts of circulation and distribution (see 1.4.1). Second, in the choice of its platforms of distribution and in the selection of its themes, circulation contexts and targeted markets, New Zealand tourism film has displayed its polysemic and adaptable nature, opportunistically adjusting and conforming to the needs of tourism marketing and to pre-existing socio-economic conditions and cultural and ideological paradigms. Third, the production and circulation of tourism films made for the domestic market was not only characterised by the attempt to enhance domestic tourism, but it was often specifically conceived and employed as a means to construct a sense of nationhood. Finally, the narration and visual representation of New Zealand urban areas and Wellington urban and suburban dimensions in tourism promotion and tourism film has always been ideologically loaded. More specifically, a settler gaze directly related to a well-rooted, persistent settler culture has been informing it – albeit in different ways – throughout the period examined.

New Zealand Tourism Film's Formal 'Explosion'

A diachronic analysis of the New Zealand tourism film highlighted two turning points. The first one, that started in the mid-1960s, coincided with the increasingly visible

tendency of this media form to redefine its boundaries in multiple different directions. Indeed, if during the first half of the twentieth century the descriptive, postcard-like representation of the displayed locations made tourism film easily recognizable as a specific media category, from the 1960s onwards the adoption of television narrative and stylistic patterns, the recurring use of fictional plots, the formal, stylistic and narrative hybridisation with art-film, television advertisement and television report, transformed it into an increasingly articulated and complex media form.

The second one, that emerged in the neoliberal period, was marked by the tendency of national and local tourist institutions – the NZTB, PWT and WREDA - to employ an unprecedented range of visual texts – airline safety videos, feature films, recruitment videos, mockumentaries, movie-themed videos - for tourism promotion. From the early 2000s onwards, tourism film's process of fragmentation and 'explosion' in a myriad of different forms reached its peak, to the point that today New Zealand tourism film's boundaries have become increasingly blurred and increasingly difficult to define from the formal point of view. The recent 'explosion' of New Zealand tourism film production into a myriad of film and media forms only apparently distant from tourism promotion demonstrates a long-standing tendency of New Zealand tourism marketing to employ a variety of different means and to address and target increasingly diverse audiences. The *LookSee* (2017) recruitment videos analysed in Chapter Five, only apparently sit uncomfortably in the Wellington NZ YouTube tourism channel; indeed this series, besides promoting Wellington's career opportunities, provides viewers with attractive images and appealing descriptions of the city and its lifestyle. Similarly, Peter Jackson's fantasy/adventure trilogies have been used as a tourism marketing tool and tourism marketing strategies and campaigns have been shaped around them after their release, to the point that scholars like Page (2007), Carl, Kindon and Smith (2007) and Leotta (2015), recognise the importance of *LOTR* (2001) and *The Hobbit* (2012) in attracting tourists to the country.

Therefore, after the 1960s and especially following its neoliberal 'explosion' and fragmentation of the last two decades, New Zealand tourism film is not always immediately recognisable as such. As observed in 1.4.1, it can be imagined as a continuum in which some visual texts match all the above-mentioned aspects – their form, the intertwining of institutional relations that underpins their production, their contexts of circulation and distribution – while others only some of them.

Tourism Film: An Opportunistic Media Form

The analysis of New Zealand tourism film production highlighted the opportunistic choice of its contexts of circulation, target markets, addressed audiences and platforms of distribution. In terms of its international contexts of circulation, as shown in Chapter Two, the main New Zealand tourist markets at that time – Australia and the United Kingdom – were systematically targeted over the 1920s and 1930s and New Zealand pictures and tourism films were regularly sent to these linguistically and culturally compatible countries in order to be publicly exhibited and screened. The advancements in air transport technology in the mid to late 1960s, followed by the progressive emergence of new tourist markets throughout the last fifty years, have led the NFU first and TNZ later to frequently arrange subtitled versions of tourism films in several languages. TNZ has recently targeted India as a very promising, fast-growing and largely English-speaking market, by releasing a series of tourism videos featuring Bollywood star Sidhart Malhotra as a New Zealand tourist ambassador. The nature of the targeted audiences also constantly varied. During the 1960s and 1970s, NFU's tourism films regularly targeted international film festivals in Asia, Europe and North America in order to reach literate, influential audiences, whereas *This Is New Zealand* (1970), made for the Osaka International Expo was originally conceived for mass audiences. New Zealand tourism films such as the *LookSee* YouTube series promotes Wellington's attractions and lifestyle by directly and explicitly targeting a professional niche – IT specialists.

In regard to the choice of distribution platforms, tourism film producers have been similarly opportunistic and prompt to adjust to media technological advancements. After decades dominated – as shown in Chapters Two and Three – by theatrical distribution, in the early 1960s television's commercial potential was soon acknowledged by the NFU and television distribution was therefore systematically targeted from the early 1960s onwards, to the point that films originally conceived and made for the big screen had to be adapted to this new medium. VHS became an important distribution platform in the 1980s and 1990s, whereas in the last decade – after the spread of web 2.0 and social media – the vast majority of New Zealand and Wellington tourism film has been conceived and made for Internet circulation. New Zealand and Wellington's YouTube tourism channels have today become fundamental means for national and local tourism marketing. As has emerged

throughout this research, New Zealand and Wellington's tourism film adaptability and flexibility are directly related to the promptness and rapidity with which it has been responding and adapting to the emerging needs of national publicity and tourism marketing and to the opportunities opened by technological advancements over the last century.

New Zealand Tourism Film, Domestic Circulation and the Process of Nation-Building

New Zealand tourism film has constantly targeted domestic circulation at the same time as international circulation. In fact, the necessity to promote the country and its capital city as attractive tourist destinations to domestic audiences has traversed and marked the interlinked histories of New Zealand film and tourism industries. As observed throughout this thesis, if international tourist arrivals mostly showed positive trends - with the only significant exception of war and post-war time in the 1940s - the dynamics of domestic tourism were much less linear, much more fluctuating and unpredictable. In order to reverse the often negative trends of domestic tourism, the institutions in charge of national tourism marketing have regularly planned and released - particularly from the early 1970s - tourism campaigns that explicitly and directly addressed New Zealanders. As noted in Chapter Four, the *New Zealand Is Yours* (1974) and the *Don't Leave Home Until You've Seen the Country* (1984) series - both released for domestic TV broadcasting - were both part of tourism marketing campaigns conceived by the Tourist and Publicity Department. During the 1990s and the 2000s, four different Wellington tourism marketing campaigns - *APW* (1991), *Send Yourself to Wellington* (1999), *Have a Love Affair in Wellington* (2005) and *Spoiling Yourself in Wellington* (2008) were released for national TV broadcasting with the aim - as stressed in Chapters Four and as David Perks noted in Chapter Five - to turn Wellington into a weekend tourist destination for New Zealanders and to revive - especially in the 1990s - a struggling local hotel sector.

However, the spread and promotion of national landscapes, scenic views and tourist attractions within national audiences has not only been driven by the necessity to increase domestic tourism flows. Indeed, since the beginnings of national film production it was part of a phenomenon that Leotta (2011) defined as "the process of forging of New Zealand nationhood" (p. 15). Hillyer (1997) similarly stressed the use - since the early decades of the twentieth century - of tourism films such as GPO's *Glorious New Zealand* (1925) and

Romantic New Zealand (1934) as instruments in the construction of national identity. Hillyer highlights how in the GPO's intentions, *Glorious New Zealand* had been conceived both to attract tourists from overseas and to locally showcase and promote New Zealand's scenic gems, in order to stimulate in the audience a sense of national pride and a spirit of community. Nine years later, in 1934, *Romantic New Zealand* was able to create, in Hillyer's words, "a self-conscious sense of community" (p. 23). A few decades after the above-mentioned GPO films, Hugh Macdonald's *This is New Zealand* (1970), originally conceived for the New Zealand's pavillion at the Osaka International Expo, was envisaged to be an informative film about New Zealand for the Japanese audience. As highlighted in Chapter Four, after being screened in Japan, the film was also screened and employed in Europe, in the US and in Canada as a tourism promotion tool (H. Macdonald, personal communication, December 10, 2016), and in New Zealand, where it was widely circulated and where over 350.000 people saw it in movie theatres, becoming – according to Lawrence McDonald (2011) – "a popular and nationalistic spectacle" (p. 157). What has been emerging in the analysis of New Zealand tourism film's dynamics of domestic circulation is how, in Leotta's words, "the creation of a national community is strictly intermingled with its promotion as a tourist destination, at home and overseas" (p. 20).

Similar dynamics also characterised, at local level, Wellington, its tourism marketing strategies and its representation in national tourism film production. Indeed, Chapter Four and Five have shown how tourism films and local tourism marketing campaign – APW, for instance – were also conceived to increase local community's self-perception, self-awareness and civic pride; similarly, director Robert Sarkies, author of the tourism film series *It's not Just a Weekend When It's in Wellington* (2014) stressed how the story told by tourism marketing and tourism films must be believed by the local community in order to be effective. In fact, as stressed in Chapter Five (see 5.6.3), over the last decade the important role of local populations in processes of place-branding has been acknowledged by an extensive series of academic studies that emphasised the importance of local people's involvement in tourism marketing campaigns, their importance in strengthening the reputation of a tourism destination and the fundamental role they play in attracting new visitors and tourists.

The Persistence of Settler Culture and Settler Gaze as New Zealand Tourism Film's Ideological Backbone

As Goldson (2006) argues, throughout the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century the production and circulation of images of New Zealand through painting, photography and film was informed by the necessity to showcase and promote local natural attractions overseas and, at the same time, to stimulate and increase migration flows to the country. According to Bell (1998) and Taylor (1995) and as stressed in Chapters One and Two, the representation of New Zealand landscape was marked by the recurring use of specific pictorial and cinematic patterns such as bird's eye views and aerial views, which symbolised the colonial drive for the conquest and control of a still relatively unspoilt country. More generally, the representation of New Zealand's geographic space has emerged as a multilayered process in which the visual celebration of the natural elements coexists with a plurality of implicit and underlying meanings. This tendency is not only evident in the depiction of the extra-urban space, but stands out even more clearly and with more complexity in the representation of urban and suburban New Zealand spaces.

Throughout the last century, images of Wellington's urban and suburban landscapes – hilly and coastal suburbs, suburban beaches, the CBD Vertical City, along with central city locations such as Lambton Quay, Cuba Street, Courtenay Place, Te Papa Museum, the waterfront and Parliament Buildings – have been employed in local tourism marketing and local tourism film production as a means to convey to the audience a set of specific, multilayered meanings. Settler culture and the related settler gaze have always been a resilient and persistent ideological factor able to adapt to different socio-economic conditions and to regularly inform and underlie the representation of Wellington in national tourism film production.

In early New Zealand tourism film, the visual celebration of Wellington's appealing coastal and hilly landscape was meant to promote both within domestic and international audiences the local urban, healthy, middle-class lifestyle. The visual and thematic cornerstones of suburban promotion were the sprawl of detached or semi-detached houses with their own quarter-acre sections, the focus on the abundance of greenery, the celebration of visually appealing hilly and coastal suburbs along with the emphasis on the suburban beach as one of the preferred suburban socialising and leisure spaces. The aerial

and bird's eye views of Wellington's suburban sprawl that feature in early GPO's tourism films as *Sunshine Sands: Wellington's Holiday Land* (1929), *Wellington, Capital City of New Zealand* (1925), *Deep Harbour: The Port of Wellington* (1929) and *Romantic New Zealand* (1934) and in NFU's *Wellington Wharves and Eastern Suburbs* (1950) were intended to attract the attention and raise the interest of both potential tourists and settlers. With regards to the representation of Wellington's central areas, the recurring presence of the CBD's skyscrapers and the emphasis on the city centre's dynamism as well as images of urban traffic, urban transport and majestic vertical architecture were intended to spread the image globally of Wellington as a modern, capitalistic, efficient Western urban centre, in an attempt to minimise the feeling of geographic distance among overseas audiences. Parliament Buildings as well as references to Wellington's political and institutional importance and scenes taken from its political life also regularly featured in local tourism film production.. Therefore, on the one hand the representation of Wellington's modernity is both to assert the sameness and continuity with Western and especially British values and traditions. On the other, the recurring focus on suburbia and suburban life also stresses the possibility of belonging to a new country and forging a sense of identity which arises out the experience of a new land. The emphasis on the suburban sprawl seems to fully embody the identification with a newly settled land and to reflect Turner's (2007) description of settler societies. In his words, "settler societies of new countries are oriented toward the future" (p. 89):

After the neoliberal turn of the mid-1980s, the total disappearance of suburbs as a tourist promotional tool reflects both a change in New Zealand's immigration policies and the process of economic and social transformations that Wellington underwent in the course of the last three decades. If the main focus of national publicity in the first half of the last century was labourers from the United Kingdom – as shown in 1950 NFU's docudrama *Journey for Three* – in the current neoliberal era, the target has become a highly educated, creative and skilled international workforce. The necessity to attract new visitors and new potential population through place-promotion and tourism marketing is still present, as well as the emphasis on Wellington's lifestyle. However, the locations displayed have changed and the promoted lifestyle is now urban rather than suburban. As shown in Chapter Five through the analysis of case studies from the last twenty-five years, an emphasis on central Wellington characterises Wellington's current tourism marketing campaigns. Following the process of redefinition, branding and marketing of Wellington

as a cultural capital, as a creative city and a hub of the advanced tertiary sector, a new urban identity has been manufactured over the last three decades; new urban landmarks have been gradually gaining importance and different audiences have been targeted. Attractions related to the role of Wellington as a creative, cultural capital – Te Papa Museum, Wellington City Gallery, St. James Theatre, the Michael Fowler Centre – to the celebration of its urban lifestyle and nightlife – Courtenay Place and Cuba Street bars, cafés, restaurants and shops – and, finally, to its recent process of urban renewal – the waterfront and the Civic Square – became predominant. In the last two decades of local tourism marketing, central Wellington’s CBD verticality has no longer been used as a tourist/promotional tool; similarly, there has been a decreased emphasis on Wellington’s political role and institutional importance. On the contrary, increasing attention on the representation of Wellington’s cultural facilities and creative identity has traversed local tourism film production over the last twenty years; after the neoliberal turn of the mid-1980s these aspects gradually replaced the focus on the city’s institutional importance. Similarly, the promotion of Wellington’s modernity conveyed through generic images of urban architecture and urban life has been replaced – as observed in Chapter Five – by a more specific focus on locations architecturally and urbanistically symbolic of Wellington’s recent process of urban renewal. Local tourism film production during the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s has been reflecting and displaying the constant process of transformation of every aspect of the city and urban life and tourism film’s themes and narratives have been without exception a direct expression of the dominant neo-liberal ideology.

WREDA’s tourism marketing manager David Perks defined tourism marketing as a shop window for Wellington, highlighting how Wellington’s tourism marketing narratives during the last two decades have been increasingly and progressively adjusting to the governing idea of Wellington as creative/cultural capital and as a hub of the advanced tertiary sector. Tourism can potentially work as a ‘bait’ to attract future potential settlers (David Perks, personal communication, 29 May 2017). The current goal of Wellington tourism marketing is – to paraphrase David Perks – “to get people into the shop” (D. Perks, personal communication, 29 May 2017). In fact, this definition suits over a hundred years of Wellington tourism film production. Tourism film has often been employed as a shop window not only to attract tourists, but also new settlers, new population both from New Zealand and overseas and new investments. As has emerged from this research, New Zealand and Wellington tourism marketing and tourism film production have very often

been the integral part of broader advertising and publicity strategies. Over the last two decades Wellington tourism film has become even more than in the past an important promotional tool of a governing vision within which settler culture and the settler gaze have survived – albeit with different characteristics – and have been playing a very important role. More specifically, in the neoliberal age – as Turner (2007) stressed and as noted in Chapter Five - New Zealand's (and Wellington's) citizenship and lifestyle become themselves branded and subjected to forms of exchange. Cultural, national and local identities have turned – according to Turner (2007) into “something that is consumed or consumable, like any other kind of goods” (p. 91).

The persistence of settler culture and settler gaze traverses like an unbreakable thread not only the representation of Wellington, but also the depiction of the most important urban areas of New Zealand. As previously observed, the representation of Dunedin and Wellington in national tourism film production is to some extent similar. Dunedin's coastal suburbs and beaches and best-known tourist spots provided the backbone of tourism films until three decades ago, when at the dawn of the neoliberal era – as Robert Sarkies noted (Robert Sarkies, personal communication, 26 May 2017) – new tourist marketing strategies informed by the promotion of a local, peculiar urban lifestyle took hold. The depiction of Christchurch similarly relied on the recurring use of suburban images – a sprawl of appealing middle-class detached houses with their own private ‘quarter acre paradise’ in bloom – well-known urban tourist spots – the Cathedral Square – and a very often emphasised English cultural heritage. Auckland, even more than Wellington, was portrayed for a long time as an outpost of the Western capitalistic world in the South Pacific and its suburbs as a balanced, harmonious merger of landscape and civilisation; from the start of the neoliberal era, it has been described as an urban playground able to provide tourists with a multitude of urban and suburban leisure options.

The representation of New Zealand urban and suburban geographic spaces as it has emerged in this research can be described as a series of variations on a theme. As demonstrated through the analysis of twenty-four case studies, ‘to get people into the shop’ has often been a priority for national publicity. More than the bare, untamed extra-urban space, the New Zealand city has been playing in national tourism film production the role of a symbolic shop window where landscape, tourist attractions, lifestyle, job opportunities seemed and still seem to be within easy reach for the potential tourist/settler.

Contribution of my Thesis

This thesis aims to contribute to New Zealand film studies by defining a subject of research – tourism film – and by proposing a research methodology for the study of this media form that combines a multidisciplinary approach with textual analysis and archival research. In the absence of a significant corpus of academic publications dealing with the definition and concept of tourism film, what clearly emerged over the course of this research was the fundamental role played by primary sources – films, archival documents and interviews - in tracing information related to New Zealand tourism film's production dynamics, distribution platforms, contexts of circulation/reception and targeted audiences/markets. In the case of this thesis, the entire corpus of available archival films and documents was sufficient to draw a comprehensive picture of tourism film production from the 1920s to the 1970s. Information on the last four decades was drawn from interviews with key informants directly involved in tourism film production or local tourism marketing. For these reasons, the replicability of this research in other geographic contexts will necessarily rely on the presence of the above-mentioned conditions.

This thesis – besides focusing on the New Zealand and Wellington contexts – formulates a definition for tourism film and identifies a research method related to its analysis which is potentially applicable to a variety of geographic contexts. For instance, it provides an analysis of the representation and promotion of the urban/suburban dimension in colonial and postcolonial New Zealand which can be applied to similar cultural and historical contexts. At a national level, I hope that the focus on the representation of a specific location – Wellington – will encourage further analysis of the tourist representation and promotion of other New Zealand urban and extra-urban areas and locations. Moreover, I hope that my analysis of the set of ideological, economic and cultural aspects that have underpinned the tourism representation of Wellington will help to draw further academic attention to the complex and multilayered nature of New Zealand urban and suburban geographic, social and cultural spaces and to their current importance and role in defining and shaping New Zealand's tourism marketing and national branding strategies.

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APPENDIX – ETHICS APPROVAL

MEMORANDUM

Phone 0-4-463 5480
Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz

TO	Diego Bonelli
COPY TO	AProf Thierry Jutel
FROM	AProf Susan Corbett, Convener, Human Ethics Committee
DATE	27 October 2016
PAGES	1
SUBJECT	Ethics Approval: 23611 The representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films from 1912 to 2016

Thank you for your application for ethical approval, which has now been considered by the Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application has been approved from the above date and this approval continues until 31 December 2018. If your data collection is not completed by this date you should apply to the Human Ethics Committee for an extension to this approval.

Best wishes with the
research. Kind regards

Susan Corbett
Convener, Victoria University Human Ethics Committee

The representation of Wellington in tourism film from 1912 to 2016

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

My name is Diego Bonelli and I am a Doctoral student in Film at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my doctoral dissertation.

What is the aim of the project?

This project deals with the representation of Wellington in New Zealand tourism films from the beginning of New Zealand film production to nowadays. Its purpose is to analyse how the capital city of New Zealand has been represented in New Zealand tourism films in a time frame of about a hundred years and what social, economic, cultural and political factors influenced and shaped its representation throughout time. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [Approval Number 0000023611].

How can you help?

If you agree to take part I will interview you in an agreed location (for instance, VUW Kelburn Campus, interviewee or interviewer's home, City Library or other public spaces).

I will ask you about your involvement and/or knowledge of specific films, promotional campaigns, strategies and/or policies relating to representation of, and promotion of Wellington as a tourism destination. The interview will take not more than

two hours. I will audio record the interview and write it up later. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. The interview will take place between November, 1st 2016 and April, 30th 2017: you can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any point up to 21 days after the interview has taken place. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

The research is not confidential, and you will be named in the final report.

Only my supervisors Thierry Jutel and Alfio Leotta, and I, will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview file will be destroyed two years after the date of my thesis' final submission

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my PhD dissertation.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before *[date]*;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Student:

Name: Diego Bonelli

University e-mail
diego.bonelli@vuw.ac.nz

Supervisor:

Name: Thierry Jutel

address: Role: Primary Supervisor

School: English, Film, Theatre, Media
Studies

Phone: 04 463 9737

thierry.jutel@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convener: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.

Guide to my discussion

My questions will be open ended and conversational; through my interviews I will try to establish and seek information in the following areas:

- The depiction of Wellington in New Zealand tourism film with particular attention paid to the changes in its representation throughout time;
- the relationship existing between film and Wellington's tourism promotion;
- factors, institutions and stakeholders that have shaped the tourist representation and promotion of Wellington;

- The interviewee's role and involvement in shaping tourism policy and/or the production of tourism campaigns.
- Changes, shifts and turning points in the tourist representation of Wellington;
- Objectives and strategies that have driven Wellington's tourism policies;
- The changes and adjustments occurred in Wellington's tourism policies throughout time.

Below, a list of possible questions

1. Did Government policies and tourist stakeholders influence Wellington's tourist strategies and tourist promotion in the last four decades? If that's the case could you please explain how?
2. Did the spread of the Internet and the advent of Youtube influence and change the tourist representation of Wellington in the Internet era? If that's the case could you please explain how?
3. What are the most recurring themes in the tourism representation of Wellington in the Internet era?
4. Have there been any turning points in the tourist representation of Wellington over the last twenty-five years?
5. Is there anything that distinguishes Wellington from other New Zealand cities in terms of tourism promotion?
6. Did the growth of New Zealand film industry change Wellington tourism promotion? If that's the case could you please explain how?