For a Healthier Nation

Revealing Hegemonic Messages in Public Health Nutrition Advertisements
in The New Zealand Listener from 1948 - 1960
A sociocognitive discourse study

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by
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Attestation of Authorship

‘I hereby declare that this submission is my work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material, which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.’

Signature_____ Date October, 2024

Joanna Rusher

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate embedded beliefs and emergent discourses within historical public health nutrition advertisements, exploring their role in shaping hegemonic strategies, constructing social norms and conditions. Driven by the need to fill a significant scholarship gap, I explored the intersections of public health nutrition, ethics, and critical media studies, with a focus on a series of public health nutrition advertisements placed by The Department of Health in The New Zealand Listner, during the 1950s. These advertisements, selected for their historical availability as the first consistent set of public health nutrition messages, provide a unique lens for understanding how government-led nutrition promotion was used to reinforce social norms and state power during a formative period in Aotearoa New Zealand's public health history.

I chose Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis (SCDA) (Van Dijk, 2008a, 2014, 2016) as the methodological framework due to its ability to uncover ideological narratives and ambition to promote social change (Fairclough, 2013; Van Dijk, 2008b; Wodak, 2013). To apply this framework, I developed a four-phased method, the SCDA-method, which was effective at revealing the power and persuasion embedded in the nutrition advertisements.

My study revealed numerous culturally distinctive, hegemonic processes, tools and strategies. Findings included stereotyping, stigmatising, beauty idealisation and domestic gendering (Abrams et al., 2005; Fiske, 1993; Guttman & Salmon, 2004), racism through symbolical marginalisation (Edwards & Moore, 2009; Reid et al., 2019), nationalism through socioeconomic conditioning (Anderson, 2016; Billig, 1995; Van Dijk, 2008b), and individualism through the personal responsibility narrative.

Collectively, these findings illustrate how public health nutrition advertisements reinforced hegemonic social structures contributing to negatively impacting individual mental health in conflict with the bioethical principle of beneficence (Champine et al., 2022; Coleman et al., 2008; Duncan & Cribb, 1996; Van Dijk, 1993a). I also highlighted tensions between health promotion and individual autonomy raising ethical concerns regarding prevailing practices in the public health nutrition community (Brownell, 1991; Lupton, 1995; Verweij & Dawson, 2013).

In conclusion, these historical, culturally relevant hegemonic messages have not only shaped past social norms and dynamics but also provide critical insights for today's public health nutrition community in its endeavour to foster more ethical and effective public health nutrition promotion.

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Writing a thesis is a humbling process that reveals mountains of knowledge, which I am grateful to have accessed. I have found herein academic guidance, and the skills and wisdom of many brilliant academics has been enlightening.

This intellectual journey took many years, dedication, and persistence. I have been fortunate that my family has been unwavering in their support, always encouraging me to strive for excellence, persevere, accept and overcome challenges. I love them all and thank them from the bottom of my heart.

"Ngā mihi nui ki a koe"

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late great-grandmother,
Catherine Rijshouwer - Auf dem Brinke 1872-1956.

"Oma, you would be amazed at the opportunities available today for your great-granddaughters. Your resilience, love, hope and generosity paved the way.
I wish I could kiss your cheeks and tell you:
Dankjewel."

And, to my wonderful daughters, Lotte, Laura, Holly and Eliza

"The journey of progress,
is long and arduous.
But, my darlings,
look how far we have come."

Table of Contents

ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP ..... **II**
ABSTRACT ..... **III**
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **IV**
DEDICATION ..... **V**
TABLE OF CONTENTS **1**
TABLE OF FIGURES **6**
ABBREVIATIONS **7**
GLOSSARY **8**
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION **9**

1.1 Motivations and Concepts 10
1.1.1 Key Inquiries and Motivation *10*
1.1.2 Approach and Theoretical Framework *11*
1.2 The Fields of Interest 12
1.2.1 Human Nutrition *13*
1.2.1.1 Physiological Approach. 13
1.2.1.2 Sociological Approach. 14
1.2.2 Critical Media Studies *15*
1.2.2.1 Mass Media. 16
1.2.2.2 Advertising. 17
1.2.2.3 Food Advertising. 18
1.3 Historical and Social Context 19
1.3.1 Aotearoa and the Establishment of New Zealand: A Brief Overview *20*
1.3.2 A Dominion in the Empire: Post-War 1950s Aotearoa New Zealand *21*
1.3.3 Voices from the Past *24*
1.4 What's on the Radio? The New Zealand Listener 25
1.5 Thesis Structure and Organisation 26

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS **28**

2.1 Science of Ideas 28
2.1.1 Ideology: Studying Ideas *29*
2.1.2 Hegemony: Elite Power and Social Compliance *29*
2.2 Hegemonic Strategies and Processes 30
2.2.1 The Mass Media: a Hegemonic Apparatus in Contemporary Society *30*
2.2.2 Foucault's Theory of Governmentality: A Theory of the State and its Institutions *31*
2.3 The Social Self and Nation Building 33
2.3.1 Exploring Social Identity *33*
2.3.2 National Identity in the Spotlight *35*
2.4 Summary: Chapter Two 37

CHAPTER THREE: PUBLIC HEALTH NUTRITION, PROMOTION AND ETHICS.....39

3.1 THE HEALTH OF NATIONS: DIRECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES 39

3.1.1 Definitions: What is Public Health? *39*

3.1.2 Directions: The Charters *40*

3.1.3 Developments: New Perspectives *41*

3.2 PROMOTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH NUTRITION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND.....42

3.2.1 Approach.....*43*

3.2.2 Political context *44*

3.3 PUBLIC HEALTH AND ETHICS: CONSIDERATIONS 46

3.3.1 Health: Concepts and Constructs *47*

3.3.2 Unravelling the Role of Bioethics *48*

3.3.3 Ethical Considerations in Public Health *50*

3.4 OPPORTUNITIES 52

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY AND METHOD 54

4.1 SELF-REFLECTION AND APPROACH.....54

4.1.1 Positionality and Sociopolitical Engagement in Critical Discourse Analysis.....*54*

4.1.2 Unveiling Methodological Approaches in Social Research.....*54*

4.2 DISCOURSE, PERSUASION AND CDA 55

4.2.1 Defining Discourse.....*55*

4.2.2 Persuasive Discourse.....*56*

4.2.3 The Psychology of Persuasion *57*

4.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis.....*59*

4.2.5 CDA Limitations.....*60*

4.2.6 Choosing Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis.....*61*

4.3 METHOD DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT: WORKING TOWARDS THE SCDA-METHOD.....63

4.3.1 SCDA-method: An introduction *63*

4.3.2 SCDA-method Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *64*

4.3.3 SCDA-method Phase 2: Discourse Component.....*65*

4.3.3.1 Ideological Discourse Structures. 65

4.3.3.2 Examination of Discursive Properties. 66

4.3.4 SCDA-method Phase 3: Cognitive Component.....*68*

4.3.4.1 Knowledge. 69

4.3.4.2 Attitudes and Ideologies. 69

4.3.5 SCDA-method Phase 4: Social Component and The Critical Discourse Perspective.....*69*

4.3.5.1 Aspects of Control. 70

4.3.5.2 Group Relations. 70

4.3.5.3 Group Structures. 70

4.4 METHOD DEVELOPMENT 71

4.4.1 Data Gathering *71*

4.4.2 Researcher Bias *72*

4.4.3 Data Selection and Approach *72*

4.4.4 Method Trial and Limitations *73*

4.5 SUMMARY 74

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS PART ONE: THE PILOT STUDY 75

5.1 PILOT STUDY: NZL02 SENSIBLE SLIMMING 76

5.1.1 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *77*

Visual Elements and Principles of Design 77

The Type and Graphic Design 77

Visual Social Semiotic Analysis 77

5.1.2 Phase 2: Discourse Component *78*

Superstructures 78

Sex and Gender 80

Style 80

Rhetoric 81

5.1.3 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *82*

Knowledge: Shared Sociocognitive Knowledge 82

Attitudes and Hegemonic ideas 83

Emotions 84

Beliefs 85

5.1.4 Phase 4: Social Component *85*

Elite Structures, Group Relations, and Group Structures 85

5.2 REVIEW 87

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS PART TWO: THE LATE 1940S TO 1950 88

6.1 ANALYSIS 1: NZL08 VEGETABLE WATER IS VALUABLE 89

6.1.1 Context *90*

6.1.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *91*

6.1.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component *94*

6.1.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *95*

6.1.5 Phase 4: Social Component *96*

6.2 ANALYSIS 2: NZL12 CHOOSE CHEESE! 100

6.2.1 Context *101*

6.2.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *101*

6.2.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component *103*

6.2.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *105*

6.2.5 Phase 4: Social Component *105*

6.3 ANALYSIS 3: NZL13 LET'S TRY LAMB'S FRY! 107

6.3.1 Context *108*

6.3.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *108*

6.3.3 Phase 2. Discourse Component *111*

6.3.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *112*

6.3.5 Phase 4: Social Component *113*

6.4. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS 115

6.4.1 Norms: Beauty Ideals, Gender Role Stereotyping, Ethnic Preferencing *116*

6.4.2 Tools: Authoritarianism, Conformity, Persuasion *116*

6.4.3 Ideologies: Nationalism, Economic Focus, Patriarchy, Individualism and Meritocracy *117*

CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSIS PART THREE: THE 1950S 119

7.1 ANALYSIS 4: NZL36 USE YOUR TOOTHBRUSH 120

7.1.1 Context *121*

7.1.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *122*

7.1.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component *123*

7.1.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *125*

7.1.5 Phase 4: Social Component *126*

7.2 ANALYSIS 5: NZL22 THERE IS SAFETY IN PASTEURISED MILK 128

7.2.1 Context *129*

7.2.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *130*

7.2.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component *131*

7.2.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *132*

7.2.5 Phase 4: Social Component *133*

7.3 ANALYSIS 6: NZL33 FOOD FALLACIES 135

7.3.1 Context *136*

7.3.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis *138*

7.3.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component *140*

7.3.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *141*

7.3.5 Phase 4: Social Component *141*

7.4 ANALYSIS 7: NZL47 MEALS FOR TEEN-AGERS 143

7.4.1 Context *144*

7.4.2 Phase 1. Critical Visual Analysis *145*

7.4.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component *147*

7.4.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component *149*

7.4.5 Phase 4: Social Component *152*

7.5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS 153

7.5.1 Norms: Beauty Ideals, Gender Role Stereotyping, Ethnic Preferencing *153*

7.5.2 Tools: Symbolic Annihilation, Authoritarianism, Conformity *155*

7.5.3 Ideologies: Nationalism, Patriarchy, Individualism, Meritocracy *155*

CHAPTER EIGHT: REVIEWING, DISCUSSING AND REFLECTING 157

8.1 THE SCDA-METHOD: REFLECTIONS 158

8.2 UNVEILING HEGEMONIC PROCESSES 159

8.2.1 Beauty Idealisation and Domestic Gendering *159*

8.2.2 Ethnic Preferencing *160*

8.2.3 Hegemonic Tools *161*

8.3 SHAPING SOCIAL DYNAMICS 164

8.3.1 Nationalism *164*

8.3.2 Individual Autonomy *165*

8.4 IN CONCLUSION 166

8.4.1 Limitations *166*

8.4.2 Concluding Remarks *167*

8.4.3 Suggestions *167*

8.5 FINAL THOUGHTS 169

8.5.1 Personal Reflections *169*

REFERENCES 171

APPENDIX A. 223

CORPUS 223

APPENDIX B. 230

SAMPLE GENERATION: RANDOMISATION 230

APPENDIX C. 232

KEY RHETORICAL DEVICES & TOOLS 232

Discovery of Arguments/ Superstructures *232*

Common Topics/ Topoi 232

Special Topics/ Topoi 232

Fallacies 232

Kinds of Appeal 232

APPENDIX D. 233

KEY DISCURSIVE ELEMENTS, STRUCTURES AND STRATEGIES: 233

Polarisation 233

Ideological discourse: local meanings, implications 233

Discursive structures and strategies 234

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Image 2 NZL02 ‘Sensible Slimming' 76
Figure 2. Image 8 NZL08 'Vegetable Water is Valuable'....89
Figure 3. Image 12 NZL12 'Choose Cheese!'....100
Figure 4. Image 13 NZL13 'Let's Try LAMB'S FRY!'....107
Figure 5. Daily Dietary Pattern (New Zealand Department of Health, 1945-1960) 110
Figure 6. Image 36 NZL36 ‘Use your TOOTHBRUSH’ 120
Figure 7. Dental Health is in Your Hands 122
Figure 8. Clean Your Teeth For Dental Health 122
Figure 9. For Snow White Teeth Use Your Toothbrush After Each Meal....122
Figure 10. Image 22 NZL22 ‘There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk’ 128
Figure 11. Play safe with pasteurised milk!....130
Figure 12. Image 33 NZL33 'Food Fallacies' 135
Figure 13. Image 24 NZL24 'Food Fallacies' 137
Figure 14. Image 47 NZL47 ‘Meals for Teen-agers’ 143
Figure 15. Pile of envelopes containing copies of the Mazengarb Report. 145
Evening post (Newspaper. 1865-2002) 145
Figure 16. Novel Costumes for day and evening wear....150
Figure 17. Seeking health and poise in The New Zealand Listener, 1948. 151

Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
CMS	Critical Media Studies
DA	Discourse Analysis
DoH	Department of Health
Listener	The New Zealand Listener
MHH	Montague Harry Holcroft
NGO	Not for Profit Organisations
PHE	Public Health Ethics
PHNA	Public Health Nutrition Advertisements
PHNE	Public Health Nutrition Ethics
PHNP	Public Health Nutrition Promotion
PHN	Public Health Nutrition
PHP	Public Health Promotion
SCDA	Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis
SCDA-method	Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis-Method
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organisation

Glossary

Body mass index (BMI)	An index of an individual's weight in relation to their height is determined by dividing the weight by the square of the height. Health sciences use the BMI to assess the prevalence of underweight, overweight and obesity in a population.
Public health communication	The public health practice of strategically disseminating information and messages to inform, influence, and engage individuals and communities in behaviours that improve health outcomes. It encompasses a variety of channels, including media campaigns, social marketing, and community outreach, to promote public health goals such as disease prevention, health education, and policy advocacy.
Health promotion	Health promotion involves the process of enabling individuals and communities to increase control over and improve their health. It encompasses a range of social, educational, and policy initiatives designed to inform, motivate, and support healthier lifestyle choices.
Māori	The indigenous people of Aotearoa
Nutrition confusion	Variety of conflicting messages causing general confusion.
Nutrition disinformation	Intentional false and misleading nutrition information or education.
Nutrition information	Scientific, evidence-based nutritional instructive advice.
Nutrition misinformation	Unintentional false and misleading nutrition information or education.
Obesity	The clinical definition of an individual who has a BMI over 30, the condition of having a high level of stored body fat.
Overweight	The clinical definition of an individual with a BMI between 25 and 30. The condition of having a medium to a high level of stored body fat.
Pākehā	Māori language term for non-Māori New Zealanders.
Public health nutrition	Public health nutrition refers to the science and practice of promoting healthy diets and nutritional well-being at the population level. It focuses on preventing diet-related diseases, improving food systems, and addressing nutritional disparities through public policies, education, and interventions.

Chapter One: Introduction

In an era inundated with information and media messages, the intersection of Public Health Nutrition (PHN) and Critical Media Studies (CMS) emerges as a vital area of inquiry. This thesis 'For a Healthier Nation' investigates the intricate dynamics of hegemonic processes within a sample of Public Health Nutrition (PHN) advertisements placed by the New Zealand Department of Health (DoH) in the nationwide subscription-based weekly magazine The New Zealand Listener (*The Listener)* between 1948 and 1960. These mid-century advertisements were selected due to their availability as the first consistent set of public health messages in New Zealand, offering a valuable historical snapshot. The study uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology to uncover how social power imbalances and inequalities are enacted, reproduced, and legitimised through their underlying discursive structures (Fairclough, 2015). This approach examines how discourses shape perceptions, behaviours, and social norms, while also exploring the broader implications on the perceived value of state-led nutrition promotion. Moreover, this study embarks on a journey through the nuanced realms of Public Health Nutrition Promotion (PHNP) to explore the fusion of human nutrition science, sociology, psychology, Critical Media Studies, and Public Health Ethics (PHE), offering profound insights into the aetiology of social identities, norms, and the hegemonic exercise of power within contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand (Meyer, 2001; Rimal & Lapinski, 2009; Sachs Carl & Sachs, 2011; Schiffrin et al., 2001).

The overarching objective of Public Health Nutrition is to improve overall health and well-being within communities, seek equitable access to nutritious foods, cultivate and communicate *healthy*[1] behaviours, and address health disparities (Berridge, 2011b). In this endeavour, advertising and the mass media are considered cost-effective communication tools to, among others, set agendas, build coalitions, promote policies, and increase the acceptability of healthy behaviours (Corcoran, 2013a; Hubley & Tilford, 2010; Lupton, 1995; Snelling, 2014; Tengland, 2012; Thompson, 2014). Furthermore, it is the widely established contention that this endeavour is inherently an ethical pursuit (Bayer & Fairchild, 2004; Carter et al., 2012; Kass, 2001; MacKay, 2022).

Although success is hard to measure and varies greatly, the public health sector considers mass media advertising campaigns effective interventions for promoting healthy behaviour or discouraging unhealthy behaviour with significant financial resources allocated to them (Abroms & Maibach, 2008; Beattie, 1991; Hornik, 2002; Randolph & Viswanath, 2004). Following this consideration, public health ministries and their associated agencies (local and global) use a variety of communication channels, with the mass media serving as the primary means to disseminate health-

[1] The adjective "healthy" within the nutrition community typically signifies adherence to evidence-based best health practices. In this study, I use this term with such connotations while recognising its cultural and ethnographic ambiguity.

related information and promote health initiatives to their specific target audiences (Corcoran, 2013a, p. 70; Lupton, 1995; Randolph & Viswanath, 2004; Signal & Ratima, 2015; Tay, 2005). As such, given that public health institutions, the advertising industry and the media hold privileged social positions, it is valuable to scrutinise their activities to better understand how embedded hegemonic beliefs, attitudes, and values within PHN discourses elicit emotional responses and contribute to the construction of social norms and identities (Fairclough, 1992, 2015; Rimal & Lapinski, 2009; Van Dijk, 2011).

1.1 Motivations and Concepts

1.1.1 Key Inquiries and Motivation

My motivation for conducting this research comes from several key inquiries. First, the need to pay more attention to nutrition history in Aotearoa, New Zealand struck me as a critical gap in our understanding of Public Health Nutrition interventions. It is challenging to grasp the nuances of current nutritional practices and policies without a comprehensive understanding of the historical context and cultural relativism. Second, the troubling prevalence of poor nutritional outcomes among certain demographic groups (Māori and Pacifica) within New Zealand society (Grant et al., 2010; Reid & Robson, 2006; Signal et al., 2013; Turley, 2003; Wahlqvist, 2011) has spurred me to action. Disparities and *health inequities*, which refers to the differences in health outcomes experienced by different groups based on their social, economic, demographic, or geographic characteristics that are avoidable and remediable (Frank et al., 2008) must be addressed urgently through research and targeted interventions. Third, my interest in critical studies provides a theoretical framework for analysing and critiquing the hegemonic strategies used in Public Health Nutrition promotions and interventions.

The purpose of this study is to uncover hegemonic elements embedded within PHNP efforts by examining power dynamics and societal norms. My investigation of the role of government and health promotion agencies reflects my desire to understand how social values in nutrition advertisements are discursively constructed and how they contribute to maintaining the hegemonic landscape. Ultimately, my commitment to uncovering the underlying forces shaping Public Health Nutrition discourse drives me toward working to improve ethical and equitable health outcomes for all members of society.

During preliminary research, echoing the findings of researchers Dew and Kirkman (2004) and the observations of Biltekoff (2012), academic publications appeared scarce on state-led or commercial nutrition advertising and CMS or on a history of nutrition promotion and related nutrition discourse studies in Aotearoa New Zealand. At that time, there was only one relevant critical discourse study on nutrition promotion underscoring the need for further investigation. Such a gap in nutrition communication, critical nutrition studies, and CMS required delving into a broader base of public health history to tease out the history of nutrition promotion, which piqued my interest in

Critical Media Studies, leading me to consider an applicable research methodology and organise my thesis around the following *research questions:*

- Research Question 1: What are the embedded beliefs, and emergent discourses within historical public health nutrition advertisements that contribute to developing, accepting, and validating social norms, hegemonic strategies, and associated practices?
- Research Question 2: In what ways do these hegemonic processes contribute to broader social dynamics and ideologies?

1.1.2 Approach and Theoretical Framework

With their focus on power and social control, these questions tend to fall into the purview of critical discourse analysis methodologies (Van Dijk, 2015a; Wodak, 2001). CDA demonstrates and argues that for powerful institutions, such as corporations and government bodies, to enact and maintain power, they depend on systematic reporting and repetition of messages through multiple levels of communication and ways of positioning the reader (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 2015; Fairclough et al., 2012; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Van Dijk, 2009, 2018; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak, 2013). Their scholarship contends that this regular reporting and repetition of messages allows beliefs regarding, for example, gender, race, age, body size, or social status to become normalised and entrenched within societal discourse.

Communication criticism, discourse analysis, narrative approaches, performative/ dramatistic, and semiotics are some approaches this study navigates in the social science of CMS as identified by Baxter and Babbie (2004, p. 354). Choosing an approach is inherently tied to a paradigm, the research questions, the type of artefact, and the social perspective of the researcher. Aligning with a social constructionist view, this study adopts a qualitative, interpretive approach to delve into media artefacts and their unseen public aspects (Deetz, 1982, p. 135). To this end, it examines the complex interplay of social, historical, political, and cultural factors (Burr, 1995; Fairclough, 1992, p. 36; Gergen, 2009; Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 257) beginning with exploring 1950s Aotearoa New Zealand environment (see Section 1.3) to understand the sociocultural landscape before delving into theoretical foundations (see Chapter 2) and literature on public health, promotion, and ethics (see Chapter 3).

Employing a critical theory perspective and Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis (SCDA) as outlined by (Van Dijk, 1995a, 1995c, 2008a, 2014, 2016, 2018) (see Chapter 4), this study rigorously examines the hegemonic elements surrounding PHNP within identified artefacts (see Chapters 5 to 7). It endeavours herewith to unearth concealed contradictions and distorted everyday understandings, recognising that hegemony in a capitalist society necessitates popular consent won through persuasive appeals (Aronson, 1972; Bates, 1975; Hall, 2006; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Ives, 2004; Lindlof, 1995; Mouffe, 2014; Stoddart, 2007). This study is guided and grounded in the core principles of Critical Discourse Analysis as outlined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997). These principles emphasise addressing social problems, recognising that power relations are embedded in discourse,

understanding that discourse shapes society and culture, acknowledging the ideological functions of discourse, and situating discourse within its historical context. Furthermore, CDA is both interpretive and explanatory, and ultimately, it is a form of social action.

The overarching objective of this critical evaluation is two-fold. First, it seeks to unearth valuable insights into how these discursive constructs impact individuals' health, social well-being, and behaviour within the studied context. These insights hold significant implications for understanding PHNP in this specific temporal and geographical setting. Second, this inquiry examines the ethical dimensions of Public Health Nutrition Advertising (PHNA) strategies. Public health campaigns often employ persuasive tactics to promote health behaviours and messages, but these approaches can raise ethical concerns regarding autonomy, paternalism, and the potential for stigmatisation or marginalisation of certain groups (Abrams et al., 2005; Friedman et al., 2005; Guttman & Ressler, 2001; Guttman & Salmon, 2004; Kass et al., 2014; Puhl & Heuer, 2009; Puhl & Heuer, 2010; Rossi & Yudell, 2012). By scrutinising the ethical underpinnings of public health advertising, this evaluation aims to shed light on the complexities of balancing public health objectives with ethical considerations, thus contributing to a more nuanced understanding of PHNP practices and their societal impacts.

Second, this research aspires to make substantial contributions to a range of scholarly domains. These include but are not limited to Public Health Nutrition Promotion, Public Health Ethics, Health and Discourse Studies, History of Aotearoa New Zealand, Public Health Advertising (PHA), and the broader fields of CMS and Critical Discourse Analysis or Studies (CDA, CDS). By bridging these disciplines, this study aims to provide a holistic and nuanced perspective on the intricate interplay between media, hegemony and PHN, thus enriching the academic discourse in these vital areas.

1.2 The Fields of Interest

At the core of this research is the intention to question, consider and understand the interplay of PHNP, the media and power structures. Due to this interdisciplinary nature, it begins by introducing the two distinct fields of inquiry: Public Health Nutrition and Critical Media Studies.

Public Health Nutrition is a multidisciplinary field characterised by its breadth and complexity, incorporating the physiological and biochemical sciences of human nutrition, as well as the sociological aspects of eating. It is primarily concerned with addressing societal health challenges and striving to improve population health (Baum, 2015; Bennett et al., 2015; Bernhardt, 2004; Hughes, 2003, p. 4; Mann & Truswell, 1998; Schmidt, 2016; Whitney et al., 2019; Wiseman, 2017; Worsley & Lawrence, 2007b). It draws upon the social sciences, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and economics (Mann & Truswell, 1998, p. 1; Whitney et al., 2019, pp. 2,10) to understand and inform public health nutrition promotion.

The New Zealand Government has a stake in the nation's health and considers it a human right. In alignment with international charters and consensus (Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008), the

government must ensure that citizens have access to medical treatment when required and make efforts to prevent disease (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2022). One of the prevention responsibilities of the Ministry of Health is public health nutrition promotion, which is carried out by the Health Promotion Authority (HPA), the authority charged with providing nutrition advice (Health Promotion Agency /Te hiringa hauora, 2022).

For clarity, PHNP can be understood as a form of social advertising. Social advertising refers to campaigns designed *not* to sell products, but to influence public behaviours and attitudes in ways that align with societal goals, such as improving health, promoting safety, or enhancing well-being (Andreasen, 1994; Grier & Bryant, 2005; Kotler, 2008). In the context of public health nutrition, this type of advertising serves to inform, persuade, and motivate individuals to adopt healthier dietary practices for the collective benefit of public health. It often operates under the guise of informative, passive education, yet it is inherently persuasive, leveraging strategies traditionally found in commercial advertising—such as emotional appeals, authoritative messaging, and strategic visual design (see also Section 1.2.2.2 on advertising).

Public Health Nutrition campaigns, therefore, do not simply provide information; they aim to shape societal norms and behaviours by promoting state-endorsed health practices. As with all social advertising, PHNP reflects broader governmental agendas and plays a critical role in the state's efforts to manage population health, prevent disease, and ultimately support the public welfare. By promoting desirable behaviours such as healthy eating or hygiene practices, public health nutrition advertisements can be seen as a tool for social governance, subtly reinforcing normative values while influencing individual choices.The following section provides an overview of the field of human nutrition, which involves both physiological and social aspects followed by an introduction into Critical Media Studies, which expands on advertising, food advertising and the role of the mass media.

1.2.1 Human Nutrition

Human nutrition is a multidisciplinary field that explores how food and nutrients affect the body and contribute to overall health and well-being. The study of human nutrition encompasses several key areas of scholarship, each offering unique insights into the complex relationships between diet, health, and society.

1.2.1.1 Physiological Approach.

At the core of human nutrition studies is physiological nutrition, which deals with the biochemical science of the effects of food components and involves understanding the role of energy in the body and how food components contribute to chronic diseases (Webster-Gandy et al., 2020; Whitney et al., 2019; Wiseman, 2017). It studies, among others, the effects nutrition plays in foetal and maternal health and infections, and expands to mental and athletic performance (Mann & Truswell, 1998). Human nutrition, diet, non-communicable diseases (NCDs), heart diseases, cancer,

dental caries, malnutrition, and obesity are considered well-understood physiological correlations (Afshin et al., 2019).

Increasingly, nutrition and related sciences acknowledge that optimal nutritional health plays a significant and essential role in overall health throughout a lifespan, which includes enhancing aspects such as childhood development, maternal well-being, and immune system function while also reducing the likelihood of specific preventable chronic, non-communicable diseases (Baur et al., 2012; Bennett et al., 2015; Centre for Disease Control, 2022; Coulston et al., 2017; Mann & Truswell, 1998; Whitney et al., 2019; Wiseman, 2017). Research further demonstrates that a good-quality diet correlates with improved learning outcomes, poverty reduction and overall longevity (Bennett et al., 2015; Centre for Disease Control, 2022; Signal et al., 2013; World Health Organisation, 2023b). These sources and the scholarship consider good and sustainable nutritional health essential for human flourishing.

The United Nations (the UN) provides guidelines and goals for its member states to work towards achieving nutritional health (New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2023; United Nations, 2023b). Unfortunately, although some nations have progressed, many are not on track to meet globally agreed goals and targets (Branca et al., 2020; Coad & Pedley, 2020; United Nations, 2023b). In terms of meeting the UN sustainable development goals (SDG), Aotearoa New Zealand reports that in 2020, 2.5% of the population suffered from poverty, and most trends for health and well-being were tracking positively (United Nations, 2023a) (see Section 3.2.2 for more detail).

1.2.1.2 Sociological Approach.

The sociological and cultural approaches to human nutrition examine how social, economic, and cultural factors shape food choices and dietary behaviours. This approach is primarily concerned with the anthropological and social constructions of food habits, e.g. what, how, and when people eat, and involves countless sociocultural, political, economic, and philosophical discourses and factors (Annandale, 2014; Mann & Truswell, 1998; Webster-Gandy et al., 2020). Consequently, nutrition discourses are culturally and sociologically complex and understood to be laden with morals, attitudes, beliefs, signs, and symbols (Germov & Williams, 2004b, pp. 3-9; Guttman, 2017). For example, cultural studies scholar Deborah Lupton (1996, p. 29) describes how foods can be considered good or bad in some cultures, where eating "bad" foods is seen as a weakness or where foods are symbolic; for example, milk often stands for restoration, purity, childhood innocence, and natural goodness. Furthermore, scholarship continues to demonstrate that nutrition discourses can be gendering, body-type stigmatising, and socioeconomically polarising (Annandale, 2008; Barkan, 2023; Christians et al., 1991; Crotty, 1995; Ettorre, 2010; Guttman & Salmon, 2004).

These two aspects of human nutrition studies collide through the translation/communication of nutritional science into dietary ideals. As Biltekoff (2012) asserts, dietary ideals, often perceived as impartial representations of nutritional facts, actually embody social values. These ideals convey significant and widely accepted notions about the qualities associated with being a virtuous individual

and, consequently, a responsible member of society. Lupton (1996) furthers this understanding of the social role of nutrition by noting that diet not only has gained significance in relation to individual well-being and societal values but has also become a subject of state regulation. Lupton asserts that state regulation occurred as the human body came to be recognised as a productive entity essential to the military and economic interests of the state. Consequently, the dietary choices of individuals acquired moral dimensions, including considerations related to personal self-discipline, contribution to labour, and avoidance of wastefulness and excess. Consequently, dietary ideals and PHNP can be understood to be socially constructive, contributing to culture and identity formation, and therefore collectively consequential.

In addition to incorporating the complexities of nutrition's social role, PHNP faces a host of challenges. First, as the public health communications literature (Abroms & Maibach, 2008; Bernhardt, 2004; Goldberg, 1992; Green & Labonté, 2008; Guttman, 2000; Hornik, 2002; Hubley & Tilford, 2010; Parvanta et al., 2010; Rimal & Lapinski, 2009; Schiavo, 2007) asserts, the complexity of nutrition science poses a significant hurdle to its communication as conveying accurate and up-to-date information clearly and understandably can take time and effort.

Second, the scholarship further notes, that in today's fast-paced digital environment, limited attention spans further exacerbate the difficulty of engaging with lengthy or complex nutrition messages, and misleading marketing tactics by food companies and a lack of trust in institutions can also pose significant challenges to practical nutrition communication efforts. Equally, the proliferation of nutrition information from various sources often leads to conflicting messages, causing confusion and misinformation among the public (Capocasa & Venier, 2023; Diekman et al., 2023; Marks, 1993). And, third, socioeconomic and cultural disparities can impact access to and understanding of nutrition information, contributing to *health inequities* among different population groups (Coleborne, 2009; Frank et al., 2008; Glaeser, 2006; Marriott & Sim, 2015; Public Health Association of New Zealand, 2016; Smith et al., 2015).

Addressing these obstacles not only requires innovative approaches prioritising clarity, accessibility, cultural relevance, and trustworthiness in nutrition messaging, but it further requires approaches embracing a critical perspective, which as Green and Labonté (2008) argue, is of vital importance in public health. With this understanding, this study *critically* considers the aforementioned aspects of PHN under the four primary pillars (public health and sociology) pillars: gender, age, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status (class) (Worsley, 2008, p. 211).

1.2.2 Critical Media Studies

CMS allow for examining how messages are encoded and decoded through media, its influences and how meaning is exchanged and created in a society (Fiske, 2010a; Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Rimal & Lapinski, 2009; Williamson, 1978). It is a multidisciplinary academic field studying a broad range of communicative aspects, from transmitting messages to

creating and exchanging meanings, and it includes studying the semiotics in cultural texts (J. Fiske, 2010b, p. 55; Rosengren, 2000, pp. 16-17).

1.2.2.1 Mass Media.

As mentioned, key to this research is the *state* communication of nutrition science, with the mass media a key vehicle for promoting nutritional ideals to citizens. In the early twentieth century, mass media emerged through the development of new technologies, which facilitated the broadcasting of messages to a broader audience through a single medium (Adorno & Bernstein, 2001; Corcoran, 2013a; Laughey, 2010; Long & Wall, 2012; McLuhan, 2013). Duignan (2023) observes that the media functions as a channel for transmitting various messages, such as information, opinion, advocacy, propaganda, advertising, artwork, and entertainment, through multiple channels, including television, radio, newspapers, magazines, books, and the Internet. Through these functions, proliferation and dominance, scholarship understands the mass media as a significant institution capable of impacting and transforming society and, thus, human interactions (Abroms & Maibach, 2008; Çoban, 2018; Corcoran, 2013a; Duignan, 2023; Durham & Kellner, 2005; Fairclough, 2012, 2015; Foss et al., 2014, p. 317; Hansen et al., 1998; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Sorlin, 1994; Van Dijk, 1985a, 1995d). As such, elite institutions use it widely and for various purposes, such as public relations or advertising, to disseminate messages aimed at influencing the behaviour of the target audience. For example, public health advertisements may intend to promote consumption, social change, or other outcomes (Cook, 2001; Corcoran, 2013a, p. 73; Einstein, 2017, p. 5).

In the social sciences, the mass media is considered an elite institution entrenched in pervasive political, social, and economic hegemonic constructs (Aronson, 1972; Çoban, 2018; Condit, 1994; Corcoran, 2013a; Duignan, 2023; Gill, 2007; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Hornik, 2002; Montgomery, 2018; O'Shaughnessy et al., 2016; Sorlin, 1994; Van Dijk, 1985c, 1995a). Although, as Hansen et al. (1998, p. 19) submit, the media should not be seen in isolation but rather as one of a set of social institutions interacting with other institutions within a society. Through hegemonic mechanisms mass media outlets, including magazines and newspapers, play a significant role in shaping information communication by maintaining hegemony through the tools of framing including endorsing norms, values, beliefs (Dew & Kirkman, 2004; Fairclough, 2015; Van Dijk, 1998, p. 188). Likewise, the advertising industry is considered an institution that holds an influential position in society and takes its place alongside other influencers of social conduct, such as literature, religions, family, or education, to name a few (Althusser, 2009, pp. 79-88; Van Dijk, 1985c, pp. 1-9).

Baum and Fisher (2014) identified the limitations of behavioural health promotion and discussed why they remain popular in public health promotion despite their inadequacies in achieving goals. They found a solid historical base for the propagation of *individualism*, the philosophical concept of *individual autonomy*, or *personal responsibility* (Bayer & Fairchild, 2004; Brownell, 1991; Lukes, 2006; Minkler, 1999; Steinbrook, 2006; Wikler, 2002), congruent with the ideological and political-economic shift (in largely Western countries) from welfare liberalism to *neoliberalism*, the

political/economic ideology that at its core believes that free markets are self-regulating (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Cahill & Konings, 2017; Collins et al., 2015; Eagleton-Pierce, 2016; Furceri et al., 2016; Harvey, 2005; Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005). It is plausible to see how this prevailing political-economic ideology could fit a health approach favouring self-regulation (Porter, 1999, p. 299). Over time, through hegemonic processes, this approach has become normalised and preferred by governments as the public perception understands and accepts the personal responsibility narrative (Guttman & Ressler, 2001). Meanwhile, governments get the credit for their efforts in curbing lifestyle diseases, arguably an easier political route than regulating corporations (Baum & Fisher, 2014, p. 218).

1.2.2.2 Advertising.

Nutrition promotion, as mentioned, uses a range of channels for its communications, from personal to organisational and from food labelling and large-scale community radio to mass media campaigns, including social media targeting entire populations (Abroms & Maibach, 2008; Corcoran, 2013b, p. 9; Parvanta et al., 2010). All these channels are worthy of analytical consideration; however, this study commences with a historical approach focussing explicitly on print advertisements.

Advertising, promoting messages for commercial or non-commercial purposes, is an acknowledged phenomenon in human history. Tangible messages of publicity created by the Chinese Song Dynasty, the Ancient Greeks, Romans and Egyptians demonstrate that advertising has long been a part of societies and cultures (Richards, 2022; Wharton, 2015, p. 25; Zawisza-Riley, 2019). However, this may suggest that advertising is a natural human activity, but the contemporary phenomenon of mass advertising is, as Holm (2023) submits, a far cry from being natural, instead it is the outcome of cultural, economic, and social conditions.

As new forms of communication technologies evolved, capitalism and neoliberalism developed, allowing contemporary advertising to grow to be pervasive in modern industrialised societies, so much so that it is often taken for granted (Belch & Belch, 2017; Cook, 2001; Dyer, 1982; Ewen, 2001; Holm, 2023; Williamson, 1978). Indeed, the contemporary world is replete with advertisements, which find their way onto billboards and buildings; they are present throughout television, radio, cinema, and print media, and they use recent technologies: mobile or smartphones, the internet, social media, and product endorsement opportunities (Wharton, 2015, p. 1; Zawisza-Riley, 2019).

In their ubiquity, advertisements could be considered the most prominent cultural texts and images of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Cook, 2001; Hackney, 2017). As Hardy (2014b, p. 65) presupposes, advertising is “A pervasive sensory presence, a major textual genre, a controversial source of imagery and cultural meanings, and a prominent selling mechanism for corporate capitalism.” It has also been defined as meaning to draw attention to something or to notify somebody

of something (Dyer, 1982, p. 17) or as Einstein (2017, p. 5) asserts, advertising is "A paid communication used to persuade someone to buy a product or service of an identified sponsor."

The many variations and explanations of advertising and persuasive messaging in the literature result in no one conclusive preferential definition (Stiff, 2016, p. 5). Therefore, this thesis will adopt the following working definition of mass-media advertising, informed by the preceding sources and Rotzoll (1985, p. 94), who recognises advertisements as discourse have the following essential elements: they are paid, nonpersonal, from identifiable sources with persuasive intent; "An advertisement is a non-personal, paid, persuasive communication by an identifiable source that intends to create an outcome through the mass media." Moreover, as this thesis addresses Public Health Nutrition Advertising, the working definition of (mass-media) advertising public health extends to include the non-commercial aspect; thus, it reads, "A public health nutrition advertisement is a non-personal, non-commercial, paid, persuasive communication by an identifiable source that intends to create an outcome through the mass media."

Advertisements are widely acknowledged as significant conduits for social change and action, acting as vehicles for the expression and reinforcement of power dynamics in society (Van Leeuwen, 2018). As such, they warrant scholarly examination, particularly in how they influence pragmatic decisions related to consumption, nutrition, and health, as well as broader social constructs like gender roles, ethnic preferences, ageism, and body idealism (Baum, 2015)(Wilcox et al., 2013). Furthermore, they demand critical scrutiny to reveal obfuscated hegemonic messages which, have potential long-term effects on both individual behaviour and societal norms.

1.2.2.3 Food Advertising.

Food and nutrition advertising (corporate and public) has long been a central concern in public health due to its impact on dietary habits, particularly in children and adolescents (Collins et al., 2013). Research has extensively documented the association between exposure to unhealthy food advertisements and increased consumption of fast food, sugary beverages, and other high-calorie and low-nutrient products, which contribute to rising obesity rates (Andreyeva et al., 2011; Boyland & Halford, 2013; Gunter, 2016). Intensifying this concern is how advertisers strategically target vulnerable populations -particularly children - using persuasive techniques such as branding, mascots, and health claims that mislead consumers (Esmaeilpour & Shabani Nashtaee, 2020; Folkvord et al., 2016; Story & French, 2004). Central debates in the field of food advertising typically focus on junk food promotion, the regulation of food marketing to children, and the broader implications for public health policy (Gunter, 2016; Harris et al., 2009; Swinburn et al., 2008).

Food advertising scholarship has also examined how advertising constructs and reinforces social identities, particularly in terms of gender. Scholars in gender studies have argued that food advertisements frequently deploy stereotypical gender roles, portraying women as caregivers responsible for feeding the family, while men are often depicted as consumers of indulgent or high-protein foods (Gallager, 2013; Gill, 2007; Grau & Zotos, 2018; Kilbourne, 2000; Krijnen & Van

Bauwel, 2021; Parkin, 2007). These representations not only reinforce traditional gender roles, but also contribute to the broader cultural norms that shape consumer behaviour. Women, for example, are often shown in domestic settings preparing healthy meals for their families, while men are associated with outdoor activities and the consumption of meat and fast food, which are linked to strength and masculinity. Such gendered portrayals are problematic because they perpetuate limited and often regressive notions of gender identity, while also associating certain foods with specific social behaviours (Blades et al., 2014; Gann-Bociek & Harvey, 2020; Nolan, 2000). This intersection of food advertising and gender has important implications for public health in general, as these representations can influence the dietary choices of different demographic groups and reinforce unhealthy eating patterns. My research draws on this body of work to further explore how government-led nutrition advertising can similarly perpetuate gendered ideals to learn how these ideals are constructed and discuss their consequences for nutrition and health promotion.

However, my research diverges from mainstream food advertising research, specific gender studies, and other social discrimination studies by examining how government-sponsored nutrition advertising (PHNP) functions as a hegemonic tool. Although critical attention has often been focused on corporate interests and the commodification of unhealthy foods (Harris et al., 2009), as identified, less attention has been paid to how government agencies engage in nutrition and food promotion to foster hegemonic ideals.

Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis, my work interrogates how state-led nutrition campaigns can subtly reinforce existing power structures by promoting normative social ideals, which align with capitalist ideologies and commercial interests. This approach aligns with Jenkin et al.'s (2012) examination of nutrition policy in New Zealand, which highlights how public health interventions can reflect vested political and economic interests. By shifting the focus from mainstream food advertising scholarship to Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) my research aims to uncover the ideological forces underpinning public health nutrition advertisements and their role in perpetuating systemic inequalities.

This alternative perspective calls for a deeper exploration of how state-led nutrition advertising/ PHNP does not merely aim to improve the public's health but also sustains broader hegemonic power, echoing Gramscian ideas of cultural hegemony, where dominant groups maintain control through consent rather than coercion (Andrews, 2016; Ives, 2004; Van Dijk, 2000a) (see Section 2.1.2).

1.3 Historical and Social Context

Incorporating a historical perspective into the examination of PHNP is paramount for several reasons. First, it allows researchers to understand the evolutionary trends of strategies and interventions over time, providing insights into past successes and failures helping to contextualise contemporary challenges within broader social, political, and economic frameworks, illuminating the root causes of health disparities and inequities. Second, historical analysis reveals persistent and

recurring discursive patterns in public health nutrition promotion, enabling policymakers and practitioners to anticipate challenges and develop sustainable solutions and is a key tenet of a critical discourse study (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Learning from past mistakes is another significant benefit, as it empowers stakeholders to avoid ineffective or harmful approaches and instead implement evidence-based strategies grounded in historical insights. Recognising shifts in social norms, values, and hegemonic processes through a historical lens further informs the adaptation of interventions to align with contemporary beliefs and preferences, ultimately enhancing their effectiveness and acceptability. Thus, by integrating historical perspectives, researchers can contribute to forming more comprehensive and effective strategies for promoting population health and well-being in the current era.

The preceding sections have outlined the research motivations, questions, concepts, and focus areas. Given the historical context of this study, this section aims to provide a succinct but comprehensive summary of *colonisation*[2] of Aotearoa New Zealand and the societal backdrop that followed during the influence period (1948-1960). However, it is essential to acknowledge that the history of colonisation and its effects on indigenous cultures is a multifaceted and sensitive topic. Therefore, before proceeding, I would like to acknowledge that this brief historical account may contain unavoidable inaccuracies, shortcomings, and sensitivities in its representation of the experiences and contributions of Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, and that I am committed to continually improving and presenting accurate and respectful information to the best of my ability. I also wish to express my respect and appreciation for Māori, their multifaceted and deeply nuanced heritage, and to recognise historical injustices, land confiscations, and the cultural assimilation that have resulted from colonisation.

1.3.1 Aotearoa and the Establishment of New Zealand: A Brief Overview

Geographical factors, competing colonial interests, and the challenges of exploration and settlement in the South Pacific region played an active role in the relatively late colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, compared to other countries that the British colonised (Belich, 1996; Brooking, 2004; M. King, 2003). As such, Belich (1996) discusses how during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Aotearoa New Zealand was not a significant focus for the British Empire. Instead, they directed their attention and resources toward other colonial ventures in North America, the Caribbean, India, and Australia; consequently, this lack of focus resulted in a diversion of attention and resources away from Aotearoa.

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[2] The establishment and control of a settlement or territory by a foreign power involving the exploitation of resources, imposition of governance systems, and cultural domination over the indigenous population Ferro, M. (2005). *Colonization: A global history*. Routledge.

The formal beginning of British settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand, occurred with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi (hereafter Te Tiriti) in 1840 between the British Crown and Māori Rangatira (chiefs) (Orange, 2020). Scholars have debated the interpretations, purposes, translations, and importance of Te Tiriti (Barrett & Connolly-Stone, 1998; Kawharu, 1989), however, there is agreement that Queen Victoria and the British Crown promised Rangatira equal rights and privileges as British subjects in addition to royal protection. Although the understanding of Te Tiriti intended to guarantee Māori rights and land ownership, its provisions were soon neglected or dismissed by British colonisers leading to conflicts over land ownership and cultural differences, including the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s (Orange, 2020).

After the signing of Te Tiriti and the end of these wars, a new wave of settlers immigrated to the latest British colony, New Zealand. These settlers, Pākehā (hereafter, this Māori term *Pākehā*, is used when referring to non-Māori New Zealanders) were predominantly of British origin and arrived in search of land, economic opportunities, and a fresh start (Belich, 1996, 2001, 2015). In subsequent decades, European settlers established themselves as the primary political and economic power in Aotearoa. Encouraged by promotions promising free land and subsided passages (Orange, 2020, pp. 75-77), the settlers came in droves and built farms, towns, and institutions reflecting their English background, creating and forming a new state (at first a colony, later a British empire Dominion) and nation (Mein Smith, 2011, pp. 88-89). Their interactions, cultural exchange, and struggles have indubitably played a significant role in shaping the society and national identity of the peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, today (Barker, 2015; Brookes, 2016; Brooking, 2004; Graham, 1992; Hayward, 2015; O'Malley & Kidman, 2018; Reid et al., 2019).

1.3.2 A Dominion in the Empire: Post-War 1950s Aotearoa New Zealand

The settlers arrived not only with their skill sets but also with their customs, traditions, cultural norms, myths, symbolism, language, religious beliefs, narratives, and personal experiences; essential ingredients for nation-building (Anderson, 2016; Gellner, 1983, 1998; Hobsbawm, 1992; McIntyre, 1992). These people may have left their countries searching for a new life, but they brought a lifetime's worth of formed social identity, which started a transformation process once they embarked on their trip to Aotearoa New Zealand as Phillips and Hearn (2013) maintain noting that the minute settlers boarded the ships, a subtle change in their identity occurred as they mixed with people from other countries and different socioeconomic backgrounds.

The transformation from British and European national identity to Pākehā/New Zealander slowly continued into the present, aided by two world wars and social, economic and industrial changes. As Pickles (2009) explains, it was not until after the Second World War that Aotearoa New Zealand started to slowly shake off its Britishness and develop into an independent nation, albeit one with an embedded colonial past. Sidney Holland's (prime minister) acceptance speech in 1949 exemplifies how Aotearoa New Zealand viewed itself; "It will be our constant aim to strengthen the bonds of empire and to help Britain and her heroic people to recover their strength and the place

which Britain should occupy in the affairs of the world," thus, as a Dominion of the British Empire (Archives New Zealand, 2013). Notably, by this time, Aotearoa New Zealand was no longer a dominion or colony; it had gained independence in 1945, which was ratified in 1947 by the Statute of Westminster (M. King, 2003, p. 5386; McIntyre, 1992, pp. 451-481; Mein Smith, 2011, p. 179).

The years between 1945 and 1960 were a time of recovery for the people of Aotearoa New Zealand after their participation in the Second World War (Baker, 1965a; Brooking, 2004; M. King, 2003; Mein Smith, 2011). The immense destruction and grief experienced cleared the way for new technologies and social ideas to arise. For example, women who had been involved in the war effort, taking various jobs men had filled before the war, sought to continue the financial freedom and work they had enjoyed (Brookes et al., 2019, p. 5742; Davies & Jackson, 1993); while men, separated from their prewar jobs and loved ones, found, upon their return, previous family structures were challenged and changing (Carlyon, 2013, p. 163). Aotearoa New Zealand was also mourning the loss of 11,625 people, the destruction of the previous way of life, and would need to adapt to their new reality (Dunstall, 1992, p. 451).

Ideas of nationhood and identity can form in the wake of such experiences (McIntyre, 1992, p. 345) and become critical parts of national memory (Barker, 2015, p. 39). Mein Smith contends that this period, preceded by the Depression, was formative in nation-building through conscious *making* of New Zealand. She claims that making do and creating a nation moves symbiotically with panic, crisis, anxiety, or social rupture, producing stories and rituals to soothe and explain (Mein Smith, 2011). Bill Pearson (1974), writing in 1952 for the magazine *Landfall*, attempts to capture the spirit of the time in his essay *Fretful Sleepers:*

> The reason for our odd ways is something deeper, something creeping up on the whole Western world. We haven't any sense of purpose. We do not know what it is all about, and we are frightened to find out. Other nations have lost their sense of purpose; we, a colony, never found one—we had been living on their capital. And caught between the mountains and the sea, never far from the silence of the bush and the stars, we are in the bland frightening witness of the infinite, and we haven't created a social convention strong enough to reassure us (p.28).

Here, Pearson considers the cultural shift of New Zealanders from being members of a colony, a Dominion nation, and a part of the British empire to something new, unknown, and without purpose, which he considers frightening. Who and how will these ex-Dominion/colonists be defined if not as British subjects? And he supposes that, like others, New Zealanders were war-weary and looking forward rather than backward (Carlyon, 2013, p. 61). However, reflectively, history would find that Aotearoa New Zealand was also ripe for political and ideological change; the old economic attitude of colonial dependence and assimilation was about to be challenged (Brooking, 1992, pp. 119-142), and as Anderson (2016) argued, the print media would play an essential role in this transformation, helping New Zealanders find connection and belonging to a new post-colonial *imagined community*.

By the late 1940s, the Labour government was troubled by ageing leadership. It had governed since 1938 and endured throughout the Second World War, but it was perhaps exhausted. Aotearoa New Zealand citizens, too, were fatigued by wartime controls and ready to make changes to better their futures (Atkinson, 2015). These factors and others paved the way for The National Party, with Sidney Holland at the helm, to win the 1949 election. Consequently, Aotearoa New Zealand would be under the political governance of the politically conservative[3] National Party until 1957. Although the National Party made various policy changes in government per their right-wing ideology and campaign promises, the welfare state (including health) and similar economic interventions established during the Labour government were maintained (Carlyon, 2013, p. 61; Chapman, 1992, p. 373).

Nevertheless, an ideological shift in governance and related communications would transpire throughout this time by espousing the National Party's beliefs, values and morals in their public communications, marketing, promotions, and policies. They aimed to liberate, or decontrol, aspects of the market, ending rationing and quantitative controls on imports, making statehouses available for purchase while continuing to build more, and contemporaneously controlling prices, rents, etcetera (Chapman, 1992, p. 373). However, global economic events would challenge their plans for market liberation. For example, the domestic dispute over the waterfront saw the previously loosened import controls tightened and import licences cancelled (Chapman, 1992, p. 376).

Under this mix of restrictions and liberation, Aotearoa New Zealand was heading into one of its most prosperous decades driven by the demand for wool. The Korean War during the 1950s saw wool prices soar as manufacturers of woollen winter army coats increased production to supply the UN armies. With its already substantial flock Aotearoa New Zealand was well-positioned to fulfil this demand and swiftly expanded its flock to meet it (Brooking, 2004, p. 135; M. King, 2003, p. 5537).

Historical research (Barker, 2015; Belich, 1996, 2001; Brooking, 1992; M. King, 2003) characterises *Pākehā* New Zealanders during this decade (1950-1960) of political and positive

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[3] The social and political ideology of conservatism, particularly in the context of mid- twentieth century values, encompasses a complex ideology deeply rooted in tradition, order, and stability. At its core, conservatism emphasises preserving established societal structures, institutions, and cultural norms against rapid or radical change, upholding traditional values such as family, religion, patriotism, and individual responsibility. These values were seen as essential pillars of a cohesive and prosperous society, providing a sense of continuity and stability amidst the tumultuous social and political upheavals of the era Allison, L. (n.d.). Conservatism. In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Retrieved 2024, from https://www-oxfordreference.com

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economic change, as individualistic, conservative (see Footnote 3) and conformist, yet exhibiting an interest in an equitable society. This observation suggests that New Zealanders held values of conformance and acceptance of the state's role in economic regulation until the financial crisis in the early 1980s forced a significant change in the political, economic, and ideological direction (Ball & Creedy, 2016; Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Bertram, 2009; Marquez, 2015).

1.3.3 Voices from the Past

As mentioned, an initial review of the literature on the establishment and development of PHNP in Aotearoa New Zealand, uncovered a fragmented historical scholarship. It primarily interrelates with the histories and theories of medicine and public health (Dow, 1995; Maclean, 1964; Signal & Ratima, 2015; Worsley, 2008) and with literature and discussions about food and culinary culture (Bailey & Earle, 1993; Burton, 2009, 2013). However, any examination of the contextual history of PHNP is advanced by the works of Derek Dow and Diana Brown whose publications crucially inform this research. Brown's (2019) biography, *The Unconventional Career of Muriel Bell,* provides a valuable account of Dr Muriel Bell (1898-1974), who was *the* influential nutritional scientist in the nascent years (1920-1960) of Aotearoa New Zealand dietary policy, education and promotion, and *Safeguarding Public Health: A History of the New Zealand Department of Health* by medical historian Derek Dow (1995) are both valuable resources that help generate a broad background of the geographically relevant developments of nutrition and nutrition promotion.

Dow (1995) accordingly asserts that Dr Muriel Bell holds a unique position in the history of public health in Aotearoa New Zealand, not only was she one of the first female medical doctors, but she was also employed as director of the Nutrition Research Unit at Otago University. Dr Bell was appointed to the new position of *state nutritionist* from 1935 to 1964, a role created and held only once in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. From this position, the history literature demonstrates that Dr Bell advised the Department of Health (DoH) on a variety of nutritional issues ranging from food rationing during the Second World War to addressing iodine deficiency, providing school milk, and fluoridation (Brown, 2019; Coad & Pedley, 2020; Dow, 1995; J. C. King, 2003; Mein Smith, 1998, 2011). Undoubtedly, this scholarship demonstrates how Dr Bell played an important role in translating and communicating nutrition science to the public, and therefore is considered a *voice* in this research.

Historian Derek Dow (1995, 2003) recounts how Dr Bell had further activities alongside her role as state nutritionist, for example, Dr Bell wrote a regular column, *Advice on Health* for *The Listener*, that commenced in 1939. Brown (2019) and Mein Smith (1998) further describe how Dr Bell engaged in public radio talks and wrote nutritional handbooks and magazine articles throughout her career. She was, however, not alone in her attempts to educate the nation; public health educators Dr H. B. Turbott (1899–1988) and Maud Basham (1879–1963), aka Miss Daisy, supported her nutritional efforts. Dr Turbott was a co-columnist for the column *Advice on Health* and had a regular radio slot on general health matters for most of his career, becoming well-known as *The Radio Doctor*

(Dow, 2003; Macindoe, 2022), while Aunt Daisy, whose column appeared alongside *Advice on Health*, advised the audience how to take the science and food matters of the day and apply them to domestic management, providing recipes, tips and endorsing products (Day, 1994; Fry, 1957; Mulligan, 2019, October 3). Like Dr Turbott, who in 1959 became the General Director of Health, Aunt Daisy became a household name through her consistent writing and broadcasting until she died in her eighties in 1963 (Dow, 2003). These three crucial public health educators supported the DoH's efforts to educate the public on all health matters, including nutrition between 1948-1960. Their influence and *voices* will likely have influenced the DoH's public health promotion, as such they are significant for this study.

Although the voice and health advice of Dr Turbott remained on air well into the 1980s, Brown (2019) describes how PHNP in Aotearoa New Zealand, changed after Dr Bell retired in 1964 and Aunt Daisy died in 1963. First, the government disbanded The Nutrition Research Unit in 1963, and with no central figure in charge, the research became integrated into the Otago School of Medicine's Physiology department until the 1970s when the Human Nutrition Department was established (Brown, 2019, pp. 138-142). Such a critical shift in direction indicates how public nutrition promotion, specifically educational print advertisements, appeared abandoned after the 1960s as none were found during the initial research of this study.

What is further lacking from this early public health education scholarship is the *critical* evaluation of these early health educators in New Zealand society. History champions them as educators with noble agendas; however, critical discourse scholarship can reveal harmful attitudes and values veiled within the most well-intended discourses (Jones, 2015; Van Dijk, 2007, 2015a; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak, 2001). And, while this study does not critically address these educators, it does consider them contextual *voices* and leaves this space open to further scholarship and postdoc opportunities.

1.4 What's on the Radio? The New Zealand Listener

The sample of advertisements selected for this study were found in the pages of The New Zealand Listener, Journal of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service, from 1948 to 1960. *The Listener* at the time was a nationwide subscription-based weekly magazine circulating since 1939 (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019). The primary objective of *The Listener* was to provide the broadcasting schedule to radio license holders in its early years (1949 – 1960) (Te Ara/ The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2023; The New Zealand Railways Magazine, 1939). The initial circulation was 30,000 subscribers that grew substantially year-on-year peaking at 375,885 (paid subscriptions and single copy sales) in 1982 (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019). It was, during the period of examination, entirely for radio, as New Zealanders would have to wait until the 1960s for television to enter their homes (N.Z. On Screen/ Iwi Whitiāhua, 2023).

Over the years *The Listener* had several name changes, from *The New Zealand Listener* to *Radio and Television Listener.* Still, it is primarily and affectionally known as *The Listener*, which

this study reflects and uses. It is a popular magazine considered well-respected and was self-described as "The nation's bestselling current affairs magazine, covering the country's political, cultural and literary life" (Bauer Media Group, 2019). The New Zealand Government founded and owned the publication from 1939 until 1990 (Schrader, 2014) when it was purchased by Bauer Media Group who sold it to Ara Media in 2020 (Edmunds, 2020).

The Listener's editorial content was under the guidance of Montague 'Monte' Harry Holcroft (MHH) from 1949 to 1967 (Hamilton, 2020). MHH continued the high intellectual standard established by the first editor, Oliver Duff, and infused the magazine with arts, culture, cultivated, and humane values (Hamilton, 2020; Mason, 2000). Under his guidance and editorial, *The Listener* adopted a politically critical approach while engaging readers with life's more mundane, comical, and general matters (Hamilton, 2020; Mason, 2000). Indeed, leafing through the early *Listener's* pages revealed news and political features that paired well with weekly health and wellness columns by Aunt Daisy, Dr Muriel Bell, or Dr H.B. Turbott (for a detailed discussion of these columnists, see Section 1.3.3).

These health and wellness columns, which focussed on domesticities, nutritional science and health, featured alongside comical representations, feature articles, short stories, editorials, letters to the editor, other columns and the broadcasting schedule (Downes, 1998; Fry, 1957; Mulligan, 2019, October 3). Moreover, and crucially, *The Listener* provided advertising space to a broad range of advertisers with content ranging from shoe polish and slimming biscuits to public road safety messages and breakfast cereals (*my personal observations in The Listener archives from 1939 to 2000*) and a series of public health advertisements that provide the sample for this study. The sample of public health advertisements started in the late 1940s and spanned the 1950s, receiving wide and consistent coverage, with half page advertisements published every week.

From a historical perspective, the archives offer a glimpse of *The Listener* reader's world in the 1950s. As a moderately progressive, nationwide subscription-based weekly magazine, it had the opportunity to inform and critique cultural and political occurrences while reinforcing social values and typifying family life with its domestic focus. From this advantaged position, *The Listener* could contribute to manufacturing and constructing aspects of social identities and, more broadly, the national identity (Anderson, 2016; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Jenkins, 2014; Oakes et al., 1999; Van Dijk, 2011). Currently, *The Listener* appears to continue critiquing and examining culture, preferring an evidence-based paradigm when presenting matters of a scientific nature, for example, nutrition or climate, and it does not shy away from complex political topics either (New Zealand Herald, 2023).

1.5 Thesis Structure and Organisation

The first three chapters introduce the background, theoretical framework, and review the extant literature. Chapter 1 introduced the study by exploring the motivations, critical discourse approach, how I developed the research questions, and the study's aims. It addressed the methodological approach, related concerns, and the critical framework. It described the main fields of

interest: human nutrition and the mass media, and it offered a brief historical and social context for the research before introducing the periodical, *The Listener*.

Chapter 2 proceeds to examine the theoretical foundations that incorporate the central tenets of ideology, hegemony, biopower and governmentality, the hegemonic role of the mass media, and social and national identity. It is followed by Chapter 3 which provides context through a review of the existing literature on public health promotion and nutrition promotion, bioethics, and the ethics of public health communication.

Chapter 4 begins with a self-reflective statement and explains the approach. It discusses persuasive discourse, persuasive psychology and introduces the methodology of CDA. It discusses its development, use in the social sciences and reasons for the applicability of SCDA, a CDA approach developed by the Dutch discourse scholar Teun A. van Dijk, based on his substantial scholarly work in CDS (Van Dijk, 2008a, 2016; Wodak, 2001). This chapter further argues and clarifies why I developed a novel analytical method, the SCDA-method, and explains data collection, corpus building, and sample generation.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the SCDA analysis of the advertisements beginning with Chapter 5, pilot-testing a single artefact to trial the novel SCDA-method. After reflection and adjustments, Chapters 6 and 7 apply the SCDA-method to the seven selected artefacts. The SCDA-method consists of four phases, which Chapter 4, Section 4.3 explains in detail. But, in essence, each analysis begins with an overview and contextual introduction, then proceeds with Phase 1, which examines the design elements, describing the advertisement visually, looking at artistic style and design in the illustrations, and the graphic design and type choices. The next component, Phase 2, seeks to identify the embedded discursive structures and examines the artefact discursively. It studies the text, incorporates the visuals, and observes the artefact as a whole, highlighting what is concealed and promoted, what perspectives the advertiser took, and where the vagueness and ambiguity lie, all of which help to understand the embedded hegemonic mechanisms. The cognitive component, Phase 3, examines and interprets the underlying sociocultural knowledge that possibly informed the advertiser and the viewer's beliefs. The last part, Phase 4, of each analysis, focusses on understanding the social component, the macro situation to examine the various properties for aspects of power and domination, as discussed in Chapter 3, which are critical components to understanding hegemonic construction.

Chapter 8 reflects on the key findings. It will synthesise the results and offer insights stemming from the research questions, elucidating how the analyses brought forth obfuscated hegemonic beliefs, values, and attitudes. It presents and discusses societal consequences and reflects on the research aims, the suitability of SCDA methodology and the method, the analysis, findings and their relevance. It also notes the research limitations and opportunities and concludes with final thoughts and personal reflections. Lastly, the appendices include the corpus, sample generation, and a glossary of key rhetorical and discursive terms.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Foundations

Chapter 2 explores the theoretical underpinnings that are significant in Critical Discourse Studies and which inform this study (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Stoddart, 2007; Van Dijk, 1993b) to enhance understanding of the potent tools accessible to governments (and elites) as they strive to uphold the prevailing hegemony. It introduces critical terms such as *ideology* and *hegemony* and delves into the Foucauldian concepts of *biopower* and *governmentality* (Foucault, 1979b, 1982) discussing the state's[4] role in both. It proceeds to learn how *social* and *national identities* form by exploring the work of Henri Tajfel (Tajfel, 1974) and Benedict Anderson (Anderson, 2016), among others. These macroconcepts serve as foundational elements for understanding historical government strategies regarding PHNP and contribute to developing an understanding of Public Health Ethics (Bayer et al., 2006; Holland, 2014; Verweij & Dawson, 2013) that Chapter 3 explores.

As the previous chapter alluded, hegemonic processes have shaped the approaches to health promotion and their outcomes, i.e. public health advertisements. To further explore these processes, the following section discusses the two distinct yet interconnected concepts of ideology and hegemony, which are at the heart of CMS and in particular Critical Discourse Studies. This study seeks to discover and extract these concepts from the sample of public health nutrition advertisements between 1948 and 1960 to learn *what* they are and to understand *how* they impact Aotearoa New Zealand's society (Fairclough, 1992, 2012, 2015; Van Dijk, 2011).

2.1 Science of Ideas

Ideology is an academic subject in its own right with a large body of literature, a matter of discussion and debate where even defining it is perceived to be ideological in itself (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 121). Van Dijk (2000b) advises that the scholarly origins of *ideology* perhaps lie with French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, who proposed a "science of ideas" to study how we think, speak or argue; the foundational questions in psychology and cognitive science (p.6). The concept of ideology is also commonly associated with the scholarship of Engels, Gramsci, Durkheim, and Mannheim, to name a few, but most famously with Karl Marx (Eagleton, 1994; Stoddart, 2007; Williams, 1977). Marx's association with the critique of Capitalism and the formation of Communism as a set of ideas is commonly (scholarly and lay) the understanding of ideology as a catch-all term for a system of 'wrong' or, at least, 'misguided' political beliefs that led to pejorative use of the word 'ideology' in Western societies. By its very nature, this negative association with Marx demonstrates how

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[4] State in this context, can be described as "A human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." M. Weber, from his lecture "Politics as a Vocation" (1918), the German sociologist Max Weber Munro, A. (2023). *State monopoly on violence | political science, sociology & history*. Encyclopaedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/state-monopoly-on-violence

ideologies can reveal a social position where ‘our’ beliefs are the truth and ‘their’ beliefs are ideological (Van Dijk, 1998).

2.1.1 Ideology: Studying Ideas

Ideology, broadly defined as a set of ideas, beliefs, values, and representations that shape perceptions of reality and social phenomena, has been a subject of scholarly discourse since the Enlightenment (Eagleton, 1994; Fairclough, 1992, p. 4; J. Fiske, 2010a; Geertz, 1994; Hall, 2005). However, differing perspectives on ideology have led to debates among scholars, with varying interpretations and viewpoints (Bailey & Gayle, 2003, p. 22; Eagleton, 1994, p. 20; J. Fiske, 2010a, p. 156).

Fairclough (1992, p. 87) views ideologies as collections of beliefs that construct realities and contribute to social relations of domination, highlighting the correlation between ideology and power. Similarly, Van Dijk (Van Dijk, 2000b, p. 7) defines ideology as fundamental beliefs of a group that shape worldviews and behaviours, often remaining invisible to group members. Van Dijk (1998, 2001b) further asserts that ideologies are not neutral, but rather reflect power structures and interests through dynamic discourse, which can manifest in various forms, including media messages and policy. In the realm of PHN, for example, dietary norms and health behaviours are communicated through various channels such as news items, commercial advertising and public health promotion strategies (Atkin, 2013; Goldberg, 1992; Guttman, 2000; Hubley & Tilford, 2010; Jones, 2015; Parvanta & Bass, 2018; Schiavo, 2007).

Ideologies play a crucial role in the formation of group identity and social power dynamics, influencing individuals' values and actions within society (Van Dijk, 1989). This influence extends to various institutions and cultural forces, including education, religion, politics, and the media, which further contribute to promoting hegemonic ideas and norms (Çoban, 2018; Eagleton, 1994; Edwards & Moore, 2009; J. Fiske, 2010a; Geertz, 1994; Hall, 1985; Stoddart, 2007; Van Dijk, 1998, 2005, 2006, 2011).

In summary, understanding ideology is essential for this study, recognising it as a comprehensive system of beliefs that shape societal behaviours and practices. This research adopts Van Dijk's (1995b) framework, acknowledging ideology's nuanced role in social dynamics and power relations.

2.1.2 Hegemony: Elite Power and Social Compliance

To elucidate the theoretical framework regarding the interplay of power, ideology, and discourse within PHN texts, Gramsci’s theory of hegemony is of significant relevance. It offers insights into how group dominance emerges through the acceptance of dominant ideologies as natural or ‘common sense’ by ruling classes and elites (Anastasiou, 2022; Bates, 1975; Fairclough, 2015, p. 107; Ives, 2004; Mouffe, 2014; Stoddart, 2007; Van Dijk, 2005, pp. 728-740).

Originating from Gramsci's reflection on the rise of fascism preceding the Second World War, the concept of hegemony underscores the role of ruling classes in ideological domination and

the perpetuation of ideas (Bates, 1975, p. 351). Hegemonic processes shape dominant ideologies, rendering the ruling classes or elites' ideas and values as unquestionable and internalised within society (Aronson, 1972; Bates, 1975; Branscombe & Baron, 2022; Hall, 1985; Ives, 2004; Stainton Rogers, 2011; Tajfel & Fraser, 1978; Terry & Hogg, 1999). In PHN, this can be observed when powerful actors, such as food producers or government bodies, establish preferred dietary norms as societal standards (Thomson, 2009). Moreover, hegemony operates through various channels, including the media and discourse, where influential actors strategically present their agenda as aligned with the common good, thereby consolidating their influence (Altheide, 1984; Andrews, 2016; Hall, 2005; Hansen et al., 1998; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Laughey, 2010; McLuhan, 2013; McLuhan & Fiore, 1967; Van Dijk, 2009). Socialisation processes, such as education and family upbringing, also contribute to the internalisation of hegemonic ideologies within individuals (Fairclough, 2013, 2015; Foucault, 1982; Van Dijk, 1998, 2008b, 2009).

Gramsci's focus on the normalisation of power through discourse laid the groundwork for subsequent scholars, including Michel Foucault, who expanded on the intricate connection between knowledge and power (Elden, 2017). Foucault's perspective, characterised by a poststructuralist lens, emphasises the role of discourses in shaping power dynamics within society (Foucault & Gordon, 1980). This perspective complements CDA, offering insights into how changes manifest within discursive practices (Fairclough, 1992).

The transition to Foucault's perspective on power and discourse underscores the continuity of discourse analysis in unpacking complex power structures within public health communication. Section 2.2.2 will elaborate on Foucault's understanding of power and the concepts of governmentality and biopower, but first Section 2.2 discusses the role of the mass media as a hegemonic apparatus.

2.2 Hegemonic Strategies and Processes

As delineated in Chapter 1 and in the previous section, elite institutions, including ministries of health, harness mass media as a potent tool for disseminating messages aimed at shaping the behaviour of their target audience (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 2008a, 2009). Given that hegemony relies on textual, verbal, and visual means to propagate messages that influence favourable political and institutional decisions (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 2008a, 2009)), the mass media emerges as the principal hegemonic apparatus in contemporary society (Altheide, 1984; Andrews, 2016; Çoban, 2018; Condit, 1994) that warrants scholarly attention.

2.2.1 The Mass Media: a Hegemonic Apparatus in Contemporary Society

In 1988, Herman and Chomsky (2008) published the book *Manufacturing Consent*, which drew upon and extended the scholarship of political economy, communication studies, and critical theory (Aronson, 1972; Browne, 1984; Garnham, 1979; Murdock & Golding, 1973; Tuchman, 1978; Van Dijk, 1985a, 1985c). Their influential book is based on a comprehensive framework that synthesises diverse theoretical perspectives, empirical research, and case studies to help understand

the manufacture of consent in democratic societies. *Manufacturing Consent* describes the mass media as, “A system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their (magazines, newspapers, television, social media) function to amuse, entertain, and inform” (p.77). And, building upon the scholarship, the authors presuppose that the mass media is a platform for hegemonic persuasion, where messages and symbols can “Inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into institutional structures of the larger society” (p. 77).

Herman and Chomsky (2008) argue that this process is heavily influenced by political and economic interests, particularly those of privileged or elite groups, who seek to shape public opinion and maintain power structures. The influence of these groups is exerted through various means, including the careful curation and selection of news topics, biased framing, information filtering, language use, and the limitation of debates to acceptable premises (p. 490). The authors further contend that the media’s primary function is to defend the status quo, and they emphasise that such dominance over the *information space* in society has significant consequences.

Further critical media and political economy scholarship (Came, 2014; Hardy, 2014a, 2014b; Johnson, 2011; Klein & Shiffman, 2009; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; MacLeod, 2019; Van Dijk, 2011, 2015b) endorses this view, acknowledging their analysis of the media landscape and power dynamism and contributing to an understanding of how this results in diminishing and marginalising particular perspectives and alternative voices, thus limiting the diversity of ideas while reinforcing hegemony. For example, the research of Gerbner and Gross (1976) highlights the under-representation and marginalisation of women in television programming, terming this systematic omission, 'symbolic annihilation' (p. 182). They found that women were often portrayed in limited and stereotypical roles, reinforcing hegemonic processes in alignment with other scholarship on marginalisation, racism, or genderism (Rathzel, 1997; Tuchman, 1978, 1979, 2000; Van Dijk, 1993a).

The critical examination of media messages and the exploration of alternative sources of information thus support the goals of this study in challenging hegemony and fostering a more pluralistic and democratic society. To further demonstrate how governments maintain their authority by enacting institutional measures and controlling public narratives (e.g. public health), the following section will explore Foucault’s theories of governmentality and biopower.

2.2.2 Foucault’s Theory of Governmentality: A Theory of the State and its Institutions

As expounded in his seminal works, Foucault's theory of *governmentality* (Foucault, 1982; Foucault & Gordon, 1980) fundamentally challenges conventional notions of power. Foucault (1979b, p. 103) argues that governmentality is power which is *diffused* throughout society and is distinct from repressive power mechanisms such as law or institutional hierarchies. He contends that the state and its institutions in modern societies wield power by regulating the biological (Biopower and social aspects of human life through employing principles, techniques, and mechanisms that serve, over time, to normalise discourses and encompass the subtler dynamics of everyday life to support

hegemony (Fairclough, 1992, p. 93; Ferreira et al., 2015; Nadesan, 2010; Taylor, 2014). Such principles include normalising behaviour through the generation, production, and promotion of norms and standards set by institutions, regulation of human life by controlling the health system, the use of expertise to produce knowledge, technologies to govern and the promotion of agentic behaviour, or 'subjectification' (Foucault, 1979a, 1979b, 1982, 1988, 2002; Foucault et al., 2008; Lupton, 1995).

Governmentality techniques and mechanisms include persuasive communications, surveillance, classification, and the normalisation of actions, gradually imbuing citizens with the *illusion* of stability, organisation, and choice (Bröckling et al., 2010; Lemke, 2011; Lupton, 1995). The Aotearoa New Zealand Ministry of Health's (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2016b) actions to improve the population's fruit and vegetable consumption levels provide an illustration of the application of governmentality principles. First, the Ministry bases its related decisions on public health research (using expert knowledge) and the established dietary guidelines to emphasise the health benefits of consuming fruits and vegetables. It further generates a regulatory framework (using information systems) promoting access to and consumption of fresh produce, which includes nutritional standards for school cafeterias, food labelling regulations, and subsidies for local produce (Te Whatu Ora/ Health New Zealand, 2023a). Lastly, the HPA (Health Promotion Agency / Te hiringa hauora, 2018), the government health promotion agency, provides (reinforcing experts' knowledge and the regulation of human bodies) the guidelines to health professionals, primary health care providers, community organisations, workplaces and schools so they may in turn promote these. Such promotion thus attempts to normalise eating behaviour while placing emphasis on individual responsibility, subjectivity, for making healthy food choices, as it encourages individuals and families to take ownership of their dietary habits and make informed decisions regarding fruit and vegetable consumption (Lupton, 1995, 1996).

The above example, the normalisation of nutrition discourse and the regulating of individuals' bodies, serves to illustrate an aspect of governmentality: the concept of *biopower* (Foucault, 1982; Taylor, 2014), which this section explores in more detail. According to Anderson (2012); Nadesan (2010); Rabinow and Rose (2006) biopower plays an integral role within the framework of governmentality. In modern societies, public health campaigns, as mentioned above, actively use biopower to promote healthy behaviour and improve the well-being of vulnerable populations through social welfare programmes (Nadesan, 2010). Such campaigns seek to regulate and control individuals' dietary practices, improve population health, and reduce the risk of diet-related diseases. Thus by promoting certain foods and discouraging others, these campaigns aim to shape individuals' behaviours and attitudes toward food (Ferreira et al., 2015). The state's use of governmentality, incorporating biopower, is therefore discernible in its efforts to shape the behaviour of individuals and groups through education (health communications) and other forms of socialisation (Lemke, 2011). A further example of biopower within public health campaigns is food labelling. By requiring food manufacturers to provide nutritional information of their products, governments aim to empower

individuals to make informed decisions about their dietary choices creating, as mentioned, an *illusion* of choice. However, these policies can also reinforce social hierarchies and stereotypes about certain foods and nutritional practices (Ferreira et al., 2015).

This section introduced the concepts of governmentality and biopower and their application within modern states. As observed by Foucault (1990), contemporary governments increasingly employ various forms of regulation and discipline to manage their citizens and achieve their objectives. These regulatory mechanisms encompass a range of strategies, including public health campaigns, social welfare programmes, and the use of surveillance technologies and law enforcement to uphold social order (Rose, 1999). Foucault further contends that power operates through discourse, encompassing language, institutions, and practices that shape and regulate knowledge and societal norms. His analytical framework underscores the importance of historical context in understanding how knowledge is generated, disseminated, and used to govern populations (see also Creswell and Creswell (2017); Hansen et al. (1998). This emphasis on the relationship between knowledge and power is a fundamental tenet of critical discourse studies and serves as a cornerstone for the present inquiry (Elden, 2017; Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Van Dijk, 2012, 2014).

2.3 The Social Self and Nation Building

The preceding sections have demonstrated how states can perpetuate hegemonic beliefs that advocate or privilege certain ways of life, for example, what is deemed nutritious, and can achieve this because these hegemonic groups are presented as having the knowledge and concern for their citizens. Thus, the discourses developed and articulated can inevitably, depending on whether they are embraced, influence social groups' understandings of self and others. Collectively, this can produce social identities and at a macro level, contribute to nation building, which this section explores.

2.3.1 Exploring Social Identity

The notion of *social identity* pertains to how individuals construct their personal and societal sense of self both within and outside of a particular social group and is a multifaceted and continually evolving concept (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1983; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Jenkins, 2014). Consequently, conducting a thorough and exhaustive examination of this concept may prove impractical and exceeds the confines of this thesis. Therefore, it is advantageous to commence this exploration by delving into *Social Identity Theory* (SIT), as formulated by Henri Tajfel (Gumperz, 1982; Hall, 1996; Jenkins, 2014). SIT offers a foundational framework to understand how individuals situate their social selves within a group context, encompassing both positive and negative dimensions.

From a similar historical background to Gramsci, Henri Tajfel developed his sociological research on *intergroup* bias and positive distinctiveness, which led to Social Identify Theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Minority Rights Group., 1978; Turner et al., 1979). The study and theory of social identity have, since Tajfel's early research, gained traction in the humanities and often provide a broad framework for attitude research (Van Dijk, 2015b). However, Tajfel's seminal work continues to

influence scholarly understandings of how identifying with groups can shape the identity negotiation of people as they seek to understand what makes them unique but equally how they belong within society. Social Identity Theory centres around social categorisation, intergroup relations, ethnocentrism, and social comparison and can impact both individual and role/relational identities (Hogg et al., 2004, p. 248).

Nonbiased *intergroup* categorisation entails objectively classifying groups without favouring one over the other. In nonbiased categorisations, individuals do not attribute inherent value or superiority to any particular group; instead, they acknowledge and categorise groups based on observable characteristics or shared traits without prejudice or discrimination (Brewer, 1999; Fiske et al., 2007; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Kite & Whitley, 2016; Kite et al., 2022; Mackie & Smith, 2016). In contrast to nonbiased intergroup categorisation, intergroup bias typically involves the consistent inclination to view one's affiliated group (referred to as the *in-group*) or its members more positively than an unaffiliated group (known as the *out-group*) or its members, and such bias may manifest in various forms, including discriminatory behaviour, prejudiced attitudes, and stereotypical thinking (Abrams et al., 2005; Brewer, 1979; Fiske, 1993; S. T. Fiske, 2010; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Hewstone et al., 2002; Hogg & Abrams, 2001; Molenberghs, 2013; Tajfel, 1982, 1984; Turner et al., 1979).

The general tenet of SIT and intergroup bias is that people can be motivated and driven to self-advancement and thus might strive, protect, or promote their group relative to other groups (Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Abrams et al., 2005; Hogg et al., 2004; Oakes et al., 1999). According to Terry and Hogg (1999), social group membership drives self-esteem, especially when it compares favourably to an out-group. Thus, group or category membership is meaningful to an individual's sense of self, which is reinforced and enhanced by favourable comparison to other group members.

For the utility of a CDA interested in the *contents* of social beliefs (rather than information processing) and with an understanding that a sketch of this approach does not do justice to the literature, Jenkins (2014, pp. 114-115) provides a valuable summary. Given the extensive characteristics of the social identity approach, only those pertinent to CDA are provided below:

- Group membership is sufficient to encourage discrimination of out-group members and exaggerate similarities within the in-group and differences between in- and out-groups.
- Societies are structured categorically and organised by inequalities of power and resources.
- Social categorisation generates social identity, producing social comparisons and approving (or disproving) self-evaluations.
- The cognitive simplification required to manage information overload, produced by a complex world, generates stereotypes of collectives and their members.
- Individuals will self-categorise themselves differently according to the contexts in which they find themselves and the contingencies they face.

- Comparison and evaluation between groups are generically bound up with establishing and maintaining in-group distinctiveness in an interplay of internal similarity and external difference.
- Groups distinguish themselves from and discriminate against others to promote positive social evaluation and collective self-esteem.

These characteristics can inform CDA in terms of identifying intergroup bias, perspectives, stereotyping or prototyping, and observes values and attitudes, especially as it understands that people acquire social identities through social knowledge, meaning they adopt, use and change through normative discourses (Van Dijk, 2009). Examining normative sociopolitical texts can deliver insights into the construction of social identities focusing on the collective perspective and the complexity of social identity rather than individual cognitive processes (Jaspal, 2014).

2.3.2 National Identity in the Spotlight

Examining social identity theory within a critical evaluation of government advertisements highlights the potential of public health campaigns to influence and reinforce national identity. Given that social identities are recognised as fluid and manufactured, public health advertisements that target a country's population can and do contribute to forming a cohesive nation by reinforcing and drawing on relatable cultural capital (Appiah, 1992; Ichijo, 2004; McIntyre, 1992; Smith, 2013). Apart from religion, few ideologies have had such a profound impact on modern history as *nationalism* (Anderson, 2016; Bosworth, 2013; Smith, 2011). Breuilly (1985), who contends that nationalism is the most important political ideology of the modern era, notes that many diverse perspectives exist on how nationalism evolved or is defined, resulting in a lack of consensus. Nevertheless, nationalism is primarily considered a powerful hegemonic construct that impacts how people express themselves and interact with others through shared cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes while promoting belonging to a particular country or state (S. T. Fiske, 2010; Giddens, 1991; Kohn, 1944; McIntyre, 1992; Smith, 2013).

Smith (2011) offers the following working definition of nationalism, “An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential nation” (p.9). Additionally, nationalism relates positively with social and political outcomes, such as creating stable democracies and protecting human rights. Still, it adversely correlates with ethnic conflict, tyranny, and xenophobia (Breuilly, 1993). As Gellner (1998) notes, “Nationalism is not just a phenomenon, it is also a problem - one must still be perturbed by the havoc, suffering, cruelty and injustice often brought by nationalism” (p.102). Thus, it provides people with a sense of belonging, while concurrently creating the grounds for displacing others, as seen in colonisation and imperialism (MacDonald & Ormond, 2021; Nairn & McCreanor, 2022; Nairn et al., 2006; Pickles, 2009).

For some scholars, the development of nationalism emphasises the importance of language, religion, and ethnicity (Kohn, 1944; Smith, 2011), while others have focused on the role of political

elites and state institutions in shaping national identity (Giddens, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1992). Finally, some have highlighted the role of globalisation and transnationalism in challenging conventional notions of nationalism and creating new forms of identity and belonging (Appiah, 1992; Beck, 2014). There is a breadth of literature on this topic, and a comprehensive review is impossible, therefore this section will instead concentrate on two prominent scholars in the field: Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner, whose work is deemed an important discursive aspect in critical discourse studies (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) as it sheds light on how power dynamics operate within society by recognising how certain identities are constructed, reinforced, or marginalised through discourse.

In his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Anderson (2016) maintains that nationalism is a socially constructed phenomenon arising from the human need for community (trust based social cohesion) and belonging, both core social motives (see S. T. Fiske, 2010, pp. 14-29). He claims that countries are *imagined communities* formed through shared language, culture, and history, and that this happens through the spread of print media, the growth of educational systems, and the creation of national symbols and monuments. Anderson further argues that nations do not naturally arise as pre-existing entities; their members' collective imagination and experiences actively form them. He further contends that despite never having met or interacted with one another, people within a nation share a sense of belonging and a shared identity (p. 14) through common cultural and linguistic heritage, and they imagine themselves as part of a larger community with shared history and destiny. Anderson also focusses on the role of print media in creating imagined communities and asserts that the development of print capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries enabled the creation of national languages and consequently the dissemination of literature and news (pp. 91-95). The advancement of the print media thus allowed people from different regions and languages to share a common cultural understanding, which according to Anderson, played a vital role in fostering a sense of nationalism as people could learn about and envision themselves as part of a larger community; much as in the same way fashion advertising informs and reflects society (Grau & Zotos, 2016; Holm, 2023; Parkin, 2007; Wilcox et al., 2013; Williamson, 1978).

While *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 2016) explored the concept of nationalism and how shared cultural experiences and a sense of belonging construct nations, Ernest Gellner maintained that nationalism is a product of modernity and the rise of industrial society (Breuilly, 1985; Gellner, 1983, 1998). In his book *Nations and Nationalism*, Gellner (1983) supports the theory that the development of industrial society created a need for standardised education, language, and communication leading to the creation of national identities. The critical difference is that Gellner intimates that nationalism is a *functional* response to the needs of modern society rather than a cultural or historical phenomenon. His perspective challenges the notions of nationalism as solely rooted in culture, ethnicity, or

historical continuity. Instead, Gellner underscores the role of nationalism as a dynamic response to the complexities of modern society, where it functions as a unifying and stabilising mechanism.

On the one hand, Anderson maintains that constructing a national identity is a deliberate process that involves the creation of shared symbols, myths, and narratives. He contends this occurs not only through the circulation of print media but also through the development of educational systems and the construction of national monuments and symbols (Anderson, 2016, p. 139; Breuilly, 1985). Gellner, on the other hand, emphasises the importance of modernisation and economic development in nation-building, arguing that the development of industrial society creates the conditions for the formation of national identities as people begin to identify with the financial and political institutions of the nation-state (Gellner, 1998). Both perspectives on national identity intersect and inform critical discourse studies, playing a pivotal role in guiding this research. They will collectively offer valuable insights into the intricate processes and influential factors that contribute to the construction of national identity, which this study expects will be gleaned through the analysis of sample public health advertisements.

2.4 Summary: Chapter Two

The concepts of power and knowledge, and the relationship of control between social groups, as explored in this chapter, underpin critical discourse studies are particularly useful for my project: learning how the systematic reporting of messages in public health advertisements entrenches hegemonic beliefs in societies (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 2015; Fairclough et al., 2012; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Van Dijk, 2009, 2018; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak, 2013). Relevant to this study and as emphasised in Chapter 1, it is imperative to scrutinise governmental activities, including their health promotion efforts and association with mass media, to acquire a more profound understanding of the process of generating social cognitions, attitudes, and values and how these influence the formation of social norms and identities (Rimal & Lapinski, 2009).

Chapter 2 further presented the theoretical foundations to enact this scrutiny and explore elite power, social compliance, the role of the state and how ideas grow through national and social identity. It provided a review of national and social identity development and discussed the importance of understanding power and hegemony and how, through discourse, dominant groups could control minds.

As Critical Discourse Studies examine the language, rhetoric, symbols, and narratives used to shape a nation's collective imagination and sense of belonging, this study can shed light on the power dynamics, ideologies, and historical narratives embedded within the selected public health nutrition advertisements. Gellner's emphasis on modernisation and economic development provides another lens for CDA, which invites examining how financial and political institutions shape national identity. By discursively analysing cultural texts related to industrialisation, economic policies, and the state's role, this study can learn how economic interests and power structures contribute to the formation and maintenance of national identity and unveil how economic and political discourses intersect with

nationalist narratives, highlighting the underlying tensions and conflicts that emerge with national identity construction.

To reiterate, this study is concerned with hegemony: the domination, normalisation and naturalisation of discourses that render beliefs, values and attitudes opaque, taken for granted and seen as common sense (Bates, 1975; Ives, 2004; Mooney & Evans, 2015, p. 16; Mouffe, 2014; Stoddart, 2007; Thomas & Wareing, 2004, p. 50). As McLuhan and Fiore contend, environments are not passive wrappings but active processes that are invisible (McLuhan & Fiore, 1967, p. 68): the public health environment is no exception. It, too, is an environment containing actively obscured or invisible discursive processes and social practices influenced by hegemonic mechanisms. Hence, these understandings are the foundational theoretic premises for this study and its criticism of public health nutrition advertisements.

Chapter Three: Public Health Nutrition, Promotion and Ethics

To establish the context for this study, Chapter 3 reviews the public health, nutrition, promotion and ethics literature with the intention to comprehensively understand the sociopolitical and cultural contexts within which these discourses emerge and operate. Thus, by analysing the broader landscape, this literature review can identify patterns, power dynamics, and hegemonic influences that contribute to constructing, shaping, and perpetuating cultural hegemony in Aotearoa New Zealand (Biccum, 2010; Bloor & Bloor, 2007; Fairclough, 2012, 2013; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017b; Machin & Mayr, 2012a; Van Dijk, 2015a, 2016; Van Leeuwen, 2006; Wodak, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Additionally, it seeks to provide nuanced insights into the complexities of hegemonic processes and their implications for social change and transformation, thereby extending the scholarship in PHN ethics and CMS (Barker, 2015; Van Dijk, 2009).

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this research, which encompass health education, marketing, journalism, psychology, informatics, and epidemiology, among others (Bernhardt, 2004), the ensuing discussion synthesises diverse perspectives from extant scholarship on communication and public health nutrition. It aims to underscore the intricate interplay among discourse, power dynamics, hegemony, nutrition, public health promotion, and advertising. This comprehensive exploration of the key areas within communication studies and PHN requires an examination of public health through a social lens, acknowledging the undeniable influence of social, political, environmental, and behavioural factors on individual health outcomes (Baum, 2015). As a critical discourse study takes an historical approach to addressing current societal problems, the following section delves into the establishment of public health, the guiding charters, and developments that help situate the value and outcomes of this study in the present situation. The ensuing sections discuss public health promotion and ethics.

3.1 The Health of Nations: Directions and Perspectives

3.1.1 Definitions: What is Public Health?

Contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand public health bases its health education, communications, and health promotion on the definition of health by the World Health Organisation (WHO), which recognises that the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without discrimination (World Health Organisation, 1978). It offers a positive and inclusive concept of health as a determinant of the quality of life, encompassing mental and spiritual well-being (Braveman et al., 2011; Glouberman & Millar, 2003; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Navarro, 2009; Raphael, 2020; Signal & Ratima, 2015, p. 288; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008), and these fundamental rights form the foundations for public health and PHNP alongside actions and research, including those from Aotearoa New Zealand. Collectively these seek to advance the knowledge of human nutrition, inform governments and help build actionable policies (Jenkin et al., 2012; Signal, 1998; Signal & Ratima, 2015).

The New Zealand Government incorporates a combination of these global health ideals into the current system (since 2009) of health promotion that includes cultural integrity, spiritual, physical, mental, social, extended family (whanau) and environmental elements (Durie et al., 2010; Signal & Ratima, 2015, p. 287; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2023). Māori health models 'Te Pae Mahutonga' and Kia Uruuru Mai a Hauora (Durie, 2004; Durie, 2003; Ratima, 2001) exemplify this progressive health system. These models constitute a Māori world health approach that incorporates autonomy, leadership, physical environment, cultural identity, societal participation, and healthy lifestyles that govern health practice and ensure that the promotion of health topics responds to the needs of a bicultural society (Te Whatu Ora/ Health New Zealand, 2023b).

3.1.2 Directions: The Charters

Health promotion is recognised as a critical tool to support the aforementioned ambitions. Accordingly, the WHO adopted the Ottawa Charter, an essential document in public health promotion, in 1986 (World Health Organisation, 1986) that outlines the fundamental principles and strategies for promoting health and preventing disease. It defines public health promotion as a process that enables individuals and communities to improve and gain control over their health. It highlights the importance of addressing the underlying determinants of health: the *social determinants* (Braveman et al., 2011; Burns et al., 2007; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Navarro, 2009; Raphael, 2020; World Health Organisation, 2021). These determinants include social, economic, and environmental factors, instead of relying solely on healthcare services, and heralded the way for the so-called *new public health* (Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008).

Another primary definition for public health promotion comes from the influential authority based in the United States and respected worldwide, The Centre for Disease Control (CDC). They state: "Public health promotion helps people and communities prevent chronic diseases and promotes health and wellness for all" (Centre for Disease Control, 2019). These definitions and the variations evident in the research regard health promotion as a resource for everyday life, not the objective of living (Carter et al., 2011; Glouberman & Millar, 2003; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Naidoo & Wills, 2009, pp. 52-54; Navarro, 2009; Robinson, 2021; Thompson, 2014). Health promotion is a concept that emphasises social and personal resources and physical capacities, indicating that it is not just the responsibility of the health sector but goes beyond healthy lifestyles to general well-being. Although these are broad goals and definitions of public health promotion, they lack specificity to a health problem, such as nutrition, that addresses a unique and complex set of health and social-related issues.

All UN member states adopted the Ottawa Charter, which has informed the foundational principles of public health in Aotearoa New Zealand, since its inception (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2016a). After the Ottawa Charter, The World Health Organisation adopted the Bangkok Charter which addresses emerging global health challenges including increasing inequalities within and between countries, new consumption and communication patterns, commercialisation, global

environmental change and urbanisation (World Health Organisation, 2005). It also reiterates and positions its view on public health promotion:

> The United Nations recognises that the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without discrimination. Health promotion is based on this critical human right and offers a positive and inclusive concept of health as a determinant of the quality of life and encompassing mental and spiritual well-being. Health promotion is the process of enabling people to increase control over their health and its determinants and thereby improve their health. It is a core function of public health and contributes to tackling communicable and noncommunicable diseases and other health threats. (World Health Organisation, 2005)

According to these declarations, charters and mandates, public health scholarship considers public health promotion, interchangeably termed health communication, as being part of the ecological model and real-world process of enabling people to increase control over their health and its causes, thereby improving their health (Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008, pp. 41,65). Further scholarship (Corcoran, 2013b, p. 5; Hubley et al., 2021; Hubley & Tilford, 2010; Slawson et al., 2013) considers promotion a key function of public health activity, where it contributes to tackling communicable and non-communicable diseases and other health threats.

3.1.3 Developments: New Perspectives

PHNP developed in the 1970s and 1980s. It gained a new direction globally after the Canadian Minister of Health, Lalonde, generated a report titled *A new perspective on the health of Canadians* (Lalonde, 1974), that emphasised a non-medical approach as part of public health (Berridge, 2011a, p. 176). As it became known, the Lalonde Report, informed by the mounting epidemiological studies, demonstrated how the correlation between population growth and decline in mortality was partly due to socioenvironmental influences (the social determinants) (Glouberman & Millar, 2003). McKeown et al. (1972), the main epidemiologists informing the Lalonde report, concluded:

> From the nineteenth century, the contribution of improved food supplies to the reduction of mortality was supported by that of other influences: a general increase in the standard of living; better hygiene; and specific preventive and therapeutic measures introduced progressively during the twentieth century. (p. 382)

Subsequently, most governments operating under the auspices of the United Nations came to recognise that PHNP must strategically communicate nutrition science and encourage positive dietary behaviour to their citizens grounded in the overarching goals of public health promotion (Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; World Health Organisation, 2005). How these agendas inform policy and drive PHNP is complicated, multidisciplinary, and constantly challenged by technological and social changes. Nevertheless, the scholarship supports the notion that the overarching goals are sufficiently flexible to make them functional under politically conservative or progressive governments who, respectively, place either the individual or society at the heart of their policies (Allison, n.d.; Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Graham et al., 2009; Sibley & Wilson, 2007; Signal & Ratima, 2015; Tulchinsky

& Varavikova, 2008). Therefore, regardless of which political parties form a government, the charters lay the theoretical foundations upon which each UN member nation can build health promotion policies and actions.

3.2 Promotion of Public Health Nutrition in Aotearoa New Zealand

The following section delves into the contextually relevant literature of the development of public health nutrition and promotion. However, to understand and frame the context this section commences with generating a *working definition* of Public Health Nutrition. There are numerous ways for countries to define PHN as a sub-field of public health (see for instance, Hughes (2003) who lists some of these from various countries, including Australia, the USA, the EU and the UK). For this research, I will be relying on the definition offered by The British Nutrition Society (Landman et al., 1998, as cited in Hughes 2003) as it aligns with the new public health approach (see Section 3.1.2) and captures promotion *and* the essence of PHN in Aotearoa New Zealand, as understood from the various sources of public health management, teaching institutions and scholarship (Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Coad & Pedley, 2020; Jenkin et al., 2012; Signal, Jenkin, et al., 2015; Signal & Ratima, 2015; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008; University of Otago, 2022). It offers this succinct definition "Public health nutrition focusses on the promotion of good health through nutrition and the primary prevention of diet-related illness in the population. The emphasis is on the maintenance of wellness in the whole population" (p.616).

Critical to this definition is the emphasis on the promotional aspect of PHN. Promotion*,* in this definition, stands for the translation of nutritional science to the public to improve their well-being. However, promotional activities include using the advertising industry and mass media for norms-based interventions seeking population behavioural changes and thus impacting on people's lives (Guttman, 2000, 2017; Hornik, 2002; Kreps & Maibach, 2008, p. 735; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Therefore, although the scholars and institutions, as mentioned, support this good intention, *promotion* as a key objective, viewed through the lens of CDA, can often conflict with the primary goal, the wellness of the whole population.

Additionally, PHN communication often makes a distinction between nutrition education and promotion. Nutrition *education* on the one hand, is considered the applied approach where the goal is to use educational strategies to provide beneficial food knowledge to motivate and facilitate individuals to make healthy choices (Contento & Koch, 2020). On the other hand, scholars consider nutrition *promotion* to incorporate nutrition education within a larger community and society framework (Cross et al., 2023). From a contemporary perspective, the task of PHNP is broader and considers not only nutrition deficiencies, but also nutrition related social and health issues (Worsley, 2008). For this thesis, I will predominantly use the term Public Health Nutrition Promotion (or the abbreviation PHNP) in the contemporary sense and nutrition education where appropriate.

3.2.1 Approach

The scholarship of public health history (Berridge, 2011a; Clements, 1986; Dow, 1995; Mein Smith, 2011; Porter, 1999, 2020; Rosen, 2015; Woodward & Blakely, 2014) appears to agree that before the Second World War, public health was focused mainly on nutritional deficiencies, environmental hazards and infectious diseases. The decades after the Second World War, however, saw a shift in attention to evidence-based medicine and lifestyle diseases (for example, smoking, drugs, alcohol, food consumption), chronic diseases, epidemiology and ideas about 'risk factors' (Abroms & Maibach, 2008; Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Berridge, 2011b; Coad & Pedley, 2020; Lupton, 1993; Rosen, 2015; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008; Wiseman, 2017).

Such a shift in attention, concurrent with the new public health approach changed the moral emphasis of nutritional health to intensely focus on individual psychosocial factors (Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Naidoo & Wills, 2009, p. 54; Porter, 1999, p. 297; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008). The literature demonstrates that this shift in moral emphasis is primarily grounded in the psychological theory of social learning theory (SLT) (Bandura & Walters, 1977; Buchanan, 2000; Egger et al., 2013) (later termed Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (McLeod, 2011)).

Social Learning Theory (SLT) offers a theoretical framework within the scholarly discourse, positing that individuals engage in behavioural imitation, as delineated by Akers and Jennings (2016). Such imitative behaviour is intricately influenced by a complex interplay of cognitive factors, including but not limited to expectancies, such as environmental cues, consequences of actions, self-efficacy, and value incentives. Among these factors, individuals' beliefs, exemplified by the motivation to effect positive health changes that may enhance their physical appearance, represent a salient dimension (Egger et al., 2013, p. 37). These foundational principles, in conjunction with various other public health models, including the widely recognised Health Belief Model (HBM), serve as the conceptual underpinnings for the architecture of health communication interventions (Berridge, 2011a; Berridge & Gorsky, 2011).

Public health literature demonstrates that the perspective on achieving and maintaining a healthy population is multifaceted and deeply influenced by the political landscape, with the reigning political party playing a pivotal role in shaping these views (Coad & Pedley, 2020; Greer et al., 2017; Jenkin et al., 2012; Navarro, 2008; Oliver, 2006; Signal, Jenkin, et al., 2015; Signal & Ratima, 2015). As Davis and Ashton (2001) further explain, historically, the New Zealand Government oscillated between various opposing and competing political ideologies, at times endorsing protectionism and neoliberalism (see Chapter 1) and at different junctures adopting a more progressive social perspective aligning with the principles of the new public health (Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum & Fisher, 2014, p. 214; Davis & Ashton, 2001). Thus, whichever direction the politics heads, it is crucial to acknowledge that public health is inherently political; however, as Bernier and Clavier (2011) and Signal (1998) concur, the notion of achieving politically neutral policies is not only essentially fictional, it can also impede progress towards the goal of ‘A Healthier Nation’.

The literature revealed the current political approach to public health in Aotearoa New Zealand, has evolved from the aforementioned political directions under alternating economic ideologies held by National- and Labour-led governments with guidance from the World Health Organisation's charters (as discussed earlier). Consequently, the recent past and contemporary health approach encompasses a spectrum of contrasting political ideologies. Successive governments have crafted health policies that amalgamate progressive social values with considerations for business and market interests while concurrently placing substantial responsibility on individuals (Signal, 1998; Signal, Jenkin, et al., 2015).

An illustration of this contextual hegemonic dichotomy is evident in anti-tobacco initiatives. Anti-smoking campaigns have largely been meritocratic, targeting individuals, as evidenced in this tagline from Smokfree.Org: "Sometimes it takes lots of tries, but every quit attempt is one step closer to the day when you can say 'I don't smoke'" (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2023b; Te Hiringa Hauora | Health Promotion Agency, 2023). However, since the Smoke-Free Environments Act in 1990 (Beaglehole, 1991), governments have also formulated social policies and laws that effectively curtail the tobacco industry's operations, sales, and promotional activities to safeguard the population. These tobacco control measures encompass regulations related to the industry, advertising, promotion, and public smoking spaces (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2023a).

A further example of competing political theories is gambling addiction, a health condition known to cause mental and physical harm to individuals, families and communities (Abbott, 2017; Kalischuk et al., 2006). There have been many studies demonstrating how public health policies and efforts to reduce gambling contrast with the government receiving funds from gambling institutions (Abbott, 2017; Adams et al., 2009; Kalischuk et al., 2006; Korn, 2000; Marionneau & Nikkinen, 2020; Tho-un & Saenphumi, 2021).

The situation is similar for nutrition. As Jenkin et al. (2012) concluded in their research on nutrition policy in Aotearoa New Zealand, an industry-based self-regulatory model leaves dietary responsibility to the individual, even though numerous socially designed nutrition policies exist. These contrasting interests highlight the inherently political nature of health and nutrition promotion. Still, studies are few, and as Navarro (2008) reflects, the politics of health and nutrition is a neglected area, lending strength to the validity of this study and the insights it may provide.

3.2.2 Political context

To gain insight into the present and to develop an understanding of how discursive mechanisms play a pivotal role in shaping and mirroring social narratives and practices, this study seeks to understand the history and, thus, context of cultural texts. Critical discourse scholarship emphasises the importance of contextualising cultural texts and exploring recent historical events to facilitate a deeper understanding of the present; an approach specifically scrutinising the most pertinent political and economic changes influencing discourse, Public Health Ethics, policymaking, and social outcomes (Fairclough, 2001; Meyer, 2001; Van Dijk, 2011; Wodak, 2001). To this end, it

is essential to recognise the significance of the most profound economic and political transformations in the twentieth century: neoliberalism (see Chapter 1).

From the 1980s, the political and economic agenda in Aotearoa New Zealand shifted dramatically toward neoliberalism, the political-economic ideology favouring reduced government intervention in markets, privatisation, deregulation of labour markets and trade (Baum & Fisher, 2014; Harvey, 2005; Ridgway et al., 2019). It also embraces *meritocracy*, the ideology in which individuals' success, advancement, and social status are considered to be determined primarily by their demonstrated abilities (Bell, 1972; Daniels, 1978; Young, 2017). Aotearoa New Zealand adopted this economic approach in 1984 when the fourth Labour government came into power by a landslide election victory, ousting the long-standing (nine years) national government (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Mein Smith, 2011, p. 217).

The finance minister of the Labour government, Roger Douglas, was the critical economic policy designer of New Zealand's version of neoliberalism, which became known as Rogernomics (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2022). Although the Labour Party was only in government for two three-year terms, 1984-1990, its legacy of neoliberal policies has remained the foundation for each consecutive government formed since (Bertram, 2009; Coad & Pedley, 2020; Skilling, 2021; Symes, 2022). Accordingly, governments have contributed to developing the New Zealand liberal welfare health mode towards the neoliberal model inspired by competition, labour, and contract flexibility (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020).

Although neoliberalism aims and succeeds in reducing state intervention while increasing prosperity, it appears to do so unequally (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). As an economic model in many countries, including Aotearoa New Zealand, it has successfully generated significant wealth gains for the top 10% of the population, while concomitantly stagnating and impoverishing a large percentage. Rashbrooke (2013) illustrates this wealth gap with a New Zealand income ladder, revealing that 99% of the population earns less than (before tax) $170,000, and 1% earns more than this amount, holding 16% of the country's total wealth. Add the top 10% of income earners to the wealth disparity, and the data show that this group owns more than half of New Zealand's total wealth. The scholarship demonstrates how this socioeconomic chasm has steered New Zealand into the *inequality trench* where it, shamefully, resides among the most unequal of the OECD countries (Ball & Creedy, 2016; Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Furceri et al., 2016; Rashbrooke, 2013; Skilling, 2021; Wilkinson, 2009; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

Embracing neoliberalism has produced severe adverse long-term consequences for health, well-being, and social inequalities, evidenced and acknowledged not only by the mounting literature (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Baum & Fisher, 2014; Collins et al., 2015; Harvey, 2005; Marriott & Sim, 2015; Mein Smith, 2011, pp. 222-224; Navarro, 2009; Public Health Association of New Zealand, 2016; Reid et al., 2019; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009) but also by the very politicians who promoted and adopted this political and economic shift. David Lange, New Zealand Prime Minister (1984–89)

during Rogernomics reflectively acknowledged, “For people who do not want the government in their lives … this [Rogernomics] has been a bonanza. For people who are disabled, limited, resourceless, uneducated, it has been a tragedy” (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2022).

Studies show that health outcomes are linked intrinsically to neoliberalism policies (Crawford, 2006; Harvey, 2005, p. 2). Under the continuing (Anno 2023) liberal public health policies, marginalised groups, dominated by Māori, remain disadvantaged (Eyles et al., 2009; Marriott & Sim, 2015). For example, Māori have ongoing unmet surgical needs, experience primary care cost barriers, and have poorer health and safety outcomes (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Nairn et al., 2006; Reid & Robson, 2006; Riley & McCarthy, 2007).

These studies, among others, such as housing, unsafe workplaces, problem gambling and alcohol abuse (Reid & Robson, 2006), reveal how such paradigm political-economic shifts affect the theoretical foundations of public health policy and corresponding outcomes. Although, laying blame for these poor outcomes does not rest entirely on the shoulders of the liberal health and welfare agenda in Aotearoa New Zealand; such poor health related outcomes for Māori have their origins in the colonisation of their land (Came et al., 2021; Reid et al., 2019; Reid & Robson, 2006). Nevertheless, it does appear the neoliberal endeavour contributed to social inequalities and health inequities. Investigations into the formulation and implementation of public health policies and promotional efforts are ongoing and merit scholarly scrutiny; this research has the potential to make a valuable contribution to this investigative endeavour through revealing *what* and *how* these political ideologies are discursively perpetuated.

3.3 Public Health and Ethics: Considerations

The first section of this chapter offered contextualising information pertaining to public health promotion and nutrition. It focussed on foundations, strategies and the political environment informing public health directions aimed at improving the overall health and well-being of individuals and communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Historical political directions have produced public health strategies that strive to empower individuals to make informed health choices while additionally addressing the social, environmental, and behavioural determinants that impact health outcomes. Part 2 of this chapter embarks on a journey into the multifaceted landscape of Public Health Ethics and bioethics[5], focusing on how these fields relate to public health promotion. It delves into the theoretical foundations, ethical considerations, how these inform healthcare decisions, the principles guiding health promotion initiatives, and their roles in shaping contemporary discourses, but first, it explores the critical philosophical concepts of health, health promotion and nutrition.

[5] The terms Public Health Ethics and Bioethics are used in the literature interchangeably. In this section the term Bioethics refers to all matters of health and ethics, be they clinical, medical, for individuals or for populations.

3.3.1 Health: Concepts and Constructs

The literature demonstrates that the *conventional medical perspective* on health, as defined by the absence of illness and impairment, has been a prevailing viewpoint in scholarly discourse (Boorse, 1977; Korp, 2010; Powers et al., 2008, p. 17). These studies have contributed significantly to our understanding of many considerations, including premature mortality, preventable morbidity, malnutrition, loss of mobility, mental health, the biological basis of behaviour, reproductive health, and sexual functioning.

Conversely, within the realm of scholarly discourse, an alternative viewpoint has gained prominence, regarding health as a multifaceted social construct and meaningful practice (Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Crawford, 2006; Wainwright, 2008). It emphasises the necessity of transcending the confines of physical well-being and instead comprehending health within a broader context, acknowledging the pervasive influence of social, cultural, and economic determinants (as previously mentioned) (Braveman et al., 2011; Navarro, 2009; Powers et al., 2008; Raphael, 2020; World Health Organisation, 2021). These determinants, as expounded in various studies, encompass income disparities, access to education, housing conditions, healthcare accessibility, economic policies, development agendas, societal norms, institutional social policies, and the political systems governing them (Adams et al., 2009; Armstrong, 1995; Ashton & Seymour, 1988; Baum, 2015; Phelan et al., 2010; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008). Consequently, the scholarship on health underscores its intricate, multifaceted nature and the imperative of contextualising scholarship within a broader societal framework.

A concrete illustration of this phenomenon is observable among individuals living in impoverished conditions. Such conditions cause health disparities due to substandard housing, limited access to nutritious food, and inadequate access to healthcare (Braveman et al., 2011; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Navarro, 2009; Reid et al., 2019). Moreover, as elucidated in extant literature (see previous), the social gradient of health offers an additional vantage point for grasping the conceptualisation of health highlighting health inequality: the nonuniform distribution of health outcomes across diverse social strata (Matheson & Dew, 2008).

In this context, individuals placed at the lower echelons of the social hierarchy exhibit significantly poorer health outcomes compared to their counterparts at the upper tiers (Burns et al., 2007; Marmot, 2004). This disparity manifests itself in variations in life expectancy, infant mortality rates, and the prevalence of chronic diseases among distinct socioeconomic segments (Hill, 2008). As mentioned earlier, it is a situation not unfamiliar in Aotearoa New Zealand and a topic this CDA study is suited to addressing, given that this form of analysis closely examines text and images to reveal what the mechanisms are, and how discourse and power function contribute to hegemonic structures and, therefore, suitable to answering the research questions.

The social perspective of health underscores the imperative of adopting a holistic approach that can extend beyond examining individual behaviours to comprehensively scrutinise the

foundational causes underpinning health inequities (Raphael, 2020). Moreover, a holistic approach calls attention to the susceptibility of public health to moral and ethical paradigms, which this study attempts; revealing power dynamics, ethical controversies, and furthermore it can interrogate the language used in political publications shedding light on the underlying values and interests at play (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 1993). Such analysis helps reveal ethical inequities and disparities, particularly in public health contexts, and can contribute an understanding of the ethical implications of policy outcomes (Hardy & Phillips, 2004; Wodak & Meyer, 2009), taking up the challenge as invited by (Delany et al., 2015, p. 121) to contribute further thinking of culturally and contextually relevant Public Health Ethics.

Therefore, critical discourse studies of public health promotion has the opportunity to critique and inform Public Health Ethics, which beckons the introduction of the bioethics field, a scholarship domain that encapsulates the ethical principles, values, and quandaries intrinsic to healthcare and the life sciences. It is a fulcrum informing political and health ideologies, policy trajectories, and actionable interventions.

3.3.2 Unravelling the Role of Bioethics

Bioethics constitutes an academic discipline dedicated to the exhaustive exploration of ethical principles, values, and intricate moral dilemmas that pervade the domains of healthcare, medical research, and the life sciences (Campbell, 2017; Kuhse et al., 2015; McCormick, 2023). Scholarship offers an understanding of bioethics' historical foundations, fundamental principles, and paramount relevance in Public Health Nutrition and Critical Media Studies. It examines the ethical challenges of pursuing health promotion goals, offering insights into addressing challenges while upholding values of fairness, equity, and respect for human dignity.

Within the significant corpus of literature, bioethics assumes a paramount role in furnishing ethical guidance amidst the intricate ethical quandaries that characterise these spheres, encompassing facets such as the ethical implications of patient autonomy, end-of-life decision-making, and the burgeoning landscape of advanced medical technologies (Campbell, 2017; Kuhse et al., 2015; Lopes, 2014). In the scholarly discourse, bioethics is a venerated field that unfailingly engages with the multifaceted moral questions that surface in tandem with the relentless progression of medical technology, the evolving landscape of healthcare delivery, and the ever-expanding ambit of public health interventions. In this regard, it is pertinent to acknowledge the scholarly contributions made by McCormick (2023), who aptly highlights the robust ethical framework of bioethics as an indispensable tool for the scrupulous examination of the ethical dimensions that underpin health promotion strategies and interventions.

Embedded within the broader expanse of ethical scholarship, bioethics assumes a preeminent and dynamic position, representing an indispensable and vibrant discipline that grapples with profound moral inquiries at the confluence of the life sciences, healthcare practices, and social norms (Beauchamp & Childress, 2009; Cross et al., 2023). It traces its genesis to the post-World War II

milieu, characterised by a palpable recognition of the imperative for a specialised field capable of navigating the intricate moral complexities inherent in medicine, biotechnology, and healthcare (Petersen & Bunton, 1997). As it has evolved, this field has continued to expand its purview to encompass the social dimensions and ramifications of public health communication interventions (Guttman, 2017). These considerations hold particular pertinence for critical discourse studies, which intersects with this research focus on Public Health Nutrition and Critical Media Studies.

Although the historical antecedents of medical and health ethics trace back to antiquity, notably through the enduring texts of Hippocrates and the Charaka Samhita Oath of Initiation (Campbell, 2017, p. 3), the formal establishment of bioethics as a distinct discipline transpired in the mid- twentieth century. The transformative juncture in the history of ethics was precipitated by the epochal Nuremberg Trials that ensued in the aftermath of World War II, unearthing harrowing revelations of unethical medical experiments conducted by Nazi physicians (Campbell, 2017). Established in 1947, the foundational Nuremberg Code, enshrined bedrock ethical principles, notably the sacrosanct tenets of informed consent and the paramount consideration of the well-being of research subjects. These ethical precepts, as illuminated in the scholarly discourse, continue to exert an enduring and pervasive influence on the fabric of bioethics (Lopes, 2014), and as such deserve scholarly attention, reflection and critique; aspects this study attempts to fulfil.

The four fundamental principles known as the “Four Pillars,” which include respect for autonomy, nonmaleficence, beneficence, and justice, have been established within scholarly discourse. These principles are essential ethical benchmarks within contemporary industrialised societies (Holm, 2002). Respect for autonomy emphasises a patient's right to self-determination and informed consent. However, its application in public health promotion becomes nuanced due to communications largely still following the *Deficit Model* approach; a one-way communication system which assumes that that gaps between science and the public is the result of a lack of information, thus limiting autonomy by controlling information dissemination (Brown, 2009; Simis et al., 2016). This raises questions about whether PHNP has inadvertently become a form of social control, as argued by Crotty (1995), Duncan and Cribb (1996) and Lupton (1995).

Nonmaleficence, the second pillar, obliges healthcare providers to avoid harm, primarily within the clinical context. However, in public health promotion, the challenge arises when critical media and ethics studies scrutinise individuals' limited choice in receiving public health messages (such as in public health print advertising), potentially leading to misunderstandings or disregard of perceived harm (Duncan & Cribb, 1996; Foucault, 2000; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Guttman, 2017). Such complexity underscores the ethical dilemmas inherent in public health policy and communication (Worsley & Lawrence, 2007a).

The third pillar, beneficence, calls for healthcare providers to provide benefit to patients, and aligns with health education's presumed moral obligation. However, this assumption of beneficence overlooks the unequal power dynamics between elite institutions and the general population, again

raising ethical concerns (Delany et al., 2015; McCormick, 2023). And, lastly, the principle of justice endeavours to delineate fairness in the distribution of healthcare resources, a process strongly shaped by political ideologies and concepts such as merit, economic liberty, and social contribution (Beauchamp & Childress, 2009, p. 243; Campbell, 2017; Gostin, 2004; McCormick, 2023). Variations in welfare state models, such as the liberal approach adopted by the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, further complicate the ethical landscape, as they prioritise personal and economic liberty over comprehensive state-funded healthcare (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020; Schrecker & Bambra, 2015).

In the fields of ethics and politics, diverse ideological orientations espouse the idea of individual empowerment, albeit through distinct approaches ranging from limited state involvement to extensive state management. Irrespective of the chosen path, a common thread emerges; the existence of influential elites wielding control, which may emanate from private corporations seeking financial gain within the healthcare domain or state authorities assuming responsibility for the allocation and management of resources. As such actions are not without ramifications on the broader populace, this study seeks to explore and elucidate what and how they can be endorsed and perpetuated in societies.

Within a liberal framework that champions individual autonomy and freedom, decision-making confronts individuals within an environment primarily governed by private entities, albeit subject to relatively lenient state regulations. A case in point is the pharmaceutical industry's ability to exert control over drug distribution and use marketing strategies, exemplified by the infamous episode involving the American drug company OxyContin, characterised by the misuse of narcotic analgesic medications (DEA, 2023). As highlighted by Van Zee (2009), this episode serves as a testament to the commercial success of such endeavours while simultaneously embodying a tragic episode in public health. Conversely, within the welfare system, an alternative approach unfolds, replete with its own challenges, including unfavourable economic outcomes, a degree of social control, and limited options for service providers (Mera, 2002). Both trajectories lack the intricate complexities and dilemmas intrinsic to the human condition. The ambit of this study is to contribute to understanding how this discourse develops and is perpetuated through Public Health Nutrition Advertising.

3.3.3 Ethical Considerations in Public Health

Bioethics, as mentioned in this thesis (see Footnote 2), covers all aspects related to ethics and health, where the four pillars can provide explicit ethical guidance for the medical profession; however, with its focus on individuals, it does not provide explicit guidance when it comes to public health epidemiology (Bayer & Fairchild, 2004). Applying ethics to epidemiology and public health is relatively new and draws on the familiar principles of bioethics, ethics, and practical ethics. As explained by Leonard W. Ortmann et al. (2016), Aliyu (2021) and Cross et al. (2023), this endeavour can be intricate, as Public Health Ethics varies across societies due to the influence of culture, history, religion, economics, social dynamics, and political philosophies, all of which interact to shape the guiding and practical ethical considerations.

However, the literature (Carter, 2012; Ettorre, 2010; Guttman, 2017; Kass, 2001; Sindall, 2002; Tengland, 2012; Thorogood & Coombes, 2010; Vogelzang, 2023) demonstrates that public health departments (and those related) regard ethics as pivotal in shaping practical decisions that impact the health of populations or communities. These practical decisions are grounded mainly and supported by the emerging and growing scientific literature and align with accepted values and culturally relevant ethical standards.

Public Health Nutrition Ethics (PHNE), thus, extends and draws from its parent disciplines of public health, ethics, and bioethics to play a crucial role in identifying and addressing ethical issues, particularly in the context of nutrition interventions and requires careful consideration when promotional efforts seeks to intervene in people's lives (Bayer & Fairchild, 2004; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Holland, 2014; Kass, 2001; Leonard W. Ortmann et al., 2016; Verweij & Dawson, 2013). This scholarship exemplifies how ethical issues are critical to the field of public health communication, highlighting the demand for critical discourse studies of their promotional efforts. For example, Guttman (2017, p. 1) draws attention to how specific techniques, such as highly emotional appeals, exaggerations, omissions, provocative tactics, and the portrayal of children in advertising, raise vital ethical concerns demonstrating that people's privacy, autonomy, equity, and social and cultural issues require consideration in communication interventions.

The recent pandemic of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, resulting in the COVID-19 disease (World Health Organisation, 2023a), serves as a contemporary and well-defined case example of how countries have different ways of pandemic management underpinned by strong ideological and ethical foundations. Using this example of a public health pandemic, Aliyu (2021) discusses how the varying political situations had differing outcomes regarding pandemic management, arguing that as health is considered a human right, it raises ethical questions regarding its management, particularly around public health control measures. Aliyu (2021) contends that the basis for decision-making regarding pandemic disease dynamics should not be driven by political factors but rather by the best available epidemiological data. Therefore, in this context, it is crucial to prioritise and communicate core social motivating values such as honesty, trust, human dignity, solidarity, reciprocity, accountability, transparency, and justice (S. T. Fiske, 2010). However, from a philosophical perspective, how society considers each of these values is profoundly cultural and thus inherently political, as the post-COVID-19 evidence has borne out (Silver, 2022). Each situation will thus be unique and can teach valuable lessons in public health communication from this recent pandemic.

Extrapolating from this example to any public health management, achieving worldwide ethical unity in terms of public health (pandemic) management appears ethnocentric, lacking in cultural relativism, making it unlikely to succeed. This is not to suggest that continuing the work and debate around global Public Health Ethics is not worthwhile. On the contrary, as Sindall (2002) and Mayes and Thompson (2014) suggest, questions about health promotion and moralisation necessitate clarity around health inequities and ethical guidelines. A healthy debate and fresh research should

welcome new ideas and revitalisation. The scholarship of Guttman (2017); Guttman and Ressler (2001) and Duncan and Cribb (1996) addresses some of these concerns, raising questions about conflicts of interest, power dynamics, encroachment of individual rights, freedom and autonomy (in conflict with the first principle of bioethics).

3.4 Opportunities

Nutrition and diet studies are plentiful in the sciences, where the research is predominantly conducted in the empirical, quantitative tradition but seldom qualitatively (Bernhardt, 2004). After much exploration, the literature search did not identify CDS of PHN and ideological scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, of the related media and nutrition literature, the psychology research of Dodds and Chamberlain (2017) on the problematic messages of nutritional discourse is a promising direction in PHN discourse studies within critical nutrition studies.

As the field of nutrition struggles to communicate its findings and advice, scientists and researchers continue to turn to other fields of study, including communications studies, to help solve the urgent social nutrition problems, as exemplified in the *Grand Challenges in Chronic Non-Communicable Diseases* report (Daar et al., 2007), the *Report of the Commission on Ending Childhood Obesity* (World Health Organisation, 2017) and Coad and Pendley's review of nutrition in New Zealand (2020). Moreover, with easy access to elite institutions like the mass media, an authority generating PHN advertising requires scrutiny and critique to avoid the mindless perpetuation of falsehoods, possibly leading to human suffering. Such scrutiny can discover and reveal entrenched patterns demonstrating how dominant social beliefs have arisen and how these contribute to the current nutrition discourse, to support and aid the development of ethical PHN communications (Worsley & Lawrence, 2007a). Public Health Nutrition communications will continue propagating old ideas when we do not critically examine hegemony and its formative ideologies in historical artefacts.

Exploring the literature has revealed the foundations of public health to be fundamentally ideological and political. Historically health promotion was an instructional and educational pursuit (Worsley, 2008), but it has been redirected in modern times (post World War II) towards a sense of individual responsibility as *lifestyle* matters have come into focus (Lupton, 1993; Piggin, 2012; Wiltshire et al., 2019). Signal, Ratima and Raeburn (Department of Health, 1978, as cited in 2015) illustrate this shift in focus with a quote from the 1978 annual report by the DoH, "Health cannot be forced upon people. It cannot be dispensed to the people. They must want it and be prepared to do their share" (p.26). These changes demonstrate how public health discourse varies over time and contextually reflects changes in society and politics (Signal, Ratima, et al., 2015). Such a historical reflection provides the impetus for the scholarship of critical discourse analysts and their social justice ambitions.

In light of the knowledge related to the foundations of public health, bioethics, and the ethics of health promotion, it is necessary to consider the ethical principles associated with health promotion

and their potential ramifications for PHNA initiatives in Aotearoa New Zealand. The intersection of bioethics and health promotion emerges as a pivotal area for exploration and analysis of the ethical underpinnings and societal implications of health promotion efforts, past and present, well positioning this CDA study with its scrutiny of power dynamics to undertake this effort.

Critical Discourse Analysis has emerged throughout these first chapters as a potent tool for deconstructing how health promotion messages are disseminated and received and for revealing the obfuscated hegemonic structures. Chapter 4 continues with this inquiry, presenting the methodology: critical discourse studies, SCDA, and the SCDA-method: a novel analytical approach designed for SCDA analysis and the comparison and analysis of multiple cultural texts, print advertisements in this instance.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Method

The preceding chapters have contextualised this study, introducing public health promotion, the historical period (1940-1960), the theoretical underpinnings and the role of the media that ground this research. In alignment with the qualitative research paradigm, this chapter initially provides a self-reflective statement before introducing and describing the approach. It will investigate discourse, persuasive discourse and the psychology of persuasion, and crucially present CDA as the methodology providing the theoretical foundation to address and answer the research questions, which ask:

- Research Question 1: What are the embedded beliefs, and emergent discourses within historical public health nutrition advertisements that contribute to developing, accepting, and validating social norms, hegemonic strategies, and associated practices?
- Research Question 2: In what ways do these hegemonic processes contribute to broader social dynamics and ideologies?

Furthermore, this chapter will describe the design and development of the SCDA-method, an applicable, functional, and systematic method that has been specifically developed for this study. Lastly, it will describe how the data was gathered and selected. It concludes with a summary of the method including an account of my experience with the analysis process.

4.1 Self-reflection and Approach

4.1.1 Positionality and Sociopolitical Engagement in Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysts operate from a specific sociopolitical stance to situate themselves within a society and are not mere observers (Van Dijk, 2008b, pp. 85-86). As such, they must clarify their stance at the onset of a CDA study (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 252) distance oneself from the data, embed it in the social, take a political stance, and engage in self-reflection (Wodak, 2001). Accordingly, herewith I offer my sociopolitical position as a critical discourse analyst (Fairclough, 2015, p. 175; Hansen et al., 1998). Like other critical social scientists, I am concerned not only about health inequalities and inequities but also about social, economic, and political inequality, a position informed by the understanding that democracies and political stability are more achievable in more equal and equitable societies (Glaeser, 2006; Worsley & Lawrence, 2007a). Additionally, I am disturbed about how the social construction, reproduction, and legitimisation of these social injustices penetrate society through PHNP and how this impacts the fields of nutrition and public health. Unlike many critical discourse scholars, however, due to this research's foundational nature, I am applying a broad social lens, as noted above, to allow beliefs, values, and attitudes to emerge and inform this study, with the intention to stimulate and direct further research in this field.

4.1.2 Unveiling Methodological Approaches in Social Research

Creswell and Creswell (2017) define conventional qualitative inquiry as using interpretive theoretical frameworks to examine what and how individuals or groups interpret a given social issue. The characteristics of this approach emphasise researcher reflexivity, crafting intricate descriptions,

and interpreting meanings. In contrast, Wodak and Meyer (2016) describe critical theory as a qualitative research paradigm that extends the investigation toward a perspective centred on empowering and transcending societal problems. Thus, critical theory not only departs from conventional qualitative inquiry but also redirects its focus towards critically analysing and improving society.

Social institutions use verbal, visual and textual language (discourse) to shape social reality, that can impact human flourishing and causes suffering in specific contexts (Fairclough, 2012). By applying a critical theory approach, this study will examine the constructive power of discourse in historical health promotion texts (Van Dijk, 1993b). Critical Discourse Studies can analyse discourse through a particular social perspective (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). For example, the feminist research approach may be concerned with changing existing conditions in a specific setting (Lazar, 2005). Other lenses are critical race theory, which is concerned with racial discrimination, challenges white privilege and complacency, and queer theory, which is concerned with gender construction, identity, and performance (Butler, 1988, 1999; Catalano & Waugh, 2020a; Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

Critical Discourse Studies can also take a general approach, allowing beliefs, values, and attitudes to emerge through a broad social lens (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 2011). By applying a general approach, CDA researchers can analyse discourse in a way that transcends specific identity categories, making it a valuable tool for examining the broader dynamics of power, knowledge, and hegemonic processes in society. Such an approach is often at the heart of Foucauldian studies, and seeks to examine the interplay of power, knowledge, and discourse across various domains. It can be applied to different topics and contexts, making it a versatile and general theoretical approach (Fairclough, 1992). For example, Dryzek (1997) applied a general approach to political and environmental studies that enabled him to develop an understanding of the various environmental discourses. It has been widely cited (over 6880 Google scholar citations). Thus, a general approach suits this research, to explore how multiple intersecting identities interact within discourses, and will allow the researcher to remain open-minded, and avoid reductionism by acknowledging that hegemony is multifaceted (Meyer, 2001; Van Dijk, 2007; Wodak, 2001).

4.2 Discourse, Persuasion and CDA

4.2.1 Defining Discourse

Before examining CDA, it is essential to consider the term discourse, as it lies at the heart of critical examination. Although discourse has various definitions, CDA researchers commonly view it as using language in speech and writing, which forms a social practice that has its foundations in Foucault's shift from language to discourse in his historical study of rules and practices (Hall, 2020, p. 29). For example, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 258) describe discourse as shaped by the situations, institutions, and social structures that frame it while, in turn, also shaping them. Thus, inferring that it is socially constitutive, conditioning and contributes to sustaining and transforming

the social status quo. Weedon (1997, p. 108) explains that discourse constitutes knowledge, social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations. Discourse, then, reflects ways of thinking and producing meaning and constitutes the nature of the body, unconscious and conscious mind, and emotional life of the subjects it seeks to govern.

Moreover, discursive practices have significant social effects and can help reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, genders, and underrepresented ethnicities or cultures (Fairclough, 2015, pp. 98-99; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Stoddart, 2007; Van Dijk, 2000a, 2001b, 2006; Williamson, 1978). Van Dijk (1998) defines discourse as enabling social actors to formulate general conclusions based on several experiences and observations, describing past and future events, prescribing actions and beliefs, and cultivating hegemonic beliefs directly. These definitions highlight how communication in its various forms and genres, from conversations and speeches to multimedia and film, express understandings of the world (Mullet, 2018) and furthermore, how cultural change manifests.

4.2.2 Persuasive Discourse

Persuasive messaging can be studied to enrich and support a critical discourse study and help understand how advertising influences the construction of social identities, the perpetuation of values and norms, and reinforces stereotypes while maintaining a position of power. Therefore, as this research critically examines a collection of mid-twentieth century print advertisements that aimed to persuade readers to adopt behavioural changes, this section explores the functional application of persuasive discourse, the creation of symbols and myths in advertising, how they impact social identity construction, and the cognitive processes of persuasion.

Persuasion is the catalytic driver of advertising, meaning advertisers essentially pursue behavioural or attitudinal change concordant with their desired outcomes (Areni & Lutz, 1988; Jones & McClanahan, 2017; Miller, 2012; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986a; Rossi & Yudell, 2012; Stiff, 2016). To this end, advertisers will exploit various persuasive strategies to disseminate messages; for example, in public health promotion, advertisers primarily communicate risk and do not hesitate to emotively appeal to fear, guilt, or shame (Atkin, 2013; Gagnon et al., 2010; Guttman & Salmon, 2004; Mongeau, 2012, p. 186; Naidoo & Wills, 2009, p. 193; Rossi & Yudell, 2012). At the same time, commercial advertisers prefer an optimistic appeal and strategically focus on pleasure, relationships, humour, love and social status, among others (Corcoran, 2013a, p. 91; Nabi, 2007, p. 386).

Through language and imagery, symbolism, myth generation, and representations, advertising often reinforces hegemony including, but not limited to, consumerism, individualism, and heteronormativity (Hall et al., 1991; Holm, 2023, p. 112). For example, advertisements often use imagery and language to construct and reinforce normative gender roles and identities (Butler, 1988; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Rathzel, 1997; Zawisza-Riley, 2019). According to literary theorist Burke (1969), symbols have multiple meanings and can be used in unanticipated ways to create novelty and surprise that capture an audience's attention; an observation significant in advertising, where the goal

is to stand out. Burke asserts that symbols are not just signs representing something else but are 'persuaders' or tools people use to create meanings and influence others (Burke, 1989). Burke (1969) further professes that people use language to establish relationships, negotiate power and that they can *manipulate* the meanings of words for rhetorical purposes since they are not fixed (1969).

Burke's theory of motivational reasoning through rhetorical discourse leads to his argument that consubstantiality creates meaning and identity, a crucial aspect of persuasive communication (Burke, 1969, p. 21). Essentially, this term understands that through persuasive discourse, including myths, signs, and symbols, social identities form and change by establishing common ground or associations. In turn, this understanding helps the rhetorician, advertiser in this context, to establish trust and rapport, which is used by emphasising shared beliefs, values, and experiences, establishing a common enemy or using the transcendent or institutional *we* (Burke, 1989; Foss et al., 2014; Overington, 1977). Therefore, through consubstantiality and advertising, people can feel a sense of identification and mutual understanding.

Barthes (2009), equally a prominent literary theorist and semiotician, also explored how meaning is created through persuasive texts and the creation of myths, signs, and symbols to shape and reinforce social norms and power dynamics. He posits that advertising is a compelling myth-making cultural phenomenon that can influence consumers to adopt specific lifestyles and identities. Indeed, advertising exemplifies this process, creating new meanings and associations to convince consumers to adopt specific lifestyles, identities and values (Cook, 2001; Dunn & Barban, 1978; Einstein, 2017; West & McAllister, 2013). For example, a perfume advertisement may use images of a glamorous woman eating an apple, creating associations between health and glamour, freshness and femininity, and crispiness and youthfulness. In summary, understanding symbolism, myths, and meaning is fundamental for the semiotic aspect of a CDA and helps to understand that all cultural objects and practices embody signs and symbols that convey meanings (Hall, 2020), which can impact and conflict with an individual's social identity and has psychological implications and complexities (Barthes, 2009; Böck et al., 2013; J. Fiske, 2010a; Gill & Lennon, 2022; Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress, 2009; Van Leeuwen, 2005, 2011).

In pursuit of a fuller understanding of the interaction of discourse and persuasion to enrich this CDA, the following section reconnoitres the complex psychology of persuasion, however, it acknowledges that this topic is extensive and beyond the scope of elaboration in this thesis. The ensuing exploration is thus brief and covers the main developments.

4.2.3 The Psychology of Persuasion

In the form of cultural texts, persuasive discourse can impact short-term and long-term identity (Butler, 1999; Festinger, 1964; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Greenwald, 1968; Hall, 2006, pp. 163-173; Machin & Mayr, 2012b; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986b). To explain how people cognitively process, develop meanings, and pertinently change attitudes through persuasive messages, as previously discussed, Petty and Cacioppo (1986) offer a dual-process theory of persuasion. Their theory, the

Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), proposes two information processing routes: the central and peripheral. The central route is a high elaboration process, where the receiver of the message is motivated and able to think critically about the message arguments. In contrast, the peripheral route is a low elaboration process, where the receiver of the message is less motivated or less able to process message arguments critically (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986b).

ELM contends that the effectiveness of a persuasive message depends on both the processing route and the argument's strength (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986a, 1986b; Petty et al., 1983). When individuals process messages through the central route, strong arguments are more persuasive, but when people process messages through the peripheral route, message cues, such as the source's attractiveness, are more influential (Areni & Lutz, 1988; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986b). Messages will require a combination of these two routes in public health promotions. For behaviour change to occur, the central route, thus the quality of the message, e.g. the authority, the credibility of knowledge, and the source, will be essential to reinforce the central message of, for example, cheese consumption, while the peripheral route serves to compound the message. Therefore, critical discourse studies, with their intention and ability to reveal obfuscated hegemonic structures – persuasive techniques - are a suitable methodological choice.

In addition to understanding persuasion and behaviour change, there are widely adopted theories of cognitive dissonance and social comparison (Festinger, 1954, 1957, 1962). Cognitive dissonance submits that when confronted with information inconsistent with their beliefs, attitudes, or behaviours, individuals experience psychological discomfort or dissonance, and this dissonance motivates individuals to seek ways to reduce the inconsistency and restore consistency between their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. Festinger (1957, 1962, 1964) contended that people are more likely to change their attitudes or beliefs in response to dissonance when the inconsistency is significant and when there is a high degree of individual autonomy, such as in PHNA with its focus on individualism.

Social comparison theory maintains that people evaluate themselves and their abilities by comparing themselves to others. Social norms can influence this comparison process and change attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours (Festinger, 1954). According to social comparison theory, social norms work by tapping into people' desire for social approval and aversion to social disapproval. Norms serve as a social comparison benchmark, guiding behaviour for the individual (Stainton Rogers, 2011, p. 353).

Comprehending norms is a fundamental aspect of conducting a CDA study, as highlighted by scholars like Meyer (2001) and Wodak (2001). In critical discourse studies, norms are defined as the rules or expectations governing social behaviour and communication (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Schiffrin et al., 2001; Van Dijk, 2001b). In the context of discourse, norms can manifest in various ways, including grammatical, rhetorical, or cultural norms, and it is essential to recognise that these norms are not rigid but rather subject to negotiation and contention during social interaction

Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000). Therefore, understanding norms is indispensable for grasping the dynamics of power relations within the framework of CDA.

Both cognitive dissonance and social comparison theories have implications for the study of persuasion. For example, persuasion attempts that create cognitive dissonance may be more effective if the inconsistency is significant and the individual feels a sense of individual autonomy for the inconsistency. Similarly, social comparison processes may influence the effectiveness of persuasive messages, as people may be more likely to change their attitudes or behaviours if they perceive others to be engaging in similar behaviours; a common strategy used in advertising broadly and Public Health Nutrition Advertising specifically (Corcoran, 2013b; Duncan & Cribb, 1996; Egger et al., 2013; Guttman, 2017; Hubley & Tilford, 2010; Tengland, 2012; Thompson, 2014).

Greenwald's (1968; 1984) research on the 'mere exposure effect' also has implications for the study of persuasion. The mere exposure effect refers to the phenomenon where people tend to develop more positive attitudes towards a stimulus (e.g. a product or a brand) simply by being repeatedly exposed to it, even if they do not consciously remember seeing it before. His findings suggest that advertising and other persuasive communications that repeatedly expose people to a particular message or brand may effectively change attitudes and beliefs, even if the individual is unaware of the exposure. The 'mere exposure effect' also highlights the importance of non-conscious or implicit processing in persuasion. It has since become an area of growing interest in social psychology and marketing research.

While Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory and social comparison theory focus on the role of conscious processing in persuasion, Greenwald's mere exposure effect emphasises the importance of non-conscious processing. However, these theories have important implications for understanding how persuasion works in advertising and other persuasive contexts. This study in particular and other critical discourse studies can further contribute to understanding how power and persuasive texts inform social practices.

4.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) originated (arguably) from 'critical linguistics' in the late 1970s, where it sought to unveil ways to study texts that categorise people, events, places and actions while looking for systems that expose how people are foregrounded, backgrounded or excluded (Catalano & Waugh, 2020b; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017a; Machin & Mayr, 2012b). CDA shares similarities with *Discourse Analysis* as both focus on language examination, however, CDA takes a more comprehensive approach, encompassing not only textual and visual aspects of social language applications but it also delves into how institutions and people' roles are constructed through the use of language (Hodges et al., 2008).

CDA is an appropriate and well-established qualitative methodology for studying social phenomena, social construction, hegemonic processes and the underlying ideas (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Van Dijk, 1995b). Additionally, the application of CDA in scientific, medical, and

health communication studies has become more prevalent as it allows for a better understanding of the relationship between discourse and social factors, thereby facilitating changes in reality (Catalano & Waugh, 2020b; Fairclough, 2015; Jones, 2015, p. 841; Wodak, 2001). Fairclough (2015) summarises this application:

> Critical Discourse Analysis focusses its critique on social change in progress, recent changes in systems (economic, political, social), institutions, organisations and everyday life. Explanatory critique needs to comprehend the dynamics of existing social life to provide a basis for changing it. (p.49)

Critical Discourse Studies posits that power, domination and discrimination are practiced through the social practice of discourse (text, talk and imagery) highlighting the role discourse has in shaping and perpetuating beliefs (Bourdieu, 1992; Fairclough, 2015, p. 98; Foucault & Gordon, 1980; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Thomas & Wareing, 2004; Van Dijk, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 254; 2008b). Therefore, CDA suits this study as the research questions examine the discourse produced by an elite authority (Renkema, 2004; Schiffrin et al., 2001; Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 250). By examining the visual and linguistic features, cognitive, rhetoric, and extralinguistic features such as culture and society, this study attempts to reveal, examine, interpret, and discuss veiled and obfuscated hegemonic processes (Machin & Mayr, 2012b; Meyer, 2001). To this end, this study is guided by the main tenets of CDA as defined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), to address social problems, understand power relations are discursive, that discourse constitutes society and culture, does ideological work, is historical, interpretive, explanatory, and that CDA is fundamentally a form of social action.

4.2.5 CDA Limitations

Although CDA has significantly contributed to understanding how discourse shapes social reality, it has limitations. One limitation of CDA is that it can be overly focused on language and discourse at the expense of other social and material practices. As Fairclough and Wodak (1997) reflect, “critical discourse analysis may neglect the importance of non-discursive practices and structures and may overemphasise the power of language in reproducing social relations” (p. 271), meaning that CDA may not always capture the full range of social and material factors that contribute to the production and reproduction of power relations.

A further limitation of CDA is that, while effective in revealing the discursive patterns, power dynamics and ideological structures embedded within texts, it can overlook the diversity of interpretations that different individuals or groups may bring to a text based on their unique social, cultural and personal contexts (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 2013). As a result, CDA can overestimate the impact of discursive strategies and structures on audience behaviour and fail to account for the active role audiences play in negotiating, resisting, or reinterpreting the messages they encounter. Narrowing this limitation is an ambition in CDS as demonstrated in the development of SCDA (see Section 4.2.6).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) were also critical of CDA's potential to focus too much on analysing textual features of language, such as syntax and vocabulary, rather than the social context. They note the lack of attention to the role of multimodal communication in shaping social reality, and argue that the increasing importance of visual and other nonverbal modes of communication in contemporary society requires scholars to expand their analytical frameworks beyond just language and discourse (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Van Leeuwen, 2005, 2011; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2011). For example, discussing the commodification of education, Fairclough noted how contemporary commodity advertising typically consisted of a mix of verbal and visual and that the prevalence of images was increasing (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 210-211), leading him to include images in his analysis of advertisements and ask questions about what advertisers gain from visual imagery.

Over time, critical discourse scholars have addressed the concern of imagery in CDA and broadened its scope to include imagery in discourse studies (Bloor & Bloor, 2007; Böck et al., 2013; Catalano & Waugh, 2020b; Höllerer et al., 2019; Kress, 2009; Machin & Mayr, 2012a; Schiffrin et al., 2001; Van Dijk, 2018; Wodak, 2013). In effect, for CDA to reflect developments and be relevant and valuable, it requires consideration of the interactions of imagery and text, ‘the ensemble’ as Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, p. 177) offer - a stance this study supports and embraces.

Additionally, some critics maintain that CDA scholars tend to approach discourse analysis with a predetermined political agenda, leading them to interpret data to support their preconceived ideas (Catalano & Waugh, 2020c; Fairclough, 2015; Fairclough et al., 2012; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1998). First, as critical discourse studies are politically and socially critical, this limitation is acknowledged and addressed by declaring the researcher's explicit sociopolitical stance (see Section 4.1.1). As Van Dijk (1993b) offers, critical discourse scholars focus their activities on the discursive strategies of the elites that sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice. Second, by adopting a broad social lens, this study allows social issues to emerge from the analysis.

4.2.6 Choosing Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis offers many frameworks for approaching the analysis, such as a textual, sociological, historical, or sociocognitive approach. However, each is principally concerned with the same overarching interests in power, domination, and prejudice (Fairclough, 2015; Janks, 1997; Mooney & Evans, 2015; Thomas & Wareing, 2004; Van Dijk, 1989; Van Dijk, 2008b; Wodak, 2001). In my preliminary methodology research, wading through the CDA scholarship and searching for an approach was frequently daunting. I initially considered the analytical frameworks of, among others, Dryzek (1997) and Fairclough (1992). However, although theirs and others (see Wodak, 2001) are equally suited, informative, and supportive, Sociocognitive Discourse Analysis by the Dutch scholar Teun A. Van Dijk (see following) suited me for two reasons. First, subjectively, I relate to and enjoy Van Dijk’s prose, which I shall assume is cultural. I too am Dutch and his direct, straightforward style appeals and feels familiar.

Second, and more objectively, I consider his distinctions and separation of the discursive, cognitive, and social aspects of a cultural text, to better understand the sum of the whole, help me generate useful analytic structures, and thus be supportive of my research goals, especially as the cultural texts are advertisements; texts intentionally designed to persuade and impact the readers' minds. Therefore, a cognitive account can help to understand discursive processes, address limitations, thus extending the validity of Critical Discourse Studies (Van Dijk, 2008b).

Teun A. Van Dijk is one of the founders of CDS and the founder of six domains of research: generative poetics, text grammar, the cognitive psychology of discourse processing, racism and discourse, news analysis, discourse and power, ideology, context, and knowledge (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017b). His lifetime scholarly work on Critical Discourse Analysis is extensive evolving over time to focus largely on mass media outputs while developing the cognitive aspect that examines how mental models mediate between shared social cognition, societal structures, and text and talk (Van Dijk, 2014, 2016, 2018).

Van Dijk (2016, p. 67) explains that these cognitive structures comprise Working Memory, Mental Models and Social Cognition and how these three critical points relate to memory and cognition, and identifies how working memory splits into short-term and long-term memory, with autobiographical experiences and knowledge stored in long-term memory. He argues that, first working memory consists of episodes of a person's life and shared sociocultural knowledge, including attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies (often, but not always hegemonic, see Section 2.1.1) formed in semantic memory. Second, Van Dijk (2001a, p. 67) describes mental models stored in episodic memory as unique, subjective, and spatiotemporally structured into a hierarchy of categories, including place/setting, participants, actions, events, and goals. These categories help to understand the mental models in multimodal descriptions of episodic experiences. And, third, Van Dijk (2018) describes social cognition as people's generic and abstract knowledge of the world they share with others in their epistemic community. Mental models are formed in a sociocognitive environment and are interpreted based on sociocognitive forms, such as shared attitudes and values. These mental models form the cognitive foundation of human cooperation, interaction, and communication, and are therefore fundamental to the critical analysis and understanding of cultural texts.

Van Dijk's (2016) sociocognitive approach thus seeks to understand how people interpret social environments through "how they act, communicate, talk, write, or listen *and* how they 'think' when they do so" (p.64). Consequently, it is a three-pronged triangular approach to studying discourse, cognition, and society. Functionally applied, Van Dijk (1985a, 1993b, 2016) recommends SCDA must first focus on discourse structures, such as rhetorical tools. These structures are then interpreted and explained with respect to the underlying mental models, their supporting attitudes, and ideologies to help reveal hegemonic processes, and the social conditions that produce the discourse are observed and analysed. In summary, it is the analysis and consolidation of these aspects and their

findings that help (researchers) generate valuable insights into hegemonic strategies, the underlying belief structures, and the results of the public health nutrition promotional texts in this study.

4.3 Method Design and Development: working towards the SCDA-method

4.3.1 SCDA-method: An introduction

As introduced, CDA theory and methodology abound, however, I found, as did Mullet (2018), pragmatic guides are not readily forthcoming. This outcome led Mullet to develop a generic analytical framework (a method/guide) for CDA. Inspired by Mullet's endeavour and finding no method available for SCDA, I embarked upon creating a guide to apply the SCDA methodology that would reflect the importance of this research in a systematic and disciplined manner, as suggested by Hansen et al. (1998).

To apply SCDA, Van Dijk (2000a) provides a guide in the form of practical, general strategy for an ideological analysis (or hegemony study), a brief breakdown of how to do a sociocognitive discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 66) and a practical critical analysis of text and talk (Van Dijk, 1993b). However, a thorough perusal of van Dijk's scholarship on SCDA and CDA did not discover a single pragmatic, functional, or systematic SCDA method to use as a guide for a researcher that would be valuable for analysing a series of cultural texts. In fact, Van Dijk (2018) submits that one (researchers) should not consider CDA and SCDA as a method of analysis; instead he prefers the broader understanding that CDA constitutes a *field of study* that relates discourse structures with social structures through a cognitive interface.

Van Dijk (2018) does however also encourage interdisciplinary studies in this field and the use of different methods or approaches. It is with this understanding and eagerness to apply the sociocognitive discourse approach I designed and developed a unique method, the SCDA-method[6], to address this problem. The SCDA-method follows a structured phase-based approach, facilitating a logical progression and allowing for comparison and reflection. It consists of four phases, preceded by a contextual introduction:

- Contextual introduction
- Critical visual analysis (Phase 1)
- Examining the textual and linguistic features (Phase 2)
- Exploring the cognitive components (Phase 3)
- Analysing the social context (Phase 4)

Each phase incorporates multiple elements to guide the analysis process. Due to their extensive nature, Appendices C and D provide a glossary of key rhetorical and discursive terms to accompany the SCDA-method, and Table 1. (see following page) presents the overall organisation.

[6] I have named this novel method the SCDA-method in line with SCDA methodology. It will be used throughout this thesis.

Table 1. SCDA-method

	Phase	Description
1	Critical Visual Analysis	Examine visual components, artistic elements, shapes, lines, tones, graphic design principles, type and graphic design and the semiotic, preliminary connotations and denotations.
2	Discourse Component	Identify structures and properties of discourse explicitly involved in producing power abuse. First, examine polarisations, pronouns, group identification and emphasis. Second, study identification, activities, norms, values and special interests. Third, recognise properties and look at rhetorical topics (topoi), arguments/superstructures, local meaning, rhetoric & style variations.
3	Cognitive Component	Explore cognitive structures of knowledge, attitudes and categories appearing in ideological discourse. Interpret and observe mental models and underlying socially shared sociocultural knowledge defined as knowledge and beliefs shared by all or most members of a community or culture. To this end, examine what shared knowledge is required to interpret the message, specialisations, institutions, and political, commercial/corporate categories. Study the expression of attitudes, norms and values, underlying ideologies, and emotions, and lastly, look at identifying beliefs through identity, origin, properties, actions and goals.
4	Social Component	Identify and explore the macro social environment. Critically examine the texts' multifaceted aspects, encompassing its discursive and cognitive dimensions. The fundamental aim is to investigate the agents and entities that wield explicit and implicit sway over public discourse. Look for aspects of control, group relations and structures.

4.3.2 SCDA-method Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

Initiating an examination of an artistic creation, a photograph, or an advertisement can be approached through various methods (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011), however it is widely acknowledged that the initial step in interpretation entails the description process (D'Alleva & Cothren, 2021a; Hatt & Klonk, 2006; Howells & Negreiros, 2012; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006; Machin & Ledin, 2018; Mitchell, 2013; Schroeder, 2006; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2011). Fundamentally, the act of description necessitates the meticulous elucidation of essential components, encompassing form, subject matter, genre, medium, colour, illumination, linearity, and dimensions – all of which constitute the foundational elements of visual representations. Taking inspiration from Art History's descriptive method 'formal art analysis' (D'Alleva & Cothren, 2021a, pp. 46-54; 2021b,

pp. 26-32; Feldman, 1973) along with graphic design principles (White, 2011) this initial phase, the critical visual analysis, will be appropriately detailed.

Formal art analysis or pre-iconographical description originates from the work of art historian Erwin Panofsky (Hasenmueller, 1978; Panofsky, 1962) who was interested in the subject matter and meaning in works of art and, to this end, developed a structural, progressive and methodical approach to art scholarship (Howells & Negreiros, 2012, p. 24). His straightforward, descriptive approach is standard practice for art-history scholars as it allows a slow and detailed opportunity to reconnoitre a work of cultural significance and can readily be applied to other fields of study, such as this CDS (Schroeder, 2006; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2011).

The critical visual analysis begins with defining the visual components, artistic elements, design principles, type and graphic design. Next, it incorporates a preliminary visual social semiotic analysis, aiding the researcher uncover the graphical representations (Van Leeuwen, 2011) breaking the artefact down into the following overarching compositional elements:

- visual elements such as shapes, lines, and tones
- visual principles of balance including contrast and movement
- typography
- type elements
- principles of graphic design

Notably, while progressing through this phase, the researcher makes referential and stylistic notes to aid the later analysis phases.

4.3.3 SCDA-method Phase 2: Discourse Component

Critical discourse scholars are concerned with analysing structures of discourse explicitly involved in producing power abuse. Such discourse is generally ideologically based and is studied to uncover the blanketed attitudes and beliefs of dominant social groups (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 71). Accordingly, this phase seeks to describe discursive structures and properties to aid the researcher in their explanation and interpretation.

4.3.3.1 Ideological Discourse Structures.

Van Dijk (2016, pp. 73, 74) emphasises the significance of examining the ideological discourse structures and strategies used by dominant groups, which employ various rhetorical tools depending on the discourse genre. He presents seven discourse structures researchers should question or pay attention to:

- Polarisation: look for the positive representation of the in-group and the negative picture of the out-group, as all levels of discourse display these representations.
- Pronouns: be mindful of the use of Us or Them, as this is typically how members of groups refer to themselves and members of a different group.

- Identification: groups express identification in manifold ways; therefore, consider who the subject is and how they communicate their identity, for example, 'As a feminist I, we…', or 'Speaking as a pacifist, I/we...'.
- Emphasis: where does the discursive focus or emphasis lie? For this aspect, it is essential to pay close attention to the use of hyperbole. Consider, for example, how the in-group prioritises its activities. Does it glorify 'our' country versus the negative 'their' country? Moreover, does the in-group tend to ignore their undesirable properties but highlight those of the out-group?
- Activities: pay attention to shared activities. As groups often identify with their shared activities to defend and protect their group or marginalise and control the out-group, discovering these is helpful to the analysis.
- Norms and values: explicit or implicit, these are the building blocks of ideologies. They teach the group what to strive for, for example, the concept of freedom.
- Interests: ideological discourse often features references to interests in power and struggle. Consider essential resources such as housing, health, food, shelter, knowledge, and status.

4.3.3.2 Examination of Discursive Properties.

To identify elements related to power and dominance, as outlined by Van Dijk (1993b, p. 254) this phase of the analysis scrutinises the characteristics of text, graphics, and iconography. The literature thoroughly expounds upon these characteristics, and the glossary in Appendix D. serves as a reference point for essential details. However, the characteristics hold substantial importance in unveiling semantic patterns of significance, necessitating a brief delineation to clarify the critical aspects of rhetorical topoi (topos/topics), superstructures, local meaning and coherence, rhetoric, and style variations to be mindful of during this stage of the analysis.

In rhetorical and discourse analysis topoi refer to recurring argumentative themes or strategies that are commonly used in communication to structure and support persuasive discourse. They are a fundamental aspect of argumentation and can take various forms. During analysis researchers can ask how the discursive component could be different. Corbett and Connors (1990, p. 97) provide guidance on how to identify the five main common rhetorical topoi:

- Definition involves the act of providing clear and precise definitions for key terms or concepts within a discourse. Definitions are crucial for establishing a common understanding and can be used strategically to frame issues in specific ways. For example, in public health advertising, the definition of “healthy eating” can be framed to promote particular dietary choices and behaviours. However, defining the subject can also be a suggestive line of argument. Similar to the aspect of definition, contraries pay attention to how people relate things, such as liberty and slavery.

- Comparison involves highlighting similarities or differences between different subjects, ideas, or situations. It is often used to persuade by demonstrating the superiority or inferiority of one option over another. In public health discourse, comparisons can be used to emphasise the benefits of a particular health intervention or lifestyle choice.
- Relationship explores the connections, associations, or causal relationships between elements in discourse. It can explain how certain factors are related and support arguments about the impact of particular actions or policies on public health outcomes. The most effectual arguments are the relationship between cause and effect and antecedent and consequence, particularly in public health advertising. For this aspect, paying attention to any contradictions is also important to understand the underlying ideological strategies.
- Circumstance considers the context, circumstances, or conditions surrounding an issue. Analysing circumstances can help uncover hidden agendas or biases in discourse, as they reveal why certain information is presented and in what context. For instance, public health messages may emphasise the urgency of a health issue based on specific circumstances.
- Testimony involves referencing authoritative sources or experts to support claims or arguments. It relies on the credibility of the source to persuade the audience. In public health communication, testimonials from healthcare professionals or individuals who have benefited from certain health practices can be used as persuasive tools.

The next aspect of rhetorical analysis seeks to discover and understand the mode of persuasion and uncover the superstructures or the style of argument. In Van Dijk's *Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis* (1993b), superstructures refer to rhetorical strategies and arguments used in discourse to advance particular hegemonic structures. These rhetorical arguments are used by speakers or writers (independent or corporate, institutional, etc.) to influence the perception and understanding of social issues, including those related to public health and nutrition. Superstructures encompass various discourse elements, such as persuasive techniques, argumentation patterns, and rhetorical devices. They serve as the means through which language and discourse are used to legitimise or challenge existing power dynamics and hegemonic constructs, placing significant emphasis on classical rhetorical modes of persuasion; these encompass the appeal to reason (logos), the appeal to emotions (pathos), and the appeal to character (ethos) (Corbett & Connors, 1990; Lunsford et al., 2009; McGuigan, 2011).

Additionally, the examination of the superstructure aspect delves into various rhetorical fallacies associated with either illogical or incoherent arguments. Commencing the analytical process involves scrutinising the author's stance and argumentative position, with a primary focus on understanding the foundations of their viewpoint. This entails investigating how the author presents

factual information, discredits individuals or groups, and delineates what is endorsed and marginalised in the discourse.

Following the superstructures is the analysis of local meaning. According to Van Dijk (1993b, p. 275), this entails the semantic study of local meanings and is particularly revealing and relevant in CDA. Local meaning analysis looks for specificity, completeness, perspective, implicitness, and local coherence levels, as detailed:

- For specificity, the analysis considers the degree of completeness or incompleteness of description including paying attention to the preferred information over the dispreferred information, and is pertinent to uncovering marginalising and delegitimating groups, for example, underserved ethnicities or women.
- Perspective (point of view) considers what the author represents and wants to protect and how groups are categorised.
- Implicitness is less obvious and requires a close reading to find implications, presuppositions, and vagueness within the discourse.
- local coherence refers to group belonging and may presuppose ideologically based beliefs. It asks, who does the author belong to, and who does the reader belong to, and how is this identified?

In examining the discursive properties, the analysis looks for rhetoric and style variations (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 277). It explores the lexical, syntactical, anaphor and deictic rhetoric and the rhetorical devices and tools[7] to search for metaphors, parallelisms, alliterations, contrasts, generalisations among others.

4.3.4 SCDA-method Phase 3: Cognitive Component

Phase 3 deals with cognitive structures of knowledge, attitudes, and categories appearing in the discourse. Discourse is now further interpreted and examined in terms of mental models and underlying socially shared sociocultural knowledge and defined as knowledge and beliefs shared by all or most members of a community or culture (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 66). There is a distinct definition between the two mental models in discourse processing. The situation model represents what a discourse is about, and the context model describes the dynamic environment that produced the discourse. The situation model helps to understand the personal meaning and meaningfulness of the discourse to an individual, while the context model helps to understand the appropriateness of the discourse relevant to the situation. These models help define a genre or know how a case can or should be discussed (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 67). The sociocognitive component of the analysis provides an opportunity for an in-depth assessment of the situation and context. It is relevant in this phase to

[7] I have relied heavily upon Corbett, E. P., & Connors, R. (1990). *Classical rhetoric for the modern student*. Oxford University Press.

pay attention to these cognitive models and incorporate them to understand the mediation of shared hegemonic knowledge, attitudes, and values.

4.3.4.1 Knowledge.

Relevant for CDS is that knowledge is a power resource (see Chapter 2), with some groups or organisations in societies having privileged access to particular or specialised knowledge, which they can use to their advantage, for example, to influence people to vote for them, join their party, or even eat specific foods (as this study will show) (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 68). For the analysis, the question is: What shared knowledge is required by the reader to interpret the message(s) so that we may learn how access to this knowledge empowers the advertiser and attempts to persuade the reader of their stance?

4.3.4.2 Attitudes and Ideologies.

Social groups may have shared knowledge about a particular subject, for example, abortion or nutrition; however, specific groups within societies have shared attitudes towards these topics. They *could* have an attitude towards something, finding it good or bad, right or wrong, depending on their underlying ideological beliefs (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 69) (see Chapter 2, which defines ideologies as neither negative or positive, true or false and adopts the stance that ideology is best understood as a comprehensive system of beliefs underpinning the social behaviours and practices of a particular group (Van Dijk, 1995b).

Ideologies are also informed by the cultural significance of emotions and are a nuanced interplay of cultural, social, and individual factors (Van Dijk, 1997). They serve as a mode of communication, bonding, and navigating social dynamics, underlining their societal importance in fostering understanding, and connections, influencing choices, relationships, and overall mental well-being (Brookes et al., 2019; Edwards, 1999; McAvoy, 2015; Nabi, 2007; Robinson et al., 2013). Furthermore, emotions underpin the core social motives of "belonging, understanding, controlling, self-enhancing, and trusting" (S. T. Fiske, 2010, p. 14). To find the attitudes and underlying ideologies, the researcher can examine the following:

- The expression of attitudes,
- underlying beliefs or identifiable ideologies,
- communication of emotions,
- presence of beliefs regarding identity, origin, properties, actions,
- and goals in reference to the in-group and out-group.

4.3.5 SCDA-method Phase 4: Social Component and The Critical Discourse Perspective

The focus of phase 4 is on understanding discourse production in the macro context. It is particularly interested in the groups who directly and indirectly control *public* discourse, for example, those who dominate or abuse power. The discursive and cognitive structures of discourse function within a communicative interaction between speaker and audience, advertiser and reader, or a dominant group and a diminished group, and can be socially and politically functional in reproducing

social inequalities and inequities (Van Dijk, 1993b). Therefore, as Van Dijk (1993b, pp. 270-274) advises, examining various discursive and cognitive aspects helps to find power and domination properties. To this end the researcher can ask the following questions divided into three categories: aspects of control, group relations, and group structures.

4.3.5.1 Aspects of Control.

- Elites: who are the elite structures? For example, organisations, institutions, symbolic elites or political parties?
- Access: who has controlled access to, for example, the space, area, platform, or ad?
- Setting: when was the artefact generated?
- Space: was a 'space' indicated? For example, country, organisation, or religion?
- Participants: who are the participants, and what are their identities and roles?
- Macrostructures: From where does this communication come? For example, a government organisation or a political party?
- Political party: if the communication comes from a ministry or political party, to whom does it belong, and in what state is that party?
- Symbolic elites: Who are the symbolic elites, such as the mass media, education, culture, and businesses or large corporations?
- Genre: in what genre does the artefact, speech or ad take place, and who controls this space? For example, a parliamentary debate allows the participants to access the highest level of political decision-making in parliamentary debates.

4.3.5.2 Group Relations.

- Group power: what material power resources are observable in, for example, property or capital?
- Symbolic: who has knowledge, status, or fame and also has access to public discourse? Consider ethnic power resources such as skin colour, origin, gender, sex, nationality or culture (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 71).

4.3.5.3 Group Structures.

- Speech acts: what assertions are evident at the macro-societal level (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 272)?
- Actions: is an action intended? For example, should people be eating more fruit?
- Goal: what is the aim of the text/advertisement? For example, is it to get people to eat more vegetables or drink more milk?

4.4 Method Development

Qualitative researchers can consider any number of research methods suitable to answering their defined and developed questions; however, they do share common goals and responsibility to achieve and assess research rigour and quality (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Hodges et al., 2008; Lindlof & Taylor, 2017). In this endeavour, best-practice criteria are continually considered, developed, and published, which, as noted in Johnson et al. (2020) offer the researcher guidelines as they may relate to study design, analysis, and the reporting of qualitative research. Based on this evolving scholarship (Bourgeault et al., 2010; Creswell, 2020; Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Glassick, 2000; Glassick et al., 1997; Johnson et al., 2020; Lindlof & Taylor, 2017; Ravitch & Carl, 2019; Ravitch & Riggan, 2016) and with the goal of quality and rigour in critical discourse studies, the best practice guidelines for this study include the following elements:

- Clarity and refining of the research questions, including researcher reflexivity and the development and evolution of biases.
- Developing a conceptual framework to identify and establish the theoretical foundations and understanding the integration of these components to develop appropriate study methods and further minimise bias.
- Describing and documenting the processes to enable transferability, the offer of dependability and the laying of the foundation for replication and confirmation.

With these best practice guidelines in mind, this section details the process of data gathering, addresses researcher bias, explains the approach, data, and sample selection, and discusses limitations.

4.4.1 Data Gathering

The initial task for this research was to find data sources and create a databank from which I could mine suitable material. Although a timespan was not explicitly defined, I chose to commence early 20th century and was guided by available print material. I accessed online government archives and visited physical libraries to find historical PHN promotional activities. The Auckland War Memorial Museum Library and the Sir George Grey *Special* Collections at the Auckland City Library proved invaluable for media research as they hold the most extensive archives of local historical print media. Consequently, I spent most of my data gathering time in these libraries carefully leafing through these resources.

Slowly and painstakingly, I amassed and documented (photographed and recorded) a substantial body of data, including various ephemera that, although potentially useful, proved inconsistently available in the archives and unsuitable for this research. Proving a reliable resource, I focussed on *The Listener*, a local periodical from 1939 until 2000 documenting all public health nutrition advertisements, related articles, and columns in a Microsoft Excel database and photographic library, which generated a corpus of consistent government advertising. I also cross-checked newspapers and other locally produced periodicals such as *The New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, where

the government placed the same health and safety advertisements. These were, however, infrequent, and thus inconsistent, therefore would not meet the criteria for selection.

4.4.2 Researcher Bias

Critical discourse researchers are acutely aware of the potential for researcher bias to influence the interpretation and findings of their studies, particularly given the subjective nature of language analysis and the inherent power dynamics present in discourse (Biccum, 2010; Schiffrin et al., 2001; Van Dijk, 1993b, 2015a; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). My sociopolitical stance in the self-reflective statement (see Section 4.1.1) offers clarity on my position. However, as mentioned in the introduction of this section, qualitative researchers can employ strategies to address this concern while upholding rigour and maintaining the integrity of their research, these may include:

- Reflexivity to critically reflect on beliefs and biases throughout the research process by acknowledging and documenting perspectives.
- Using a rigorous and methodical analysis system to improve the validity, reliability, and replicability of the study, minimising the influence of individual bias.
- Critical discourse researchers can also prioritise transparency and accountability by meticulously documenting their analytical process, including selecting texts, coding procedures, and interpretations, allowing peer review and validation, thus enhancing the credibility of the research.

Ultimately, by integrating these methodological safeguards, critical discourse researchers can uphold the principles of rigour and quality in their research while navigating the complexities of researcher bias. The goals and principles that this study attempts to achieve.

4.4.3 Data Selection and Approach

As elucidated, the criteria for selection include consistency of data published in the print medium over a specific period allowing this aspect of the study to be replicable and reliable (Hansen et al., 1998, p. 18). The PHN advertisements placed in *The Listener* met those criteria. These public health and safety advertisements ran weekly by the DOH under the slogan ‘For a Healthier nation’ for a period of twelve years. They were further reinforced in *The New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*, thus receiving extensive exposure over more than a decade. These texts were, therefore, considered the most suitable and reliable source of historical data. From *The Listener* data, I formed a corpus comprising sixty-eight advertisements (Appendix A. Corpus) to generate a sample from.

A critical discourse examination can approach the text from a singular social perspective or take a less myopic approach, allowing beliefs, values, and attitudes to emerge through a wider social lens (Lazar, 2005), an approach this study contends may be rewarding. Therefore, the sample was randomly selected to support this lens further and avoid political biases or prejudices for this aspect in the study (Schegloff, 1997; Schiffrin et al., 2001). To this end, I used the Random.Org online random number generator to select the sample from the corpus (Haahr, 2019). *The Listener* contained a

variable number of annual advertisements that Random.Org computed into lists (Appendix. B), and from these lists, I chose the first advertisement of each section for the analysis.

Consistent with the nature of this thesis, the complexity, and time constraints of CDA and the SCDA- method, this study analyses the following eight advertisements:

- NZL02 Sensible Slimming
- NZL08 Vegetable Water is Valuable
- NZL12 Choose Cheese!
- NZL13 Let's Try Lamb's Fry
- NZL36 Use your Toothbrush
- NZL22 There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk (Figure 10.)
- NZL33 Food Fallacies
- NZL47 Meals for Teen-agers

Although efforts to avoid bias and reduce prejudices were taken, the selection will still present limitations in terms of extrapolating findings to the entire corpus. The analyses and discussion will likely reveal such what these may be.

4.4.4 Method Trial and Limitations

After the text selection, the SCDA-method was first trialled on artefact NZL02 Sensible Slimming to test and improve the method's efficacy and suitability to analyse a collection of multimodal texts. Hereafter, I subjected each advertisement to the four-phase method, commencing with an initial critical reading of the design and visual elements. The structured method meant that each text followed the same steps, so I did not overlook critical aspects and could make inter-textual comparisons, and this slow and careful deconstruction process helped me form a solid base of findings to learn how power (hegemonic processes) manifests discursively and how texts and imagery construct social representations, identities and norms. However, this reading and re-reading process is laborious and repetitive and can hamper the discussion of discourses required for reflection.

Therefore, upon reflection, I fine-tuned the reporting and structure throughout, winnowing out repetitions while remaining focused on the overall intentions. The first analysis of the study, the pilot study, proved a good starting place to test the design and provided valuable information on the process and structure. After considering and adjusting the method design, working on the next set of texts provided more insight into the method's efficacy. For example, I found that the questions asked in phase four were repetitive since the same authority, the Department of Health, placed each advertisement. However, their contexts differed; some were about dairy consumption and others about dental health. Therefore, the contextual analysis of phase four would be more helpful for the research goals if it preceded the analysis, which would help eliminate repetition. That is not to say, the researcher's questions are not valid, just more suited, for comparison purposes, to texts from differing

sources. As such, the analysis phases in Chapters 6 and 7 reflect this iteration, and I revised the first three analyses, changing them to match this format (excluding the pilot study).

No methodological approach or method is without limitations, and the SCDA-method is no exception. Some of the limitations encountered, include covering all the available discursive aspects, and the initial choices can be questioned during the study. The pilot study aimed to overcome some of these problems, so that the study could progress with improvements; in fact, this was the case. However, during the ensuring chapters, more aspects and issues emerged, leading to an exhaustive change of format, which improved throughout the following analyses.

Moreover, as a novel CDA method, the SCDA-method encounters challenges regarding reliability, validity, and replicability. The absence of established guidelines or standardised procedures for employing the SCDA-method may lead to variations in its application across different studies, potentially affecting the consistency and rigour of research findings. Additionally, the complexity of social and cultural contexts within which discourse occurs poses additional hurdles for the SCDA-method, as discourse interpretations can be highly context-dependent and subject to multiple interpretations (Fairclough, 2013; Van Dijk, 2008b; Wodak, 2013). Furthermore, the interdisciplinary nature of CDA, particularly when combined with media studies and public health nutrition elements, introduces complexities that the SCDA-method may not fully address.

In light of these challenges, future research using the SCDA-method is welcome and I suggest engaging in ongoing reflexivity and transparency, which includes critically examining the assumptions, biases, and limitations inherent in their analytical approach, as well as documenting the decision-making processes involved in data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

4.5 Summary

Chapter 4 discussed the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the thesis and the design and development of a practical method from Van Dijk's available scholarship on SCDA. It explained the corpus compilation and how I chose the sample, the data gathering, and the analysis. The next chapter, Chapter 5, The Pilot Study, tests the SCDA-method on one of the sample texts and discusses the applicability of the method before analysing, adjusting, and proceeding with Chapter 6, which analyses the artefacts from 1948 - 1950, and Chapter 7, which provides the analyses of the artefacts from 1951 - 1955.

Chapter Five: Analysis Part One: The Pilot Study

Within qualitative research, pilot studies occupy a pivotal position, as they serve as an initial foray into the research landscape, setting the stage for more comprehensive investigations (Janghorban et al., 2014; Kim, 2011). As such, this chapter documents a pilot study of the SCDA-method, representing a methodological endeavour crafted to scrutinise PHNA through qualitative inquiry. The pilot study seeks to pioneer a structured method for applying SCDA. It is designed to dissect and interpret the underlying ideologies, persuasive techniques, and discursive strategies embedded in (public health) advertisements.

The pilot study tests the SCDA-method on the public health ad Sensible Slimming (Figure 1) (Department of Health, 1948a). It is a single artefact selected from the corpus because it contains a variety of graphic design components, such as illustrations, various font types, and multiple texts. Sensible Slimming stands as the inaugural subject of analysis, providing a lens to explore the intricate dynamics of public health communication.

The first phase, the critical visual analysis, provides an overview of the visual and textual elements and generates points of interest for the pictorial and graphical aspects of the analysis. It commences with a visual analysis focused on the forms, shapes, lighting, tones, textures, and patterns and incorporates design principles. Subsequently, the drawings and other aspects of interest will be analysed. Critical Visual Analysis also focusses on the semiotics, the possible connotations in the imagery, and graphic design.

The following phase, the discourse component, examines the text or copy and involves an analysis of its discursive characteristics related to power and dominance, commencing with an exploration of superstructures and rhetorical discourses. Subsequently, this section delves into the aspects of style and rhetoric, as detailed in the SCDA-method section from the preceding chapter. Following on, phase three, the cognitive component, examines and interprets the underlying shared sociocultural knowledge, the cognitive structures, and beliefs required to produce and comprehend the discourse. It examines the knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies that emerge from the analysis.

In the last phase, the social component, the analysis explores the broader context that produced the discourse and the groups controlling it. In this phase, the aim is to understand societal structures, including organisations, institutions, political parties, and group relations of discrimination, racism, and sexism. Moreover, it discusses group structures such as identity, task, goals, norms, positions, and resources (Van Dijk, 1993b; 2006, p. 133). These macro-societal aspects are interwoven and observed in the preceding discourse and sociocognitive sections; however, from *the critical discourse perspective,* power abuse, dominance, and resistance are of specific interest (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 71), and are thus the focus of this phase. Lastly, this chapter will discuss the results of the pilot study, thoughts, reflections, and adjustments.

5.1 Pilot Study: NZL02 Sensible Slimming

Figure 1. Image 2 NZL02 'Sensible Slimming'

5.1.1 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

Visual Elements and Principles of Design. Sensible Slimming is a rectilinear half-page ad[8] in *The Listener* of 1948. The aim of the message is to encourage individuals to *slim down,* thus lowering their body weight by following the advertiser's specific guidelines. Sensible Slimming divides into several shapes: a linear rectangular half-page ad, partitioned into two halves, each featuring a woman alongside the copy. The female illustrations and the mirror's edge are within the linear rectangle. Both women are vertical, and the one in the bottom portion represents motion. The light shines from the viewer's left, from behind the audience, observable by the shadowing on the right-hand side of the figures. The lines in the top female illustration (Woman A) are soft, sketchy, and pencil-like, like those in the bottom female illustration (Woman B), but slightly heavier. The forms in Woman A depict a curvy woman observing her reflection in a mirror. She wears sensible shoes, an inappropriate outfit and her forms are soft and fluid, helping to create a slightly dishevelled look. Woman B stands in contrast as her clothes fit well and her shoes and bag have sharp edges.

The balance and movement in Sensible Slimming follow the Gutenberg diagram, meaning that it directs eye movement from the top left down to the bottom right, a familiar reading process to Western readers and thus easy to comprehend (Lidwell et al., 2010, p. 118) however, the emphasis is on the headline, Sensible Slimming, and specifically on the capital S and the two illustrations. Proportionally, the ad splits into two halves, top and bottom, and then each half separates into an image and a copy section. The overall appearance engenders a sense of symmetry.

The Type and Graphic Design. The headline, "Sensible Slimming" is in a script font similar to the Edwardian font often used to depict classical elegance and formality (Bringhurst, 2004; White, 2011); it helps set the ad's tone. The byline "What are you going to do about it" is in a type similar to Engravers MT. However, it is in bold capitals, designed to be eye-catching, and distinctly different from the headline. The type used for the remaining copy is a mix of capital letters and lowercase in a serif font like Engravers MT. Considering the graphic design, the top copy section (Text 1) aligns with the mirror edge and anchors the title and Woman A. The overall alignment and spacing are easy to follow. However, it seems to compound at the bottom, where there is competition for space below the bottom copy (Text 2) next to Woman B, and between the factoid "Look better, feel better, be better,*"* the pull-quote "Watch for a further announcement giving a sample day's meals", and the masthead "Issued By the Department of Health." The squashing of design elements was avoidable as the ad had enough negative space to allow all the information to fit well.

Visual Social Semiotic Analysis. The female illustrations and their figurative meanings introduce this section. Woman A denotes a, typical of this era, media portrayal of a woman who has increased body size *and* lost track of her appearance (Brickell & Gilmour, 2019). Her outfit is ill-

[8] From here on the abbreviation 'ad' will mostly replace the word advertisement.

fitting, her bag is floppy, as is her hat. Her body shapes are non-geometric, creating a realistic, organic, natural illustration. However, she appears somewhat comical, perhaps even distressed, in contrast to Woman B, who embodies the era's fashion, that being smart, slim and neat (Entwistle, 2015, 2023; Jobling et al., 2022; Lindner, 2004). Woman B exudes an aura of control and stability, highlighted by the multitude of sharp geometric points and triangles in her attire, petite waist, and hourglass figure. These characteristics are typically associated with the suppression of organic elements in favour of machine-made and mathematical shapes, as described by (Feldman, 1973).

Woman A stands still and looks inward; her glance is soft and worried, but as she faces forward, this gives the viewer more of a sense of intimacy than with Woman B, who is indifferent and walking away. Woman B walks past and out of the page, allowing the viewer to relate to Woman A more readily. Therefore, as women, in general, were likely perceived (mid- twentieth century) to be more concerned with their figures and dieting than men, (through consistent gender identity construction and stereotyping (see Dovidio et al., 2010; Grau & Zotos, 2016; Holmes, 2008; Lafky et al., 1996; Lindner, 2004; Lupton, 1995; Martens & Casey, 2007; Ross, 2009) this analysis submits this ad emphasises and targets women.

The positions of the illustrations are also symbolic. The top left is known to draw the reader's gaze (The Gutenberg principle) and thus be their visual reading starting point (Lidwell et al., 2010, p. 118). It leads the eye towards the bottom right, indicating the new or preferred state (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Gaze-directing helps the reader understand that Woman A is the current body figure, but Woman B is the preferred, idealised body shape. The font types used could be considered formal emphasising; this is a *solemn* message brought to *you* by a government department. The title is prominent next to Woman A in its position behind the mirror; it uses a thick and fine font. Perhaps this is accidental, but it does emphasise shape changes. The byline "What are you going to do about it" is forward-oriented, strident in tone, bold, and capitalised. It denotes importance and problematises higher body weight with the message *you* should do something about *your* weight problems.

5.1.2 Phase 2: Discourse Component

The discursive properties within the text or copy are examined for elements of power and dominance, beginning with considering the superstructures and rhetorical topics. Second, this section discusses style and rhetoric as outlined in the SCDA-method section from the previous chapter.

Superstructures.[9] Overeating is correlated with a higher body weight, is the overarching premise of this ad. It conveys that there is a correct body weight, one which an individual can be either over or under.[10] The advertiser uses the rhetorical topic of cause and effect to convey their

[9] Please see Appendix C and D for a glossary of terms

[10] *For a Healthier Nation* aspires to inclusive language goals and avoids the words 'overweight' and 'obesity' where possible.

message. For example, the phrases “your feet tire easily, clothes no longer look well on you, unsightly bulges, you puff as you climb and overloading the heart” are used to inform the reader of the cause and therefore the importance, and problem of body weight in relation to the effect: cardiovascular health.[11]

The statements in Text 1 (next to Woman A) follow the logical argument or syllogism; each sentence contains a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. “Your feet tire easily” is the major premise, “your knees begin to ache” is the minor premise; the conclusion is “to take some weight off them.” The premise is a faulty generalisation. It presupposes individuals that have sore feet, and aching knees have these conditions due to their somatotype. The syllogism of the whole ad has the major premise; lean women slim (diet to lose weight) sensibly, and the minor premise is that, by following the instructions, an individual could reduce weight sensibly. Concluding, *slimming sensibly* will make *you* a better person. The enthymeme would be losing weight will make you a better person.

In analysing local meaning, the focus is on coherence, specificity, perspectives, and implicitness. Preferred information can be given in over-complete and preferred ways, whereas irrelevant or dispreferred information, such as irrelevant negative characterisations, may be incomplete. For example, in Sensible Slimming, the negative associations of Woman A are highlighted but incomplete. It is unknown why her feet might be sore, but the presupposition is that it is because of her somatotype (body size and shape) related to food consumption.

The advertiser's perspective can be identified by considering the syllogistic argument mentioned above; women in this society *could* be better (Look better, Feel better, Be better) if they lost weight and reduced their body size. Breaking up the byline, “Look better” demonstrates the author’s perspective that women *should* conform to an ideal body shape, a *thin-ideal*, and have desirable energy levels (Germov & Williams, 2004c, p. 338). “Feel better” refers to the connection between physical health of women with happiness, contentment, mental health, and morality with body size; a common strategy in food advertising and PHNP (Crotty, 1995; Williamson, 1978).

The interpretation of the phrase “Be better” within the ad implies that women who conform to both social standards of fashionable weight *and* attain improved mental health and happiness are likely to be perceived as superior individuals in their society, alluding to the manner media representations (in that era) constructed a fictionalised ideal of desired social behaviour for women. Specifically, it reflects the prevalent gender representations found in women's magazines of the

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[11] Bodyweight can contribute to cardiovascular health Chrostowska, M., Szyndler, A., Hoffmann, M., & Narkiewicz, K. (2013). Impact of obesity on cardiovascular health. *Best Practice & Research Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism, 27*(2), 147-156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.beem.2013.01.004

, New Zealand Parliamentry Service. (2014). *Obesity and diabetes in New Zealand*. New Zealand Government. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLLawRP2014041/obesity-and-diabetes-in-new-zealand#RelatedAnchor

1950s, that promoted conformance to established gender role ideals encompassing characteristics such as piousness, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Gamber, 2019; Gillis & Hollows, 2008; Johnson, 2004; Neuhaus, 1999).

Sex and Gender. For this, and subsequent analyses a definition of sex and gender is required for clarity of concept. Heywood and Adzajlic (2022) offer a clear distinction between sex and gender; they posit the definition that sex is the classification of individuals into two primary biological categories, male and female, grounded in their reproductive functions. Gender, on the other hand, extends beyond this binary framework, forming a spectrum where individuals may identify as a boy/man, girl/woman, somewhere along the spectrum, or neither of these. Unlike sex, gender is more related to social and cultural distinctions than biological attributes, highlighting the complex interplay of identity, expression, and social norms that shape the experiences of individuals. Moreover, Gann-Bociek and Harvey (2020) clarify that, although many individuals have concordantly assigned sex and gender identities, known as cisgender, it is crucial to recognise that a substantial portion of the population encounters a disconnect between their assigned sex and their gender identity, including transgender individuals, gender nonconforming individuals, and those who may identify as genderqueer, underscoring the multifaceted nature and diversity of gender experiences.

Continuing with the superstructure analysis, a discernible presence of authoritarianism emerges. The ad portrays government intervention with an air of impersonal authority, positioning itself as a guardian of prudent weight management practices. Within this framework, the portrayal of sensibility and thinness emerges as desirable and fashionable, whereas the contrary implies folly. Such scrutiny illuminates the intricate dynamics, illustrating the symbiotic relationship between governmental or bureaucratic entities, societal norms, media representations, and gender constructs during the 1950s. Additionally, this evaluation underscores the critical role of discourse analysis in uncovering the nuanced layers of meaning inherent within advertising discourse, shedding light on its reflection of prevailing ideologies.

Style. The style analysis examines variations of syntax and lexicon (Van Dijk, 1995a, p. 25; 1998, p. 188). Below are examples drawn from the text alongside alternative options that are sensitive to the era and informed by various hegemonic perspectives on health and wellness, including body positivity, feminism, cultural awareness, health equity, and self-empowerment:

- Sensible Slimming vs Practical Diet Advice or Healthy Weight,
- Those unsightly bulges vs Weight gain,
- Overloading your heart vs Protecting your heart,
- What are you going to do about it? vs Here are some suggestions,
- When a normal weight for your height vs When you achieve your goal,
- Look better, feel better, be better, vs Enjoy your extra energy!

The term *normal* holds significant societal connotations, often as a reference point for the prevailing idealised norms and standards within a given society. These norms and standards are deeply rooted in hegemonic constructs and shape various aspects of societal content, including advertisements (Dovidio et al., 2010; Kite & Whitley, 2016; Seedhouse, 2004). Recognising that what is deemed *normal* is not inherently objective but socially constructed, reflecting dominant values, beliefs, and power structures within a particular cultural context is essential. Therefore, the term *normal* in a CDS necessitates critically examining its underlying hegemonic implications and how it influences societal perceptions and behaviours. Using *normal* in this setting assumes there is a commonly understood desired body shape ideal for this pre feminist[12] period. The body-shape perception that a body is something measurable or calculable is a development from the eighteenth century when it was broadly applied (Huff, 2001) - a perception persisting well into the era of this study and the present (Carson, 2016; Deurenberg et al., 1991; Evans & Colls, 2009).

In this context, the word *sensible* carries implicit connotations that a non-slender physique is synonymous with foolishness. One can envision a speech bubble adjacent to Woman A expressing sentiments like, "Oh dear, my clothes no longer flatter my figure; I must strive to attain my 'normal' size!" or "Goodness me! How imprudent of me to indulge in sugary treats; behold these unsightly bulges." The visual aesthetics of the ad align with the prevailing magazine standards of the 1950s (Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Lindner, 2004; Moore et al., 1992; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988) offering insights into the advertiser's mindset, intentions, and sociopolitical context. Adhering closely to established social norms and conventional marketing strategies without challenging them may make the advertiser's approach conformist or conservative. However, considering their motivations is crucial before assigning a definitive label, and further analysis may yield additional insights.

Sensible Slimming uses active compound sentences written in the second person. They use a statement and then the imperative form, understood to have a generalising effect aiding the advertiser to present their message as factual and objective (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 21). Additionally, in this style analysis, the anaphoric use of You in Text 1 positions the reader negatively. The deixis in text two, “What are you going to do about it?” where *it* stands for the entire problem, as stated in Text 1, denotes intrinsic power and reinforces the advertiser's position. However, this is not always the case, and it could be typical deictic speech usage.

Rhetoric. All advertising exists to persuade the audience in one way or another and uses rhetorical tools. Examining metaphor, parallelisms, alliterations, contrasts, generalisations and more

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[12] Pre feminism in this case, pertains to the period pre-1950 to approximately the early 1960s Mager, J., & Helgeson, J. G. (2011). Fifty years of advertising images: Some changing perspectives on role portrayals along with enduring consistencies. *Sex roles, 64*, 238-252.

helps build a picture of the rhetorical tools. Moreover, analogous to the semantic analysis, it is brief as the goal is to discover hegemonic processes rather than provide a complete rhetorical analysis. Although the initial analysis of style and syntax discussed various rhetorical devices, the next section will focus on semantics, syntactic, and lexical (stylistic) rhetoric. It pays attention to positive displays over negative, and where the emphasis lies. The following is a list of some of the rhetorical devices used:

- Alliteration: Sensible Slimming,
- Anaphora: Your, your, you, you in Text 1,
- Asyndeton: Look better, feel better, be better,
- Climax: Look better, feel better, be better,
- Parallelism: Text 1 and 2 display similarity of structure in all the sentences,
- Metaphor: unsightly bulges and overloading your heart,
- Rhetorical question: what are you going to do about it?

5.1.3 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

Knowledge: Shared Sociocognitive Knowledge. The analyst can ask the following questions to learn about shared sociocultural knowledge: What is currently happening in this society that would normalise the message in Sensible Slimming, and how is the message understandable and interpretable? In Sensible Slimming, the instructions encourage women to reduce their body size sensibly. The title presupposes some women in this society are trying foolish ways to *lose weight*; a behaviour deemed unwise by the government, warranting this national public health announcement/ad.

Dieting rhetoric or persuasive nutrition narratives were and still are commonplace in women's magazines (Coe, 2012). They would likely have been unremarkable and well understood. However, this ad raises the question: why is slimming a concern for the Department of Health? Perhaps, diet fads, weight gain, and dieting were considered immoral during this postwar time, a time when society was enjoying fewer food restrictions; consequently, the perception could have been that individuals were (or will be) increasing their body size or weight, body size/shape was (and arguably still is) a moral concern (Coveney, 2006; Grabe et al., 2008; Swami, 2015)? Whatever the impetus, the government had the opportunity and authority to dedicate resources to this so-called problem, normalise the topic, give nutrition advice, and make plain assertions under the presupposition that the readers - those foolish dieters (women, as mentioned earlier) - are unknowing, unsophisticated, and not sensible (Lupton, 1995). Such didactic, top-down public health advice tended to be commonplace mid- twentieth century (Green & Raeburn, 1988; MacDonald, 1996; Ritchie, 1991); thus, this ad would have likely been uncritically received allowing for the continued endorsement and perpetuation of the values and norms embedded with the discourse.

Attitudes and Hegemonic ideas. The attitude expressed advocates a lower over a higher weight body size. The apparent norms are that ill-fitting clothes do not make *you* attractive in this society, that values individuals whose clothes do fit well, who do not have unsightly bulges and puff as they climb hills, and privileges individuals who are lean and smartly dressed (their garments fit well) alongside people who follow the suggested rules in Text 2.

Propositionally, Sensible Slimming also promotes the belief that an individual should take responsibility for their body weight, adhering to individualism as a moral code and the notion of agency (Brownell, 1991; Brownell et al., 2010; Lukes, 2006; Minkler, 1999; Porter, 1999, p. 297; Steinbrook, 2006; Wikler, 2002). It is observable by the overt use of the second person and the clear text in the salient byline "what you will do about it", intimating the problem lies with individuals and women, as it depicts only women. The ad also feminises weight loss (Malson, 2008) as it explicitly targets the adult female audience. However, body weight fluctuations are experienced by all sex and ages, therefore, the topic could be age neutral.

Meritocracy, conservatism, and self-actualisation emerge through this onus of weight loss and personal health being a citizen's responsibility. Body weight, shape, and food choices of individuals in this society appear to have become a government concern; they display preferencing low body weight by positioning this body style as an in-group against the higher body weight style; the out-group. Explicit, sexist hegemonic values appeared throughout through the focus on women and the association with nutrition, body image, nurturing, and domesticity, among others (Crotty, 1995). The referencing of a slender body shape or privileging thinness reveals the concept of body fascism, which, as described by Griffin (2024) denotes bias or prejudice based on an individual's physical appearance and predominantly targets women. It links to the promotion of rigorous exercise routines for women to maintain a slender and appealing physique, as well as social standards dictating attractiveness within heteronormative settings; an unfortunate finding, as the literature documents how body fascism and the thin-ideal correlate with shame, stigmatisation, and the increase in anorexia and eating disorders (Brickell, 2002; Dovidio et al., 2010; Etcoff, 2000, p. 202; Guttman & Salmon, 2004; Kite & Whitley, 2016).

Patriarchal values are evident throughout this ad. Patriarchy, an intricate and multifaceted social structure, encompasses a range of hegemonic components that influence and sustain its framework. At its essence, patriarchy establishes a structured power hierarchy that consistently favours men, while subordinating women within societies (Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Miller, 2017; Walby, 1989). As these researchers explain, patriarchy finds its origins in entrenched *conservative* gender norms and roles, fostering the conviction that men possess inherent superiority over women, both intellectually and morally.

Within this paradigm, masculinity often connotes qualities such as strength, authority, and rationality, while femininity is frequently associated with traits like submission, emotional expression, and nurturing. Contextually, this extends to various facets of everyday life, permeating domains such

as domestic roles, familial dynamics, and dietary practices. Within domestic settings, socially prescribed *conservative* gender roles often dictate expectations regarding household chores, childcare responsibilities, and decision-making authority, reinforcing the association of masculinity with leadership and assertiveness, and femininity with nurturing and caregiving (Brookes, 2016; Brookes et al., 2019; Crotty, 1995; Germov & Williams, 2004c; Jenkin et al., 2012; MacKay, 2021; Madden & Chamberlain, 2004; Parkin, 2007). In matters of nutrition, social norms may prescribe gender-specific dietary patterns and preferences, with for example, masculinity linked to hearty, protein-dense foods symbolising strength and vitality, and femininity associated with lighter, lower-calorie options reflecting notions of delicacy and *beauty* (Butler, 2004; Habgood, 1992; Hackney, 2006; Martens & Casey, 2007; McKie et al., 1993; Parkin, 2007).

These belief systems are bolstered through cultural narratives (for example, through advertisements), institutional customs, and social standards, culminating in systemic gender disparities. Consequently, patriarchy not only represents a historical and ongoing hegemony of male dominance and masculinity but also embodies a collection of deeply ingrained hegemonic convictions that inform societal perspectives and conduct regarding gender roles and relationships (Gurrieri, 2021).

In summary, patriarchal values encompass a set of beliefs and norms that perpetuate male dominance and control within society. These values often manifest in various forms, including the assertion of male authority in decision-making processes, the reinforcement of traditional gender roles relegating women to caregiving roles, and the objectification of women's bodies. Additionally, emotions are often suppressed or dismissed as a sign of weakness, particularly for men, further reinforcing the notion of male privilege and entitlement. This system also tends to silence or diminish women's voices and experiences while normalising violence as a means of asserting power and control. Ultimately, patriarchal values uphold the belief in the inherent superiority of men over women, perpetuating inequality and discrimination within society.

Displaying patriarchal values, Sensible Slimming exemplifies linear thinking and essentialism in several ways. The implication that complying with the author's directives can result in achieving slimness and, consequently, personal improvement, reinforces the promotion of cultural hegemony. In this context, this proposes that government authorities and potentially the ruling elite, aim to influence social beliefs, values, and norms to assert control and shape public perception (see Chapter 2). The essentialism value is exhibited through exposing the underlying beliefs that gaining and reducing weight are fixed. Lastly, stereotyping is evident in the portrayal of Woman A being somewhat dishevelled versus Woman B who is displayed as organised and neat, denoting a preference for order in alignment with positive social evaluation (see Section 2.3.1) of patriarchal values of control, domination and order (Lerner, 1986; Walby, 1989).

Emotions. As discussed in Chapter 4, people ascribe importance to emotions that are shaped by their life experiences, upbringing, and cultural contexts. They function as a means of conveying

messages, forming connections, and navigating interpersonal interactions, which emphasises their social importance in promoting comprehension and relationships, impacting decisions, interpersonal connections, and overall mental health.

Woman A is looking at her reflection in the mirror. Her expression indicates worry as she is shown frowning. Woman B appears calm while faintly smiling. She looks up and out of the ad depicting confidence. Text 1, next to Woman A, imbues emotions of worry, fear/anxiety, shame, and possibly rejection from a society that venerates the thin-ideal, as the sentence, "You are conscious of those unsightly bulges", demonstrates. Text 2, that accompanies Woman B, feels authoritative, stern, unfriendly, didactic, paternal, and confident in the outcome.

Beliefs. Also important in this analysis of attitudes and ideologies is the reading of beliefs regarding identity, origin, properties, actions, and goals with reference to the in-group and out-group. Therefore, this section considers how individuals view themselves in terms of their social group as discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3.1 on Social Identity Theory). In summary, an in-group denotes a social group with which an individual identifies or belongs, often associating positive attributes with its members and fostering a sense of belonging. This contrasts with the out-group, composed of individuals who do not belong to the same group and are typically viewed less favourably by the in-group (S. T. Fiske, 2010; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Hogg et al., 2004; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Jenkins, 2014; Tajfel, 1974, 1981, 1982; Van Dijk, 2011).

In this analysis, the in-group believes people with higher weight have been overeating starchy food, and it is their *own* fault they are heavier than the in-group. Accordingly, the out-group needs education on achieving good physical health and the right figure/body size. The use of the imperative in the text, e.g. "Eat Less, Cut Out, Eat More, Look Better, Feel Better, Be Better" presupposes relations of dominance and power by the in-group (Van Dijk, 1995a, p. 24).

5.1.4 Phase 4: Social Component

Elite Structures, Group Relations, and Group Structures. The discourse considered has the potential to serve as a mechanism that perpetuates social inequalities, both in social and political contexts. Consequently, a comprehensive examination of diverse facets within the realm of discourse, encompassing both its discursive and cognitive dimensions, becomes imperative to uncover underlying power dynamics and elements of dominance (Van Dijk, 1993b, pp. 270-274). These facets, framed as inquiries (see Section 4.3.5), are categorised into the following thematic groups: elements related to control, dynamics within group relationships, and the underlying structures that govern these groups.

As noted in the introduction, The Aotearoa New Zealand Labour government was the advertiser and owner of *The Listener* in 1948. It had the financial ability to create this public health ad providing nutrition information and seemed to aspire to change the behaviour of group members. Under the direction of this Labour government, the DoH created the ad with privileged access to human nutrition science and knowledge.

From this position of power, the DOH could publish a rhetorical argument such as this *cause and effect* (topic) of food intake and weight health, without the opportunity for a counterargument, in a national medium. The DoH can misrepresent facts and discredit individuals with higher weight, women perhaps, and willingly or subconsciously support the ideology of meritocracy, where the responsibility for success lies with the individual (Sibley & Wilson, 2007). From this standpoint, the DoH expresses a preference for the thin-ideal and the correlation with food intake to achieve a socially prescribed and preferred body shape (Germov & Williams, 2004c, p. 338).

Presupposing that the audience does not know the facts (primary scientific nutritional information was not readily available to a layperson during this time), it can be speculated that the government expected the audience would believe the information presented as factual. The DoH reinforces the negative association of the individual with higher weight while legitimising individual responsibility and promoting slim people (those with a slight body shape) as how *our* people should be (Piggin, 2012), and their power and the ad's rhetoric could affect the primary audience's mind. The DoH can also reinforce this message through repetition via secondary audiences and symbolic elites, for example, other media (Van Dijk, 2016). Data collection observed the ad Sensible Slimming in the women's periodical *The New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, during the same time (1948-1959).

Unity with a *group* may presuppose ideologically based beliefs (Van Dijk, 1993b). The discourse analysis tool, local coherence, attempts to uncover to whom the reader belongs and whether the government addresses specific groups. In the graphically visible under-representation or absence of other ethnic groups or genders, the group addressed is adult white women. Judging by the ages depicted in the illustrations, the age group was 25 to 35 years old. As previously noted, Woman B portrays the desirable state; thus, the DoH is actively promoting and favouring the social group to which this individual belongs, while simultaneously marginalising and overlooking other groups, including Māori, diverse gender identities, and ethnicities, who are often depicted in disparaging and stereotypical portrayals. Therefore, this ad perpetuates discrimination against these unrepresented social groups, acting as if they do not exist in this society – symbolically annihilating them (Coleman et al., 2008; Dovidio et al., 2010; Fields, 2016; Fiske, 1993; Grau & Zotos, 2016; Hackney, 2006; Rathzel, 1997; Van Dijk, 1993a).

Appearance and health norms often co-occur in the ambition to attain socially prescribed standards of *beauty* and socioeconomic status (Etcoff, 2000, p. 200; Porter, 1999). Consequently, they are a crucial criterion of membership to a social group and organise multiple aspects of group members' lives alongside being a means of marginalising, excluding and problematising members of other groups (Van Dijk, 2000b).

Sensible Slimming (1948: Labour government) unashamedly encourages women to examine their diet to achieve the desired and denoted thin-ideal of the smartly dressed, slender young woman walking off the page with the climax anchor “Look Better, Feel Better, Be Better.” As exhibited in Sensible Slimming, body-image promotion demonstrates underlying norms and values of body-image

preferencing (Van Dijk, 2000b). In addition, the advertiser supposedly values and stimulates health in concert with encouraging the value of slimness; a hegemonic element of identity construction well documented to cause distress to social group members who fail to conform (Blood, 2005; Puhl & Heuer, 2010). See images 40 and 53 in the corpus for similar weight related advertisements.

Sensible Slimming derogatorily depicts Woman A., who wears a funny, floppy hat; she looks worried, foolish, perhaps out of control, lazy, sloppy, careless, and maybe even self-indulgent, reinforcing the stereotypical correlation between weight and the aforementioned states (Hartley, 2001). She also appears older than the bottom figure, Woman B. Her image is associated with the text to her right announcing how tired her feet are; she has aching knees and should take some *weight* off them, experiences often associated with ageing. Thus, demeaning and encouraging women of higher weight to act and join the in-group in this society. After all, body size (and aging) have become, according to Hartley (2001), a moral issue in a thin-obsessed society threatening the prescribed roles of feminisation and sexualisation and could violate existing power structures (Hartley, 2001; Huff, 2001). Moreover, a slim frame, the thin-ideal, is a challenging norm for individuals to achieve and will most not only be elusive (Huff, 2001) but pursuing it is known to be mentally destructive (Davis, 2013; Germov & Williams, 2004c; Silverstein et al., 1986).

5.2 Review

The pilot study of NZL02 Sensible Slimming trialled the efficacy of the SCDA-method to analyse a selection of multimodal cultural texts. It also helped refine the method to fit the Critical Discourse Analysis required for this study. Overall, the method structure effectively provided insights into the hegemonic strategies and processes present in the advertisements. However, separating the visual and semiotic analysis proved inefficient and overlapped causing repetition, thus, for clarity these two tools will be combined and condensed, omitting the subheadings, in the ensuing analyses.

Improving the review and discussion requires minimising unnecessary repetition. Therefore, after careful consideration, sections will no longer include introductions. The discourse component will transition to an essay format rather than a list format, limiting creative alternatives. To accommodate the diversity of subject matter, each analysis will commence with an introduction contextualising the respective artifact and facilitating the social component (see Chapter 2 on Foucault's understanding of the importance of context). The extent, or volume, of the phases will vary depending on the context and findings.

Chapter Six: Analysis Part Two: the Late 1940s to 1950

Chapter 6 analyses the artefacts published in *The Listener* in the late 1940s to 1950. These advertisements (see below) placed by the Department of Health (DoH), during the Labour government cover matters of domestic thrift and promotes food products: cheese, and Lamb's fry (sheep liver).

Overview advertisements Chapter Six

Vegetable Water is Valuable	Choose Cheese!	Let's try LAMB'S FRY1
		

6.1 Analysis 1: NZL08 Vegetable Water is Valuable

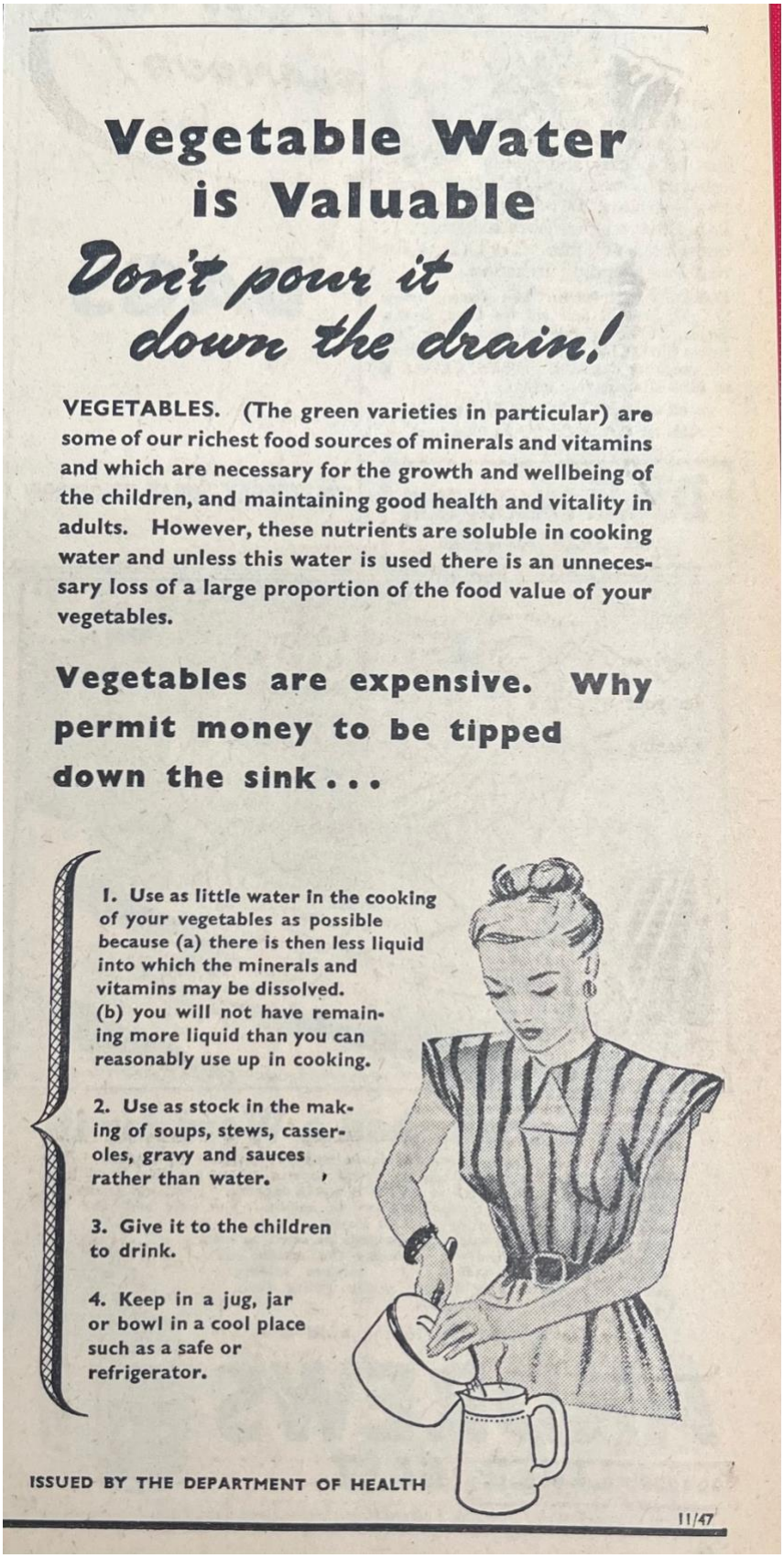


Figure 2. Image 8 NZL08 'Vegetable Water is Valuable'

6.1.1 Context

The late 1940s and early 1950s, saw a robust cultural value placed on frugality, minimising waste and maximising the nutritional content of food and resourcefulness in domestic practices, including cooking and meal preparation (Baker, 1965b; Graham, 1992). Scarce resources made food waste a matter of national significance for the majority of the population (McKinnon, 2016, p. 133). As a result, practice of saving vegetable water was rooted in the belief that many vitamins and minerals leached out of vegetables during cooking could and should be retained by incorporating the cooking liquid into soups, stews, or sauces (Carlyon, 2013, p. 1094). The following passage from the newspaper column 'The Diary of a Doctor Who Tells' in the *Evening Star* serves to illustrate this belief and convention:

> Then, again, if you cook vegetables a long time you do much to dissolve the minerals, as well as vitamins B and C. In any case, especially this colder, wintry weather, you want to save the vegetable water to make soup. I'm not a cooking expert, but I'm told that if you thicken this with cream sauce and add a few vegetables and seasoning, the result is highly satisfactory to the taste and the constitution.
> Someone told me that the outside leaves of lettuces and cabbages were best,' said Mrs Drayley, adding that she always threw them away. 'Quite right,' I said. 'The outside leaves are by far the richest in vitamins A and C, according to our dietitians.'
> 'I heard, too, that they are better eaten fresh than after being kept for a day or two,' she said. 'Quite right again,' I agreed. 'Just as when you squeeze orange juice for consumption next morning, you risk losing some of its vitamin value. It's said that it can lose some of its vitamin C even overnight. ("The diary of a doctor who tells," 1940)

The dietary concern regarding vitamins and minerals continued after the Depression and into the Second World War. The Otago Daily Times reported Mrs Johns speaking at the central meeting of the Home Economics Association in Dunedin in 1942:

> The cooking of vegetables dissolved out some of the vitamins and destroyed a further amount; hence the importance of using up vegetable water in making soups, gravy, and sauce, for in New Zealand fruit was so expensive that it was from vegetables that practically all vitamin C was derived. ("Home economics," 1942)

Saving vegetable water thus, not only, supposedly, enhanced the nutritional value of meals but also contributed to the overall economy and efficiency of food preparation. Notably, the late 1940s and ensuing decade marked a time of heightened awareness and interest in nutrition and health, partly spurred by postwar concerns about food shortages and public health (Bailey & Earle, 1993; Burton, 2009; Joardder & Masud, 2019; Veart, 2008). As a result, homemakers and nutritionists alike sought ways to optimise the nutritional content of meals while making the most of available resources (Brown, 2019; Fry, 1957; J. C. King, 2003; Mein Smith, 1998; Mulligan, 2019, October 3; *NZ biography: Aunt Daisy*, 2019). Saving vegetable water was a practical and economical strategy to achieve these goals, aligning with this era's broader cultural values of thriftiness and self-sufficiency (Baker, 1965b; Graham, 1992).

6.1.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

Vegetable Water is Valuable (Figure 2) (Department of Health, 1948b), targets *housewives*[13]; a common domestic role (cooking, cleaning, caring) for many women during the 1940s and 1950s (Brickell & Gilmour, 2019; Brown, 2019; Gamber, 2019; Neuhaus, 1999). It intends to educate this target group about the value and preservation of vitamins and minerals in vegetable cooking water. It focusses on education and the domestic economy and offers practical advice through a few tips. The advertiser uses a didactic and educational style to present the case that vegetable water is valuable. The implication is that the audience may lack awareness of the minerals in vegetables while emphasising the economic significance of vegetable water, claiming it contains something precious.

The ad is a rectilinear half-page reading from the top left to bottom right. Starting with a catchy alliterative headline, "Vegetable Water is Valuable", it reads down to the bottom right, featuring a woman pouring water from a cooking saucepan into a jug. The ad is divided into two parts; a top and a bottom, with the division going through the text "Vegetables are expensive. Why permit money to be tipped down the sink….." The top half states and explains the problem, while the bottom half offers the solution. The top half has three text blocks or bands; the middle has one, while the bottom has a bracket to the left of some text that partially frames the female illustration. The saliently placed woman occupies approximately a quarter of the space in the foreground and fits neatly within the shape of a pyramid. Pyramidal design can engender a sense of stability, as is understood by art history scholarship (Feldman, 1973). The triangle echoes the pyramidal space in her blouse and other triangles in the design, such as the space under her arm, on her shoulder pads, left side and more, reinforcing the sense of stability.

The woman's body composition shows her head tilting in the same direction as she pours the water in a nurturing, caring way. Her attributes of jewellery (earrings and a bracelet) and her hair, neatly placed in a bun on top of her head, help her represent the role of a Pākehā New Zealand or European/Western typical mid- twentieth century, middle-class female homemaker. She is calmly pouring vegetable water, oblivious of a viewer who can covertly observe her. Her quiet performance connects her to the act of housework while connoting serenity and dignity to the role of homemaker, leveraging this chore to a job with focus, style, and fashion.

The mid- twentieth century, middle-class female homemaker stereotype reflects the prevailing representation of gender roles and class-relations under patriarchy (Nolan, 2000). The scholarship on the media representation (predominantly magazines), demonstrates women were primarily depicted as devoted homemakers and caretakers, excelling in domestic skills such as cooking, cleaning, nurturing and childcare, with a meticulously groomed appearance, reflecting a

[13] The term 'housewife', in the contemporary setting, is considered gender biased and derogatory. This thesis uses the more neutral and inclusive term 'homemaker' where possible.

desirable affluent social standing (Gallager, 2013; Heywood & Adzajlic, 2022; Lafky et al., 1996; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009; Ross, 2009; Zawisza-Riley, 2019; Zotos & Tsichla, 2014). This literature discloses that submissiveness to the husband's decisions and a strong focus on family needs were prominent traits, overshadowing personal aspirations and endorsing female subordination and that, while a woman's social and community activities roles were occasionally highlighted in the media, her career aspirations outside the home were generally downplayed. These media representations idealised domesticity and lacked acknowledgment of the diversity of women's real-life experiences (Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Busby & Leichty, 1993; Mager & Helgeson, 2011; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988; Tuchman, 1979).

Returning to the woman's depiction, her attire in the ad conveys a sense of order, efficiency, and elegance. For example, the blouse's square and straight shoulders symbolise stability and rationality, while the soft lines create a delicate appearance. The tight-fitting blouse and stripes correspond to the straight back, and through highlighting the waist, draw attention to the water pouring from the saucepan into the jug. The skirt folds are visible, creating a sense of movement and grace. The skirt's cut-off bottom implies she is standing behind a table or counter, ready to serve or prepare food. Overall, the subject's attire effectively communicates a message of sophistication, professionalism, and attention to detail; qualities befitting the *idealised* representation of the middle-class housewife of this era (C. Carter et al., 2013; Gallager, 2013; Gamber, 2019; Hackney, 2006).

The neat and tidy portrayal not only reinforces the role-connection between women and domesticity, as discussed earlier but also mirrors the ideals of the burgeoning predominantly white middle-class consumer culture. Martens and Casey (2007) assert that the depiction of women in domestic roles during the 1950s played a pivotal role in the concurrent rise of consumer culture and the reinforcement of middle-class values. While much of the scholarship focusses on American culture, this portrayal undoubtedly influenced New Zealand's society, mainly through the cultural conduit of women's magazines (Johnson, 2004; Lindner, 2004; Moore et al., 1992; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988). Women's gender and role constructions in media and advertising, portraying them as dedicated homemakers responsible for maintaining the idealised suburban household, were not coincidental; instead, they were intimately linked to the emerging consumer culture and the values associated with the growing middle class. As illustrated in the media of this era, which readily depicted women as the primary consumers of domestic products, from modern kitchen appliances to cleaning supplies, reinforcing their *gendered* role centred around managing the domestic sphere (Busby & Leichty, 1993; Gallager, 2013; Johnson, 2004; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988).

Simultaneously, this portrayal reinforced the narrative of the middle-class family as an aspirational ideal, with women as the nurturing homemakers supporting their breadwinning husbands. Such a portrayal promoted the consumption of goods associated with domesticity. As and Goldman et al. (1991); Williamson (1978) agree, these illustrations in advertisements sell commodity narratives,

solidifying the values of stability, material comfort, and conformance emblematic of the burgeoning middle-class lifestyle during the 1950s.

Again, this focus on middle-class values of order and conformance is depicted in this illustration's fine and delicate outlines in contrast with the bold lines on the woman's top, drawing attention to her outfit's structured and geometric design. Her hair is neatly pulled back into a bun, adding to the sense of orderliness and emphasising the striped top. The hourglass figure portrayed in the illustration was fashionable at the time, and the promotion of a Wasp Waist may have been a nod to the return of Victorian-era fashion. Brickell (2002) submits this promotion may have been part of a broader trend of re-feminisation following the austerity and practicality of the war years.

Her arms reach forward, holding the saucepan lid creating an internal space forming the 3-dimensional effect. The shadows on the woman's stomach and left shoulder do the same. The viewer's perspective is positioned in the front, looking down at her, as implied orthogonal lines disappear behind her waist, thereby establishing the vanishing point within the negative space of the background. The light coming from behind accentuates this. And lastly, in relation to time and motion the subject stands still, as women often were depicted (Mager & Helgeson, 2011), but as she pours water, it infers an activity as steam comes from the jug, suggesting only a slight motion.

The ad displays the headline “Vegetable Water is Valuable,” in the centre. The designer used a bold sans serif font in the grotesque style, possibly Franklin Gothic or similar, one of the first commercially available sans serif fonts (Bringhurst, 2004). It may have appealed to the modern citizen or designer, a choice quite in contrast to the Edwardian serif font used in the Sensible Slimming ad of the same year. The byline “Don't pour it down the drain!” is underneath the headline. Using the casual script font Brush Stroke, it aligns to the left margin. Using two different fonts helps construct the effect of a two-part statement, the byline grabbing more attention and reading visually louder than the first.

Continuing down the page, the ad follows on from the first text block to explain the importance of vegetables. It commences with the word “vegetables” in capitals, making it hard to miss, and proceeds with a justified block of text in the same bold type as the headline but more prominent than the font in the lower text block. The ad’s centre presents the pull quote “Vegetables are expensive. Why permit money to be tipped down the sink”; reinforcing the headline and byline before reading to the bottom, explaining how to preserve that *valuable* vegetable water.

The brief list of four methods justifies to the left, with an attempt made to wrap it around the illustration's left side. Overall, the ad Vegetable Water is Valuable (Figure 2) reads from top left to bottom right, making it easy to read (Gutenberg principle), portraying a sense of importance and urgency using bold type (Bringhurst, 2004). Additionally, the female illustration and the two objects are proximate, grouping them into a whole (a common advertising design technique) and offering a quick reference guide to using valuable vegetable water.

The accompanying illustration reinforces the message regarding the preferred method of collecting vegetable water, recognising that readers frequently overlook ad copy, possess limited attention spans, and are inundated with vast amounts of information (Einstein, 2017; Percy, 1982; White, 2015). However, the discursive analysis demonstrates that the main point, that vegetable water is valuable, is straightforward and easily understood.

6.1.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component

The major presupposition of the message is the reader's suggested unawareness of vegetable water's mineral and economic value, hence this informative and educational ad. The overarching syllogistic structure follows the major premise: vegetable water is valuable; the minor premise: *you* should not throw away something valuable. It concludes that *you* should not throw away vegetable water. It uses the rhetorical *common topic* of cause and effect. Considering the drawing is the main focus, the enthymeme could be interpreted: You should save valuable vegetable water because conscientious housewives do!

Text block one reinforces and explains the overall premise: vegetable water has value; the minor premise is it is necessary for the growth and well-being of *the children* and for maintaining good health and vitality in adults. It also objectively explains how losing minerals during cooking impacts a household economically; using the word "value" in the last sentence reinforces the financial implication. The pull quote underneath text block one supports the argument and reasoning using words such as expensive, permit, money, and the phrase "down the sink" (associated with wasting), leaving little doubt about the message's importance regarding the value of vegetable water.

The preferred information is given priority in the headline and byline, with further information offered in text block one. The advertiser's perspective, as that of *protector,* is connoted by inferred concern for "the children, adults, your vegetables."The advertiser also acts as an economic advisor, writing about how vegetables are expensive, and money should not be poured down the drain or sink. In taking this perspective, the advertiser implies people are uninformed about the value of their vegetable water.. The advertiser, therefore, positions themselves as instructor, educator, and specialist on this subject. However, there is a complete absence of details about value and exactly *how many* minerals are lost, making it vague and incomplete, concomitantly marginalising that information and positively reinforcing the DoH's standing as one of authority; this DoH is not required to supply such details.

The last semantic property, local coherence, seeks to highlight the groups addressed. The phrase "the children" could be commonly understood to be the children of this country; however, considering the young white female illustration, "the children" likely points to the progeny of people of European descent as the phrase "your vegetables" also refers to the "you" in the image.

Vegetable Water is Valuable (Figure 2) has a formal and somewhat irritated lexical style with a strident call to action: "Don't pour it down the drain" in the byline. Text block two uses the

imperative to list ways to preserve *valuable* water. The overall tone is didactic with a condescending undertone, as it assumes that individuals do not know about the problem.

Other ideological text choices help discover and emphasise tone and style, for example, if the headline “Vegetable water is Valuable. Don't pour it down the drain!” was replaced by “Magical minerals, and vitamins add vitality, so let's save them! the message reads positively. Or the onus of food waste goes from society to the individual. So, the text “Necessary for the growth and children's wellbeing” could become “Necessary for children to be happy and healthy” that shows text choice denotes and promotes how food is viewed in this society, and who – the government - is guarding these moral choices.

“Permit” was chosen for the pull quote, a word imbued with disciplinarian values. Re-phrasing this sentence using a different style could be “Vegetables are full of mineral gems. Let's save nature's treasures!” Additionally, using words and phrases such as valuable, richest (a positive metaphor), value, money, expensive, large proportion, and food value indicates an emphasis and focus on domestic economics, which has a utilitarian mathematical foundation. These examples demonstrate how hegemony manifests through lexical choice.

The ad (Figure 2) uses several rhetorical devices to emphasise the importance of reducing food waste. The headline itself is an example of alliteration, with the repetition of the v sound in Vegetable and Valuable drawing attention to the message. The use of hyperbole is also evident in the ad, particularly in the phrase “There is an unnecessary loss of a large proportion of food's value of your vegetables.” The words “large” and “unnecessary” exaggerate the amount of waste and emphasise the importance of reducing it.

The ad effectively communicates that individuals should not waste vegetable water by pouring it down the drain, encouraging readers to act using rhetorical devices such as alliteration and hyperbole. The repetition of sounds and exaggeration of language capture the reader's attention and make the message more memorable (Corbett & Connors, 1990; Foss et al., 2014; Johnstone & Eisenhart, 2008; Lunsford et al., 2009; McGuigan, 2011).

In addition to rhetorical devices, the ad uses the classic rhetorical trio of ethos, pathos, and logos to appeal to readers. Logos appeals to readers' sense of reason, arguing that vegetable water is valuable and that pouring it down the drain is a waste of money. Ethos establishes the message's credibility, drawing on the facts presented in the first text block. Finally, pathos appeals to readers' fear of wasting something valuable, whether that be money or minerals.

6.1.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

It is important to note that the DoH ran this ad in 1948 when Aotearoa New Zealand emerged from the rationing of wartime products. During this time, the scarcity of certain goods was prevalent and individuals were encouraged to conserve and make the most of the available resources (Carlyon, 2013, p. 51; M. King, 2003). Against this backdrop, the message of the ad is of added significance. By encouraging readers to use all parts of the vegetable, including water, the advertiser promotes a

message of resourcefulness and efficiency that would have resonated with readers who had experienced the challenges of wartime rationing. The emphasis of the ad on the value of vegetable water presupposes that every resource is precious and should be used to its full potential. A message that would not have been out of place in a postwar context, where scarcity was still a concern and people were learning to adapt to new conditions of resource availability.

"Vegetables are expensive, why permit money to be tipped down the sink…" is the phrase that embodies the attitude of this ad. It implies that this society values thrift and frugality and scorns waste (as mentioned earlier). On the one hand, it seeks to educate the reader by using an authoritarian attitude and requesting obedience. On the other hand, it illustrates a woman doing what she is told to do, exemplifying how this society values structure, linear thinking, and rule-following; it provides a description and a how-to list alongside an illustrated example. These values of structure and education require people to cooperate and conform, suggesting underlying hegemonic processes of conformity, organisation, and regulation.

"Do not pour it down the drain!" aims to invoke fear of waste, easily appeased by conforming to the instructions. The reader is perhaps surprised at the information and may feel inadequate at their lack of knowledge and be ashamed of the waste (of valuable vegetable water or money) that transpired, a rhetorical style that can breed contempt for those deemed wasteful. Overall, from the lexical and grammatical choices, it feels authoritative and demanding.

The woman or mother role as the primary person to whom the domestic duties fell was typical during this time (Brickell & Gilmour, 2019; Brookes, 2016, p. 496), and this idealised image of a woman cooking would have been familiar (Etcoff, 2000, p. 31; Gamber, 2019; Germov & Williams, 2004c, pp. 337-367; Johnson, 2004; Neuhaus, 1999). Therefore, the ad would have appealed to this shared understanding and been considered commonplace, conventional. However, it reinforces sexist, gender, and ethnic ideals by portraying a Pākehā woman cooking (Du Plessis, 1994). Moreover, it would appeal to the young white female audience, preferencing and promoting Pākehā woman over others, mainly Māori, which is not surprising since this racial discourse has been a prevalent local discursive practice since at least 1860 (Reid & Cram, 2005).

Moreover, this ad implies that the in-group identifies with the young white woman wearing a glamorous dress while cooking, suggesting that the 'home' in-group (preferred, privileged group) has economic goals and values, information, and organisation. These in-group members are sensible and can follow the rules; they *give vegetable water to children to drink.* As the ad hints, the outgroup must catch up, read this information, follow these rules, or be metaphorically 'left behind'.

6.1.5 Phase 4: Social Component

Vegetable Water is Valuable (Figure 2) featured in *The Listener* by the Aotearoa New Zealand Government's Department of Health in 1948 (under the Labour Party). As previously noted, the government had control and unquestionable access to this advertising space in *The Listener*;

moreover, the incumbent Minister for Health was Mabel Howard[14] (McCallum, 1993, p. 36). Contextually, as previously mentioned in Section 1.3, the country was in the post-Second World War period, recovering from high personal losses, grief and economic and political upheaval (Carlyon, 2013, p. 64). It could use this non-reciprocal (apart from letters to the editor) forum to express an opinion or state something as a fact. Thus, it was at liberty to exploit any opportunity to reach its primary audience, in this case, young female homemakers.

The government had ready access to scientific information through its Ministry of Health and its scientists during this time. A society familiar with the governmental didactic and pedagogical approach may have deemed this elite position common sense and thus ordinary (Brown, 2019; Dow, 1995, p. 104; Fairclough, 2015; Macindoe, 2022; Mein Smith, 2011; Steel, 2005). Our current era of information, the age enabling New Zealanders to challenge authority more readily through various channels, was still half a century away (Corbett & Connors, 1990).

The ad emphasises that the government is responsible for enlightening its people, encouraging frugality, and offering management, action, and strategies. At the macro level, the goal is to protect the children and maintain good health and vitality in adults. From a contemporary critical discourse perspective, the analysis further reveals that the target audience is female homemakers and highlights home economics. Therefore, the ad, Vegetable Water is Valuable, seems like a common topic for female homemakers in 1948 rather than a public health concern regarding nutritional education. An observation that curiously begs the questions, *Who* was behind this ad? Was this person familiar with this topic? If so, are these *their* values or those of The Department of Health?

As this department was under the guidance of Mabel Howard, these inquiries are worth exploring (McAloon, 2000; McCallum, 1993, p. 36). Mabel Howard had endured poverty and hardship in her childhood. She lost her mother when she was nine, learning from an early age to be capable of domestic affairs. She had two siblings and grew up with her father and grandparents in Christchurch. Her father was in the Labour movement and was elected to parliament in 1919 (McCallum, 1993, pp. 36,37). Undoubtedly, his influence and her domestic experiences would inform her values, allowing her to filter her political ideology to New Zealand homemakers (see also Section 6.1.2) through the channel of public health advertising. Just a few years later, an article about the need for dietitians and the *correction* of wrong food habits quotes her in the Otago Daily Times:

> Miss Mabel Howard (Oppn., Sydenham), welcoming the Bill, said many children suffered from malnutrition through their parents' ignorance or neglect. She had heard of children being given 2s 6d with which to buy their school lunches. Miss Howard confessed that her girlhood taste would have been for ice cream, chocolates, fish and chips and all the things school children should not eat. Parents with some nutrition knowledge of the nutritive values of various foods would not leave it to children to buy what took their fancy! Miss Howard suggested the application of dietetic principles to Bellamy's meals. Too often in the past,

[14] Mabel Howard was the first woman in The New Zealand Cabinet.

> members had been served drowned food, such as cabbage swimming in water. She urged that the Health Department undertake further educative work to teach housewives how to retain the nutritive properties of food instead of throwing the most valuable part of the vegetables down the sink. ("Home economics," 1942)

Mabel Howard was, however, not alone in possibly influencing this ad. Dr Muriel Bell, the state nutritionist introduced earlier in Chapter 3, was also familiar with minerals in vegetable water and possibly an influence behind this gendered domestic message. Brown (2019) confirms this probability, writing how Dr Bell was keen to promote vitamin C by using vegetable water, as a note from Dr Bell's archives revealed, “It would be a good thing if we had a slogan to the effect that you could tell from her beautiful complexion that she drinks her vegetable water!” (p. 85).

Vegetable Water is Valuable (Figure 2) intends to inform the reader about frugality. However, through its text and imagery, it has a second intention: to promote the middle-class female homemaker stereotype (as mentioned earlier) that reflects the dominant representation of gender roles and social norms of the era (as previously mentioned). The illustration depicts a woman with the ideal, popular, hourglass figure. She wears a neat dress with an impossibly tiny waist and tidy hair, a fashion style prevalent throughout the 1950s (Labrum et al., 2007; Mazur, 1986). The government took advantage of the opportunity to inform about nutrition *and* how one should look; fashion and beauty norms traverse the stage to enter the health section.

As such, this ad serves as a historical component of the body appearance and health trend which accelerates in the decades hereafter to become pervasive locally and in most other Western, industrialised countries; a trend which will have enduring positive and negative outcomes in variable ways (Porter, 1999, p. 298). Positive for those who can achieve the cultural beauty and health ideal, and harmful for those who cannot. Porter (1999, p. 297) jests “– be well or go to the wall at your own hand. There’s no excuse. Strive or take a dive into your social mobility. Shape up or ship out of the affluent society.” Not achieving an ideal social model can be perceived as an aberration (Braziel & LeBesco, 2001). The health message, unfortunately, is obfuscated in the overtones of body image idealisation, and is known to be socially detrimental (Becker, 1993; Blood, 2005; Featherstone, 2010; Levine & Piran, 2004; McKie et al., 1993; Ozbek et al., 2023; Puhl & Brownell, 2006; Swami, 2015).

Such an historical perspective underscores the media's enduring role as a vehicle for propagating body ideals with profound implications for contemporary society. Over time, these representations have become deeply ingrained within social consciousness, shaping perceptions of beauty and health (Grabe et al., 2008; Himmelstein et al., 2018; Ozbek et al., 2023; Yamamiya et al., 2005). Consequently, there have been conscious efforts in modern times to challenge and resist these entrenched hegemonic processes due to their detrimental effects. For example, the emergence of body positive movements exemplifies such resistance, as they strive to counteract the pervasive (negative) body ideals constructed by the media in the past (Daniels et al., 2018). Such movements confront the narrow standards of beauty and health propagated by historical representations, advocating for

inclusivity and acceptance of diverse body types (Cooper, 2021; Sastre, 2014). However, undoing the influence of decades of media construction can be a complex and ongoing process, highlighting the enduring impact of historical representations on contemporary body image perceptions and attitudes *and* that critical discourse studies are well suited to expose body image constructions, especially through public health nutrition promotion.

Population manipulation and micromanagement are readily available to an institution with unchallenged authority over this space that can present information as factual and vital, taking the opportunity to sow legitimacy (Edwards & Moore, 2009), enforce ideals of class, ethnicity and gender roles, frugality, and conformity under the guise of establishing nutrition knowledge (Rumm-Kreuter & Demmel, 1990). The analysis demonstrated how contextual conditions intertwine with elite institutions to shape public advertising.

6.2 Analysis 2: NZL12 Choose Cheese!

Figure 3. Image 12 NZL12 'Choose Cheese!'

6.2.1 Context

Māori successfully produced economically valuable trade products well before Europeans settled in Aotearoa New Zealand (Belich, 2001; Brooking, 2004; M. King, 2003; Lloyd Prichard, 1970). However, trade and production ramped up in the decades after Europeans settled and colonised the country. First, the discovery of gold in the mid-nineteenth century led to a gold rush, followed by the introduction of sheep farming in the 1850s. Kauri timber logging was another significant early industry alongside kauri gum gathering that continued until the demand dried up. Lastly, wheat and oats were grown on the Canterbury Plains, contributing nearly twenty per cent of Aotearoa New Zealand's exports in the late nineteenth century (M. King, 2003, p. 2881; Singleton, 2022).

As refrigeration technology developed, entrepreneurs had many opportunities to build freezing works and ships to export protein products, and it was not long before the first freezing works were constructed at Burnside in 1883. Auckland soon followed, and by 1891, Aotearoa New Zealand, was home to twenty-one freezing works that could collectively handle four million sheep. These technological developments, alongside improved transportation over land and sea, were the genesis of the primary produce export economy (M. King, 2003, p. 2948). Over the ensuing decades, the dairy industry weathered the economic woes of recessions and depressions, not to mention two world wars, to become a significant primary producer by the mid- twentieth century (M. King, 2003, p. 2946; Lloyd Prichard, 1970, p. 163; McLauchlan, 2006, p. 90). It is thus unsurprising the government chose to support this industry and endorse and promote their products.

6.2.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

NZL12 Choose Cheese! (Figure 3) (Department of Health, 1949) is a bright, cheery, comical depiction of a woman with a head made of cheese encouraging cheese consumption while preferencing Aotearoa New Zealand produce. A giant smiling, white female face on a round block of cheese dominates the ad's top half using the picture superiority effect, where an image captures more attention than text (Defeyter et al., 2009). Her big eyes and smile look outwards to her left as she walks into the area. The illustration is a caricature; her head is large, but her body is small and oddly proportioned. She moves her right arm away from the sticky headline “Choose Cheese!” as if to make space for it or to point to it. Following this swinging movement, she holds a recipe book in her left hand. A considerable amount of negative space envelops the giant head, amplifying it. The most governing elements in the upper half are the illustration, the headline “Choose Cheese!” and the byline “Eat it every day - Raw or Cooked.” The text filling the ad's lower half balances and grounds the picture.

The design elements help create a sense of balance and stability. For example, the female illustration is leaning into the centre and placing the headline and byline. The triangle, a common design element, is visually pleasing and provides a solid foundation for the ad's message (Feldman, 1973). The lower half fits into a square, implying “Miss Cheese-Head” is walking on something solid. The shadowing on her cheese-head, dress, and legs creates a three-dimensional effect contrasting the

two-dimensional proximate text. It spawns a sense that she is walking into the ad rather than she *is* the ad. It feels as though "Miss Cheese-Head" was cheerfully passing by with her CHEESE RECIPES booklet as she moves inward but glances outward and to her left. The humorous illustration is a caricature that has, however, been put on top of a curvilinear and slightly more realistic female body shape, aligning and supporting the stereotyped role of women with food preparation and domestic duties. Her attributes are a pearl-type necklace and high-heels, and she wears a contemporary dress that falls below the knee. As portrayed in the print media in postwar Aotearoa New Zealand, this fashion can be considered era representational (Wilson, 2003).

The cheese-head's illustration style differs from the body and the cheese recipe booklet, demarking three aspects. First, the drawing uses a light pencil contour line for the body, and large sections are dark and appear firm. Second, the cheese-head has softer contour lines aiding the illusion of a cheese texture, and the facial parts are smooth lines making the cheese-head appear youthful. Third, the sharp nose and wide eyes on a blank surface give it a female *Pākehā* face, generating a Eurocentric impression. Finally, the cheese displays a pattern of organic-styled round shapes depicting holes helping the reader view the form as typical European cheese. Overall, she presents as comical rather than rational, funny and cheerful versus severe and stern. However, this is also somewhat confusing as her dress is a sensible style, cultivating a juxtaposition; a comical head is on a typical body depiction.

The headline "Choose Cheese!" grabs readers' attention from the outset of the ad. It features prominently in the centre of the page and designed to be impossible to miss. The large font and bold headline style effectively capture readers' interest and draw them in to learn more about the product.

The type used is a bold script font like Brush script M7 that matches Miss Cheese-Head's fun and relaxed style, situated at the top centre with plenty of negative space around it. Underneath the headline is the serious byline, "Eat it every day Raw or Cooked." The font for the byline is a serif font, somewhat like Times New Roman or Baskerville, types more often used for classical and formal communications, such as newspapers and reports (Bringhurst, 2004; Lupton, 2010). Unlike the illustration and the proximate headline, the text uses various type-settings and sizes, making it messy as each component competes for the viewers' attention reinforcing the message of choosing cheese. The copy continues with instructions under the heading "Ways of Serving Cheese."

At the ad's lower half are two pull quotes, each with a particular font type. The first, "New Zealanders – eat more of your own produce!" is set in script type and hovers above the second pull quote in a capitalised serif font, the climax "Every man, Woman and Child Should eat a piece of cheese daily."

Choose Cheese! (Figure 3) delivers a simple yet powerful message: eat more cheese. The attention-grabbing headline and humorous illustration of a person with a comical large cheese head effectively convey the message; it is eye-catching and easily understood by its target audience. Alongside its striking visuals, the ad supposedly provides essential information on the benefits of

consuming cheese. The copy explains how to use cheese and emphasises its essential role in a healthy diet. The ad encourages readers to make cheese a regular part of their meals through its informative and persuasive content.

6.2.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component

The graphical structure clarifies the topic with the call to action, “Choose Cheese!” and, preferably, eat it every day in its raw or cooked form. The ad informs the consumer that cheese is an excellent food for all ages; it is easily digested, combines well with other foods, and is protein-dense and inexpensive. The advertiser promotes eating cheese in a way that suggests the audience is not eating enough cheese or does not know about the versatility of cheese and its benefits, in accordance with a change of focus from wartime food rationing to a new era of homegrown produce abundance.

Unlike butter, the government did not officially ration cheese during the war (Burton, 2009, p. 114). Still, it was regulated and restricted by the Food and Rationing Controller (Baker, 1965b) and somewhat restricted. Therefore, it is likely that New Zealanders had a new focus on nation-building during this postwar time. In alignment with this focus, the government promoted the consumption of the country's produce as a call to action: “New Zealanders -Eat more of your own produce!”, which in a small way, may have been effective, as cheese consumption rose from a prewar amount of two kilogrammes per person per year to five kilogrammes per person by the mid-1970s and up to a substantial one kilogramme per person by the late 1980s (Bailey, 1999). Fortunately, from a nutrition, health, and science perspective (cheese is high in saturated fat), cheese consumption has since declined (Burton, 2009, pp. 92-93).

With the phrase “It is an excellent food for all ages”, the advertiser uses the deliberative argument (common topic) and logos (appeal to reason) by endorsing the attributes of cheese: it is healthy, quickly prepared, and a comparatively inexpensive protein-dense food. The following section, Ways of Serving Cheese – and the pull quote at the bottom of the page, “Every Man, Woman and Child should eat a piece of cheese every day”, supports and emphasises their argument.

*“*New Zealanders- Eat more of your own produce!” is an unsubstantiated command. New Zealanders of course knew the country produced dairy products, so the government did not need to substantiate it. However, this call to action displays the government preferencing homegrown produce over imported produce. It applies the rhetorical appeal of pathos, as it promotes us versus them by using the possessive pronoun “Your own.”

The assertion that cheese is an excellent food may be a faulty generalisation. Although humans have been consuming cheese for thousands of years (Baker, 1965b; Joardder & Masud, 2019), its historical association with good nutrition may not reflect its actual health benefits. Such assumptions often become entrenched in common knowledge, but this does not make them scientifically accurate. The government's assertion that “Cheese is an excellent food” lacks the support of nutrition science. If the government intended to promote cheese as part of a balanced diet, it should have exercised caution and advocated that cheese in moderation is just one component of a

diverse and balanced diet; suggesting that the government was either economically motivated or lacked such an insight.

The preferred information supplied, cheese is “An excellent food”, is evident. Cheese promotion is displayed as fact, although the authors do not provide the evidence to substantiate this claim, but the reader could presuppose that the DoH knows about cheese and possibly defers their judgment. In this case, it gives them a significant opportunity to promote a product whichever way they want. It also affords them a perspective of protector and educator through their command over the advertising space and their didactical style. From this standpoint, the government presupposes people do not know about the benefits of cheese; they need education and thus, *should* be made aware of how important it is to eat a piece of cheese daily.

The didactic linguistic style, the list of how-to and the use of brief explanations echo the authoritarian, paternal teacher (Davis & Dew, 1999). “Miss Cheese Head” amplifies this observation, as she resembles a schoolmistress holding and pointing to her cookbook of recipes. Promoting food and popular advice on cooking and health is prevalent and common in print media. A government can exploit this understanding, using a recognisable pattern to promote its nutrition values and ideas. Thus, as previously noted, they can urge individuals to consume a product that might benefit the country, contributing to forming social identity roles and nation building.

The ad implies women are associated with food and feeding; the comic character has a woman's body, and the face on the cheese is of a youthful female. As mentioned, the reasoning is presented as fact, emphasising and implying the level of power the government has. It sees itself as the nation's health educator, which has the patriarchal position of coercing, persuading, and perhaps, as noted by Davis and Dew (1999), forcing healthy living upon its citizens. The advertiser is not vague about the evidence behind cheese and nutrition; it omits it entirely, indicating there is no possibility of generating doubt about the knowledge of the government, their ‘male’ dominance, or their supremacy. Such deliberate vagueness confirms and reinforces the government as the group with privileged access to knowledge, while the citizens do *not* have these aspects. Potentially, this discourse spurs the belief that people in power and knowledge eat cheese - *New Zealand cheese* - and they eat it daily.

The tone is authoritative, starting with the call to action, “Choose Cheese!”; however, this is softened through the comical and friendly Cheese Head character that influences the monologue and makes the communication seem friendly and amusing. The ad employs the imperative in the headline, byline, and the lower two pull quotes, suggesting the advertiser's underlying beliefs are authoritarian seeking obedience, compliance, and cooperation. A different, more egalitarian ideology could change the lexical style to one that is more open and inclusive.

The advertiser's word choices such as "quickly prepared," "inexpensive," and "rich food" connote efficiency and economic values. The use of the term "rich food" employs metaphorical language, aligning with the Lakoff and Johnson (1980) theory of conceptual metaphor, where "rich"

signifies an abundance of nutrients, portraying the food as valuable and beneficial. This metaphor contributes to a positive evaluation of the food's nutritional value, emphasising its abundance and beneficial qualities. Additionally, the ad uses hyperbole in the phrase "excellent food," further enhancing its appeal and rhetorical effectiveness. Lastly, it uses rhetorical repetition; the word cheese appears eight times, and alliteration is observed in the title “Choose Cheese.”

6.2.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

The ad uses language that reflects the values of efficiency and economy, exemplified by the phrases “quickly prepared” and “comparatively inexpensive.” Additionally, the linear structure of the text applies clear commands and instructions, reinforcing the orderly and practical nature of the product. Moreover, the advertiser emphasises the value of consuming domestic produce, encouraging citizens to view cheese consumption as patriotic.

The illustration depicts a lean woman, albeit a rather comical one, expressing the body shape value of the thin-ideal (Germov & Williams, 2004c). She looks ethnically *Pākehā*, as demonstrated by her sharp features and white skin, evidencing a Eurocentric preference (Reid & Cram, 2005). Women's association with nourishment and nutrition education reinforces the social identity construction of women as primary homemakers (Du Plessis, 1994; Gallager, 2013; Gamber, 2019; Habgood, 1992; Holmes, 2008; Jobling et al., 2022; Johnson, 2004; Lindner, 2004; Martens & Casey, 2007; Neuhaus, 1999; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009). The association of a white, lean woman encouraging consumption of a local product promotes cultural hegemony of the in-group, heterosexual *Pākehā*. The recipe suggestions are also English and Eurocentric, supported by typical food examples of bread and butter with jam, and macaroni cheese (Bailey, 1999; Bailey & Earle, 1993; Burton, 2009; Kennedy & Lockie, 2018; Neuhaus, 1999; Veart, 2008).

The illustration depicts a confident and happy woman. She is smiling and not aggressive as she walks toward the viewer, which helps soften the imperative style. Her comical *Cheese-Head* grabs attention and is joyful. The copy perhaps has the feeling of reflection and surprise while encouraging a sense of determination. However, there is also the chance the ad makes individuals feel ashamed as they do not fit the societal thin-ideal and the corresponding social status that belongs with it (Germov & Williams, 2004c). It is also possible cheese is associated with being an everyday, inexpensive product for time-poor people possibly creating self-reflection, feelings of inadequacy and confusion, and leading to low spirits and anxiety (Dodds & Chamberlain, 2017).

The in-group already believes it knows that eating cheese is healthy; it is efficient, and economical, and the ad, therefore, urges others to join them as it enthusiastically disseminates messages on produce and nutrition. The out-groups may not relate to the communications and thus not feel connected to the values and norms portrayed, making the ad discriminatory and divisive.

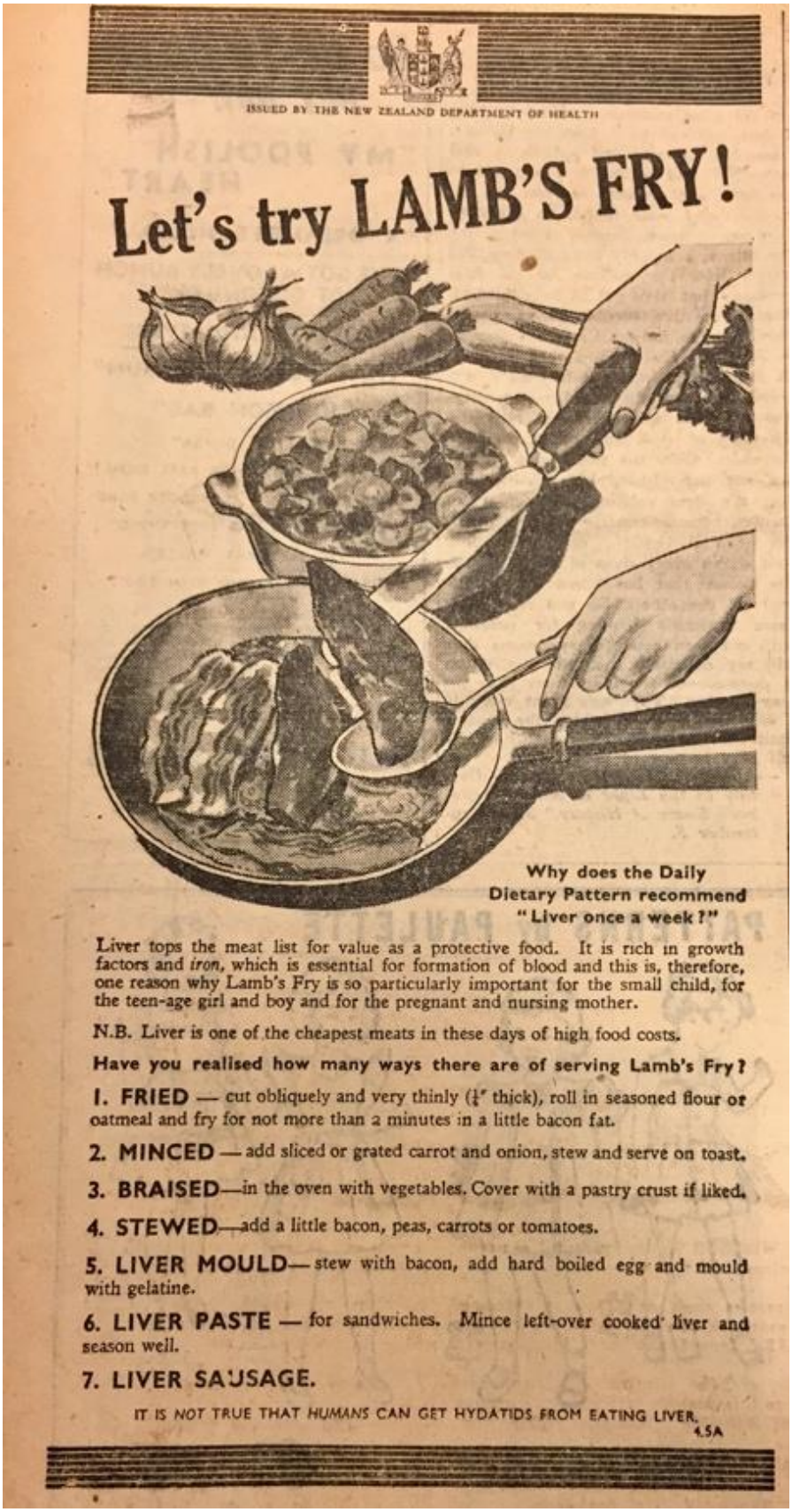
6.2.5 Phase 4: Social Component

The symbolic elite, the mass media, and its power to reinforce social representations have been discussed earlier; however, another symbolic elite is prevalent in this ad, namely the dairy industry. The analysis brings to light protectionist discourse with the New Zealand Government preferencing a particular industry and incorporating its products, cheese, in public health nutrition promotion. Discourse studies reveal that nationalistic discourse contributes to establishing other areas of nationalism and populism through normalisation (Billig, 1995; Van Dijk, 2008b). Perhaps, with enough frequency and other similar government initiatives, this protectionist discourse laid the groundworks that prompted the consequent protectionist policies the National Party established in the later years of the (Robert) Muldoon government (1975-1984) (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2023). Of course, it is impossible to unravel, with any certainty, the influences behind historical political choices, but as the scholarship demonstrates, the normalisation of certain discourses is now well understood to have long-term social and political consequences, meaning it affects people's lives in many ways (Dryzek, 1997; Gumperz, 1982; Van Dijk, 1985b; Van Dijk, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993a).

In terms of group relations, this analysis demonstrates the preferencing of *Pākehā* over Māori and other ethnicities by completely ignoring their foods and culture, reinforcing a culture of compliance through the graphical and linguistic structure of the advertisements. As noted in the introduction, the demographics illustrate that most New Zealanders in the 1950s were Pākehā (Statistics New Zealand, 1947-49). Māori, indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand, for over eight hundred years, with their ancestral connection to the land, rivers and ocean ‘Tangata whenua, Tangata awa, Tangata moana (Salmond, 2017, pp. 291-377; Salmond et al., 2023) were swiftly overtaken in less than a century to become a marginalised people (Orange, 2020, p. 103).

Lastly, the analysis considers group structures, such as the advertiser's speech acts, actions, and goals. As the government controls the space, the message, *and* the media (print magazine) in this case, they can present information as fact. Consequently, as this is a one-way communication, the reader has no opportunity to verify the information, an advantage for the government; they can advise, make claims, and even demand certain behaviours. The climax phrases at the bottom, “EVERY MAN, WOMAN, and CHILD SHOULD EAT A PIECE OF CHEESE EVERY DAY”, rests above the factoid, “Issued by the Department of Health”, an implicit command placed above the issuing authority lending weight to this finding. The didactic authoritarian discourse observed in this ad can reinforce social values that contribute to social and national identity construction, reinforcing the value of critical discourse studies to question and critique the activities of powerful and symbolic elites.

6.3 Analysis 3: NZL13 Let's Try LAMB'S FRY!



ISSUED BY THE NEW ZEALAND DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

Let's try LAMB'S FRY!

Why does the Daily Dietary Pattern recommend "Liver once a week?"

Liver tops the meat list for value as a protective food. It is rich in growth factors and *iron*, which is essential for formation of blood and this is, therefore, one reason why Lamb's Fry is so particularly important for the small child, for the teen-age girl and boy and for the pregnant and nursing mother.

N.B. Liver is one of the cheapest meats in these days of high food costs.

Have you realised how many ways there are of serving Lamb's Fry?

1. FRIED — cut obliquely and very thinly (¼" thick), roll in seasoned flour or oatmeal and fry for not more than 2 minutes in a little bacon fat.

2. MINCED — add sliced or grated carrot and onion, stew and serve on toast.

3. BRAISED—in the oven with vegetables. Cover with a pastry crust if liked.

4. STEWED—add a little bacon, peas, carrots or tomatoes.

5. LIVER MOULD— stew with bacon, add hard boiled egg and mould with gelatine.

6. LIVER PASTE — for sandwiches. Mince left-over cooked liver and season well.

7. LIVER SAUSAGE.

IT IS *NOT* TRUE THAT *HUMANS* CAN GET HYDATIDS FROM EATING LIVER.

4.5A

Figure 4. Image 13 NZL13 'Let's Try LAMB'S FRY!'

6.3.1 Context

War-time rationing was not a distant memory in the minds of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand, in 1950. Rationing during the war commenced around 1943 to enable sufficient produce from New Zealand to be shipped to Great Britain to aid with their food shortages (Baker, 1965b). However, Lambs' fry, and other offal, was coupon-free meat and thus readily available and promoted by the government ("Lower rations," 1945, 1 June). However, this low-status[15] but cheap and nutritious meat (Young, 2018) needed help getting from the farm to the plates of New Zealanders. Thus, the government enlisted help from the University of Otago's Home Science Extension Service, who were happy to oblige, and keenly offered the household cook a set of menus printed in the Evening Standard column, FOOD FOR BRITAIN:

> MENUS TO SAVE COUPONS
> This is the fourth of the series of weekly menus prepared by the Home Science Extension Service, University of Otago. As described in (previous menus, _ the following meals are suggested in an effort to help the housewife in coupon saving.
> THURSDAY.
> Breakfast: Lamb's fry and bacon. ("Food for britain," 1946, 18 May)

Other publishers also got on board with the diet changes and produced various cookbooks, such as *Stretching the Meat Ration* and *War-time Cooking Suggestions* (Veart, 2008), that were both still in circulation after World War II. Additionally, scarcity of supplies and domestic frugality would continue during the decade of postwar recovery as the nation grappled with rapid economic developments, a focus on the nuclear family and a trend towards conservative values (see Footnote 1), politics and materialism (M. King, 2003, p. 5277).

6.3.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

The ad, Let's Try LAMB'S FRY! (Figure 4) (Department of Health, 1950) promotes the consumption of lamb's fry (lamb liver) to a domestic audience: homemakers, small children, teenagers, and pregnant or lactating women (specifically mentioned in the text). It also offers health and safety information that eating lambs' liver does not cause Hydatid disease, which can be contracted from a parasite and can cause cysts on the liver (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2018).

The sizeable illustration and headline dominate 5/8th (or nearly 2/3rds) of the advertising space. The bottom 3/8th provides the reader with serving suggestions. The angled headline “Let's try LAMB'S FRY!” is right at the top and loudly announces the topic, followed by an illustration to support it and a block of copy. The picture depicts a woman holding a spoon and a palette knife as she cooks the lamb's fry. The headline and lines on the hands, palette knife and spoon are diagonals directing the viewers' gaze upwards from the frying pan to the top right hand and out of the page to an

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[15] The middle-class in Western countries viewed offal as a low-status food Edwards, N. (2013). *Offal : A global history*. Reaktion Books.

invisible cook, helping to unify the image. There is a dish with cut vegetables in the middle, and behind it are some whole vegetables: carrots, onions, and celery, along with the shadowing to the right (meaning the light comes from the top left) creates the illusion that the items are on a flat surface. The two figurative hands, separated, produce an internal space helping to define the three-dimensional illusion making the illustration realistic and relatable. The artistic shape and form choices are natural and realistic representations of foods and cooking equipment.

The lines denoting the outlines are fine and well-defined. The use of shading to create the illusion of the smooth surface texture of the frying pan and the vegetable dish helps produce a sense of veracity; these dishes appear authentic and photographically realistic. The frying pan and vegetable plate are visually shiny and appeal to a sense of order and cleanliness, as are the palette knife and spoon. The bacon and fat in the pan have a wavy pattern, providing a sense of motion and helping it resemble sizzling. Lastly, there is motion in the frying pan, but the hands holding the spoon and palette knife are motionless, yet in control as they demonstrate how to cook liver.

The illustration depicts a female hand holding the handle of a frying pan while cooking lamb's fry, suggesting the person taking care of the food is a woman. The hand in the image is prominent and appears smooth, indicating that the person is young, clean, and groomed - ideals of body image and social status valued in Western societies (Clarke, 2001; Featherstone, 1982, 2010; Hoy, 1996; Swami, 2015). The polished nails and the ring on the left finger a wedding ring. The portrayal of cooking as a nurturing activity in the image reinforces the stereotype of women as the primary caregivers and food cooks in the household.

Let’s try LAMB’S FRY! (Figure 4) uses various font types. The headline uses a classical bold serif font like Times New Roman or Baskerville. Most of the copy in this ad uses this classic font, but the pull quotes and numbered items are in a sans serif font like Helvetica or Calibri; a combination creating tension between old and new, established and modern, and formal and informal. As an example of this *tension*, the headline “Let's try LAMB'S FRY!” is stern, loud, and rhythmically sticky while the image caption “Why does the Daily Dietary Pattern recommend Liver once a week?” is contemporary resembling the font type used in the copy (text) of the Daily Dietary Pattern poster (Figure 5) – (see following page). The poster and matching pamphlet were issued by the DoH (New Zealand Department of Health, 1945-1960) and were in circulation from 1945 to 1960 clearly state in the bottom copy, next to number 2. to eat “MEAT OR FISH, A good serving. Liver once a week.”

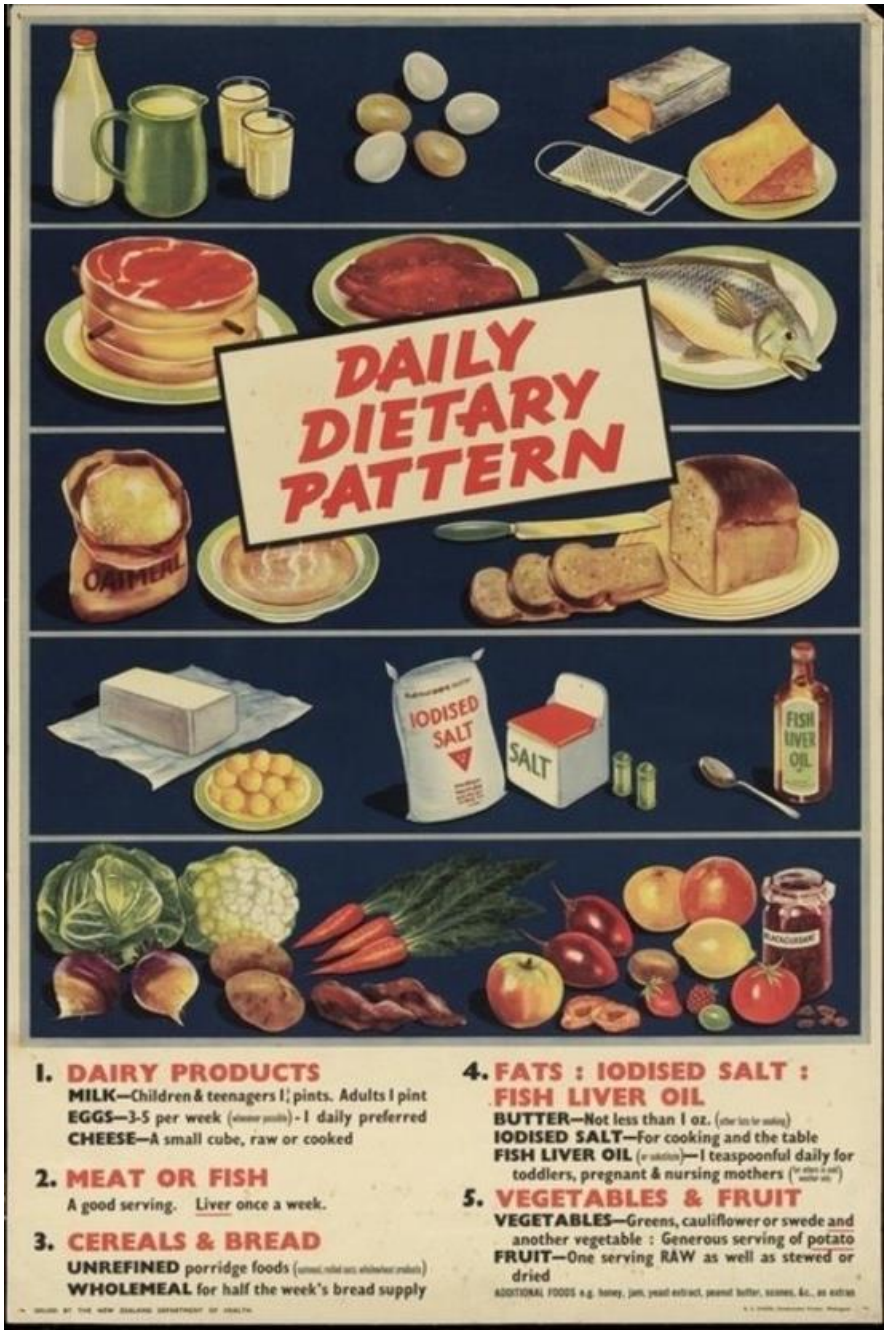


Figure 5. Daily Dietary Pattern (New Zealand Department of Health, 1945-1960)

The text-block list from *1. Fried* to *7. Liver Sausage* in Let's try LAMB'S FRY! (Figure 4) Attracts attention to the recipe and suggestions text, using bold and capital letters at the beginning of each sentence. The graphic layout maximises the space, leaving little negative space, creating a feeling of 'horror vacui' (in graphic design this term is often used to describe the filling of blank spaces rather than leaving spaces empty (Lidwell et al., 2003, p. 128; White, 2011) and achieving a full ad giving the impression that this is an important topic and there is much to say about it. However, the emphasis is on the imagery and the headline; it is evident and depicts clarity of intent. The advertiser is confident in the content, reinforcing their confidence as a government department. The headline is distinctive; the imagery underneath groups the items together, generating *Gestalt*

(Gestalt refers to cohesion in graphic design (Lidwell et al., 2010)) closure, sitting neatly above the bottom copy block that is justified on either side and fills the square space under the image.

The logo and masthead are at the top and bottom of the space providing an example of the change in the masthead and logo by the New Zealand DoH. The government changed from Labour to National and transformed the logo and the masthead accordingly in 1950 (Brooking, 2004, p. 135).

6.3.3 Phase 2. Discourse Component

Let's try LAMB'S FRY! (Figure 4) first calls the audience to try cooking lamb's fry (lamb's liver); advice that The Daily Dietary Pattern (Figure 5) has been advocating should occur once a week. The advertiser explains that it is a protective food, metaphorically *rich* in "growth factors and iron." Second, the ad promotes Lamb's fry as cheap meat coinciding with the country experiencing high food costs. Curiously, this stance is interesting as the government was controlling food prices. However, during the 1950s, Aotearoa New Zealand, was experiencing an economic boom due to the demand for wool by international uniform manufacturers to provide United Nations soldiers and sailors warm winter coats to fight in the Korean war (Brooking, 2004, p. 135).

The demand for wool increased the New Zealand flock. Numbers nearly doubled, rising from 33,975,000 in 1945 to 60,473,000 in 1968 (Carlyon, 2013, p. 601). Theoretically, this increase in sheep numbers also produced a substantial excess of offal and other cheaper cuts of lamb that were deemed unsuitable for export, prompting the government to push liver consumption. Lastly, it promotes the warning that humans do not get hydatids (Hydatid disease) from eating liver, a disease accidentally distributed through dog faeces. Hydatid disease was prevalent during the 1950s, but no cases have existed since 2002 (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2018). At the time, there was a common misunderstanding about cysts in the livers that were correlated with eating liver; this was a myth.

The general argument is that liver is healthy, cheap, and disease-free. The overall tone is more suggestive rather than prescriptive, more antecedent, and consequence than cause and effect. The ad suggests that *you* make healthy and economical food choices if you eat Lamb's fry. The mode of persuasion is mainly an appeal to reason and rhetorical logos; lamb's fry is healthy, easy to prepare, safe and economical. This appeal uses a statement of fact (claims it is healthy, safe, and economical) to support the suggestion of trying lamb's fry. Overall, the implication is; *if you care about your health, your family's health and are cost-conscious, you 'should' try lamb's fry*. Using the phrase "let us" in the headline suggests other people in the community or country might also try lambs fry. The desire to belong to a group is strong, and using this subtle persuasive form can be effective in advancing a sense of belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Specific information on the health aspects of liver consumption in the ad is sparse. Liver tops the meat list for its value as a protective food, as it is rich in growth factors and iron, but the advertiser does not explain growth factors and only states that iron is essential for blood formation. However, lamb's liver is *not* high in iron compared to pork or beef (Healthlink, 2019), which begs the question:

Did the government know this but promote lamb's fry regardless? If so, it implies that they are promoting preferred information rather than preferred information, such as beef and pork liver, that are also high in iron. Whether the government was concealing this purposively is unknown, as this information is unavailable.

By indicating that small children, teens, and pregnant and nursing mothers should be eating metaphorically "Iron-rich" foods, the subtext asks the mothers, homemakers in 1950 (Crotty, 1995; MacKay, 2021), if they are preparing and cooking iron-rich food for their families, or are they failing to achieve this dietary recommendation? It also endorses women as home cooks by featuring women's hands preparing the dish. These hands are white, conjecturing that the reader is likely *Pākehā*, young, slim (denoted by the slender hands) female and a homemaker. What surfaces here is a feminising attitude, a perspective that can manifest as the reinforcement of so-called *traditional* gender roles and stereotypes, particularly in areas related to caregiving, nurturing, and domestic responsibilities (Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Gann-Bociek & Harvey, 2020; Gill, 2007; Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2021; Kronenfeld, 2018; McCreanor, 2008; Ross, 2009). This bias can influence and impact public health campaigns and policies, affecting how certain health issues, especially those related to gender, are addressed.

The overall presupposition is the audience is not informed about the health qualities of iron. Therefore, the advertiser believes that the reader needs education for health purposes or because of their economic agenda. The other perspective observed is unity and conformance, as the ad encourages the country to try lamb's liver.

The choice of words and tone in a given context can reveal embedded ideologies. In this example, the headline uses the imperative style to launch the promotion. Oversized capital letters can make the words seem louder and more forceful while setting a slightly authoritative tone. The following phrases and alternatives highlight belief differences in tone and word choice. For example, the statement "Liver tops the meat list" could be *Liver is delicious,* communicating a more positive tone. Or "A protective food", inducing fear, could become *A nourishing food*, denoting comfort and calmness.

Let's try LAMB'S FRY! (Figure 4.) applied several standard rhetorical devices starting with assonance used in the title and rhetorical questions: "Have you realised how many ways there are of serving Lamb's Fry?" and "Why does the Daily Dietary Pattern recommend liver once a week*"?* And it applied enumerato, listing how to serve or prepare liver, and exemplum in "It is not true humans can get hydatids from eating liver" to explain hydatids.

6.3.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

A society accustomed to food advertising, with recipes or serving suggestions, would find the ad readily understandable. The cook's hands denoting a young woman are probably familiar, as are the types of food presented. However, the food and hands appear distinctly *European,* making this ad more familiar to *Pākehā*, to the exclusion of Māori. Regrettably, such ethnic preferencing in

advertising was not uncommon (Reid & Cram, 2005), demonstrating the in-group is *Pākehā* while contributing to advancing their cultural hegemony.

People are encouraged to try new foods by the values and attitudes expressed, but the ad does, however, still intend obedience. The phrases "for the small child, for the teen-age girl and boy" and "the pregnant and nursing mother", plus the hands illustrations, confirm the norm and expectations of women cooking and nurturing the family.

An emphasis on thrift was likely prevalent and commonplace (Baker, 1965b). Examples are the phrases "value as a protective food" and the "cheapest meat in these days of high food costs." The ad demonstrates this society emphasises food, cooking and nutrition education. It targets women, in particular, who were encouraged to re-fill the stereotypical role of female homemaker and nurturer after the Second World War (Brookes, 2016, p. 496). The layout also promotes linear thinking. First, it presents an idea or example; then, it offers instructions on achieving the desired outcome and the suggestions surmised cooks were competent at creating the dishes.

The close observation of Let's try LAMB'S FRY! (Figure 4.) reads as pedagogic, instructive, didactic, and possibly optimistic. The copy conveys a sense of responsibility, vulnerability and tenderness concerning the child's health and the pregnant and nursing mother. It alerts the reader to health and the economy but is not fearmongering. Instead, it possibly invoked anxiety around money, causing the reader to self-reflect, a technique well-used in health discourse (Lupton, 1993).

The marginalisation of liver as a meat product can be attributed to the emphasis of the meat industry on thrift and affordability that led to the prioritisation of prime cuts over offal (Edwards, 2013), a trend that relegated liver to a lower culinary status (Young, 2018). An alternative approach could have been to position liver as a gourmet delicacy, perhaps drawing inspiration from the French culinary tradition. In this scenario, if advertisers had promoted liver as a high-end and sophisticated ingredient, it may have enjoyed a more elevated reputation.

As noted above, the group identifies with the young white woman homemaker, orderliness, cleanliness, and the ability to follow guidelines. The in-group also prefers a willingness to *try* something new and learn about nutrition, home economics, or frugality. In contrast, the out-group is definable as; those people who are the opposite; they do not these values and do not identify as of European descent. Therefore, the inferred out-group is encouraged to join the in-group to eat liver, follow suggestions, cook food in a proper way and be economically mindful.

6.3.5 Phase 4: Social Component

As a reminder, the primary objective of this component is to explore the discourse production of groups, their covert influence and construction and maintenance of *dominance, focussing* on discourse production within the broader macro-level context, and exploring discursive elements related to authority, group dynamics, and structures (see Section 4.3.5). When the DoH ran this ad, Aotearoa New Zealand was just three years post-World War II and entering a prosperous period due to wool demand (M. King, 2003, p. 5537) (for the historical context, see Chapter 1). The newly

elected National government continued with the established public health promotion agenda. However, they did change the graphic design of the masthead and logo to one with a bold and contextually conservative appeal.

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand's government public health promotion, this nuanced examination reveals the presence of underlying hegemonic processes that subtly influence how public health messages are crafted and disseminated. Although the government had the ability to promote public health messages on topics such as nutrition, transportation, or safety, these messages contained biases and were rarely challenged. Importantly, this does not necessarily imply an authoritarian regime, as the democratic process holds the government accountable through elections. However, the analysis demonstrates how they encourage conformance and obedience to established norms and behaviours through their public health discourse, which implies societal expectations for individuals to adhere unquestionably to prescribed and normalising guidelines and regulations. While conformance and obedience can be essential for public health compliance, they are no doubt hegemonic tools and come at the cost of critical thinking and independent decision making.

Also revealing was how the DoH, under the guise of nutrition promotion, was free to promote domestic products to achieve economic goals; however, it can also be argued that the government assumed that the public had no knowledge of iron dietary that requires education and with no readily available reliable statistics, this could be considered prudent public health promotion. However, considering aspects of control, beneath the surface of this public health ad lie hegemonic group relations and structures that shape the discourse. One of the emerging salient hegemonic strategies seen in Choose Cheese! (Figure 3) and in Let's Try LAMBS's FRY! (Figure 4) is an overarching emphasis on economic considerations, commonly termed an *economic focus*, prioritising cost-effectiveness, resource allocation, and financial sustainability in public health initiatives (Ashton, 2001). Although economic considerations are undoubtedly important, as Ashton (2001) points out, focussing on them may inadvertently side-line other vital aspects of public health, potentially impacting the population's overall well-being. However, frugality and the *economic focus* were matched by the era's mood; New Zealand was emerging from a period of war necessitating rationing, austerity, and thrift (Graham, 1992, pp. 112-140).

The government encouraged thrift and informed New Zealanders of the cost of food, but while they appear to serve the citizen's health, the discourse analysis demonstrates they promote a specific national product instead. These unsurprising actions stem from social and economic protectionist policies (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2023a) enacted during the Labour government's term, 1935-1949 (Vowles & Roper, 1997). Such hegemonic actions demonstrate a tangible example of how the government used its privileged position, thus power, to promote an economic stratagem under the veneer of healthcare. However, this blurring of lines between public health objectives and economic interests raises ethical considerations. While stimulating the economy is undoubtedly essential for social well-being and prosperity, obfuscating economic strategies under

the guise of healthcare initiatives risks undermining public trust and transparency (Lupton, 1995). It introduces questions about prioritising economic goals over genuine healthcare concerns and potentially compromises the integrity of public health policies. Thus, while the government's efforts to stimulate the economy are understandable, ethical scrutiny is warranted to ensure that economic imperatives do not overshadow the primary ethical objective of safeguarding public health and promoting wellbeing.

In further consideration of group relations, the discourse reflects a Eurocentric perspective, prioritising or idealising European or Western cultural norms, values, and practices, revealing the demographic and ethnic preference for Pākehā over Māori or other minorities. Statistics show Māori, at the time, was under 7% of the total population of Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 1947-49); the rest was mainly of European descent. All advertisements of the sample, and indeed the corpus, do not mention 'kai' (the Māori word for food) nor depict Māori people or any aspects of their culture, for example, traditional food sources, practices, or difference in worldview (McPherson et al., 2003). Perhaps not surprising considering this demographic imbalance and the government programmes promoting a mixture of assimilation, integration, or separatism of Māori (Edwards & Moore, 2009; Salmond, 2017). Therefore, this analysis demonstrates racial discrimination through symbolic annihilation of unrepresented social groups (Coleman et al., 2008; Rathzel, 1997; Van Dijk, 1993a).

The veneration of the thin, white, and likely heterosexual, sensible, middle-class housewife emerges as pervasive discourse within the text under scrutiny. This idealised image serves as a standard to aspire to and reinforces and perpetuates the status quo of the dominant – patriarchal - group within society (Gurrieri, 2021; Miller, 2017). By idealising specific physical attributes, such as thinness and whiteness, and aligning them with characteristics deemed socially acceptable, such as sensibility and middle-class values, the discourse constructs a narrow and exclusionary standard of womanhood. This standard marginalises those who do not fit within its narrow confines and reinforces existing power structures that privilege specific social identities over others (Jobling et al., 2022; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011). It is thus, an important tool in the hegemonic toolbox. Furthermore, by centring on the heterosexual household as the epitome of social norms, the discourse excludes and marginalises non-heteronormative identities, further entrenching the hegemony of the dominant group.

6.4. Summary of Findings

The SCDA-method has proven effective in uncovering a comprehensive array of hegemonic norms, tools, and ideologies. This section summarises and reflects on the emergence of these processes across the four SCDA -method's phases, highlighting the critical findings of norms, tools and ideologies and how and what they were used for. Additionally, it incorporates linguistic and persuasion findings and the consequences for the relationship between the government and its citizens. Chapter 8 will elaborate on these findings.

6.4.1 Norms: Beauty Ideals, Gender Role Stereotyping, Ethnic Preferencing

The three ads analysed in this chapter share various visual and discursive elements, revealing a strategic approach of promoting food items and nutrition to a domestic audience. Designed for homemakers, the ads use illustrations and catchy headlines to capture attention and convey key messages. They address concerns or provide information on promoted food items, such as the nutritional value of vegetable water, the benefits of eating cheese, and the safety of eating lamb's fry. The women depicted in the ads conform to idealised domestic and middle-class stereotypes, evident in their body shapes, clothing, and even the portrayal of hands in the “Let's Try LAMBS' FRY!” (Section 6.3) advertisement.

Gender roles and stereotypes permeate the three advertisements, particularly in portraying women's food preparation and caregiving roles. Whether it is the depiction of women's hands cooking lamb's fry, the comical representation of Miss Cheese Head promoting cheese consumption, or the implication of homemakers and mothers in the discourse about vegetable water, gender narratives underscore these messages.

The analyses revealed a consistent pattern of ethnic preferencing, thus racial discrimination, with the ads predominantly targeting and representing the Pākehā population. They promoted white, Eurocentric imagery while symbolically annihilating marginalised groups, particularly Māori, reflecting and reinforcing broader societal inequalities and power imbalances in Aotearoa, New Zealand, during the post-World War II era.

6.4.2 Tools: Authoritarianism, Conformity, Persuasion

The ads use typography to convey authority, credibility, and emphasis. The everyday use of serif fonts contributes to a formal and authoritative tone. At the same time, bold and capitalised letters highlight key messages, such as “Use your TOOTHBRUSH”, and “There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk”, further emphasising their importance. Additionally, varying font sizes and styles help create a visual hierarchy and draw attention to specific information. For example, “FOOD FALLACIES” uses bold capitals for the headline, while sans serif fonts are used for additional information, enhancing readability and clarity. The language used in the ads, with imperatives like “Do not pour it down the drain!” and “Let us try LAMB'S FRY!” conveyed a sense of authority and expectation of obedience, reflecting social norms of conformity.

The graphic design of these advertisements plays a crucial role in capturing the audience's attention and conveying the intended message. Visual symbolism is observed through illustrations and imagery, such as the depiction of toothbrushes, milk bottles, and food items, reinforcing the ad's central messages. Clean and modern design elements enhance the practicality and relevance of the ads, reflecting mid- twentieth century aesthetics.

Additionally, the layout and composition of the ads create balance and visual appeal, with elements strategically placed to guide the viewer's eye and emphasise key points. Each ad uses persuasive strategies and a variety of rhetorical devices to engage the audience and communicate its

message effectively. From imperative language and appeals to reason to the use of hyperbole and rhetorical questions, these ads leverage linguistic techniques to persuade readers to adopt the recommended food choices.

In addition to the visual and linguistic strategies employed, these advertisements can also be understood through the lens of biopower**.** The use of typography, imperatives, and visual hierarchies reflects more than just design choices; they operate as tools of governance that seek to regulate individuals' bodies and behaviours. The bold, capitalised messages—such as "Use your TOOTHBRUSH" and "There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk"—do not merely inform but instruct, positioning the state as an authority over personal health decisions and public hygiene.

Through this messaging, the advertisements exert a subtle form of biopower by linking personal health practices to broader societal benefits, effectively encouraging citizens to conform to state-sanctioned behaviours. The use of imperatives and authoritative language exemplifies how the state seeks to normalise specific health practices, framing them not as optional but as necessary for maintaining both individual well-being and societal order. In this way, the ads function as mechanisms of social control, aligning with Foucault's notion that biopower operates through the regulation of bodies and populations to ensure the "health" of the nation (see Section 2.2.2). These visual and rhetorical strategies, when viewed through the framework of biopower, reveal how the state exercises control over citizens' dietary choices and hygiene practices, reinforcing its authority under the guise of public health promotion.

6.4.3 Ideologies: Nationalism, Economic Focus, Patriarchy, Individualism and Meritocracy

The social components of the analyses revealed the complex interplay of power, ideology, and representation in shaping public health discourse and social attitudes during the 1950s. First, they highlighted the influence of elite institutions, such as the government and the dairy industry, on shaping public health messages and promoting their norms and values of paternalism, conservatism, and authoritarianism through the *influential voices* of Mabel Howard (Minister of Health) and Dr Muriel Bell, the state nutritionist introduced in Chapter 3. These institutions wielded significant authority and control over public spaces and media platforms, allowing them to disseminate their values unchallenged and shape public perceptions, thus reinforcing hegemonic ideas.

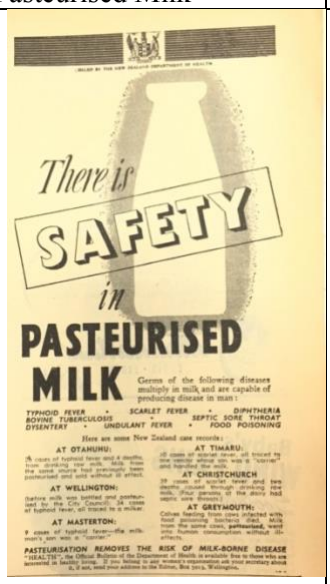
All three ads displayed elements of *nationalism*. They advocated for specific home-grown food choices, positioning them as valuable, nutritious, and essential for various demographic groups. Whether it is promoting the value of vegetable water for children's growth and health, advocating for cheese consumption as a protein-rich and versatile option for all ages, or endorsing lamb's fry as a protective food rich in growth factors and iron, each ad emphasises the benefits of its respective food product.

Additionally, they consistently demonstrated an *economic focus* highlighting the cost-effectiveness of the promoted food items and positioning them as economical choices for consumers/households. Such discourse reflects the socioeconomic context of the postwar period in

Aotearoa New Zealand, where there was a focus on domestic produce and cost-conscious consumption due to economic constraints (as explained). Phrases such as “Vegetables are expensive, why permit money to be tipped down the sink...” underscore the social values of thrift and frugality, urging readers to make economic choices.

Chapter Seven: Analysis Part Three: The 1950s

Continuing, this chapter will analyse the artefacts published in the 1950s (see below) placed by the Department of Health (DoH) during a national party government. They cover topics such as dental care, food safety and milk pasteurisation, food value misinformation, and adolescent nutrition.

Overview advertisements Chapter Seven			
Use your TOOTHBRUSH	There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk	FOOD FALLACIES	Meals for Teen-agers
			

7.1 Analysis 4: NZL36 Use Your TOOTHBRUSH

Figure 6. Image 36 NZL36 'Use your TOOTHBRUSH'

7.1.1 Context

Research considers dental health and nutrition to be inexorably linked (American Dental Association, n.d.; Brooking, 1980; Heilmann & Watt, 2017; Hunter, 1921; Moffat et al., 2017; Rugg-Gunn, 1993). Oral health, diet, and nutrition exhibit a bidirectional relationship, as exemplified by the association between sugar consumption and the increased risk of tooth decay (dental caries), as well as the link between dental diseases (gum disease, dental erosion, and oral cancer) and the development of heart disease (American Dental Association (n.d.); Royal Society Te Aparangi (2022); Brody (2021). Globally, sugar production and intake has increased significantly during the twentieth century (Petrick, 2012), resulting in a dramatic rise in dental caries (cavities), and is considered a notable public health concern (Rugg-Gunn, 1993). Consequently, this high sugar intake and poor dental hygiene outcomes challenged the dental health of New Zealanders in 1953 (Bailey & Earle, 1993).

Refined sugar in Aotearoa New Zealand was a luxury a century ago and was expensive throughout the early European settler/colonisation era: 1769-1914 (Belich, 1996, 2001; M. King, 2003; O'Malley & Kidman, 2018). Consequently, according to Burton (2009, p. 43), many early European settlers learned from Māori how to extract brown sugar crystals from the pith of cabbage trees until refined sugar imports increased and the price reduced.

After many years of importing sugar, demand led to the establishment of the Chelsea Sugar Refinery in 1884 (Chelsea, 2022). By the 1950s, refined sugar in Aotearoa, New Zealand, had transitioned from a nineteenth century luxury item to a prevalent household commodity. Its primary use was for home baking, confectionery production and preservation of fruits. Consequently, it played a substantial role in shaping the national morning and afternoon tea tradition, where home baking became a customary offering for guests (Burton, 2009).

Reports on sugar consumption in New Zealand during the early twentieth century highlighted notably high levels, exceeding what the League of Nations (now recognised as the United Nations) deemed safe for that era (Bailey & Earle, 1993, p. 254). As sugar intake remained higher than desirable and of concern (Brooking, 1980; Cutress & Hunter, 1992), the DoH advanced the school dental nurse programme (Brooking, 1980; Moffat et al., 2017) and ran a series of oral health publications from the 1940s onwards encouraging good oral health practices, such as teeth brushing and promoting nutritional foods, as is exemplified in the following posters (New Zealand Department of Health, 1950):

Figure 7. Dental Health is in Your Hands
Figure 8. Clean Your Teeth For Dental Health
Figure 9. For Snow White Teeth Use Your Toothbrush After Each Meal

Currently (anno 2024), although optimal dental health remains a goal that has yet to be fully realised, there has been noticeable progress in the general population, although accompanied by socioeconomic disparities (Chen & Hunter, 1996; Colquhoun, 1987; Mejia et al., 2018; Moffat et al., 2017). Several factors contributed to this progress including the school dental programme, the widespread use of toothbrushes, the implementation of water fluoridation, increased public health awareness, various public health interventions, and an overall reduction in sugar consumption (Cutress & Hunter, 1992).

7.1.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

Use your TOOTHBRUSH (Figure 6) (Department of Health, 1953) ran in *The Listener* by the DoH in February 1953. It focusses on using toothbrushes while promoting good oral health habits by depicting a white toothbrush with the head emphasised by a dark black circle facing a black toothbrush.

Two oversized toothbrushes facing each other, crowned by the headline “Use your TOOTHBRUSH”, introduce the subject. The ad divides into thirds; the top third contains the headline surrounded by whitespace, while the lower two-thirds show the illustration and the copy side-by-side. In between the toothbrush is what resembles a pull quote attracting attention and denoting significance. The two toothbrushes and the crowning headline are the most prevalent on the page. The straight lines of the illustration and the brushes at the top lead the reader's eye upward to the headline, accentuating the word “toothbrush.” The message leaves the reader in no doubt about brushing teeth and using a toothbrush wisely.

The use of shading in the artwork of the toothbrushes creates a sense of authenticity and realism, making them appear more lifelike. The clean geometric lines of the toothbrushes, the dark circle, and their upright positions provide a sense of orderliness and clarity that helps the reader easily grasp the instruction. Additionally, the *stiff* stance of the two toothbrushes facing each other, standing

tall and balanced in time and space, gives a sense of timelessness, while the clean and modern style of the artwork reinforces the practicality of the objects, presenting them as the most valuable items in the ad. Finally, the toothbrushes hover in a pure white space, emphasising their importance and utility.

The ad maintains a balanced and clean aesthetic, highlighting the importance of maintaining oral hygiene through toothbrushing. The choice of classical serif-type fonts contributes to a sense of formality often associated with formal and news writing, thereby underscoring the significance of the message. The headline "Use your TOOTHBRUSH" uses uppercase letters for added emphasis, while the visual element of a line between the two toothbrushes reinforces the message of brushing twice a day. Despite the relatively small type size, the copy plays a significant role in this ad, raising the question of whether it would be thoroughly read. However, the first paragraph directly addresses the advantages of different toothbrush types, accompanied by a strong imperative for readers to possess two brushes, and it continues with instructions on proper toothbrushing techniques.

7.1.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component

The headline/punchline uses the imperative and rule of three to command the action "Use your TOOTHBRUSH." The byline tells the reader when to do this, immediately after meals – particularly after breakfast and before bed. The copy on the right is in two parts, Text A and Text B. For ease of legibility the texts have been transposed:

> Text A:
> A good type of brush has a straight handle with a short head and bristles or tufts of the same length. These brushes are more efficient and easier to use.
> A short-headed brush can be used freely right inside the mouth. Have two brushes, one for morning – one for evening.
>
> Text B:
> To dislodge food particles from between the teeth brush *parallel* to the length of the teeth – not across.
> With children the main use of the brush is to remove food sticking to the teeth.
> With adults the problem is to keep the gums healthy as well as keeping the teeth clean, so make sure the gums are included in your daily brushing.
> To Parents: Young children usually require supervision in cleaning their teeth and even the teen-agers need supervision from time to time. Mouth health is a co-operative effort between dentist and patient. Skilled dental treatment at a surgery is valueless unless supplemented by adequate mouth care in the home, so brush your teeth the right way and at the right time.

Text A advises on toothbrushes, while Text B uses an ethical appeal (rhetorical ethos) to persuade readers why and how they should brush their teeth. To convince readers that using a toothbrush is valuable, the advertiser uses reasoning, thus logos. To this end, the advertiser draws on the credibility of dentists to support the explanation. The copy states, "Mouth health is a cooperative effort between *dentist* and patient" and "Skilled *dental treatment* at a surgery." The words "skilled" and "surgery" indicate oral health expertise, and the word "dentist" is found at the bottom part of the page in the byline "Use the tooth brushing method your Dentist recommends." The government can thus reinforce its *demand* to use a toothbrush by exploiting the social status of dentists.

The rhetorical topic is a *light* form of cause and effect, cost and benefit. The ad does not make a case for why dental health is essential. Instead, it focusses on how to use a toothbrush rather than why you should use it. Presupposing, readers of this text were already familiar with oral health practices and their benefits. However, it makes the case that brushing cleans teeth and keeps gums healthy, which the audience should know about; thus, the ad focusses on toothbrush use as a component of good oral health.

The government asserts that "Mouth health is a cooperative effort between dentist and patient,", an assertion the reader may have taken at face value and is commonplace in public health advertising; the reader, after all, has to take advice from someone; the government must inform its citizens of the benefits of evidence-based health advice (Baum, 2015, p. 2670). Over time, the knowledge becomes normalised and mainstream. The call-to-action "Use your TOOTHBRUSH" is strengthened by its imperative, authoritative style and tone.

The grammatical technique is formal, instructive and didactic, and as rhetorical style (grammatical) choices reveal hegemonic processes (Corbett & Connors, 1990; Foss, 2017; Johnstone & Eisenhart, 2008), exploring alternatives can offer insights into the current and different values and assumptions. For example, a society valuing a communitarian or social learning approach (see Chapter 2) might promote, "Thank you for brushing your teeth!" versus the values of patriarchy, thus male authority and social conformity, as seen in the imperative statement "Use your TOOTHBRUSH"

The primary presupposition is that readers belong to the group of health-conscious, caring, and informed New Zealanders. They have oral health education; they just need reminding about toothbrush use. However, as the ad addresses the public, it reinforces the values of the dominant social group polarising those who share these values, *Us* against *Them*, and those who do not. Therefore, even though this ad reminds us about toothbrushes, it is a positive self-presentation of a group. For example, it is possible to imagine how members of the in-group might proudly display toothbrushes on a bathroom shelf, denoting how they care about oral health and signalling a belonging to a particular dominant or high-status group.

Displaying the humble toothbrush to denote status, or group membership, may seem trivial, but social identity (see Chapter 2) *is* complex and rife with symbolistic objects, even toothbrushes, that hold cultural values and project socioeconomic/class status, and thus group belonging (Goffman, 1951, 2021; Hall, 2006; Hall, 2020). S. Carter et al. (2013) discuss how the use of electric toothbrushes signifies transformations in the interplay between health, identity, and consumerism within contemporary society, particularly in the late modern era. In this context, health promotion has become intricately linked with consumption and the construction of personal identity, but, as this analysis reveals, this is not a recent development. Furthermore, optimal oral health, characterised by bright and shiny white teeth and healthy gums, often symbolises indicators of health, wealth, and educational attainment (Adler et al., 1994; Adler & Ostrove, 1999; Mejia et al., 2018). In Aotearoa New Zealand, professional dental care is known to be costly; consequently, having healthy teeth

might function as a social status symbol, as it is a privilege limited to financially privileged individuals aged 18 years and older who can afford such care (Chen & Hunter, 1996; Mejia et al., 2018).

The perspective presented here is that the government is responsible for emphasising the advantages of maintaining good oral health among its citizens. By aligning itself with dentists in this text, the government can enhance its credibility and earn the audience's respect. The analysis reveals that the government places significant value on education, professionalism, and compliance rather than complacency, an approach reinforcing the significance of adhering to routines while promoting the desired norms that the government aims to strengthen and encourage, providing another example of biopower.

7.1.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

Prior oral health knowledge was an assumption the advertiser made, and therefore, the intention of the text “Mouth health is a cooperative effort between dentist and patient. Skilled dental treatment at a (dental) surgery is valueless unless supplemented by adequate mouth care in the home, so brush your teeth the right way and at the right time” serves to remind the reader how to use a toothbrush. Overall, the advertiser aims to advocate for oral health simplification by endorsing the notion that effective individual dental care can enhance one's oral well-being. As mentioned earlier, this society places a premium on values such as well-being, professionalism, individualism, and conformity. Consequently, it anticipates that the reader will readily embrace this uncomplicated, fear-driven oral health counsel (Gagnon et al., 2010; Guttman & Salmon, 2004; Mongeau, 2012). Nevertheless, historical records reveal a more nuanced understanding that dental health is not as straightforward as portrayed; rather, it is intricately and closely linked to factors like nutrition, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and environment (Dow, 1995). Therefore, the implication that optimal oral health can be achieved solely through brushing was an oversimplification, albeit not discounting the role of toothbrushing as a component of good dental health. The advertiser's message tends to convey a simplistic cause-and-effect strategy.

From a contemporary perspective, the correlation between social determinants and health is now better understood and adopted in public health (see Chapter 3). Oral health thus, is understood to be influenced by various ecological, economic, social, genetic, and psychological factors, including an individual's body shape or size (Chen & Hunter, 1996; Hunter, 1921; Mejia et al., 2018; Rugg-Gunn, 1993), furthermore, poor oral health can negatively impact relationships, work opportunities and be socially stigmatising (Mejia et al., 2018).

The text and imagery appear impassionate and emotionally bland. For example, the phrase, “With adults the problem is to keep the gums healthy as well as keeping the teeth clean, so make sure the gums are included in your daily brushing”, reads dogmatic, without nuance and rather dull with the advertiser displaying a sense of calm throughout the pragmatic and didactic text. Additionally, the

advertiser appears confident in their position as the agency charged with this responsibility while projecting a parental attitude.

"With children or with adults" provides an example of the educational and instructional style while remaining polite and respectful, a rhetorical strategy, as discussed by Fairclough (1992, pp. 162-166). The politeness strategy helps advertisers avoid potentially offensive topics by generating sympathy, solidarity, or respect; however, as Kress (2009) submits, politeness also embodies social and power relations. Thus, paying attention to its use helps to gain insight into the social relationships between producers and audiences.

The advertiser conveys a tone similar to that of a disheartened and let-down parent or caregiver. Once again, they are in the position of having to emphasise the importance of oral health, using the sentence "Expert dental care in a clinic is of little value without proper home care, so remember to brush your teeth correctly and at the appropriate times." Although the advertiser maintains a practical tone overall, this concluding statement strategically uses feelings of guilt as a means to convince their audience. Strategically using *guilt*, though conventional, is considered ethically questionable from the standpoint of contemporary public health standards. (Carter et al., 2012; Carter et al., 2011; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Guttman & Salmon, 2004; Jovanovski, 2017; Kass, 2001; Rossi & Yudell, 2012).

7.1.5 Phase 4: Social Component

The Department of Health advertised how to use toothbrushes in 1953. Its goal was to provide public health information to convince the public about the value of brushing their teeth. The link between oral hygiene and nutrition (mainly sugar) was understood at the time and public health intervention was deemed justified (Fischman, 1997). However, achieving good public health oral hygiene was a challenge for many countries, including Aotearoa, New Zealand, in the early twentieth century (Cutress & Hunter, 1992; Moffat et al., 2017; New Zealand Department of Health, 1950). In particular, as mentioned in the context section of this analysis (7.1.1), an increase in sugar consumption was correlated with an increase in dental caries (Bailey & Earle, 1993; Rugg-Gunn, 1993), which warrants public health interventions such as this ad.

Use your TOOTHBRUSH (Figure 6) reminds the public to use a toothbrush; twice a day and offers advice on the recommended toothbrush type explaining the different reasons to brush teeth for children and adults while advising on the benefits of visiting a dentist and adhering to their advice. The ad appears in a time when the previous Labour government was establishing many of the social welfare health systems New Zealanders still enjoy today (Baker, 1965b; Dow, 1995; M. King, 2003). However, oral health was seen separately from general health, and Labour did not introduce free dental health. However, the Labour government did expand the school dental health system, started in 1919, to include adolescents (Maclean, 1964, p. 24), a heavily subsided scheme advantaging dentists (Brooking, 1980; 2004, pp. 119-142). Therefore, the promotion of the humble toothbrush benefitted the public and economically advanced retailers and dentists in private practice.

With enthusiasm and support from the Minister of Health, James Alexander Young, who trained as a dentist, the school dental service grew steadily with widespread demand for school dental clinics, however as Dow (1995, p. 107) and Maclean (1964, p. 26) explain, not only was dentistry endorsed, the profession was also gendered. Women were considered more suited to dealing with children during and after school; therefore, they made up the dental nurse force. At the same time, their male counterparts could practice dentistry under the assurance of the Minister of Health, who stated that women would "Not be able to practice, except under the Education Department" (Brookes, 2016, p. 393). Such gender division reflected the patriarchal gender ordering/social stratification observed within the field of dentistry, where women were predominantly relegated to auxiliary roles while men held positions of authority and practice autonomy. The phrase "Use the method of tooth brushing your dentist recommends" demonstrates support for dentists rather than dental nurses and emphasises dentists by capitalising the word "dentist." The phrase, "Skilled dental treatment at a surgery" elevates the dentist's status by association with the words "skilled" and "surgery", denoting a high level of training, imbuing class and status in this ad.

In summary, the Department of Health, with significant knowledge of the dental profession, health education, and control over *The Listener* leveraged this opportunity to not only inform the public but reinforce the era's gender roles (men in vocational positions with higher status and opportunities than women). These hegemonic actions generated and perpetuated the high-status *male* dental profession while simultaneously emphasising the importance of individual agency in public health promotion (Germov & Williams, 2004a; Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008, p. 41).

7.2 Analysis 5: NZL22 There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk

Figure 10. Image 22 NZL22 'There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk'

7.2.1 Context

The New Zealand DoH placed the public nutrition ad There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk (Figure 10) in *The New Zealand Listener* in April 1951 (Department of Health, 1951b). The ad aims to inform and educate on the benefits of drinking pasteurised cow's milk versus unpasteurised, unprocessed raw milk. It takes up a half page featuring the large word "safety" over the background of a milk bottle illustration, and the text copy highlights the bold words "Pasteurised Milk."

Unpasteurised, unprocessed raw milk is fresh cow's milk that can become contaminated with bacterium and is associated with spreading the following diseases: typhoid fever, scarlet fever, diphtheria, bovine tuberculosis, septic sore throat, dysentery, undulant fever, food poisoning and more (Center for Disease Control, 2022). Drinking raw milk was common practice among New Zealanders until around 1937 and selling it was banned commercially in 1953 (Bailey & Earle, 1993)[16].

The most common disease spread by drinking or processing raw milk was Tuberculosis, which was, in the earlier half of the twentieth century, considered a severe threat to the public's health (Maclean, 1964, p. 360). Tuberculosis was the leading cause of death among early Pākehā. Although mortality statistics are lacking, anecdotal evidence and Turbott's publication *Tuberculosis in the Maori, East Coast, New Zealand* (1935) show that it was also considered rife among Māori too (Belich, 2001, p. 469; Ford, 2013; Harris, 1952; M. King, 2003, p. 2927; Maclean, 1964, p. 210).

Raw milk must be either sterilised or pasteurised to combat the contamination problem. Heating food, boiling and sterilising as preservation methods, and food safety are well understood and according to food historians have been practised for centuries (Deutsch, 2012; Joardder & Masud, 2019; Toussaint-Samat, 2009). These methods kill all the spoilage organisms (or other products, for example, wine) however, they also alter the attributes (taste, texture, smell) of the food. Pasteurising, however, is a particular heating process that kills the pathogens without damaging the food's attributes, rendering the food more desirable and safer (Holsinger et al., 1997). Pioneered by Louis Pasteur in the late nineteenth century, this food preservation method produces safe milk to drink and process into other dairy products (Toussaint-Samat, 2009). Consequently, pasteurisation became widely accepted as a leading dairy manufacturing and safety method over the following decades, leading to food production regulations in the USA in 1924 (Juffs & Deeth, 2007) and soon after (1930s) in Aotearoa New Zealand. Tuberculous, diseases and their connection to unprocessed raw milk was common knowledge prior to and during the era of study (1948-1960) (Ford, 2013). Public health promotion on this topic was widespread, as exemplified by the 1946 DoH ad "Play safe with pasteurised milk!"

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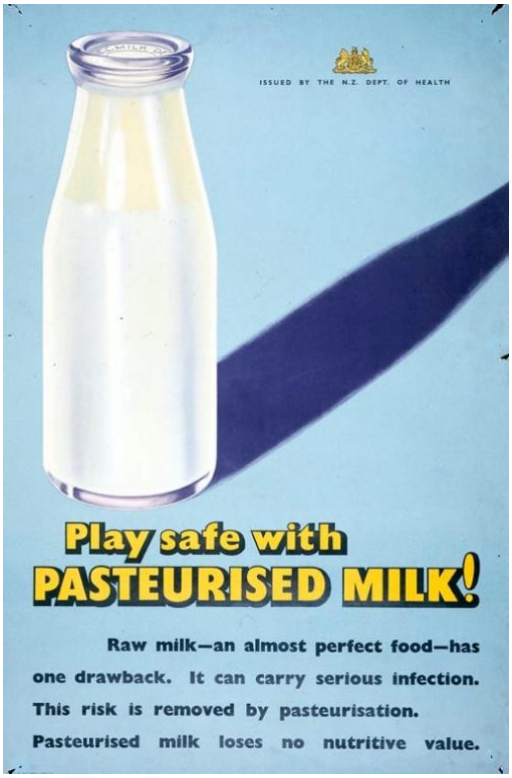
[16] Indeed, as a child growing up in Galatea a farming community in the Bay of Plenty, I remember walking to the neighbour's property to collect milk in the late 1960s. An everyday activity in our rural community.



CREDIT: New Zealand. Department of Health: Play safe with pasteurised milk! Raw milk - New Zealand. Department of Health. New Zealand. Department of Health: Play safe with pasteurised milk! Raw milk - an almost perfect food - has one drawback. It can carry serious infection. Pasteurised milk loses no nutritive value.

Figure 11. Play safe with pasteurised milk!

7.2.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk is divided into two. The top half contains the milk bottle and the graphically shadowed all-caps word “safety”, while the lower half holds the words “Pasteurised milk.” The copy is divided into sections creating a foundation for the words and the milk bottle. The ad uses a half-page in *The Listener*; the dominant visual on the page is the word “safety.” It is unmistakable as it features boldly in the top half foregrounding a transparent milk bottle. A linear black rectangle encapsulates the bottle as though it was stamped on the page, a design technique connoting importance and urgency as it encourages the viewers' eyes upward to the top left. Moreover, it features in the top fifty per cent of the advertising space, and the milk bottle stands upon the word “pasteurised”, leaving no doubt about the connection. The negative space around the top half leads to the extra emphasis on the word “safety”, as it is in the foreground. The milk bottle looms large in the background, and the shadowing helps emphasise its importance in generating a more organic shape against the rectilinear shape in the foreground, connoting milk's organic aspect in an industrial vessel.

The forms in this ad are geometrical, linear, and inorganic. The rectangle is geometrical, emphasising structure and stability; the positioning of the text block is linear, helping organise the text for the reader, while the *fluffy* shadow surrounding the milk bottle supports its organic aspect. The dark shadow around it accentuates the whiteness of the bottles’ soft-edged and curvy contents denoting femininity (Branscombe & Baron, 2022; Fields, 2016; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988) and

nurturing while also appearing solid, assisting the milk to appear the good guy, a product you can trust. If, of course, it is pasteurised.

The different fonts, shapes and shadows generate distinctions between the various competing aspects of the ad. For example, the words “Pasteurised” are in a sans-serif font, black and bold. The dark and severe tone contrasts with the soft-designed bottle, the sizeable and texturally shadowed word *“*safety*”*, and the italicised words “There is” and “in.” The milk bottle image helps distract from the fact that this is a serious and informative public health announcement, and the nebulous design ensures the viewer is not distracted from the central message; to only drink pasteurised milk.

The ad has an asymmetrical alignment, with headlines that do not align with the left or middle margins. Additionally, the off-centre milk bottle contributes to a bottom-heavy feel due to the density of the text block. Although the top half of the ad displays some well-considered graphic design elements, the lower section appears to have been hastily put together, with a crowded block of text that seems like an afterthought. Through this incoherence, the persuasiveness of the ad may be negatively impacted; nevertheless, it does appear to do the simple job of conveying the message that pasteurised milk is safe.

7.2.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component

Safety in Pasteurised Milk presupposes that the reader belongs to a general milk-drinking audience. However, since milk consumption was commonplace, this ad would be deemed warranted by the public in its attempt to warn consumers and producers alike to avoid raw milk and only drink (or produce) pasteurised, and thus, safe milk. From this perspective, the message generates awareness of health and safety while leveraging the government’s caretaker role.

The government applies rhetorical logos (appeal to reason) to persuade the reader by explaining that pasteurised milk is safer than raw milk. They use testimony and past facts, for example, “Before milk was bottled and pasteurised by the city council, 34 cases of typhoid fever, all traced to a milker” to strengthen their argument. As mentioned earlier, there is sufficient evidence to link the diseases noted in the ad to the consumption of raw milk. The public health field considers pasteurisation one of the most successful methods of destroying harmful bacteria and thus containing diseases (Williams, 1998, p. 396). The syllogism is that raw milk contains diseases that cause death; drinking raw milk *could* kill you. The rhetorical topic demonstrates the relationship between cause and effect; drinking raw milk risks your health.

The cases in the lower copy may be factual, but it is hard to be sure. They could be considered anecdotal fallacies, for example, “26 cases of typhoid fever and 4 deaths from drinking raw milk. Milk from the same source had previously been pasteurised and sold without ill effect.” The inference is causation (that these diseases are caused by raw milk consumption), but there is only a correlation. The other examples offer contact tracing (a public health strategy to trace the origin of a disease outbreak (Brandt, 2022)) as a justification for their reasoning, and although they may be correct, the reader does not have the means to fact-check these claims. The DoH obfuscates the many

cases of the mentioned illnesses that had nothing to do with the consumption of raw milk. Thus, using anecdotal evidence, they attempted to strengthen their case, positively reinforcing their position of authority while concealing any other evidence. However, in an era abounding with snake oil advertising and wonderfully elaborate false health claims (Busby & Leichty, 1993; Goldberg, 1992; Moore et al., 1992), advertising using anecdotes can normalise this sort of rhetorical argument; laying the groundwork for the normalisation of misinformation.

The text style is formal and specific, educational and informational, as was commonplace in the era, and contains the aphorisms, "There is safety in pasteurised milk, Germs of the following diseases multiply in milk and are capable of producing disease in man[17]" and, "Pasteurisation removes the risk of milk-borne disease." Due to the considerable amount of copy, the text can be scanned for common nouns used, generating an understanding of the importance and emphasis within the ad. The most common nouns found were: deaths x 2, milk x 9, raw milk x 2, pasteurised x 4, disease x 3, fever x 8 and 'carrier' x 2. Milk and fever were mentioned the most frequently, lending strength to the argument and government perspective that raw milk drinking and fever are related.

The textual analysis reveals specific implications by emphasising 'undesirable' behaviour. The milkman and his son's actions in Timaru were irresponsible; they sold raw milk, and ten cases of scarlet fever were traced to them, leading to the inference that responsible vendors and consumers follow the rules in the ad, while irresponsible ones do not. Such *shame and blame* language emphasise the government and health department's power and disparages raw-milk producers who have possibly not pasteurised their milk out of obliviousness or non-compliance.

7.2.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

Shared knowledge is required to understand this message about pasteurised milk and safety, however, as noted, governments use knowledge as a power source in public health promotion. I will, therefore. first examine this aspect. In this text, the government uses illness statistics to gain trust, show power and educate the public on the consequences of consuming raw milk. The government presupposes people will already know what pasteurisation and the various diseases are, and they will know about germs and the value of drinking safe milk. Again, as previously noted, this generates a *class* gulf between people who are healthy, educated and trustworthy, and those who are not healthy, being ignorant, uneducated, or just *plain stupid* as the ad portrays the milkman's son. Such portrayal paves the way for negative stereotyping, indicating that the advertiser positively values sensible, educated, and well-informed people, likely privileged Pākehā. A set of values contributing to class division, racism, and perhaps also healthism (Jenkins, 2014; Roberts & Leonard, 2016).

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[17] 'Man' refers to all humans but is considered sexist. Cambridge Dictionary. (2023). Man, mankind or people? In *Cambridge dictionary | English dictionary, translations & thesaurus*. Retrieved 2023, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/grammar/british-grammar/man-mankind-or-people

The underlying beliefs of this society appear to be patriarchal; those that value people who are conforming, following rules, being compliant, paternalistic, but also pragmatic, and, above all, sensible. The reader could emulate these hegemonic constr by adhering to the message by staying safe and drinking only pasteurised milk. Additionally, this society values science and evidence in health, even though the cases presented were likely anecdotal. For example, Maclean (1964) discusses outbreaks of Typhoid fever connected with milk, water, and shellfish and the attempts of local health authorities to trace the origins of disease occurrences. On perusal of this chapter and the outbreaks presented, most cases appear correlational. For example, the evidence that the medical officer attending to the Kaikoura Typhoid outbreak in 1947 provided contains the phrase "the presumptive evidence, therefore, that this milk was the vehicle of infection is very strong" (Maclean, 1964, p. 256). Indeed, many cases present strong correlations; nevertheless, with the technology available to these medical officers, most cases would remain correlational.

Through the previous expressions of authority and knowledge, the ad demonstrates a government valuing compliance and does not hesitate to shame those who are non-compliant; a superior, hegemonic stance generates in-groups and out-groups, i.e., the in-group drinks pasteurised milk. The in-group thus is seen as educated, sensible and following government advice, while the out-group drinks raw milk and is uneducated and deemed foolhardy.

Emotionally, this ad applies the widely used public health pathos, fear (Gagnon et al., 2010). It intends to gain attention and achieve public compliance. The implication is that for *man* (all humans) to be safe from disease, he should only drink pasteurised milk. For example, using the word "carriers" is scaremongering and potentially damaging to farmers who have let their children "handle the milk." As mentioned, the ad is disparaging as it demonstrates contempt for those who have supplied the raw milk, potentially stigmatising producers and uninformed consumers.

7.2.5 Phase 4: Social Component

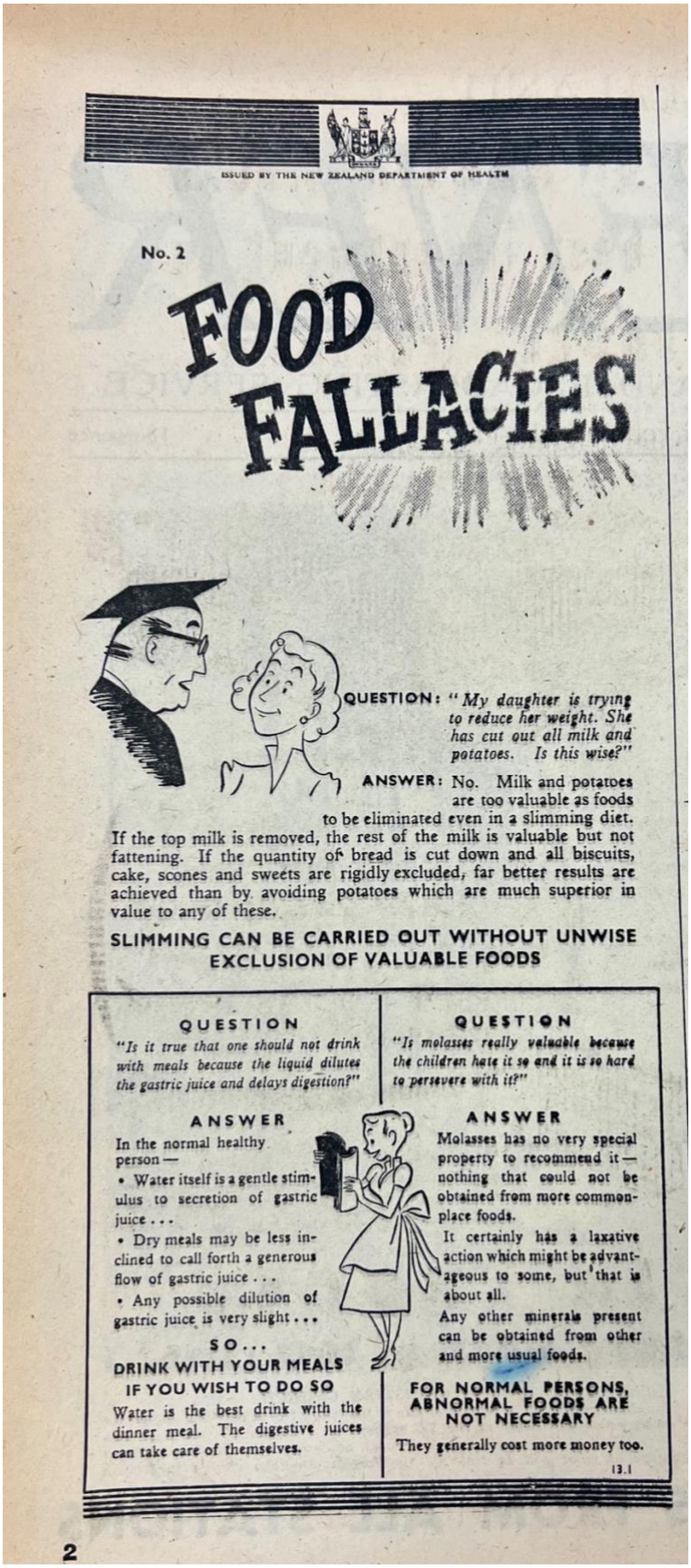
The ad, There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk (Figure 10) was printed in 1951. With unfettered access to *The Listener*, the DoH affirmed their authority and knowledge (see Section 2.1.4) on epidemiology to warn the public about the health dangers of drinking raw milk in their ambit to create *A Healthier Nation*. The government, with the support of the state nutritionist, Dr Bell, reinforced the health warning and asserted its economic power by providing free *pasteurised full cream* milk to all primary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, until 1967 (Brown, 2019; Dow, 1995; Mein Smith, 1998, 2011; New Zealand Milk Board, 1978; Woodward & Blakely, 2014). The state took this opportunity to combine nationalistic values and economic interests with public health goals, providing an example of multiple groups using access to the mass media, to sources of influence, and of power to achieve their goals, with each group legitimating their position.

The ad uses a fear-based approach of scaremongering, shaming and blaming to achieve said goals, a rhetorical tactic often used in public health communications during this era (1950s) and, as Gagnon et al. (2010) and other scholars (see Section 4.2.2) point out, it is still the most common

rhetorical style in public health messaging. In this instance, this top-down, fear-based approach reinforces group relations, where the government is the elite group with authority and access to science and is supported by the state nutritionist and popular radio broadcaster Dr Muriel Bell as discussed in Chapter 3.

The dairy industry, of significant importance to the Aotearoa New Zealand economy, (M. King, 2003, p. 2946; Lloyd Prichard, 1970, p. 163; McLauchlan, 2006, p. 90) is another powerful group that receives support from Dr Bell and the state, while the public, especially women and minorities, are the groups lacking power or access. This ad, and other similar ones in the sample, target women as the prevailing domestic homemakers (housewives – see Section 6.1.2); it serves as another obfuscated means to reinforce, entrench and internalise hegemonic and patriarchal conventions.

7.3 Analysis 6: NZL33 Food Fallacies



ISSUED BY THE NEW ZEALAND DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

No. 2

FOOD FALLACIES

QUESTION: *"My daughter is trying to reduce her weight. She has cut out all milk and potatoes. Is this wise?"*

ANSWER: No. Milk and potatoes are too valuable as foods to be eliminated even in a slimming diet. If the top milk is removed, the rest of the milk is valuable but not fattening. If the quantity of bread is cut down and all biscuits, cake, scones and sweets are rigidly excluded, far better results are achieved than by avoiding potatoes which are much superior in value to any of these.

SLIMMING CAN BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT UNWISE EXCLUSION OF VALUABLE FOODS

QUESTION

"Is it true that one should not drink with meals because the liquid dilutes the gastric juice and delays digestion?"

ANSWER

In the normal healthy person—

- Water itself is a gentle stimulus to secretion of gastric juice . . .
- Dry meals may be less inclined to call forth a generous flow of gastric juice . . .
- Any possible dilution of gastric juice is very slight . . .

SO . . .

DRINK WITH YOUR MEALS IF YOU WISH TO DO SO

Water is the best drink with the dinner meal. The digestive juices can take care of themselves.

QUESTION

"Is molasses really valuable because the children hate it so and it is so hard to persevere with it?"

ANSWER

Molasses has no very special property to recommend it—nothing that could not be obtained from more commonplace foods.

It certainly has a laxative action which might be advantageous to some, but that is about all.

Any other minerals present can be obtained from other and more usual foods.

FOR NORMAL PERSONS, ABNORMAL FOODS ARE NOT NECESSARY

They generally cost more money too.

13.1

2

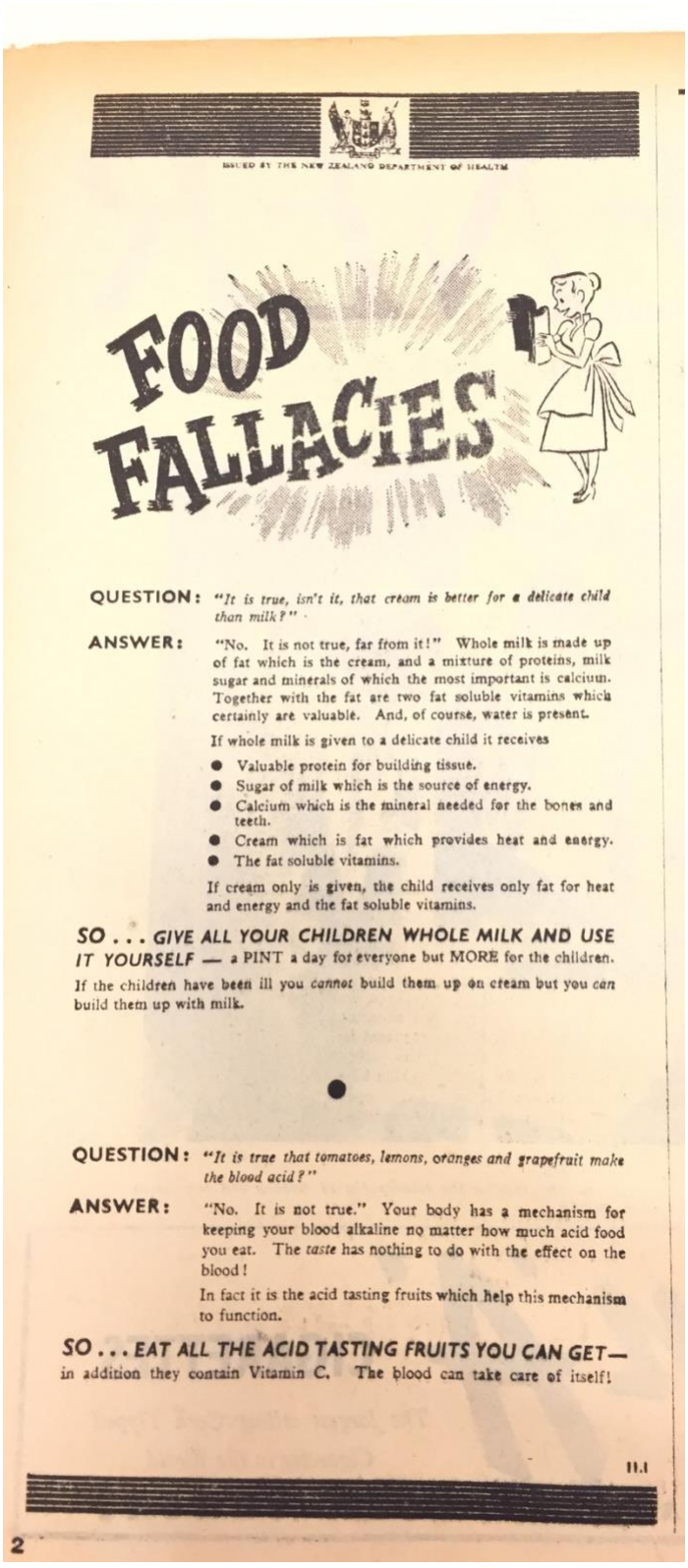
Figure 12. Image 33 NZL33 'Food Fallacies'

7.3.1 Context

The propagation of medical, health, and nutrition science involves a diverse array of stakeholders and sources, encompassing authorities, mass media, and motivated businesses and individuals. Unfortunately, this landscape is fraught with misinformation and disinformation (Ayoob et al., 2002; Capocasa & Venier, 2023; Diekman et al., 2023; Goldberg, 1992; Guess & Lyons, 2020, p. 10; Herbert & Yarbro, 1986; Krishna & Thompson, 2021; Marks, 1993). These challenges persist within the realm of nutrition communication, where individuals ranging from medical doctors and cardiologists to chefs, lifestyle enthusiasts, podcast hosts, and other passionate advocates often assert authority in the field (Lightsey, 2020, p. 1; Marks, 1993).

Public health communication defines *nutrition misinformation* as erroneous nutrition guidance and unverified claims propagated through various mass media channels, the internet, and social media platforms (Guess & Lyons, 2020; Tian & Robinson, 2021; Worsley, 2008, p. 7100). Moreover, authoritative sources such as the American Dietetic Association have expressed concerns about the adverse effects of nutrition misinformation on individuals' economic well-being, health, and overall quality of life (Ayoob et al., 2002; Marlett et al., 2002).

During the postwar decades, anti-science and nutrition misinformation gained enthusiasm (Marks, 1993), presumably leading the DoH to intervene, placing advertisements about prevalent nutrition fallacies. For example, two ads from the corpus warn and educate consumers regarding such misinformation, contextually termed fallacies. The first one and the ad to be analysed (NZL33) addresses dieting, liquid consumption during meals, and a question about molasses being valuable; the other NZL24 (Figure 13) (Department of Health, 1951a) (see following page) addresses concerns about infant cream consumption and the myth that citrus fruits and tomatoes cause blood acidity. As this thesis critically analyses the ad's cultural content it does not delve into the validity of the nutritional information provided, as it falls outside the study's scope.



ISSUED BY THE NEW ZEALAND DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

FOOD FALLACIES

QUESTION: *"It is true, isn't it, that cream is better for a delicate child than milk?"*

ANSWER: "No. It is not true, far from it!" Whole milk is made up of fat which is the cream, and a mixture of proteins, milk sugar and minerals of which the most important is calcium. Together with the fat are two fat soluble vitamins which certainly are valuable. And, of course, water is present.

If whole milk is given to a delicate child it receives

- Valuable protein for building tissue.
- Sugar of milk which is the source of energy.
- Calcium which is the mineral needed for the bones and teeth.
- Cream which is fat which provides heat and energy.
- The fat soluble vitamins.

If cream only is given, the child receives only fat for heat and energy and the fat soluble vitamins.

SO . . . GIVE ALL YOUR CHILDREN WHOLE MILK AND USE IT YOURSELF — a PINT a day for everyone but MORE for the children.

If the children have been ill you *cannot* build them up on cream but you *can* build them up with milk.

QUESTION: *"It is true that tomatoes, lemons, oranges and grapefruit make the blood acid?"*

ANSWER: "No. It is not true." Your body has a mechanism for keeping your blood alkaline no matter how much acid food you eat. The *taste* has nothing to do with the effect on the blood!

In fact it is the acid tasting fruits which help this mechanism to function.

SO . . . EAT ALL THE ACID TASTING FRUITS YOU CAN GET— in addition they contain Vitamin C. The blood can take care of itself!

11.1

2

Figure 13. Image 24 NZL24 'Food Fallacies'

When viewed through the lens of CDA, these two ads exhibit a tendency to obscure their underlying objectives of promoting products and reinforcing social norms, both of which serve to advance the economic interests of the dairy industry. Notably, the word *milk* prominently features at

the outset of each ad, with it recurring four times in the first ad, under analysis (Figure 12) and an even more substantial seven occurrences in the second ad (Figure 13).

7.3.2 Phase 1: Critical Visual Analysis

FOOD FALLACIES (Figure 12.) (Department of Health, 1952) was printed in the New Zealand Listener in February of 1952. The National Party was the incumbent government, and its nutritional concern was nutritional information, misinformation, and disinformation. The ad has a question-and-answer format with the primary question about dieting. The other questions are about drinking with meals and the benefits of molasses, and the ad allocates a third of the space to the headline "FOOD FALLACIES."

The illustrations depict a white/European man with a mortarboard hat, depicting a teacher talking to a white/European woman in proximity who is looking up at him on the top half of the page, and a figurative drawing of a young woman (also white) wearing an apron and reading a book. Each side has the title "Questions", and the heading "Answer" is further down, followed by a conclusion written in bold capitals. From the top down, the ad has the post-1950 new masthead of the DoH, which is divided into three sections; the top forty per cent features the headline words "FOOD FALLACIES", which are substantial and surrounded by brushstrokes denoting an explosion.

The two main stand-out features are the headline "FOOD FALLACIES" and the teacher whose cap, cape, hair, and glasses are all dark signifying (typical) seriousness, knowledge and expertise. His hat and cloak are solid black, attracting attention, versus the rest of the ad, which is lots of copy and is in stark contrast with the sketch of the woman he looks down on.

The ad is divided into two graphic spheres; the top area with the headline "FOOD FALLACIES" is organic and somewhat chaotic as the letters are not aligned. The male teacher with straight hair and glasses wears a mortarboard hat that typically symbolises wisdom and helps denote he is a scholar (Cambridge Dictionary, 2024). He looks down at the curly-haired woman smiling and looking up at him. It appears he is talking to her as his mouth is open. She is quietly listening as she gazes adoringly at the teacher. The second part of the ad is orderly, with adequate white space surrounding a significant portion of the copy, emphasising this aspect. Although both graphic spaces are different, the ad presents as unified and easy to read.

The lower half of the ad features an illustration of a younger woman with her mouth open and hair tied in a bun; again, this portrays an orderly style. She is happily reading a book or a magazine, perhaps asking a question as her mouth is open; she appears content and engaged in her book. She wears a short-sleeved dress with an apron over the top, which ties at the back into a bow.

Artistic choices show various lines used. First, the headline "FOOD FALLACIES" design resembles broken pieces of wood plastered together, and the word Fallacies has a crack running through the middle. The shading surrounding the words resembles crayons; they are fuzzy and generate a sense of movement, such as a bang. These choices strengthen the meaning of the words; something sold is broken and could even blow up. The illustrations of the teacher and the two women,

however, use thinner lines in, perhaps, pencil or pen. These are cleaner, neater, and lean artistically towards a more organised image.

The ad uses a classic serif font (perhaps Baskerville) for the copy, supporting authoritarian and expert advice discourse. As the text appears plentiful and unlikely to be read, the statements are all in bold caps sans serif font to capture the audience's attention. The questions target the audience with a simple question-and-answer format, the tone of the questions is plain, while that of the answers is authoritative.

As mentioned, the two individuals are grouped in proximity, meaning they belong together and have something in common, for example, both are Pākehā, and both look as if they might belong to the same class, except the man is a scholar. The woman is pictured below him, facing upwards with a smile and wide-open facial design depicting naivety. Her raised eyebrows show an eagerness to learn, and her tutor is enthralling. Her gaze can be considered a baby-face bias generating an endearing meaning. The teacher, however, with his graveness in the appearance of glasses, black hat and position, places him as a figure of authority, reinforcing the paternalistic values of men being strong, powerful, and knowledgeable and women as subordinate and needing advice (Walby, 1989).

However, the grouping of the two characters also signifies a cultural connection. Both characters portray Pākehā individuals inclined towards learning; the teacher symbolises education, while the woman exudes youthfulness and eagerness to learn, presenting herself tidily. These depictions of education, cleanliness, and neatness reflect mid- twentieth century Western middle-class values (Constantine, 1986; Featherstone, 1982; Germov & Williams, 2004c; Heald, 1964; Hoy, 1996).

The woman in the lower half wears a dress with an apron tied around her waist. Her dress looks clean, neat and nicely pressed. The apron, the hairstyle, and the dress she wears indicate an individual who works in a home and connotes homemaking and the patriarchal middle-class social values of cleanliness and order as previously mentioned in Chapter 1. She is reading, perhaps trying to learn the facts about nutrition, as she wants to avoid *fallacies*.

The scene, the audience observes, was likely commonplace; a grave man towering over a passive woman, an earnest male teacher instructing a naïve woman would not have been unusual mid-twentieth century. Depicting a commonplace scenario helps the viewer connect with the information presented; it is familiar and trustworthy, a core social motive (S. T. Fiske, 2010). Yet, however familiar this discourse may have seemed, it is nevertheless deeply condescending towards women—reinforcing patriarchal values (see Chapter 5, Attitudes and Hegemonic Ideas) and social gender identity constructions through discourse (Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Butler, 1988; De Fina et al., 2006; Du Plessis, 1994; Gumperz, 1982; Hall, 1996; Hogg et al., 2004; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Oakes et al., 1999; Rathzel, 1997; Schiffrin et al., 2001). The portrayal of the ‘white male expert’ is emblematic of the power dynamics and ideological underpinnings of this society shaping social perceptions of authority and knowledge.

7.3.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component

The DoH uses rhetorical ethos, its position of authority and credibility to persuade an audience, likely homemakers, to be aware of nutrition fallacies. They provide substantial copy to present facts to inform and dispel dietary myths and use the common topic style of antecedent and consequence. Such a scholarly approach makes the case that fallacies are unwise; some foods are valuable and helpful, while others are not. However, the overall implication is that it pays to be informed and listen to health authorities, or you may compromise your health. In this respect, the advertiser applies rhetorical pathos, appealing to fear, emphasising the call to action: being aware of food fallacies. Unsurprisingly, the fear strategy is the most common rhetorical emotional style of public health messaging (Gagnon et al., 2010).

The advertiser asserts that learning about nutrition science, rather than hearsay, is a way to beat the fallacies which could cause ill health. The overall tone is text-bookish, didactic, and authoritative, as illustrated in the byline, “Slimming can be carried out without unwise exclusion of valuable foods.” The style and tone are supported by the enclosed section's book style, emphasising the woman reading a book.

The ad starts by gaining attention with the *loud* alliterative heading “FOOD FALLACIES”, which crowns the information and educational arguments made below it. Arguments are reinforced by using formal didactic text. For example, statements such as “Slimming can be carried out without unwise exclusion of valuable foods” and “For normal persons, abnormal foods are not necessary.” Apart from the headline, the nouns that stand out are “Question and Answer”, “Milk”, and “Gastric juice”, which appear four times, “Potatoes” appear three times, and “Slimming” and “Normal” are used twice. Such word choices aid the discursive interpretation that this government department can endorse a valuable product for the national economy, such as milk or potatoes, and can promote a specific lifestyle by using words such as “Normal” and “Slimming” in close proximity. The DoH also appears to value education by using the words “Question” and “Answer” multiple times.

Other phrases that stand out are “Normal healthy person” and “For normal persons, abnormal foods are not necessary.” *Normal* denotes a grouping of social values, and it is often a firmly held but highly subjective social understanding or set of beliefs that there is a particular desired social personality or practice society expects and should achieve. In this ad, the word choice “Normal” aids the discursive interpretation that this society values conformity and that deviance from the norm is undesirable, unsavoury or perhaps intolerable (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005; Xenitidou & Edmonds, 2014).

Further critical discursive analysis demonstrates a positive representation of the government as the provider of corrective information. It does this through the question-and-answer style, and the conjunction of an elite institution with a male scholar reinforces their respective social positions. The advertiser discursively reveals it favours education and evidence over anecdote or hearsay; as noted in other analyses, it is also pro-individual responsibility as it directs the reader to take charge of their

health. Thus, there are implications within the ad that suggest that government information and education are the keys to good health, and people who value hearsay are foolish. Although possibly well-intentioned, this reinforces the divide between people with and without access to education. It also values written teachings, through books, pamphlets and ads versus oral teachings, in contrast to the Māori oral custom (Belich, 1996, p. 368; Binney, 2022). Noting this value aids the inference the target audience was primarily Pākehā.

Through observation of a positive representation in illustration and the didactic text communicating style, identity, and values, this discursive component revealed the hegemonic structures involved in producing power abuse, thus the dominant social groups, scholarly men, and government institutions. By depicting Pākehā, the ad ignores, marginalises, and thus symbolically annihilates *all* other ethnicities. Furthermore, the female illustrations depict slim body sizes, reinforcing a valued body norm that is seen increasingly and becoming thematic in these analyses. As previously mentioned, for hegemonic constructions to make sense to a group of people, these must present positively, which this government does by having the positive goals of educating the public, informing, seeking truth and evidence, and protecting people from ill health.

7.3.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

In this ad, the DoH takes its privileged opportunity to encourage people to eat foods such as milk and potatoes. They also try discouraging dieting and discursively disparage people who do not fit their ideals and norms. For the reader or audience to interpret this ad, they must know that nutrition is a field of expertise, and that education is valued, and that many people are unaware of nutritional facts and take their advice from other sources such as hearsay and women's magazines. Women's magazines have been dominant in communicating nutrition advice for decades (Moore et al., 1992; Wilson et al., 2017), and the advertiser may be attempting to counter nutrition misinformation prevalent at the time. Knowledge is a power source, and this perspective places those who adhere to or have this knowledge in a positive social standing, encouraging a status divide between those with good nutrition and a slim figure and those who differ. Unfortunately, the scholarship reveals that body size stigmatisation primarily originates from discourse (Puhl & Heuer, 2010). These texts provide further evidence in supporting of this finding.

The style of promotion is fear-based. Not, however, to the level of scaremongering but to a milder, more insidious level. The advertiser intends to generate a watchfulness rather than caution against fallacies. The ad does not refer to a particular topic making it harder to develop a fearful ad. However, as noted elsewhere, the emotional issues referred to, slimming, digestion, and feeding children can all cause nutrition anxiety and feed social insecurities.

7.3.5 Phase 4: Social Component

Identifying the prevalence of nutrition misinformation, myths, or fallacies as a matter of considerable importance, the DoH warranted a public health intervention and published this ad. It specifically addressed nutrition weight loss myths, excluding milk and potatoes from the diet,

drinking fluids during meals, gastric juice interactions, and the use of molasses in feeding children. Although these concerns may have been genuine in their context the DoH also used this opportunity to promote a positive perception of dairy products and potatoes among the public.

As previously noted, the dairy industry was hugely important for the Aotearoa New Zealand economy (M. King, 2003, p. 2946; Lloyd Prichard, 1970, p. 163; McLauchlan, 2006, p. 90). Under the guise of FOOD FALLACIES (Figure 12), the New Zealand Government promoted milk as a "Valuable food, even in a slimming diet." Additionally, in the other Food Fallacies ad (Figure 13), they promoted "whole milk" as a good source of nutrition for a delicate child. In both texts, milk was the main subject, providing an example of hegemonic values, promoting other dominant groups e.g. the dairy industry, through public health advertising.

Although there was growing concern in society about nutrition misinformation in the 1950s, (Marks, 1993), this analysis proposes that the DoH likely did not have the sole intention of debunking dietary myths surrounding gastric juices, fruit acidity, or feeding children molasses. Instead, it appears to have a strong bias towards promoting the consumption of Aotearoa New Zealand dairy products, which this research reveals are apparent in other artefacts. In addition to their economic goals, the analysis demonstrated the governments' body shape and size preference alongside ideals of conformance, eurocentrism, and an emphasis on education, alongside a display of patriarchal values (see Chapter 5 for a full explanation of relevant patriarchal values and norms). These findings indicate a complex web of cultural factors at play in the DoH's nutrition promotion.

Section 7.3.2 of the critical visual analysis sheds light on the depiction of the white male teacher/expert asserting dominance over the woman, embodying paternalistic values of authority and expertise, perpetuating gender stereotypes and reinforcing entrenched norms regarding the hierarchy of knowledge and expertise (Beechey, 1979; Gurrieri, 2021; Miller, 2017; Walby, 1989). Moreover, the choice and prominence of the white male expert underscores issues related to race and ethnicity. It symbolically annihilates and thus marginalises perspectives and expertise from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, Māori in this instance, contributing to the silencing of voices from marginalised communities (Came et al., 2021; MacDonald & Ormond, 2021; Nairn et al., 2006).

7.4 Analysis 7: NZL47 Meals for Teen-agers

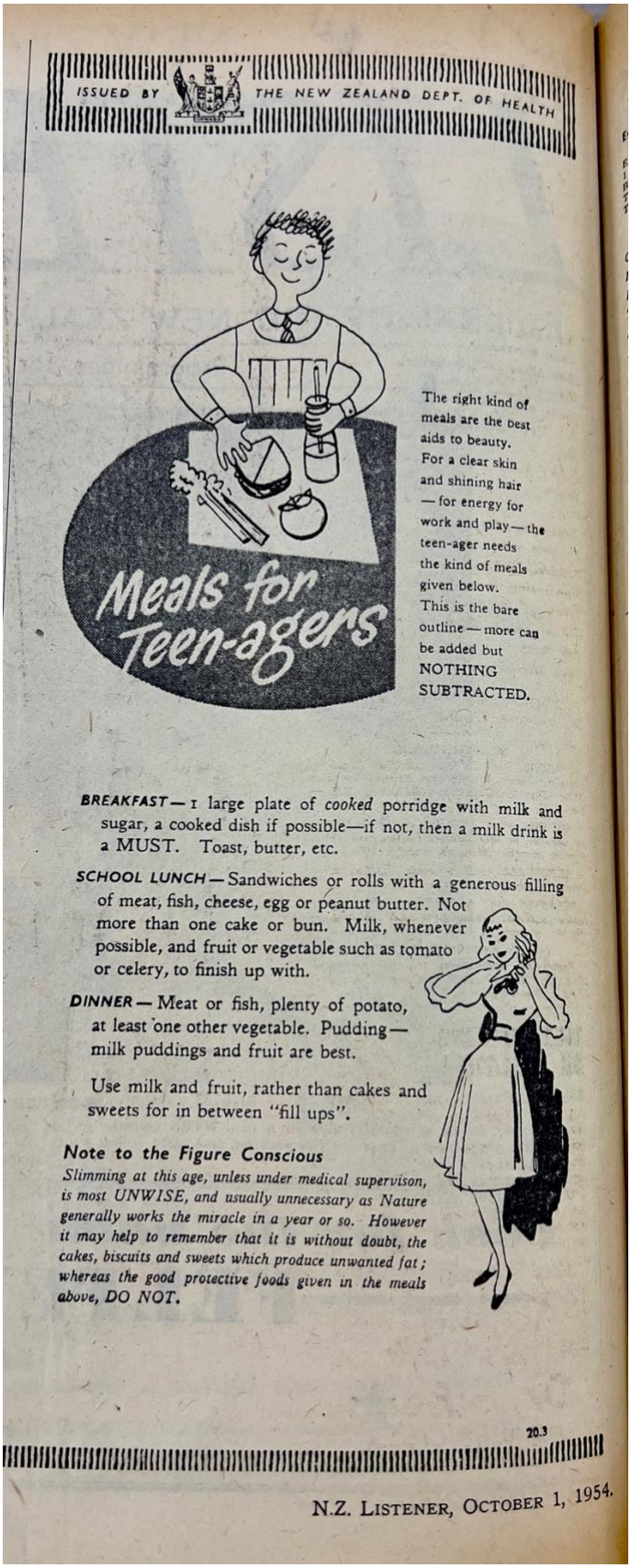


Figure 14. Image 47 NZL47 'Meals for Teen-agers'

7.4.1 Context

The New Zealand Department of Health advertised Meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14) (Department of Health, 1954) while perceiving trouble brewing among adolescents in Aotearoa New Zealand society. Police and newspapers had made allegations about adolescent sexual activity in Wellington's Hutt Valley, and the social welfare ministry commissioned an inquiry to investigate these claims (M. King, 2003, p. 5537). The subsequent report would become the notorious Mazengarb report (Mazengarb, 1954), named after its author who other members of the report's committee considered a puritan, moralist and fundamentalist (Barton, 2000). The Mazengarb report adopted this conservative stance and blamed working mothers for their absence in the home. The committee reasoned, mother's at home (housewives thus – see Section 6.1.2) provide guidance and stability for the oversexed and morally degraded young women (as mentioned in the report). The Report further laid responsibility with the media, stating:

> There has been a great wave of public indignation against some paper-backed or 'pulp' printed matter. Crime stories, tales of 'intimate, exciting romance', and so-called 'comics' have all been blamed for exciting erotic feelings in children. In addition, the suggestiveness in the cover pictures of glamour girls dressed in a thin veiling often attracts more attention than the pages inside. (p. 42)

The Mazengarb committee agrees with this public indignation and proposes an all-out ban on printed matter injurious to children. It states, "A banning, rather than a censorship, of printed matter injurious to children, should be the subject of immediate legislation" (Mazengarb, 1954, p. 44). Furthermore, the Mazengarb report gives a unique insight into class, gender, and sexual moral values present in *some* New Zealanders at publication. It openly displays the ideological beliefs of the special committee members and those who made submissions. However, this report did not just inform the government; the values of the government and the Ministry of Social Welfare were undoubtedly in agreement with the findings and proposals. For example, Dame Hilda Ross, Minister for the Welfare of Women and Children in the National Cabinet 1945-59 (McCallum, 1993, p. 48) appeared to be of the same conservative conviction, blaming comic books and sexually charged novels for causing the problem of adolescent sexual activity. She is quoted in the Wellington Press, "The problem of unclean literature, which had been filling the country, was occupying the minds of many responsible citizens. It was flooding the market and debasing the minds of the people" ("Sexual offences in New Zealand," 1954).

The government endorsed the report and distributed 300,000 copies to families receiving the family benefit (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017).

Figure 15. Pile of envelopes containing copies of the Mazengarb Report. Evening post (Newspaper. 1865-2002)

Credit: Photographic negatives and prints of the Evening Post newspaper. Ref: PAColl-1551-01-055. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22337919

Historian M. King (2003) writes, "The thrust of the report and its distribution were to confirm existing social and moral values" (p.5525). Nevertheless, on consideration, it is also conceivable that the National Party government wanted to reinstate the social morals of a bygone time, such as the Victorian era, notorious for its social ideals of prudishness, female domesticity, and patriarchal dominance when the British Empire was still intact (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022b). Still, this statement ignores society's new or more progressive social values. On the contrary, it helps confirm this era's socially conservative, paternalistic narrative, which underlies and informs the creators of Meals for Teenagers.

7.4.2 Phase 1. Critical Visual Analysis

The public health ad, Meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14) NZL47, (Department of Health, 1954), was published in *The Listener* under the auspices of the National government in June 1954. The word 'Teen-ager' was still hyphenated in 1954; it originated in America and journeyed to Aotearoa New Zealand before, during, and after post-World War II (Brickell, 2017, p. 195). The ad depicts a schoolgirl sitting at a table, eating lunch with some copy to the side. It dedicates the lower

half of the space to a breakfast, lunch, and dinner menu under which there is a section about dieting: “Note to the Figure Conscious.”

Meals for Teen-agers takes up half a page and illustrates a schoolgirl in a uniform enjoying her lunch. The top half of the ad shows the girl's lunch consisting of a sandwich, milk, an apple, and celery stalks arranged on a white cloth on a black table. The items are in close proximity, indicating they are part of a related group. On the right side of the ad, there is text copy. The bottom half of the ad features an illustration of a young woman with text on the left side. The schoolgirl and the headline are the most prominent elements in the ad, with the schoolgirl taking up more space than the young woman. The headline is in a white, sans-serif font that's casual and italicised, giving it a friendly and approachable feel. The table's shape echoes the schoolgirl's arms, collar, and face, creating a unified composition. The illustration of the schoolgirl's smooth hands and wrinkle-free face convey a sense of youthfulness. Overall, the ad is well-designed, with significant whitespace around the schoolgirl, lunch, and headline, making them stand out.

The lower half of the ad features a different design approach from the top half, with the text copy for the three meals (breakfast, lunch, and dinner) in a larger serif font. The last copy block, “Note to the figure conscious,” uses a smaller sans-serif font with italics. The ad begins with a message aimed at teenagers or their parents, while the second part focusses on weight loss. The woman in the illustration is drawn with a loose brushstroke, showcasing the New Look hourglass waistline (Wasp), mentioned earlier in the thesis, and wearing a dress. She poses with her hips forward, legs crossed, and hands raised to her hair. Both the schoolgirl and young woman depicted appear European, with the schoolgirl having a short, sharp upturned nose and both illustrations are fair skinned. The imagery indicates that eating well is essential for becoming a slender young woman.

In the ad, the schoolgirl in a uniform appears content as she gazes down at her lunch on the table. Her downcast gaze indicates agreeableness, enjoyment, uniformity, and obedience, reinforced by her high school pinafore uniform dress over a blouse with a necktie. Although the ad is about meals for teenagers, the advertiser focusses on teenage girls in school uniforms and highlights the school lunch. The choice of a female schoolgirl assumes that the advertiser targeted a specific audience rather than schoolchildren in general, reinforcing existing social connections between girls, health, food, and nutrition.

The light on the young woman comes from outside the ad. She is shaded from behind, creating the illusion of a shadow. She appears delicate, is drawn with fine lines, and wears flat shoes indicating her young age (Brickell, 2002; Wilson, 2003). The young person appears stagnant while the woman appears in motion, helping emphasise a transition from youth to maturity, young to old, and helps show their age differences, furthermore the schoolgirl illustration is one-dimensional while the other is shaded, creating a two-dimensional effect.

The two female illustrations featured in the ad both have clear skin, bright smiles, and fashionable clothing with belts, uniforms, and neckties suggesting that they belong to a

socioeconomic group that values a groomed appearance *and* education. The teenage girl in the ad appears clean, tidy, and organised. She is dressed in her school uniform, has clean hair and hands, and enjoys a healthy lunch. These elements emphasise the values of domesticity and organisation. The woman in the illustration mirrors these values as she touches her hair signalling that she cares about her appearance, as she is figure conscious. Both females appear to be actively engaged in something - the teenager is eating lunch, and the woman is grooming her hair. The underlying message is that both characters pay attention to their health and body, reinforcing the eras social attitudes of body consciousness in connection with social value (Featherstone, 2010; Germov & Williams, 2004c; Grabe et al., 2008; Hoy, 1996; Ozbek et al., 2023; Swami, 2015).

7.4.3 Phase 2: Discourse Component

"The right kind of meals are the best aids to beauty." With this sentence, the advertiser wishes to persuade the audience that attention to nutrition, or, as the copy states, "the right kind of meals" leads to physical beauty. For the analysis of Meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14) *physical beauty* is discussed as a culturally constructed, defined, idealised physical aesthetic (Etcoff, 2000; Smith, 2022). Additionally, it uses the cost-benefit approach: good health leads to desired beauty, "For a clear skin and shining hair – for energy for work and play – the teen-ager needs the kind of meals given below." It advises that "This is the bare outline – more can be added but nothing subtracted." The advertiser continues by presenting what a young individual should eat for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. Notable is that the ad advises either a glass of milk or a dairy product with each meal[18].

Creating a relationship between one system of meaning, for example, nutrition and another system, for example, beauty, helps the reader move symbolically from one to the other. As Williamson (1978) asserts, "Advertisements are constantly translating between systems of meaning, and therefore constitute a vast mega system where values from different areas of our lives are made interchangeable" (p.412). With this in mind, the ad uses an emotional strategy, pathos, to generate a desire for beauty by attracting the viewer's attention and producing a value connection between the importance of eating well and beauty. However, this message also introduces fear and scope for shame by conjecturing that the reader may not be considered beautiful in this society if *she* does not care about her health. The overall premise is that if a young person eats healthy, she might have clear skin, shining hair, energy, be slim and, above all, be considered attractive – a valuable social trait (Etcoff, 2000; Featherstone, 2010; Germov & Williams, 2004c; Kilbourne, 2000; Ozbek et al., 2023; Webster Jr & Driskell Jr, 1983; Yamamiya et al., 2005).

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[18] Chapter Six, Analysis 2: NZL12 Choose Cheese!, 6.2.1 Context provides an overview of the dairy industry in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Making an overt claim about the connection between health and beauty could lead to a faulty premise and potentially harm the credibility of a government agency over time. Moreover, while promoting the correlation between health and beauty in public health communications may not be ethically desirable, such messaging may be more appropriate for women's magazines and social media platforms. These media frequently feature posts, articles, and ads linking health and beauty, and readers may be more likely to critically engage with them in this context (Moore et al., 1992; The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022a; Wilson et al., 2017).

The lexical style is educational and didactic, frequently using the imperative. It uses capitals to emphasise the phrases “Nothing subtracted”, “Unwise”, “Must”, and “Do Not.” The ad does not just intend to inform its audience; it openly promotes that “the right kind of meal is the best aid to beauty.” The advertiser is not subtle in their persuasive attempt to get the audience to *buy* the message: to make healthy food choices. Such pedagogical advertising, linking beauty, body shape and health, has become uncommon in public health advertising, as it is considered unethical by current public health standards (Baum, 2015; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Parvanta et al., 2010). Academic scholarship deems this socially constructive and destructive, especially among female adolescents; nevertheless, it remains widespread in all types of media (Brown & Witherspoon, 2002; Grabe et al., 2008; Ozbek et al., 2023; Parkin, 2007; Yamamiya et al., 2005).

Public health advertising does, however, often cross ethical lines regarding obesity campaigns which the literature demonstrates can be stigmatising and shaming (Puhl & Heuer, 2010; Swinburn et al., 2019; Tomiyama, 2014; Warbrick et al., 2018; Zhu et al., 2022). For example, in the Australian anti-obesity ‘shock’ campaign in 2012 (Lupton, 2022), the television ad featured a man contemplating eating a slice of pizza, when moments later, the camera zooms into his interior stomach. Its goal is undoubtedly to generate awareness of the dangers of visceral fat. However, such fear-based advertising plays on fear and shame, with some studies indicating this choice of advertising has mixed results and can even be harmful (Dahl et al., 2003).

Meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14) promotes and reinforces the values of the group it addresses: the parents of young white female adolescents and their ideal *future* selves. Through promoting the virtues of beauty, it draws attention to one’s health rather than revealing the reality that good health does not necessarily lead to beauty. Of interest, scholarship indicates a correlation between health and attractiveness (Etcoff, 2000; Grammer & Thornhill, 1994; Rhodes, 2006), this relationship is influenced by various factors (e.g. physiology, culture, confidence) and may not hold universally across all contexts. The advertiser also uses the positive metaphors “Fill-ups”, “More can be added, nothing subtracted” and “Finish up” to strengthen the positive correlation between its advice and good health (see Section 6.2.3 on positive metaphors).

The ad promotes *the right kinds* of foods, versus apparently *the wrong types*, while actively promoting foods high in sugar, such as pudding. The nutritional advice is vague at best. Proportion suggestions such as “plenty of potatoes,” are highly subjective, and milk puddings are often sugary.

The advice given is, therefore, ambiguous. The ad further ignores any food fussiness or other food consumption or cultural aspects and *speaks* to the reader with authority, endorsing the established Pākehā, British-centric food uniformity in food choice while actively promoting milk specifically and dairy consumption generally.

The ad (Figure 14) also offers a positive self-presentation to the reader who finds this ad mirrors their identity and confirms they are decent; they are *doing-it-right* vs the parent who looks at this ad and does not observe a reflection of their struggle. Unfortunately, such idealised advertising is well-placed to reinforce social norms and values of the dominant group and can contribute to body idealism which the literature demonstrates correlates with the development of eating disorders (Brown & Witherspoon, 2002; Levine & Piran, 2004; Malson et al., 2011; Malson & Burns, 2009).

The dominant group presents a rather simplistic instructional perspective to parents on how to raise a teenage daughter into a healthy and slim adult. Unfortunately, this perspective-taking ignores all people who do not conform to this ideal while reinforcing the ideals of the dominant class, the in-group, to whom the reader belongs. Additionally, it endorses the status quo, that healthy food and dieting are feminine topics and assumes people can readily afford these foods.

7.4.4 Phase 3: Cognitive Component

The readers of this ad would be accustomed to reading nutritional advice and have a concept of general health and well-being. Therefore, to interpret messages imbedded in this ad (Figure 14) they are likely to already be aware of dieting and figure-consciousness among young, and presumably white, women as health, dieting and attention to body shape had increased in printed media from the late nineteenth century with printed images and illustrations compounding the messages (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022a). The image below from an article about dressmaking in *The New Zealand Graphic* in 1890, presents an example (Figure 16) of early magazine illustrations targeting a female audience (The New Zealand Graphic, 1890).

Figure 16. Novel Costumes for day and evening wear

Credit: New Zealand Graphic Volume VI, Issue 22, 31 May 1890, page 16.

Women's magazines, such as the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, founded in 1932 (Carlyon, 2013, p. 3109; New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2021), expanded throughout the twentieth century, becoming the local version of one of many international women's magazines featuring health and style advice in weekly columns, articles and ads alongside instructions on aspects of household care (Brickell, 2002; Brookes, 2016, p. 428). Background research for this study also revealed that, although not a woman's magazine, *The Listener* dedicated significant editorial space to articles on feminised matters such as health and beauty, thus further endorsing attitudes and values about health, dieting and body shapes. Its 1948 cover is an example of its engagement with this topic.


NEW ZEALAND
LISTENER
JOURNAL OF THE NEW ZEALAND BROADCASTING SERVICE
Incorporating N.Z. RADIO RECORD
Registered as a Newspaper Vol. 18, No. 460, April 16, 1948
Programmes for April 19—25
Threepence
SEEKING HEALTH AND POISE (see story on page 18)
Faces and Floors should be Smooth!
Romantic nights, with a smooth floor to glide on and you, Mister Escort, with a smooth, well-groomed face. Here's how . . . . Use Q-TOL SHAVING CREAM. Its renowned better-than-average lather makes your shave smoother and closer because it's wetter, stays moist on your face, holds whiskers up throughout your shave. Begin using Q-TOL SHAVING CREAM to-day.
Q-TOL
SHAVING CREAM
In large TUBES and JARS
Wetter!
Stays moist on your face longer!
Q-TOL LABORATORIES, FLUENZOL PTY. LTD., Wellington

Figure 17. Seeking health and poise in The New Zealand Listener, 1948.

Returning to Meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14), the text exposes the attitudes of authority, structure, willpower and restraint. For example, the teen and the young woman project *obliging* attitudes as they seek to follow the advice and not question it, contributing to the norm of women being compliant and aiming to please others in society. It does this by illustrating contented faces while the copy warns of the dangers of under-eating, not snacking on sweet treats and how drinking milk is a must. The lower text conveys authorial wisdom, telling the reader that slimming is unwise and unnecessary as "Nature generally works the miracle in a year or so." The advertiser may have been referring to the persistent nutritional myth that teens lose puppy fat as they grow (Baur, 2022).

The ad encourages parents and teens to take responsibility for their nutritional intake and body size (meaning weight) by suggesting that if *you* follow this advice, there may be a positive outcome. Such advice demonstrates beliefs and values of simple advice, cause and effect, individual autonomy, and a desire for the teens of Aotearoa New Zealand to conform, so they may grow up to be well-behaved, slim young women. Preferably with hourglass figures!

The young person demonstrates contentment through her sweet smile and downturned eyes. The examples NOTHING SUBTRACTED, UNWISE and DO NOT in the copy attempt to induce fear by *shouting* what it deems vital to the reader. The copy "Note to the figure conscious" also intends to

instil fear in the reader. Either the reader is already figure-conscious, reinforcing that social construct, or they *should* be figure-conscious.

The portrayal of the woman depicts a variety of emotions, including traits associated with personal care, self-attention, pride, and possibly shyness and modesty. This portrayal, likely endorsed by the government or the dominant in-group, delineates a social ideal, implicitly categorising those outside these ideals as lacking qualities such as thinness, healthiness, and modesty. This perpetuation of stereotypical body ideals emerges as a significant finding in these analyses, shedding light on a pervasive issue with far-reaching consequences. Chapter 8 will discuss the implications of these findings, delving into the broader public health, social implications, and potential solutions.

7.4.5 Phase 4: Social Component

The New Zealand Government was, and still is, required to inform the public of the latest dietary understanding regarding what meals are best for growing healthy young citizens into healthy adults (New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2016b). In the dual role of advertiser and publisher, the DoH was in an influential position to choose what *type* of dietary information they communicate. The ad focusses on teenage girls, beauty (skin and energy), weight management and a minimal set of Western-centric meal guidelines[19].

Meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14), which was published in *The Listener* following the release of the Mazengarb Report in 1954 (Mazengarb, 1954), serves to perpetuate and reinforce certain ideals related to gender and socioeconomic status. This portrayal underscores the prevailing societal expectations of the time and their influence on the construction of the ideal young woman, giving rise to the distinct portrayal of the *obedient* adolescent. This portrayal not only emphasises the importance of maintaining a balanced and healthy diet, but also places a significant emphasis on the aspiring to attain a slim and modest demeanour. It stands in stark contrast to the *concerning* teenage behaviour highlighted in the Mazengarb report.

The advertiser seized this opportunity to endorse a particular body shape and style reminiscent of those frequently depicted in contemporary women's magazines (Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Lindner, 2004; Moore et al., 1992; Plakoyiannaki & Zotos, 2009; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988). These actions indicate the government either failed to perceive the harm body idealism causes women, perceiving it either as common sense or they were entirely unaware of the harm (reinforcing specific class and gender roles) obfuscated in their ad, either way it is an example of, as hegemony scholars such as Herman and Chomsky (2008) suggest, *'unconscious' hegemony*; where there is no deliberate intent to cause harm but equally there is no critical thinking either.

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[19] The food depicted reflects a lunch from a Western cuisine. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2023b). Sandwich | origin, history, & types. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved 2023 from https://www.britannica.com/topic/sandwich

Additionally, Meals for Teen-agers communicates the expectation that young women should exhibit well-mannered behaviour, adhere to a nutritious dietary regimen, maintain a tidy appearance, and diligently attend school. Values that align closely with the prevailing middle-class ideals of the era (Heald, 1964). Furthermore, the ad positions itself as a voice of authority, assuming the role of the responsible parent figure, and, in doing so, further accentuates group distinctions and endorses patriarchal values.

The corpus reveals a prevalent depiction of dairy products in numerous ads, with milk, butter, and cheese prominently featured, suggesting a concerted effort to promote the consumption of these items signifying a deliberate strategy to encourage the consumption of cow's milk and other dairy products. This nationalistic strategy indicates a symbiotic, political-economic relationship between the dairy industry and the state, wherein both entities benefit from each other's support (Atkinson, 2015; Hardy, 2014a, 2014b; Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Lupton, 1995). Through public health advertising, the state endorses dairy products, bolstering the Dairy Industry's prominence while simultaneously asserting its role as an authoritative source of information (Baker, 1965b; Ford, 2013; Gilmour, 1992; Woodward & Blakely, 2014). However, this collaborative dynamic has facilitated the dairy industry's ascendancy to a dominant geographic position across environmental, economic, and political spheres posing a significant challenge for the nation as it often contradicts broader societal and environmental objectives, as noted by scholars (Edwards & Trafford, 2016; Gilmour, 1992).

7.5 Summary of Findings

Similarly to the analysis presented in Chapter 6, Section 6.4, this section provides a summary of the hegemonic tactics, strategies, ideas, and beliefs uncovered through the SCDA method. It highlights the key findings of these emergent processes across the three ‘loose’ categories, norms, tools and ideologies, setting the stage for further discussion in Chapter 8.

7.5.1 Norms: Beauty Ideals, Gender Role Stereotyping, Ethnic Preferencing

A recurring discourse of gender representation and social norms in visual representations emerged throughout all four ads. There is a clear delineation of gender roles, and women are often depicted in domestic settings or engaged in activities related to health and appearance. As described, these portrayals reflect and reinforce the stereotypes of gender roles that dominated the 1950s. FOOD FALLACIES (Section 7.3) uses illustrations of a male teacher and two women to reinforce traditional gender roles (teacher and student/ dominant male scholar and uneducated woman) and power dynamics while employing organic shapes and chaotic typography to convey urgency and significance.

In Meals for Teen-agers (Section 7.4) the illustrations of a schoolgirl and a young woman emphasise the target audience and convey messages of health and body awareness. Graphic design elements such as illustrations, shapes, and composition successfully contribute to the visual appeal of advertisements and the effectiveness of communicating their messages. Through strategic connections between consuming “The right kind of meals” and physical attractiveness, the ads evoke emotional

responses to reinforce societal values, suggesting that prioritising healthy eating habits can enhance beauty. The texts contain imperatives and authoritative tones to position the Department of Health positively as a credible source of nutritional information, urging the audience to adhere to the recommended diet guidelines. As mentioned above, this raises ethical concerns about the possible perpetuation of social norms and stereotypes related to beauty, gender roles, and socioeconomic status.

The language of shame and blame is also evident in There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk (Section 7.2) This ad uses language that emphasises “undesirable” behaviour, such as irresponsibility by milk producers and vendors who sell raw milk. By highlighting specific cases of disease outbreaks traced to raw milk sources, the ad seeks to shame and blame those who do not adhere to pasteurisation practices, reinforcing the power and authority of the government and its health department while disparaging noncompliant raw milk producers. Additionally, in this ad, anecdotal evidence was used, such as reported cases of typhoid fever and deaths attributed to raw milk consumption. Although these cases may illustrate the potential dangers of raw milk, they also present a risk of reinforcing the use of anecdotal fallacies, contributing to the endorsement of misinformation (as discussed in Section 7.3.1).

Several key findings emerge from the analysis of the social components in Chapter 7, reflecting the broader social context of the time, including the Labour government's establishment of social welfare health systems. Promoting toothbrush use benefits the public and economically advanced retailers and dentists in private practice. It also provided a hegemonic opportunity to reinforce the gendered nature of dentistry, which relegates women to auxiliary roles, reflecting patriarchal gender ordering and social stratification within the profession. Further valuable findings include a preference for written teachings, such as books, brochures, and advertisements, over oral teachings contrasting with Māori oral customs. This finding demonstrates the cultural bias towards formalised knowledge transmission and literacy, potentially excluding individuals or groups without access to such formal education.

The findings also reveal how biopower operates through the gendered and normative representations within the advertisements, as well as the broader societal implications of these portrayals. The ads reinforce traditional gender roles, presenting women as responsible for health and domestic duties, while men occupy authoritative positions, thus perpetuating patriarchal power structures. This alignment of gender roles with state-sanctioned health behaviours reflects how the government exerts control over social norms and expectations. By linking health practices to beauty, responsibility, and compliance, particularly through imperatives and authoritative tones, the ads position the state as the arbiter of both physical and moral well-being. Furthermore, the use of shame and blame, especially in the pasteurisation advertisement, underscores the state's control over acceptable behaviours and the marginalisation of those who deviate from prescribed norms. In doing so, these ads not only promote public health, but also function as tools of social regulation,

embedding state power in everyday practices like food consumption, hygiene, and gender roles, thus reinforcing biopower through the guise of public welfare.

7.5.2 Tools: Symbolic Annihilation, Authoritarianism, Conformity

Whether through illustrations, typography, or layout, each ad uses visual cues to emphasise the importance of specific health behaviours, such as brushing teeth, milk safety, and healthy adolescent eating habits. The ads use visual elements to appeal to their target audience and convey authority and expertise. For example, in Use your TOOTHBRUSH, the serif-type fonts used for the headline and body text convey formality and authority, aligning with the serious topic of oral hygiene. The headline, presented in uppercase letters, emphasises the importance of the message. Similarly, in There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk, the use of sans serif fonts for the word "safety" and bold, capitalised letters for "Pasteurised milk" underscores the urgency and importance of the safety message. Meanwhile, in FOOD FALLACIES, a mix of serif and sans-serif fonts is used to create a sense of hierarchy and guide the reader's attention through the question-and-answer format. In general, typography plays an important role in capturing attention, conveying authority, and directing the reader through the content of the advertisements.

Additionally, the ads employed various graphic design techniques to draw attention to crucial information and create a visual hierarchy, including using bold typography, contrast, and asymmetrical layouts to guide the viewer's gaze and emphasise essential messages or calls to action. For instance, in Use your TOOTHBRUSH, the illustration of brushes with shading creates a sense of realism, emphasising their importance. Clean geometric lines and balanced composition enhance the ad's clarity and practicality. Similarly, in There is Safety in Pasteurised Milk, linear design elements and shadowing add structure and depth to the ad; simultaneously, the milk bottle symbolises organic contents.

7.5.3 Ideologies: Nationalism, Patriarchy, Individualism, Meritocracy

The meals for Teen-agers (Figure 14) demonstrated the social expectations of good behaviour, adherence to a nutritious diet, and diligent school attendance, aligning closely with the prevailing middle-class ideals of the era. In particular, the advertiser also positions itself as a voice of authority, assuming the role of a responsible parent figure and endorsing patriarchal values (as discussed).

Safety in Pasteurised Milk (Figure 10) warns the public about the health dangers of consuming raw milk, using the authority and knowledge of the government and its state nutritionist, Dr Muriel Bell, aligning with broader public health goals and economic interests, as evidenced by the free pasteurised milk in primary schools. Second, the ad engaged a fear-based approach, commonly used in public health messaging during the 1950s, reinforcing group relations and power dynamics. The government, supported by authoritative and influential figures such as Dr Muriel Bell and Mabel Howard demonstrates its elite status and access to science (see Section 6.1.5). At the same time, the dairy industry, another influential group, receives support from the state. On the contrary, the public,

particularly women and minorities, are portrayed as lacking power or access, reinforcing hegemonic and patriarchal conventions.

FOOD FALLACIES (Figure 12) strategically addressed prevalent myths and fallacies about nutrition, including weight loss, gastric juices, fruit acidity, and feeding children while positively promoting dairy products and potatoes, reflecting the government's dual objectives of addressing public health concerns while promoting the interests of dominant groups, particularly the dairy industry, which was of significant economic and thus national importance. The prevalent depiction of dairy products suggests a symbiotic relationship between the dairy industry and the state, indicating nationalism and a political protectionist strategy.

The findings have highlighted how this CDS and the SCDA method were well suited to unravel the complexities of such phenomena, power dynamics, and hegemonic relationships, and offer the possibility of extending the scholarship on PHNA in Aotearoa, New Zealand. The following chapter reviews, discusses, and considers the key findings.

Chapter Eight: Reviewing, Discussing and Reflecting

My motivation for conducting this research came from several key inquiries. First, poor nutritional outcomes among certain demographic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand are troubling and require targeted interventions to address health disparities and inequities (Marriott & Sim, 2015; Reid & Robson, 2006; Signal et al., 2013; Turley, 2003; Wahlqvist, 2011). While learning how to generate effective interventions, I identified a significant gap in the literature on culturally relevant public health nutrition history and promotion. This gap hinders a comprehensive understanding of current nutritional practices and policies. Without critically examining hegemony and its formative ideologies within historical artefacts, public health nutrition promotions will continue perpetuating outdated ideas as discussed in Chapter 3.

Second, in my ambition to address this knowledge gap, I was motivated to learn about culturally relevant public health promotion and the related institutions that are involved in creating historical public health nutrition promotions. In particular, since the Department of Health and the mass media wield considerable social influence, and considering the ethical concerns associated with public health promotions, documenting their historical outputs and subjecting them to critical scrutiny was essential to understand their objectives and the hegemonic mechanisms at play. Additionally, it seemed pertinent to study the Aotearoa New Zealand perspective given the importance of cultural relativism, history, religion, economics, social dynamics, and political philosophies (Aliyu, 2021; Cross et al., 2023; Leonard W. Ortmann et al., 2016). Consequently, my pursuit falls under the domain of critical media scholarship, aiming to dissect cultural texts and unveil the underlying intentions and embedded hegemonic processes inherent in such campaigns.

From these motivations, I could compile a corpus, select a sample, explore the theoretical premises and context, review public health and related ethics literature, choose a methodology, and design a suitable method. In this undertaking, from the archives of *The New Zealand Listener* I selected a sample of eight advertisements published consistently over a decade by the New Zealand Department of Health between 1948 and 1960, considered the extant literature, and organised my thesis around the following research questions:

- Research Question 1: What are the embedded beliefs, and emergent discourses within historical public health nutrition advertisements that contribute to developing, accepting, and validating social norms, hegemonic strategies, and associated practices?
- Research Question 2: In what ways do these hegemonic processes contribute to broader social dynamics and ideologies?

This study is anchored in the foundational concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Bloor & Bloor, 2007; Fairclough, 1992, 2001; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Machin & Mayr, 2012a; Van Dijk, 2011, 2018; Van Leeuwen, 2006). These concepts prioritise the examination of social issues, highlighting how power relations are entrenched in discourse and how discourse actively constructs society and culture. Additionally, CDA recognises the ideological roles discourse plays and

places it within its specific historical context. Moreover, CDA is both an interpretive and explanatory tool, with its ultimate aim being to effect social change through critical engagement with discourse. In line with these critical concepts, the responses to my research questions have been thoroughly documented and discussed throughout Chapters 5 to 7 and the key findings are summarised in the corresponding Chapter Sections 6.4 and 7.5. However, given their significance, it is essential to revisit, in this chapter, the key findings that merit further discussion. First, however, as my SCDA-method was unique and instrumental in this process, I will reflect on its motivation, design, and effectiveness.

8.1 The SCDA-method: Reflections

The primary endeavour of a critical discourse study is to facilitate gathering insights into the mechanisations of discourse construction (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 2012; Van Dijk, 2001a; Wodak, 2013). However, after choosing and reviewing Van Dijk's SCDA methodology (Van Dijk, 2008a, 2016, 2018) I found no systematic and pragmatic SCDA method suited to this CDA effort. Instead, as Van Dijk views CDA as a broader field of study, suggesting flexibility in methodology, he provides general ideological and practical CDA strategies (see Chapter 4). Building from this understanding and reflecting on the importance and goals of critical discourse studies and mass communication research (Hansen et al., 1998; Van Dijk, 2016; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) along with inspiration from CDA researcher Mullet (2018), I decided to design a method that would fill this gap and meet the needs of my study. After a period of discovery, trial and error, I developed what I have termed the SCDA-method, a four-phased approach that allows for the critical examination and analysis of cultural texts following the principles of SCDA (see Section 4.3).

The design process was an opportunity to peruse methods from other disciplines, among others, archaeology, anthropology ethnography and multimodal studies (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011; Schroeder, 2006; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2011). Eventually I found the formal analysis of art history (D'Alleva & Cothren, 2021a, 2021b; Hatt & Klonk, 2006; Howells & Negreiros, 2012) with its close examination of critical visual components, a suitable inspiration for the first phase as it allows the researcher to intimately familiarise him/herself with the cultural text.

The subsequent three phases were designed around Van Dijk's SCDA scholarship (Van Dijk, 1993b, 2000b, 2014, 2016, 2018) to address research questions by systematically deciphering obfuscated beliefs, ideas, values, and attitudes and also allow for intertext (read cultural text) comparison and reflection to establish a comprehensive understanding of the discourses (answering research question 1) and further consider broader social dynamics and ideologies (answering research question 2). During this process, I created workbooks and reference guides (see Appendixes C and D) to help me systematically decipher the advertisements. Upon application, the results flowed rapidly and after the pilot study, and further analyses, I adjusted the format and revisited the components as detailed in Section 5.2.

Through the effectiveness of my SCDA-method, the slow revealing, interpreting and reflections, not only did I illuminate the social problems within the sample's cultural texts, but I readily discovered the hegemonic structures and discourses and made comparisons of the artefacts. Furthermore, through this method, I have demonstrated in rhetorical and discursive detail *what* beliefs generated and formed ideologies and *how* the Aotearoa New Zealand government wielded power to shape culture by, for example, perpetuating gendering roles, nudging people into identities that align with established hegemonic beliefs and excluding or symbolically annihilating minorities and women.

In support of the goals of critical discourse studies: uncovering underlying power structures, ideologies, and inequalities and promoting social change by raising awareness of how discourses maintain or challenge existing power relations (Van Dijk, 2007, 2015a; Wodak, 2001), the novel SCDA method proved itself a valuable means, which through further development can contribute to CDA scholarship enabling further application of SCDA methodology.

8.2 Unveiling Hegemonic Processes

Through applying the SCDA-method, this study has successfully answered research question 1, discovering embedded beliefs and considering the emerging discourses. I have argued throughout that these cultural artefacts, while aiming to promote health and well-being, also served as platforms for endorsing and maintaining hegemony. For example, beauty ideals, gender role stereotyping and ethnic bias were found to reinforce hegemonic patriarchal norms, while cultural tools of obedience, conformity, and persuasive rhetoric were found to reinforce nation building including an economic focus and personal autonomy with its corresponding meritocracy. The many interrelated findings are interspersed throughout the analyses, therefore, for clarity and discussion purposes, I *loosely* categorised them in the Summary sections 6.4 and 7.5 into three main groups: norms, tools, and ideologies. This section addresses the norms and tools.

The analysis demonstrated and underscored the culturally relevant widespread influence of social norms, the promotion of positive social evaluations, and stereotyping within the advertising landscape of the post-World War II era across all sets of findings. From this observation, these social issues stand out: the beauty idealisation of women, gendering of domesticity, and ethnic preferencing/ racial discrimination.

8.2.1 Beauty Idealisation and Domestic Gendering

The analyses consistently demonstrated that the Department of Health endorsed an idealised women's body shape and beauty norms concurrent with the assignments of gender roles in the 1950s and patriarchal social expectations. Women, or sometimes just their hands, as in Let's Try Lamb's Fry (Section 6.3), were predominantly depicted in domestic settings or engaged in activities related to health and appearance as observed in the Sensible Slimming weight-loss advice "Look better, Feel Better, Be better" (Chapter 5). Such findings illustrate the process of normalising and ingraining favourable ideologies and behaviours, portraying them as inherent or default modes of thinking and acting, consistent with the existing literature on biopower and the reinforcing power of social

identities and stereotyping in hegemonic processes (Dovidio et al., 2010; Fields, 2016; Fiske, 1993; Grau & Zotos, 2016; Habgood, 1992; Hackney, 2006; Jobling et al., 2022; Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2021; Lindner, 2004; Martens & Casey, 2007). Furthermore, as discussed in Section 2.1.2, Krijnen and Van Bauwel (2021) illustrate how women have historically been linked with inherent caregiving qualities, consequently relegating men to the roles of breadwinners and the public sphere of employment (Gamber, 2019; Gillis & Hollows, 2008; Johnson, 2004; Martens & Casey, 2007; Neuhaus, 1999; Nolan, 2000).

Feminist efforts to address a reversal of these traditional gender roles are still a work in progress (Heywood & Adzajlic, 2022; Jovanovski, 2017; Krijnen & Van Bauwel, 2021; Zawisza-Riley, 2019), leading the findings of this study to indicate the importance of vigilance in addressing these concerns in general and in particular in public health nutrition interventions, where this study has shown that they have no place. Unfortunately, these narratives (commercial and public health) linking body shape and nutrition are still commonplace in the mass media, which, as I have argued, is in a powerful position to propagate harmful social norms (Andrews, 2016; Corcoran, 2013a; Duignan, 2023; Gottdiener, 1985; O'Shaughnessy et al., 2016; Silverstein et al., 1986; Sorlin, 1994; Van Dijk, 1995d).

In addition to these patriarchal findings is my consideration and observation regarding the background *voices* of Dr Muriel Bell, Maud Basham aka Aunt Daisy, and Dr H. B. Turbott which I introduced in Chapter 1. As mentioned, history champions these early health educators; however, critical discourse scholarship can reveal harmful attitudes and values embedded within the most well-intended discourses (Jones, 2015; Van Dijk, 2007, 2015a; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak, 2001). Although examining these influential figures was not within the ambit of this study, from my brief perusal of their influence and writings, I felt they missed opportunities to not only reflect the changing narrative on emerging feminist perspectives but give the movement a helping hand through their authoritative positions. However, considering how hegemonic processes serve to create an environment in which patriarchal norms and values are commonplace and thus invisible (Altheide, 1984; Andrews, 2016; Bates, 1975; Beechey, 1979; Çoban, 2018; Lerner, 1986; Miller, 2017; Van Dijk, 2000a; Walby, 1989) they may be forgiven, as in such a conformist environment, it can be hard even to notice what is unfair, unequal, or unjust.

8.2.2 Ethnic Preferencing

Throughout the advertisements, Eurocentric discourses were identified as pervasive elements in, perpetuating a well-established anti-Māori, thus racist, discourse (McCreanor, 2008; Nairn et al., 2006). The analysis process shed light on the symbolic marginalisation of Māori, perpetuated by PHNA that unequivocally endorsed Western ideas, values, and attitudes (Coleman et al., 2008; Edwards & Moore, 2009; McPherson et al., 2003; Rathzel, 1997; Salmond, 2017; Van Dijk, 1993a, 2015b). Interestingly, not a single ad within the corpus reflects Māori perspectives on nutrition, food,

aesthetics, culture, or conventions, exemplifying a significant omission in acknowledging and respecting Māori heritage and the history and collision of both cultures.

Fortunately, although Pākehā and their culture still dominate demographically and socially, the latter part of the twentieth century witnessed a social awakening and revival of indigenous rights (Connell, 2007; Salmond, 2017, pp. 406-415; Te Rangi-Aniwaniwa Rangihau, 1986, pp. 77-79; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). This revival benefits the Māori language, culture, and all social justice issues these massive social movements entail (Brooking, 2004, p. 161), leading to improvements in health outcomes through targeted efforts (Baxter et al., 2006; Coleborne, 2009; Marriott & Sim, 2015; Reid & Robson, 2006; Signal et al., 2013). However, social disparities remain a work in progress (Kiddle et al., 2020), and, as suggested, warrant ongoing social, political activism, and scholarly vigilance.

The demonstration of racism in this study underscores the need for a more critical examination of past discourses to understand and address the roots of harmful and often obfuscated social practices, such as PHNA, to envision more equitable and respectful communities. This study confirms and contributes to the understanding of how radical ideas about nationhood emerge; they gradually develop over countless decades through deliberately constructed and perpetuated discourses (Billig, 1995; Lobur, 2008; Nelis, 2007; Wodak & Richardson, 2013).

Contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, compared to many postcolonial nations, exhibits *relatively* progressive attitudes toward addressing historical colonial injustices (Ashton, 2001; Davis & Dew, 1999; Durie, 2003; Durie, 2012; Reid et al., 2019; Reid & Cram, 2005; Riley & McCarthy, 2007; Signal & Ratima, 2015). Nevertheless, I would argue, a missed opportunity stands out in the mid- twentieth century during the postwar era of rapid social transformation and economic growth. The Aotearoa New Zealand government could have taken decisive steps to shed its colonial legacy and embrace inclusivity, participation, collaboration and partnership principles during this period. As this study has shown, with a government perpetuating hegemonic norms and ideas and a media platform that promotes them, it is evident how this opportunity was overlooked, at least in nutrition promotion. But there is no better time than the present to rectify historical injustices and "imagine a community" (Anderson, 2016) that includes and respects everyone. These findings suggest recognising the opportunities, understanding the discursive landscape, and changing the narrative, leading me to recommend that more studies intersecting Public Health Nutrition Promotion and Critical Media Studies continue this meaningful and important work.

8.2.3 Hegemonic Tools

The comprehensive analysis of the visual and discursive elements within the historical public health nutrition advertisements offered significant insights into the hegemonic tools used to maintain the status quo and reinforce favourable norms. They answer an important aspect of the first research question to better understand *how* embedded beliefs were perpetuated. First, graphic design was crucial to capture audience attention and effectively communicate the intended message. The analysis

demonstrated how visual symbolism, through graphic design, illustrations, and imagery, reinforced the central messages of the advertisements, enhancing their relevance and practicality, which agrees with the advertising and persuasion literature on how advertisements use imagery and language to construct and reinforce normative, hegemonic gender roles and identities (Burke, 1969, 1989; Butler, 1988; Hall et al., 1991; Holm, 2023, p. 112; Lazar & Kramarae, 2011; Rathzel, 1997; Zawisza-Riley, 2019). For instance, the recurring use of symbols such as the images of smiling women (seen throughout) or stern men as portrayed by the teacher in Food Fallacies (Section 7.3), were employed not merely as representations but as persuasive tools to convey symbolic messages of domesticity, beauty and health ideals, gender roles, authority, or submissiveness, thereby influencing audience perceptions and behaviours.

Additionally, as Burke (1969) posited, symbols possess layers of meaning and can be harnessed unexpectedly to instil novelty and evoke surprise, effectively capturing the audience's attention. “Miss Cheese-Head” from the Choose Cheese ad (Section 6.2) demonstrates this effectively; the illustration is novel, comical and certainly stands out. However, as Burke (1969, 1989) further contends, this caricature on top of a curvilinear and slightly more realistic female body shape, thus transcending this overt function, symbolically represents the stereotypical gendered role of women with food preparation and domestic duties. Such findings suggest vigilance for public health nutrition advertisements where the ultimate goal is to enable people to increase control over their health and its causes and improve their wellbeing (Tulchinsky & Varavikova, 2008, pp. 41,65), not to inflict harmful social values that perpetuate hegemonic ideals.

Second, typography emerged as a powerful means to convey authority, credibility to persuade the audience. Findings across the analyses demonstrated how using serif fonts contributed to a formal, serious and authoritative tone, while bold and capitalised letters were strategically used to highlight key messages, reinforcing their significance (Bringhurst, 2004; Lupton, 2010) for example, “Every man, Woman and Child Should eat a piece of cheese daily” from the advertisement Choose Cheese (Section 6.2). Additionally, variations in font sizes and styles aided in creating a visual hierarchy, guiding the audience's attention towards specific information, while the imperative style and often fear-based language, seen in *all* the advertisements, compounded the sense of authority and expectation of obedience, aligning with prevailing social patriarchal norms of authority, obedience, and conformity. Perhaps an unsurprising finding in the field of Critical Media Studies, where such typographic techniques are well understood (Cook, 2001; Einstein, 2017; Hackney, 2017; Holm, 2023; Kilbourne, 2000; White, 2015; Williamson, 1978), nevertheless a valuable launchpad for continued studies in public health nutrition promotion.

And third, the social components of the analyses underscored the complex and culturally relevant hegemonic interplay of power and representation in shaping public health discourse and societal attitudes during mid-twentieth century. The Department of Health wielded governmentality techniques and mechanisms: disseminating persuasive communications, engaging commentators like

Maud Basham (Aunt Daisy), Dr Muriel Bell and Dr H. B. Turbott, reinforcing hegemony through the normalisation of actions and constructing obedience and conservatism all while gradually instilling an *illusion* of stability, organisation, and choice (Bröckling et al., 2010; Lemke, 2011; Lupton, 1995). For example, in Vegetable Water is Valuable (Section 6.1) it is observable that the DoH, an institution wielding unchallenged authority, in a particular domain, attempts to sway the population and engage in micromanagement presenting information as unquestionable and essential, thus seizing the opportunity to establish legitimacy (Edwards & Moore, 2009) and enforce class, ethnicity, gender roles, and frugality ideals under the guise of imparting nutritional knowledge (Rumm-Kreuter & Demmel, 1990).

Furthermore, in the landscape of these public health messages, further ethical concerns arose in the analysis concerning the rhetorical tactics of exaggerations and emotionally charged appeals, confirming, and possibly contributing to Public Health Ethics and biopower literature (Anderson, 2012; Delany et al., 2015; Ferreira et al., 2015; Guttman, 2017; Lupton, 1995, 1996; Nadesan, 2010; Rabinow & Rose, 2006; Taylor, 2014). For example, Sensible Slimming (Chapter 5) illustrated such rhetorical tactics, with its blatant fear mongering about body weight and shape. Further examples are found in Vegetable water is Valuable (Section 6.1) that was entirely constructed around the fear of wasting minerals and vitamins and Let's try Lambs Fry (Section 6.3) constructed around the fear of lacking dietary iron. There is safety in Pasteurised Milk (Section 7.2) provided a further example of fear based persuasive tactics, with its warnings about the dangers of contracting tuberculosis from raw milk. Contemporary examples of fear based advertising strategies are found in, among others, obesity smoking, drug and alcohol awareness and sexually transmitted disease education campaigns (Bristow et al., 2022; Gagnon et al., 2010; Gill & Lennon, 2022; Lupton, 1993; Mongeau, 2012; Peters et al., 2014). The pervasiveness of fear-based public health campaigns has remained a staple intervention despite their lack of effectiveness in health outcomes as Lupton (1995) argues, they better serve political motivations showing "that the state considers the issue to be a 'problem' and is working to do something about it" (p.125). As this study has demonstrated, fear-based public health campaigns serve hegemonic rather than the public's needs.

Scholarship in the field of health promotion and Public Health Ethics underscores the crucial need to proactively identify and address these rhetorical strategies, and other ethical considerations right from the inception of an intervention or promotional effort, where the intention is not to merely inform citizens, but to influence or modify their behaviours, views and lifestyles (Campbell, 2017; Carter et al., 2012; Cross et al., 2023; Guttman, 2017; Guttman & Salmon, 2004; Kass, 2001; Manson, 2007; McCormick, 2023; Seedhouse, 2004; Tengland, 2012; Thorogood & Coombes, 2010; Vogelzang, 2023). However, this study finds that practical ethics and policy guidance is missing from this consideration, leaving *our* public health nutrition landscape wanting; ethical implications cannot be fully considered where the evidence is lacking.

Overall, the visual and discursive elements within these historical public health nutrition advertisements reveal the tools and strategies employed by the Department of Health, reflecting a deliberate effort to legitimise and reproduce social norms and practices in support of hegemonic power structures. These findings not only address the research question but also uniquely contribute to a deeper understanding of public health nutrition's historical context, the origins of social attitudes and behaviours culturally relevant to Aotearoa New Zealand and provide valuable insights for public health nutrition promoters to inform their interventions. The following section discusses and contemplates these findings in the context of Research Question 2.

8.3 Shaping Social Dynamics

The critical discourse scholarship reviewed argues that hegemonies utilise largely invisible processes to disseminate, defend, and manufacture compliance to instil their messages (Andrews, 2016; Aronson, 1972; Bates, 1975; Branscombe & Baron, 2022; Charteris-Black, 2009; Fairclough, 2013; Hall, 1985; Ives, 2004; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Stainton Rogers, 2011; Tajfel & Fraser, 1978; Terry & Hogg, 1999; Van Dijk, 2000a). Confirming this argument, the analyses successfully unveiled a myriad of invisible hegemonic processes, shedding light on the culturally relevant social norms and values prevalent during the 1950s. Additionally, this study acknowledges these hegemonic processes and further asserts that the Department of Health's public health nutrition campaign served as a platform not only to endorse the prevailing status quo, patriarchy, but also to strengthen the narrative of individual autonomy and foster nationalism, thus broadly shaping social dynamics. This section considers research question 2 and discusses these key findings.

8.3.1 Nationalism

The key finding of *nationalism,* the potent ideological framework that fosters a sense belonging to a particular country or state or region (S. T. Fiske, 2010; Giddens, 1991; Kohn, 1944; McIntyre, 1992; Smith, 2013), and its impact on the formation of social identities, emerged across the analyses. For instance, advertisements advocating cheese, milk and lamb's fry (sheep liver) emphasised the nutritional benefits of these domestically produced food items, aligning with the prevailing sentiment of preferencing local produce while fostering a collective nutrition narrative, nation-building tool (Anderson, 2016).

Another aspect that contributed to the nation-building strategy was cultivating the economic focus narrative. This narrative underscored social values of thrift and frugality, which were prevalent attitudes during the postwar period (Baker, 1965b; Edwards, 2013; Graham, 1992). Expressions such as "Vegetables are expensive, why permit money to be tipped down the sink..."(Section 6.1) reflected the challenges of households while fostering a collective mindset, focussing on solidarity and shared responsibility and building the character of the practical and sensible New Zealander (Barker, 2015; Belich, 1996, 2001; Brookes, 2016; Brooking, 2004; M. King, 2003; Macindoe, 2022). Furthermore, and regrettably, through the symbolic marginalisation of Māori perspectives and perpetuation of Eurocentric ideologies, the ads contributed to the exclusion of indigenous voices missing valuable

early (mid-century) opportunities for postcolonial reconciliation, inclusivity, and equity. Although, as noted earlier, hegemonic processes are powerful and obfuscated, thus opportunities missed are regrettable but understandable.

The Aotearoa New Zealand government tasked its Department of Health with educating the public on nutrition and dietary health during the 1950s. Many of the department's ads were similar, shared a consistent format, and some even appeared on the cover pages of *The Listener* (personal observations during the initial research phase) offering a sense of familiarity, positioning the Department of Health as a trustworthy authority, while instilling the *illusion* of stability (Bröckling et al., 2010; Foucault, 1979b; Lemke, 2011; Powell Darren, 2020). Upon reflection, this stability and familiarity after a time of political and social upheaval, may have reflected a desire to return to a sense of normalcy and business as usual. Furthermore, while a sense of postwar patriotism lingered, stability and familiarity were arguably necessary to boost the postwar economic recovery.

As Benedict Anderson's research on nationalism, *Imagined Communities* (2016) demonstrated, shared narratives and values through the print media are one of the primary ways to endorse nation-building morals that create a sense of belonging and unity between citizens. This understanding, alongside, Gellner's emphasis on how individuals identify with political institutions (Gellner, 1983, 1998), such as the Department of Health, demonstrates how Public Health Nutrition Advertising can play a role in forging a connection between the populace and governmental bodies. This study, in alignment with the relevant literature, has provided an example of the merging of these two concepts. It illuminated how promoting socially desirable behaviours, the support of home grown produce, and economic focus and Eurocentric preferencing concurrent with health and well-being promotion served not only public health objectives but reinforced civic identity and collective participation in contributing to the broader nation building endeavour: the *imagined community* of Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, it is a unique contribution to the local scholarship regarding the historical development of nationalism.

8.3.2 Individual Autonomy

Another important finding was the pervasive hegemonic construct: individual autonomy (frequently termed personal responsibility) for health outcomes (Bayer & Fairchild, 2004; Brownell, 1991; Lukes, 2006; Minkler, 1999; Steinbrook, 2006; Wikler, 2002). Through the portrayal of certain foods as beneficial for individual growth and well-being, and the linking of food and nutrition choices to health outcomes, a narrative was evident in the analyses in support of this value. Chapter 2 discussed the conceptual shift in health promotion from a largely instructional and educational pursuit (Worsley, 2008) to a sense of individual autonomy and choice as lifestyle matters came into focus (Ferreira et al., 2015; Lupton, 1993; Piggin, 2012; Wiltshire et al., 2019). Signal, Ratima, and Raeburn (Department of Health, 1978, as cited in 2015) illustrated this change with a quote from the annual report by the DoH in 1978, "Health cannot be forced upon people. It cannot be dispensed to the people. They must want it and be prepared to do their share" (p.26). However, as my analysis

revealed the hegemonic content of the ads, it also shed light on critical ethical issues such as this narrative of individual autonomy, informed consent, and the right to self-determination that were already prevalent in the 1950s. I have observed and argued, throughout the analyses, that these concepts struggle for approval in the realm of the new public health and the social determinants, public health-related ethics and Critical Media Studies, where the intention is good, but the outcome falls short (Buchanan, 2000; Coveney, 1998; Duncan & Cribb, 1996; Edwards, 2012; Foucault, 2000; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Guttman, 2017; Lupton, 1995; Mayes & Thompson, 2014; Mayes & Thompson, 2015).

Elite institutions wield considerable power in part through controlling the discourse, in shaping both the biological and social dimensions of human existence, influencing beliefs and behaviours of people about themselves and constructing 'others' in all manner of ways: ignorant, irrelevant, apathetic or even uncontrolled (Bröckling et al., 2010; Coveney, 1998; Coveney, 2006; Lemke, 2011; Lupton, 1995). The findings of this study are well placed to contribute to the local scholarship of Public Health Ethics, food advertising and public health communications. Furthermore, they afford me the proposal to urge ongoing research towards developing ethical guidelines or principles for Public Health Nutrition Promotion that consider how to move away from the personal responsibility construct, while being mindful of autonomy, as encouraged by Delany et al. (2015) and Mayes and Thompson (2014).

8.4 In conclusion

8.4.1 Limitations

First, while CDA offers valuable insights into hegemonic messaging, understanding how discourses constitutes society and culture through extensive analytical tools, it may not fully capture the complexity of the interactions between media texts and their audiences (Fairclough, 2013; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996; Van Dijk, 2008b; Wodak, 2013). My study recognises the limitations inherent to both CDA as a qualitative, interpretive approach and the specific scope of this research (Section 4.2.5).

Second, the relatively small sample size (eight advertisements) used in this study, while necessary for in-depth analysis, may limit the generalisability of findings to broader populations. Therefore, the findings may not be universally applicable but pertain to the specific context and timeframe under examination. With this understanding, I can view the ads in my sample as historically isolated, and indeed, they are a snapshot of a bygone era; however, based on insights from Van Dijk (1993, pp. 249-283), I choose to see them as precursors to the present public health discourse. Furthermore, the random sample generated a selection that may not be representative of the sum of the whole, suggesting caution in extrapolating the findings. Future possibilities may include grouping the ads around certain themes, for example fruit and vegetables, dental health, dairy products or elderly people and adapting the SCDA-method accordingly.

Third, while the SCDA-method represents a novel and rigorous approach to understanding discourses, its innovation and structured framework may have imposed certain constraints on the research process, potentially limiting opportunities for deeper reflection and creative exploration. As with any methodological approach, SCDA has inherent limitations. It cannot fully capture every discursive dimension, and the initial choices made in the analytic process may influence the results, raising questions about the subjectivity of those decisions. However, these limitations were mitigated through the random selection and a pilot study, which helped refine the method and enhance the robustness of subsequent analyses. Moreover, the inherent complexity of social and cultural contexts introduces challenges to the interpretation of findings, as *meaning making* is deeply intertwined with these factors. To strengthen future applications of the SCDA-method, a focus on reflexivity, transparency, and comprehensive documentation of decision-making processes is recommended to ensure greater accountability and address the nuanced limitations of the method.

8.4.2 Concluding Remarks

The costs and implications for the social power relationships that emerged from the analysis in this study were multifaceted and significant. First, these advertisements perpetuated and reinforced harmful social norms and beauty standards, such as the promotion of the thin-ideal in multiple ads, including Sensible Slimming, Vegetable Water, Choose Cheese, Let's Try Lamb's Fry, Food Fallacies, and Meals for Teen-agers. This idealisation of specific body shapes can have detrimental effects on mental health of individuals, contributing to body dissatisfaction, eating disorders, and low self-esteem (see Chapter 5). Second, these advertisements may have also contributed to perpetuation of unhealthy eating habits and food choices, leading to long-term health consequences; an ironic result and entirely misaligned with the third principle of bioethics, beneficence, which calls for healthcare providers to provide benefit to patients and aligns with the presumed moral obligation of health education (see Section 3.3.2).

Overall, the analyses align with the CDA objectives (Catalano & Waugh, 2020a, 2020b; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017a; Janks, 1997; Van Dijk, 2011, 2016, 2018; Wodak & Meyer, 2016) to underscore the complex interplay of hegemonic processes to reveal norms, ideologies, and the tools used to shape public health discourse and social attitudes during the 1950s. It has provided valuable insights underscoring the suitability of critical discourse studies and the SCDA- method in unravelling the complexities of such phenomena within PHNA in Aotearoa New Zealand. The analysis further offers avenues for extending scholarly discussions on the influence of ideologies in shaping public health promotions and social norms, emphasising the importance of continuing critical analysis in understanding historical and contemporary advertising practices, both public and commercial.

8.4.3 Suggestions

The complex interplay between Public Health Nutrition Promotion and bioethical principles poses a significant challenge. Although the primary objective of PHNP is to prevent diet-related illnesses and promote wellness in the population, it is essential to recognise and mitigate the potential

negative impacts related advertising can have on self-esteem, the formation of social identities, and conformity. Despite the prevailing view within the public health nutrition community that nutrition promotion is inherently beneficial (Carter et al., 2012; Gregg & O'Hara, 2007; Guttman, 2017; Hubley & Tilford, 2010; Robinson, 2021; Thompson, 2014), this study challenges this understanding. Although nutrition science must continue to inform the population about the health benefits of certain foods and dietary choices, it must also acknowledge and address the unintended consequences, the deliverance of hegemonic mechanisms, of advertising strategies on individuals' well-being and social norms. This recognition is *essential* to develop more ethical and responsible approaches to public health nutrition promotion.

In their study on nutrition communication, Goldberg and Sliwa (2011) outline several critical recommendations for improving public health communication in the realm of nutrition. These recommendations include tailoring messages to diverse audiences, ensuring clarity and conciseness in information delivery, using multiple communication channels for a wider reach, considering cultural sensitivities in message design, incorporating visuals to enhance engagement, leveraging influencers for increased credibility, promoting behaviour change rather than providing information solely, and addressing barriers to healthy eating. They suggest that by adhering to these recommendations, public health communicators can improve the effectiveness of nutrition messaging and ultimately contribute to better dietary behaviours and health outcomes among populations. These broad-sweeping recommendations, however, crucially lack the addition of the critical aspect, which they inadvertently address by suggesting that government advisory groups should routinely include experts in consumer communications to provide language guidelines for translating science into general discourse as found in the media. I would argue, as this study and others such as Green and Labonté (2008) show, including communications experts, especially those engaged in social criticism, is a vital endeavour in the evolution of public health nutrition promotion, and an opportunity for critical discourse scholars.

Further recommendations include expanding research into the intersection of nationalism and public health nutrition promotion, while actively contributing to the development of guiding principles for culturally relevant public health nutrition campaigns, particularly to address the pervasive and harmful narrative of individual autonomy. I recommend public health nutrition interventions adopt a values-driven model, emphasising transparency, honesty, trust, human dignity and communitarian ideals (S. T. Fiske, 2010). This should be coupled with active social activism to advocate for structural policy changes that prioritise public welfare over corporate interests. Importantly, highly emotional appeals, fear-based strategies—such as campaigns relying on shaming or blaming—should be avoided (Guttman, 2017; Guttman & Ressler, 2001). Public health initiatives must also be vigilant in identifying the symbolic annihilation of minorities and critically assessing dominant hegemonic messages that align with state goals.

Additionally, emerging social justice issues highlighted in this study provide a foundation for further investigation into the role of nutrition discourse from a focused social perspective, including

the intersections of gender and race. Such research could yield valuable insights into building socially diverse, inclusive, and effective public health campaigns. Exploring alternative and complementary research methods may also offer deeper understanding and guide the development of more nuanced public health strategies.

8.5 Final Thoughts

My research on Public Health Nutrition Advertising has revealed significant findings regarding biopower and bioethics. It demonstrated how historical advertising efforts in this domain have often served as platforms for propagating harmful hegemonic ideas, perpetuating social norms and beauty standards that can negatively impact mental health and contribute to unhealthy eating habits. It further highlighted the tension between promoting health outcomes and respecting individuals' autonomy, with public health messaging often exerting coercive influence and failing to consider ethical implications fully. And it challenges the prevailing view within the public health nutrition community by suggesting a need to acknowledge and address the unintended consequences of advertising strategies on individuals' well-being and social norms.

For a Healthier Nation has generated an opportunity for furthering the applicability of Critical Discourse Analysis by trialling and expanding the SCDA-method to learn its applicability for other studies. I intend to make the Corpus and the data set available for other students and researchers, hoping to share the knowledge and expand the scholarship on public health nutrition *and* commercial nutrition studies.

Although I concede that embedding beliefs is impossible to avoid, considering all humans operate within ideological frameworks, this study reminds the current Public Health Nutrition Promotion field how hegemonic patriarchal conventions, racism, and myriad social justice issues penetrate society through its promotional activities and pedagogical discourse (Lupton, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993a, pp. 173,174). And, if required to construct interventions, challenge the status quo, consider the task, the implications, reflect on outcomes and be guided by the ethical principle of nonmaleficence to *do no harm*.

8.5.1 Personal Reflections

Having been born in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1960s, these findings urge me to reflect on the dominant discourses of my upbringing and the significant impact of that time on my parents, family, and myself. Through the clarification in my study of the limiting social and gender norms, I frequently find myself pondering the options my mother and I had throughout our lives.

My life journey alongside my mother has traversed my childhood, the second wave of feminism, and continues in the present. In the 1980s, my mother transcended her limited role as a homemaker and secretary to join my father, a merchant navy engineer, to travel the world. Simultaneously, I found myself in a world with broader career options. Having a career was not only an option, these opportunities were to be embraced with open arms. As such, riding this new social wave, I headed to study and embark on a career. The world was my oyster.

However, while *we* make social progress, we do so with one foot moving forward, while the other drags behind, hindered by the remnants of mid-century ideals: expectations of being slim, youthful, devoted homemakers, supportive wives, and peacemakers. These expectations still linger in both of us. I observe this in my academic work, where I notice a reluctance to criticise or avoid upsetting other scholars, although that is an academic imperative. Also in my family life, where I am the main caregiver, I am devoted to my family above all else. My mother, too, in her eighties and even after all her worldly travels, continues to be concerned about social appearances of being slim (she still considers her diet), appearing attractive (she still wears makeup), her house and clothing are immaculate, and she *still* cares for her husband. These are mid-century enduring patriarchal values: embedded, obfuscated, invisible.

This introspection brings the theory of social construction into sharp focus, bridging the gap between theory and lived experience. It perplexes me when considering my long-term memories, social cognition, identity, and those of others in my generation. Equally, it also fosters intergenerational empathy, which I can extend within my family and beyond to the broader community. The sociocognitive environment plays a crucial role in shaping our lives, as evidenced by the adage 'Old habits die hard.' Fortunately, these shared attitudes do change, crucial for cooperation, communication, and interaction (Van Dijk, 2007). As we unravel the historical and social codes that bind us, we are well-positioned to reflect, empathise, and foster less detrimental, more positive, and socially progressive discourses.

Writing this thesis has been a humbling experience regarding the scholarship, knowledge and research process. I have been privileged to access this world and I would like to acknowledge this by concluding with a quote from *Fateless*, a novel by Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize winner Imre Kertész (Kertész, 1992):

> As we pass one step, and as we recognise it as being behind us, the next one already rises up before us. By the time we learn everything, we slowly come to understand it. And while you come to understand everything gradually, you don't remain idle at any moment: you are already attending to your new business; you live, you act, you move, and you fulfil the new requirements of every new step of development. If, on the other hand, there were no schedule, no gradual enlightenment, if all the knowledge descended on you at once right there in one spot, then it is possible neither your brains nor your heart could bear it. (p.181)

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Appendix A.

Corpus

Image 1 NZL01

Image 2 NZL02

Image 3 NZL03

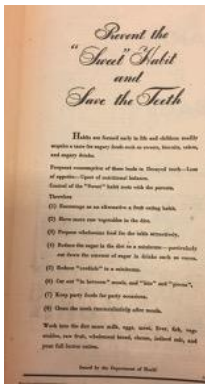

Image 4 NZL04

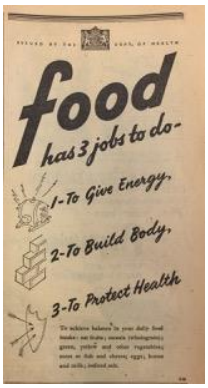

Image 5 NZL05

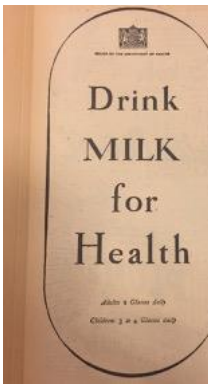

Image 6 NZL06

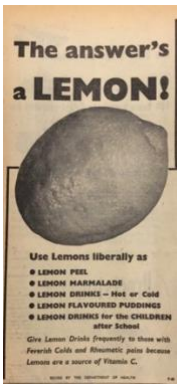

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Image 8 NZL08

Image 9 NZL09

Image 10 NZL10

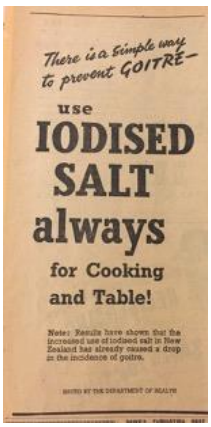


Image 11 NZL11

Image 12 NZL12

Image 13 NZL13

Image 14 NZL14

Image 15 NZL15

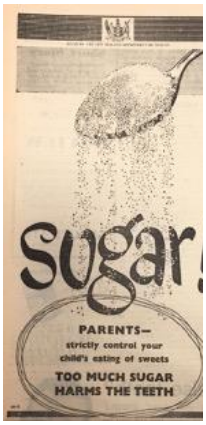
Image 16 NZL16

Image 17 NZL17

Image 18 NZL18

Image 19 NZL19

Image 20 NZL20



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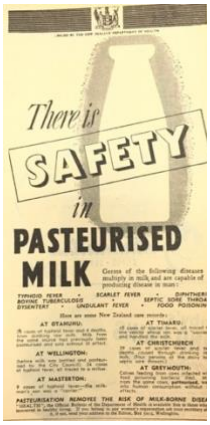

Image 22 NZL22

Image 23 NZL23

Image 24 NZL24

Image 25 NZL25

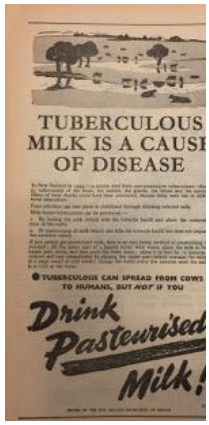

Image 26 NZL26

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Image 63 NZL63

Image 64 NZL64

Image 65 NZL65

Image 66 NZL66

Image 67 NZL67

Image 68 NZL68

Appendix B.

Sample Generation: Randomisation

Used: Random.org, list generator: https://www.random.org/list (Haahr, 2019)

Year	Random numbers	IP reference and date
1948	There were 7 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl08 • nzl06 • nzl01 • nzl04 • nzl07 • nzl05 • nzl03	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:16:10 UTC
1949	There were 4 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl12 • nzl11 • nzl10 • nzl09	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:23:32 UTC
1950	There were 7 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl13 • nzl17 • nzl19 • nzl16 • nzl18 • nzl15 • nzl14	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:24:13 UTC
1951	There were 7 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl22 • nzl21 • nzl23 • nzl24 • nzl20 • nzl26 • nzl25	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:25:23 UTC
1952	There were 7 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl33 • nzl27 • nzl30 • nzl31 • nzl29 • nzl32 • nzl28	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:26:08 UTC
1953	There were 10 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl36 • nzl43 • nzl41	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:27:07 UTC

	• nzl39 • nzl42 • nzl40 • nzl34 • nzl38 • nzl35 • nzl37	
1954	There were 4 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl47 • nzl44 • nzl46 • nzl45	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:27:45 UTC
1955	There were 6 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl50 • nzl51 • nzl48 • nzl49 • nzl52 • nzl53	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:28:26 UTC
1956	There were 4 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl57 • nzl55 • nzl54 • nzl56	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:33:55 UTC
1957	Nzl158	Only one in this year
1958	There were 8 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl61 • nzl65 • nzl59 • nzl62 • nzl64 • nzl68 • nzl63 • nzl60	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:35:26 UTC
1959	There were 2 items in your list. Here they are in random order: • nzl66 • nzl67	IP: 2407:7000:85bb:4b00:a4be:fbe:1915:454d Timestamp: 2019-06-19 02:36:02 UTC

Appendix C.

Key Rhetorical Devices & Tools

This guide was created and adapted from the publications of Corbett and Connors (1990); McGuigan (2011). It reminds the researcher of some of the key rhetorical components and aids in a comparison of multiple texts.

Discovery of Arguments/ Superstructures

Common Topics/ Topoi	
Definition	Genus, Division
Comparison	Similarity, Difference, Degree
Relationship	Cause and Effect, Antecedent &Consequence, Contraries & Contradictions
Circumstances	Possible & Impossible and Past Fact and Future Fact
Testimony	Authority, Testimonial, Statistics, Maxims, Law, Precedent (example)

Special Topics/ Topoi	
Deliberative	The good, unworthy, advantageous, and disadvantageous
Judicial	Justice (right), Injustice (wrong)
Ceremonial	Virtue (the noble) and Vice (the base)

Fallacies	
Deductive	Equivocation, Undistributed middle
Illicit Process	Two Negatives (fallacy, fallacy), Affirmative from Negative Either/or, Affirming Consequent, Denying Antecedent
Inductive	Faulty Generalisation, Faulty Causal, Faulty Analogy
Miscellaneous	• Begging Question, Ad Hominem, Ad Populum, Red Herring, Complex Question, Bandwagon (thousands are present) • False cause, e.g. If they can't fix the aircon, how can they defeat ISIS? • Black or white, e.g. only two possible states exist. • Anecdotal fallacy, Strawman. A misrepresentation of an argument. • Appeal to emotion: “They're laughing at us, believe me!” • Slippery slope, Circular reasoning, Composition: one slice reflects the whole, Common sense fallacy, Genetic Fallacy: e.g. All Xyz's are lazy. • Personal doubt, e.g. as the speaker, I don't understand it; therefore, it can't be the truth.

Kinds of Appeal	
Logos	Appeal to logic
Ethics	Appeal to ethics or values
Pathos	Appeal to emotions

Appendix D.

Key Discursive Elements, Structures and Strategies:

A guide created and adapted from Van Dijk's publications (Van Dijk, 1989; Van Dijk, 1993b, 1995c, 2018) that intends to remind the researcher of the many key discursive elements.

Polarisation	
Ingroup	Consider how positive representation is used: emphasis, assertion, hyperbole, topicalisation, -sentential (micro), -textual (macro), high, prominent position, headlining, summarising, detailed description, attribution to personality, explicit, direct, narrative, illustration, argumentative support, impression management.
Outgroup	Consider how negative representation is used: de-emphasis, denial, understatement, de-topicalisation, low, non-prominent position, marginalisation, vague, overall description, attribution to context, implicit, indirect, no storytelling, no argumentative support, no impression management.

Structures	• phonological structures (stress, pitch, volume, intonation), • graphical structures (headlines, bold characters), • overall ordering and size (first and later, higher and lower, bigger and smaller, primacy and recency), • syntactic structure (word order, topicalisation, clausal relations: main and subordinate, fronted or embedded; split constructions), • semantic structures (explicit vs. implicit, detail and level of description, • semantic macrostructures vs. details), • lexical style (positive vs. negative opinion words), • rhetoric (under- and overstatement, euphemism, litotes; repetition) • schematic or superstructures (expressed prominent conventional category, e.g. headline or conclusion; storytelling and argumentation), • pragmatic (assertion vs. denial; self-congratulation vs. accusation), • interactive (turn-taking: self-selection and dominance; topic maintenance and change; non-verbal communication: face, gestures, etc.).

Ideological discourse: local meanings, implications	
Group Identity	• Defining Our Identity: Who do we identify as a community, and what attributes make up our collective identity? • Exploring Our Origins: What historical and geographical roots have shaped our group? • Celebrating Our Qualities: What distinctive and admirable characteristics do we possess collectively? • Tracing Our Heritage: How has our shared history unfolded, and what significant events have defined our journey?

	• Highlighting Our Uniqueness: How do we stand out from other groups, and what makes us unique? • Recognising Our Achievements: What accomplishments and sources of pride do we hold dear, and how do we honour them? Considering boundary statements, this approach allows us to consider factors like who is welcomed into the group and the criteria for their inclusion.
Activity descriptions	• Our Responsibilities: What duties and obligations are assigned to us? • Our Actions: How do we actively contribute and engage in our roles? • Anticipated Contributions: What is the society or community expecting from us regarding our roles? • Our Social Functions: What functions and roles do we fulfil within our social context?
Group Goal descriptions	Activities only align with ideological principles when these are driven by positive objectives, including but not limited to: • Informing the Public: Activities that aim to disseminate accurate and relevant information to the public, facilitating informed decision-making and awareness. • Serving as a Watchdog for Society: Engaging in activities that hold institutions and individuals accountable for their actions, promoting transparency and ethical behaviour within society. • Seeking the Truth: Pursuing activities prioritising the discovery of objective truths and facts, often associated with investigative journalism and scientific research. • Educating the Young: Activities centred on the education and development of younger generations, fostering knowledge, critical thinking, and ethical values. • Saving Nature: Endeavours dedicated to the preservation and conservation of the environment, biodiversity, and natural resources, with a focus on sustainability and stewardship. These positive goals provide a moral and ideological foundation for various activities, guiding them towards constructive and ethical outcomes.
Norm and value descriptions	What the group finds good/bad, right/wrong. There may be a focus on truth, factuality, reliability, equality, justice, freedom, democracy, intelligence, politeness, and efficiency. The discourse may emphasise violating these norms and values for the other group/opponent (polarisation).

Discursive structures and strategies	
Negative lexicalisation	The selection of (strongly) negative words to describe the actions of the others: destroy, traumatise, terrorism, paralysing fear, inflaming hatred, gangs, murky, poisoned, obsession, extremism, etc.
Hyperbole	A description of an event or action in strongly exaggerated terms.
Compassion move	Showing empathy or sympathy for (weak) victims of the Other's actions to enhance the brutality of the Other.
Apparent altruism move	This strategy, linked to the compassion move, highlights an understanding of the perspectives or interests of specific individuals or groups referred to

	as “the Others.” This strategy is called “Apparent Altruism” due to its characteristic feature of not typically being elaborated upon but functioning primarily as a disclaimer while presenting oneself positively (altruism being a positive attribute).
Apparent honesty move	The Honesty move represents a recognised method for pre-emptively distancing oneself from potentially harmful statements, which can be achieved by employing expressions like “Frankly,...” or “We should not hide the truth.” Similar to other disclaimers, it's important to note that the “honesty” referred to in this context is fundamentally strategic and rhetorical rather than genuine or sincere.
Negative comparison	Unfavourable comparison entails highlighting the negative or unfortunate characteristics of the “Other” by comparing the target individual or out-group and a widely acknowledged negative figure or out-group. An illustrative instance of this strategy is George Bush's likening of Saddam Hussein to Hitler during the Gulf War, a notable example of such rhetoric.
Generalisation	Generalising from one person or a small group to a larger group or category.
Concretisation	Another frequently used tactic to underscore a particular group or individual's negative actions is to provide a detailed and vivid description of these actions, rendering them in tangible and visualisable terms. For instance, when portraying immigrants as constructing a nuclear device, they are depicted as actively engaged in this activity within a secure location with a clear view of a high-value area, e.g. Manhattan.
Alliteration	Phonologically based rhetoric, commonly found in tabloid headlines and opinion articles, is often used to accentuate the significance or relevance of specific words that are deliberately emphasised. This rhetoric is exemplified by alliterations such as 'domestic dissidents' and 'foreign foes,' where the repetitive sound patterns draw attention to and underscore the importance of the highlighted words.
Warning	In a broader context, opinions often accentuate potential threats and instil fear even without concrete evidence regarding facts or likely outcomes. These opinions frequently depict doomsday scenarios, aiming to both vilify the “Others” and rally those among us, particularly politicians, who may not be perceiving the situation as seriously as they should.
Norm and value violation	The most fundamental way of establishing a distinction between THEM and US is not only to describe ourselves in benevolent terms and them in negative terms but to emphasise that Others violate the very norms and values we hold dear.
Presupposition	The presupposition is a well-known semantic device to indirectly emphasise Our good properties and Their bad ones. These properties are simply assumed to be known, as if they were common sense, and hence need not be specifically asserted.