The Changing Face of Product Placement: A Case Study of the James Bond Film Series

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A Case Study of the James Bond Film Series

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This work has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief this dissertation contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the dissertation itself.

Signature Redacted

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ABSTRACT

Product placement has become a phenomenon in today's film industry, with many films now dependent on the additional revenue generated by these commercial investments. While primarily a financial arrangement, it is also important that the practice of product placement be examined and understood in relation to its cultural contexts, an area of research so far largely ignored by academic study. In this thesis, I demonstrate that this commercial practice is intrinsically connected to the surrounding cultural environment films are produced in. More specifically, I believe that fluctuations in the number and types of products featured in such "Hollywood" films as the James Bond series, are a direct result of various cultural and historical influences.

Through the conduction of a comprehensive content analysis of the official James Bond film series, I was able to track the impact specific cultural events, such as the Cold War, the Space Race, the rise of consumerism, the incorporation of technology into day-to-day life and the growth of global brands and transnational media, have had on the practice of product placement. Not only was I able to catalogue the number of individual products and product placements that occurred in each film, I was also able to identify a significant shift from the more ambiguous "clutter" or standard "signage" placements, to a greater emphasis on "verbal/hand" placements that increase audience exposure to the brand by directly weaving it into the plot's progression. In fact, many of these commercial practices have become so embedded in film narratives that they have become yet another method for filmmakers to produce cultural meaning.

Yet, a concern arises when too much emphasis is placed on these commercial inclusions with a number of recent films being strongly criticised for over-commercialism. Advertisers and filmmakers alike run the very real risk of alienating audiences through overt product placement practices, and further research needs to be conducted in order to determine where this "line" between acceptable and unacceptable levels of product placement exists.

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INTRODUCTION

James Bond, resplendent in his hand-tailored Brioni suit, receives orders from M on his Sony Ericsson mobile phone. He sips a glass of perfectly chilled Bollinger champagne while waiting for his Aston Martin to be brought around. It is a scene that could have been taken from any James Bond film. Consumerism and film narratives are becoming increasingly intertwined, with product placement having become yet another method—like costuming, lighting, editing and mise en scene—for filmmakers to produce cultural meaning. However, very little academic research has been undertaken that examines the practice of product placement within its cultural contexts. Previous studies have either focused on the economics underpinning the practice, or examined the impact the practice has had on film audiences from an advertising perspective. Such positions fail to take into consideration that product placement is as much a cultural practice as it is a financial one.

My own interest in product placement originated from a fascination with the mix of the commercial and creative in the film industry. Initially this interest manifested itself as a well-intentioned yet fundamentally flawed belief that all product placements represented an infringement upon the creative freedom of filmmakers. There have been many cases in which film scripts have been altered, and editing decisions changed as a result of product placement agreements. The potential to overcrowd a film with products is also a distinct possibility with many films heavily criticised for blatant over-commercialism. Yet, as long as this intangible line between what is considered an acceptable or unacceptable level of product placement is not crossed, audiences seem to tolerate, even condone, the inclusion of brand names in films. In addition, with a large proportion of today's

Hollywood films now dependent on the revenue generated by such forms of commercial investment, the impact of eliminating the practice entirely from the film industry would be disastrous. I therefore came to see that my initial opposition to the practice was somewhat naïve and lacked insight into the many complexities that govern film finance. In addition, I began to see correlations between the cultural and the financial, and discovered that the practice of product placement was not as "two-dimensional" as I had once believed.

Product placement has become an important component of the film industry. However, of equal importance is the way product placements have been incorporated into the cultural imagery of cinema. I believe that fluctuations in the number and types of products utilised in such "Hollywood" films as the James Bond series, have been strongly influenced by various cultural and historical developments. After all, the character himself has undergone a number of notable changes throughout the years—from novels to films, from Cold War hero to sexual icon to "misogynist dinosaur", before being reinvented for a new generation of film audiences. In turn, these changes resonated onto the number and types of products specifically chosen to be associated with the character of James Bond. My aim is to demonstrate how cultural developments impact upon product placement, and how product placements in turn impact upon cultural meanings.

Some of these "developments" include the impact of the Cold War and the threat posed by nuclear war, the rise of consumerism, the Space Race, the inclusion of technology into day-to-day life and the "technofear" that ensued, and the growth of global brands.

Chapter One examines the history behind the establishment of the product placement industry, namely the connection that exists between consumerism and cinema. I will demonstrate how cinema is ideally suited for the purposes of commercial investors, and how the process involved in establishing a celebrity bears a close resemblance to the steps used in creating a brand. I will also use this chapter to examine the development of New Hollywood, and the structure of film economics that enabled product placement to flourish in the 1980s. I will discuss how the practice of product placement has changed over the years, and what this has meant for the Hollywood film industry. I will provide a comprehensive review of previous academic research and studies conducted in the field of product placement in order to highlight the gap in research that I intend to address in this thesis.

In the second half of this chapter, I will analyse the different methodological approaches utilised by these previous studies, before clarifying why they would not be appropriate for a study of this nature. In this thesis, I intend to adopt a "semiosphere" approach to illustrate the vast network of cultural and historical influences that impact upon the practice of product placement. I will explain how content analysis will be used to monitor these various cultural and historical influences by cataloguing fluctuations in the number and types of products that have appeared in the James Bond film series. I will then conclude with an explanation as to why the James Bond films were specifically selected for examination.

In Chapter Two, I will provide a clear definition of what constitutes a product placement, and the different forms a placement may take before identifying the types considered most effective at generating maximum brand recognition in film audiences. I will then present content analysis results in table and graph format. By doing so, it will be possible to isolate fluctuations in the number and types of products placed in the James Bond films over the course of the entire series history. This information will then be used to identify specific trends that can be correlated with various cultural and historical developments. These trends and developments will then be isolated and discussed in-depth in the thesis' remaining chapters. In Chapter Three, for example, I will focus on deconstructing the processes involved in establishing a celebrity, in comparison with those used to create a brand identity. I will also use this chapter to examine the role of "looking" and thus "desiring" in cinema and consumerism, and the way the human body has been commodified in the James Bond series. In the process, I will discuss the changing social roles and identities of men and women in the films, and the implications this has had on the practice of product placement.

In Chapter Four, I will examine the evolution of the James Bond character from literary hero to Hollywood action figure. I will utilise the content analysis results to demonstrate how changes to the lead actor playing the title role have impacted on the number and types of products featured in the film series. In Chapter Five, I will focus on the impact various political developments have had on product placement levels in the James Bond films. These include examining the connections between consumerism and defence, the Space Race, the effect of the Cold War and the threat of nuclear war posed by atomic

energy. I will also analyse the increased presence of technological gadgetry in everyday life, and how this has influenced purchasing behaviour in consumers. Other concepts to be examined in this chapter include the notion of identity under examination through gadgets and surveillance, as well as the use of gadgets for self-defence and protection purposes.

In Chapter Six, I will examine the impact globalism and consumerism has had, with the James Bond films serving as a microcosm for the Hollywood film industry as a whole. In this chapter, I will examine the issue of textual transparency in relation to one particular James Bond film, *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997), to illustrate how deeply embedded product placements have become in a film's narrative. In many cases, these products are even used to progress the film's plot. Finally, I will conclude the thesis with a discussion about the threat posed by over-commercialism. I ask where the "line" exists between acceptable levels of product placement and blatant commercialism before suggesting that further research needs to be completed in this area.

CHAPTER ONE

Consumerism and Cinema

As mentioned in the introduction, the practice of product placement has now become an important component of the Hollywood film industry. However there has always existed a strong connection between consumerism and entertainment. Both share a similar background of social conditions and technological advances, with advertisers viewing the ostentatious fantasy world typically depicted in cinema as an ideal medium for the cultivation of consumer culture. Therefore the aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed account of the growth of the product placement industry by examining the history of association that exists between advertising and cinema. I will identify the particular social and technological requirements, as well as isolating the psychological needs and desires, necessary for their development. I will then discuss the emergence of "New Hollywood" and the nature of film economics established in the 1980s that enabled the product placement industry to flourish.

The Business of Product Placement

The industries of advertising and entertainment have always been closely aligned. At its pinnacle of success, radio programming attracted sponsors "that became so closely associated with the genre that often the sponsor's product name would appear in the title of the program" – the *Michelin Tire Men* for example (Rowan 2005, p. 4). A comparable situation of commercial sponsorship arose with the establishment of television as a medium of mass entertainment in the 1950s. At first, television drew heavily from radio programming with many networks broadcasting "a live program over television while

simulcasting the audio portion over radio" (Rowan 2005, p. 11). As many of the programs and stars left radio for television, so did the commercial sponsorship. According to Turner (2004, p. 11), "(b)y 1957, more than a third of television programs were created and controlled by advertisers and their agencies".

Similarly, advertising techniques such as product placement have played an important role in cinema almost from its very inception. As Hozic (2000, p. 208) states, films have always "served as platforms for product promotion". MGM had even established its own product placement office as early as the 1930s in addition to signing a deal with Coca-Cola in 1933 for their biggest stars to be used in various promotional campaigns (Eckert 1978, p. 15; Karrh 1998, p. 35). Also in 1933 Columbia Pictures "moved aggressively into solicited tie-ups", while Charles Einfield, sales manager for Warner Brothers, organised for a train filled with stars from their new musical *42nd Street* to travel to New York for the inauguration of President Roosevelt (Eckert 1978, p. 13). The train stopped at major cities along the route, not only to promote the film but also to advertise products at various General Electric stores in return for their sponsorship of the trip. Another common practice was for movie theatres to show advertising shorts before the commencement of films, with an estimated 50% of cinemas showcasing some form of advertising shorts (Eckert 1978, p. 12).

According to Eckert (1972, p. 13), a significant proportion of these developments can directly be seen as a response to the economic crisis of the Great Depression. With more traditional sources of film funding drying up, producers had to rely more heavily on retail

and advertising to generate production capital. Interestingly, it could be said that a similar circumstance of dependence on advertising and commercial sponsorship has arisen as a result of the exorbitant production costs now associated with Hollywood blockbusters. Initially however, the practice of product placement was rather sporadic, and typically involved a prop master negotiating with companies to "donate" their products to a film production in return for their product being featured somewhere on-screen (Eckert 1978, p. 14; Karrh 1998, p. 35; Wasko et al. 1993, p. 272). Today the product placement industry has been estimated to be worth somewhere in the vicinity of $US1.5 billion per year (Galician 2004, p. 1). Entire companies have been formed for the sole purpose of placing their clients' products in as many suitable films as possible (Moser et al. 2004, p. 1; Turcotte 1995, p. 7; Wasko et al. 1993, p. 272).

To gain a more complete understanding of the intrinsic relationship that exists between consumerism and cinema, it is first necessary to examine the history behind shopping and visual spectacle. A number of writers including Benjamin (1933), Friedberg (1993), Jackson Lears (1984), Leach (1984), Matthew (2005), Rollason (2003), Stacey (1994) and Williams (2003), have credited the department store window with being the visual precursor of the cinema screen. However, whilst agreeing that there exists a definite connection between cinema and window shopping, critics such as Lauren Rabonvitch (1998, pp. 78-79) point to numerous examples of early commercial entertainments, such as the dime museum and panorama, that also "encouraged the kind of distant, visual contemplation combined with the thrill of theatrical display generally associated with the store window and later with cinema".

Regardless, the entire shopping experience was revolutionised with the establishment of the shopping arcade and department store. The first real shopping arcade is generally considered to have been the *Passage des Panoramas* which opened in Paris in 1800 (Rollason 2002, p. 4). Paris was also the site for the opening of the first department store, the *Bon Marche*, in 1852 (Williams 2003, p. 182). Up until this time, stores tended to specialise in one particular product and prices were "subject to negotiation, and the buyer, once haggling began was more or less obligated to buy" (Williams 2003, p. 183). With the opening of the first department stores however, shoppers were not only able to obtain virtually everything they needed in the one location, they were also given the freedom to look without any obligation to make a purchase. This encouraged people to spend time browsing amongst all the different products on offer and simply enjoy the process of looking. As a result, a gradual shift occurred in the focus of shopping from one of necessity to one of pleasure (Williams 2003, p. 182). As Friedberg (1993, p. 37) states:

> Long before the cinema or broadcasting existed, the department stores were helping to mould the tastes of the rising middle classes.

It was not long before a number of other major cities also built large department stores, creating their own "temples of commodity capitalism" (Benjamin in Buck-Morss 1997, p. 83). By creating sites devoted solely to the marketing of products on a mass scale, these establishments proved to be pivotal in transforming the consumer culture of the time (Friedberg 1993, p. 58).

In addition, the marked increase of industrialisation during the 19th century resulted in a large influx of people moving from the surrounding countryside to the cities to find

regular factory work. Eventually the industrialisation of the workforce not only generated an "after hours" leisure time, but also an excess of disposable income. This mass industrial growth resulted in excessive production, flooding the market with "manufactured goods for which there were no buyers" (Eckert 1978, p. 1). In fact, as Williams (2002, p. 183) states, "the effects of 19th century technological progress in altering the social universe of consumption" were momentous.

Shopping retailers realised that if they were to sell their excess products, the consumer culture would have to shift from reactive to proactive purchasing, instigated through the implementation of added incentives and/or tactics of persuasion designed to incite the desire to purchase within their consumers (Eckert 1978, p. 1; Packard 1981, p. 25). According to Friedberg (1993, p. 37), arcades and department stores were some of the first establishments to utilise this "desire to purchase" by incorporating into their marketing strategies "a system of selling and consumption which depended on the relation between 'looking' and 'buying', and the indirect desire to possess and incorporate through the eye".

They began to utilise the latest in modern technologies, including electric lights and moving parts, to further enhance the overall shopping experience (Leach 1984, p. 323). Products available for purchase were then carefully incorporated into these displays, transforming the ordinary shop window into a stage for "visual intoxification, and embodying the products with the 'glamour' and 'spectacle' of their surroundings". By the 1890s, a number of other consumer-based establishments including restaurants, dry goods

stores, theatres and hotels were also beginning to use these exciting, visual environments in their overall design. As Leach (1984, p. 329) stated: "By creating artificial, festive environments and by saturating goods and stores with meaning, merchants conjured up what can only be called a potentially uncontrollable circumstance of longing and desire".

Soon, businesses and advertising firms alike began to place a greater emphasis on understanding what motivated people to make the purchasing decisions they did, and the overall role desire played in this process. To achieve this, it was considered necessary to identify what desires and longings were driving or influencing purchasing decisions in consumers. In 1908, psychologist Walter Dill Scott propositioned that as "advertising has as its one function the influencing of human minds…[and as] it is the human mind that advertising is dealing with, its only scientific basis is psychology" (Wozniak 1999, p. 1). Between the years 1943 and 1954, as many as 7000 psychologists infiltrated advertising firms to delve into consumers' subconscious (Schuwer 1966, p. 98).

Their investigations concluded that people were often compelled to purchase certain commodities in order to fulfil instinctual wants and needs (Johnston 2000, p. 95; Packard 1981, p. 66; Schudson 1986, p. 224; Trifonas & Balomenos 2003, p. 95). For example, one researcher maintained that consumer behaviour is influenced by seven basic instinctual desires and requirements, including the need for communication, social approval and acceptance, security, creativity, material prosperity, the accomplishment of goals, and the need to win (Golis 1999, p. 6). An alternative model was suggested by the psychologist Abraham Maslow who hypothesised that all human behaviour could be

directly linked to a five-tiered system of basic requirements called the "hierarchy of needs" (Lawson et al. 1996, p. 352; Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 104). The first and most instinctive desires relate to such physiological necessities as food, shelter, water and sex, before progressing to safety concerns related to security, stability and protection. The third tier incorporates various social requirements including acceptance, affection and friendship, with the fourth level primarily concerned with an individual's ego and the need for social standing, success and self-esteem. The fifth and final need relates to matters of self-fulfillment.

Such models proved to be extremely useful in helping marketers design their advertisements to reflect these instinctual needs and desires, increasing a consumer's susceptibility to emotional manipulation (Lawson et al. 1996, p. 325; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy 2003, p. 4; Packard 1981, p. 66; Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 104; Schudson 1986, p. 224; Trifonas & Balomenos 2003, p. 95). Emotion proved to be the driving force behind some of the major changes happening at this time in the field of advertising, with psychologist consultants encouraging advertisers "to become 'merchants of discontent'" (Packard 1981, p. 24). Their research indicated that self-esteem, or the lack thereof, plays an important role in influencing a consumer's purchasing patterns (Lawson et al. 1996, p. 487). The lower a person's feelings of confidence and self-respect, the more willing they are to attempt to attain happiness through the procurement of particular commodities.

Advertising psychologists began probing "samples in an attempt to find how to identify, and beam messages to, people with high anxiety, body consciousness, hostility,

passiveness, and so on" (Packard 1981, p. 12). The manipulation of these instinctive desires through advertising enabled marketers to shift consumer attention away from product appraisal and redirect it towards their own insecurities. Advertisements began to show people not how life really is, but how it should or could be—through the presentation of a fantasy world in which happiness, love and success were easily obtainable through the purchase of commodities (Johnston 2000, p. 1; Packard 1981, p. 66; Schudson 1986, p. 215). In other words advertisements, and the images contained within them, seek to "raise social anxieties, but only to the degree they are able to satisfy them" (Johnston 2000, p. 159).

That it is not to say that advertising is entirely a "one-way" process. Advertising executives began to realise that "the audience brings its own values and attitudes to the advertisements and collaborates in the creation of meaning" (Jackson Lears 1984, p. 382). After all, it is up to each individual to interact with and interpret the commercial message contained within the advertisement (Proctor et al. 2002, p. 247). However, the environment within which the audience views the commercial message can influence their interpretation, which is why the practice of associating products with the glamour of the film industry has been steadily increasing.

An essential component of this process was the establishment of the Hollywood star system. Producers initially did not draw upon their actors and actresses as a way of promoting their films. This changed in 1921 when Famous Players began to advertise "certain players who seemed to guarantee high box office revenues", the most successful

of which was Mary Pickford who soon became "a 'superstar' to her adoring fans" (Gomery 1986, p. 4). This business decision would soon revolutionise the film industry, with actors and actresses becoming icons to audiences who followed their professional and personal lives with avid interest.

It was not long before two major changes occurred simultaneously—namely that famous Hollywood actors began to promote particular commodities (mainly related to fashion and make-up), while at the same time certain products began to be featured within the films themselves (Miller 2000, p. 599). This resulted in the "organisation of the motion picture industry around commodity production and the progressive centralisation of control over production" (Dyer 1998, p. 8). Cinema is ideally suited for advertising purposes because, like commercials, films can create a world based on an illusion that tends to be more glamorous, exciting and romantic than actual reality could ever hope to be. Advertisers therefore hope that audiences begin to associate some of the glamour of the film industry with the products placed within it.

"Glamour", when used in this context, refers to the images surrounding and embodied by the Hollywood film industry and its movie stars (Matthew 2005, p. 127). The general belief was that anything associated with "Hollywood" would be touched by its golden aura, becoming an object of desire in itself. This perception had a significant effect on global product consumption. As the prevalence of Hollywood films in Europe increased, merchants reported a significant drop in demand as the general European populace rejected locally produced products in favour of those featured in the exported Hollywood

films. Before long there was a 100 percent increase in foreign sales of American-based bathroom and bedroom furnishings (Eckert 1978, p. 5). In a radio speech in the 1930s Will Hays, the first president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, praised the motion picture industry for helping to generate local and global demand for American-made products:

> Motion pictures perform a service to American businesses…by creating an increase in demand for our product. The motion picture carries to every American at home, and to millions of potential purchasers abroad, the visual, vivid perception of American manufactured products. (in Eckert 1978, p. 5)

In this way, film publicists used glamour "to awaken in the whole community not just a desire to go to the pictures, but a desire to be part of the new and modern world that moving pictures represented" (Matthew 2005, p. 127). Yet even at this early stage, concerns were beginning to rise regarding the implications over-commercialism could have on the motion picture industry. Despite his praise for advertising and product placements' effectiveness in increasing American export sales overseas, by 1931 the Hays Office issued a ban on all long-term contract stars associating themselves or their names with the promotion or advertising of commercial goods. According to Segrave (2004, pp. 21-22), "(t)he rationale for that decree was that the endorsement had become far too common and resulted in a drop in the box-office draw of high-calibre screen names". Yet within four months of the decree being issued, it was apparent the majority of actors, studios and companies were simply ignoring it with star endorsements continuing to rise in popularity.

This situation was also supported by the reconstruction of the major film studios in the 1960s, with many studios being taken over by larger parent companies to form conglomerates. In many cases, the parent companies had no direct interest in film production, aside from seeing it as an additional source of revenue generation. By establishing multiple areas of profit corporations were attempting to safeguard themselves "against a downturn in any one area" (Balio 1998, p. 61). As Squire (2004, p. 2) states:

> (t)he ideal product mix based on one project would flow through various divisions of one of the global entertainment companies that today control the studios: through movies, home video, television, books, music, video games, toys and other consumer products.

In return, the money generated through these various product placement and cross-promotional advertising campaigns has come as a welcome relief to many filmmakers faced with escalating production costs. As one senior executive at advertising firm Saatchi & Saatchi was quoted as saying: "Hollywood has changed…Unlike the old days, the bankers and MBAs are calling the shots, and producers have discovered that product placements and tie-in promotions can help out the movie's production and advertising costs" (Alsop 1988, p. 1). This shift was just one of the developments that occurred following the 1948 Paramount decree and the abolition of the vertical integration system upon which the Hollywood studio system was based.

New Hollywood and Film Economics

> The key to Hollywood's survival and the one abiding aspect of its postwar transformation has been the steady rise of the movie blockbuster. In terms of budgets, production values, and market strategy, Hollywood has been increasingly hit-driven since the early 1950s. (Schatz 1993, pp. 8-9)

Following the U.S Department of Justice's landmark decision that the Hollywood studio system of vertical integration constituted a "monopolistic restraint of trade" (Squire 2004, p. 5), the Hollywood film industry entered a time of dramatic restructuring and economic instability. In this period of upheaval, "the film production industry entered a cycle of over-production that led to the financial crisis of 1969-1971" (Maltby 1998, p. 32). However, it was during the 1970s that the structure of post-Golden Age Hollywood became clear—in the form of an industrial structure first referred to by Joseph Glemis as the "New Hollywood" (Maltby 1998, p. 22). The phenomenal success of such movies as *Jaws* (1975) and *Star Wars* (1977) demonstrated just how successful big-budget, special-effects based, merchandise-driven films could be. The emphasis on spectacle in the plot as opposed to strong character development marked the most "significant departure from classical Hollywood films…wherein plot tended to engage more organically as a function of the drives, desires, motivations, and goals of the central characters" (Schatz 1993, p. 23).

Instead, storylines and film plots are now being deliberately altered by producers in an attempt to increase the total number of characters suitable for merchandising purposes by limiting character development to shallow, easily reproduced characteristics readily transferable onto action figures (Hozic 2000, p. 209). Wasko et al. (1993, p. 286) state: "merchandise is formula-driven, relying on established genre and characters. Thus, creativity may be minimal when film scripts and characters must fit in these formulas in order to land valuable merchandising contracts".

Film production and marketing costs continued to escalate throughout the 1980s, rationalising a greater reliance on such commercial investments as product placement. One of the most famous placements was that of Reese's Pieces candy in the 1982 blockbuster film *E.T: The Extra-Terrestrial*, that reportedly resulted in a 65% increase in the product's sales (Farhi 1999, p. 1; Karrh 1998, p. 31; Karrh et al. 2003, p. 138; Law & Braun 2000, p. 1062; Moser et al. 2004, p. 1; Schudson 1986, p. 102). By the mid-1980s, the prevalence of product placement had escalated to the point where significant portions of mainstream Hollywood films contained some form of product placement. As a result, the practice of product placement became a billion dollar industry. In other words, what began as a somewhat disorganised affair in the early 20th century has become one of the most significant commercial practices in today's film industry.

However, product placement is only one of the methods utilised by commercial investors. In fact, advertisers and the film industry are now working in closer conjunction than ever before. This partnership can most effectively be seen in the concept of "Madison & Vine" (Donaton 2004). This term specifically refers to the alliance between and further integration of the entertainment industries and various commercial interests. According to Donaton (2004, p. 17), "(n)ew industry sectors are beginning to form around product placement, product integration, and content-commerce alliances. Companies in such areas as commercial production are changing their business models, ad agencies are forming entertainment units, [and] talent agencies are forming brand management practices". At the forefront have been aggressive steps taken to further disintegrate the

boundary dividing the more traditional forms of advertising and entertainment programming.

One such example has been the development of longer running advertisements with an emphasis on entertainment value, such as the 2004 Chanel No. 5 "mini-movie" that starred Nicole Kidman, and was directed by Baz Luhrmann at an estimated cost of $US60 million. The extravagant commercial was based on an unrequited love story and featured a number of Chanel's trademark fashions. The perfume was never directly shown, but suggested in an undercurrent at the conclusion of the "film". Another prominent example of this type of advertising was the highly popular series of internet commercials produced by BMW called *The Hire*. Not only did each commercial feature the actor Clive Owen, they were directed by a number of famous names including Guy Ritchie and Ang Lee, and featured special guest stars such as Madonna. However, despite their popularity, BMW ended the series and has been steadily reducing its overall involvement in other "Madison & Vine" practices. It has been suggested that such arrangements simply became too expensive, and "(a)ccording to executives close to the client and experts in Hollywood, BMW doesn't have the marketing dollars to ink entertainment deals at a time when integration fees and marketing requests from film or TV partners are escalating" (Halliday & Graser 2005, p. 10).

Another development has been the creation of entertainment programs directly funded by the advertisers themselves. This not only guarantees commercial investors "prime marketing opportunities" and the chance to limit the exposure of rival brand name

products, it also enables them to "develop a content environment that they know will be a good fit for their product messages" (Donaton 2004, p. 15). The end result is such consortiums as the Family Friendly Programming Forum whose advertising members each contribute between $US25,000 and $US50,000 annually to a special fund used to develop appropriate television scripts (Elliott 2002, p. 34). The popular *Gilmore Girls* program was one of their successes and is an example of the type of "clean" and "wholesome" environment some advertisers wish their products to be seen in (Gay 2001, p. 33). In this collaborative atmosphere where celebrities are regularly used in product promotion, and brands are now "serving as distribution, marketing and even sales platforms for movies, music, videogames and TV shows", it is not surprising that this has resulted in "a blurring of identities the likes of which the media business hasn't seen before" (Donaton 2004, p. 12).

Established over a century ago, cinema has evolved "into a complex mixture of art and commerce, capturing the imaginations of worldwide audiences and having a profound impact on behaviour, culture, politics and economics" (Squire 2004, p. 1). As discussed earlier, the emergence of both industries depended on such social and technological developments as the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, which would eventually result in the creation of a mass society with leisure time and disposable income. The excessive production of goods during this time also required a new strategy to increase sales—one based on added incentives and tactics designed to proactively encourage the desire to purchase in consumers. In the 1930s, advertisers' began to recognise cinema's inherent potential for fostering an atmosphere conducive to commercial purposes, with

the practice of product placement becoming a valid industry in itself. Yet, what exactly is product placement? How is it defined? How is it measured? Why is it important and how has it changed? In order to address these questions, I will undertake a comprehensive analysis of research previously conducted in this field, as well as examining a wide range of literature that has analysed the practice of product placement from different fields of research. I will then assess the various methodological approaches that have been used to compile this information before clarifying my own methodology.

Literature Review

It is important to first clarify what constitutes a product placement. James Karrh (1998, p. 32) argues that the term "product placement" is not an accurate description of the practice. He believes that it is not the product (a pair of sunglasses) that is of commercial importance, but rather the brand name associated with that product (Oakley, Ray Bans, etcetera). Cultural commentator Naomi Klein (2001, p. 23) shares a similar view that the brand exists as an entity independent of the actual product. It is the brand, and the lifestyle and experiences the brand symbolises, that attract sales. It is therefore perhaps more fitting to label the practice as "brand placement". However, it could also be argued that the product is synonymous with the brand, and while it may be the brand's "personality" that encourages sales, in most cases it is the actual product that is witnessed by film audiences. Therefore, the term "product placement" will continue to be used in this thesis, but it is to be understood that it refers to both the product and the brand simultaneously. For the purposes of this thesis, a product placement will be considered as

any product, product name or logo that is visible on-screen, whether or not intended by the filmmakers as in many cases it is impossible to be certain.

Researchers have used a wide variety of methods for cataloguing product placements in film—from the very basic to the multi-dimensional. For example, Sargent et al. (2001) made the simple distinction between "background" and "character endorsement" product placements in their study into branded cigarette placement levels before and after a voluntary ban on the practice was introduced. "Character endorsement" was distinguished from "background" placements because research has indicated that the "use of tobacco by an adolescent's favourite actor has been associated with the smoking behaviour of the adolescent" (Sargent et al. 2001, p. 30). Yet this research does not take into account specific levels of character interaction with, or prominence of, brands on-screen and the impact this can have on brand recognition and recall in audiences.

DeLorme and Reid (1999), in their study into how brands are integrated into the everyday experiences of film audiences, chose to classify product placement in three ways—a visual exposure of the product on-screen, a verbal mention of the brand name in the script, or the product's use by a film character in a scene. Berglund and Spets (2003), in their bachelor's thesis' examination of the use of product placement as a communication tool in public relations, used a similar approach, however their categorisations have greater depth. The visual placement of a product, known as screen placement, is divided into the two sub-categories of "creative placement" and "on-set placement". A creative placement "insinuates the brand into the film, such as with outdoor advertisements in

street scenes" (Berglund & Spets 2003, p. 8). An on-set placement refers to the product being incorporated into the actual film set, such as a packet of cereal being visible in a kitchen scene. A script placement is the inclusion of a brand name into a film's dialogue of which there "are also varying degrees…depending on the context in which it is mentioned, and the emphasis placed on the product name" (Berglund & Spets 2003, p. 8). The final category of incorporating a product into a film's plot involves a combination of both the visual and verbal placements, and is "conceived as the degree of connection between the product and the plot" (Berglund & Spets 2003, p. 8).

The benefits of such an approach are based on the "coding redundancy hypothesis", which maintains that the rate of memory recall is directly influenced by the number of different "memory codes" incorporated into the overall structure (Berglund & Spets 2003, p. 8). When this hypothesis is applied to product placement, a placement that combines both visual and audio components is more effective than a visual or verbal placement by itself. These varying degrees of sub-categories within categories however, often make it difficult to quantitatively compile and catalogue specific changes in the number and type of products being placed in films.

D'Astous and Seguin (1999) categorised product placement as implicit, integrated explicit and non-integrated explicit. An implicit placement consisted of a product being visible on-screen in an informal capacity. In other words, "the logo, the brand name, or the name of the firm appear without a clear demonstration of product benefits" (D'Astous & Seguin 1999, p. 896). An integrated explicit placement is formally included on-screen

in an active role through which the product's attributes are clearly demonstrated. A character driving a BMW in an extensive car chase scene would be an example of this type of integrated explicit placement. Finally, a non-integrated explicit product placement is "where the brand or the firm is formally expressed but is not integrated within the contents of the program", such as a sponsor's name shown before or after a program (D'Astous & Seguin 1999, p. 896). Alternatively, in her 1999 doctoral dissertation, Russell proposed a multi-dimensional approach which she called the "Tripartite Typology of Product Placement". In this approach, Russell drew upon the standard categories of visual, verbal and plot connection placements but examined them on a multi-dimensional scale that charted the level of plot association based on "the relevance of the brand to the storyline" (Russell 1999, p. 50). It was hypothesised that this would enable researchers to measure both an audience's memory of and attitude towards a product placement by "determining not only how a placement is cognitively processed…but also how it effects consumers' attitudes" (Russell 1999, p. 308).

However, both of these methods of categorisation are too open to personal interpretation. The level of scale a placement is measured on may differ from person to person, making it difficult for others to duplicate these research findings. For this reason, I have chosen to employ the system of categorisation proposed by Galician and Bourdeau (2004). Their study into the number and types of products placed in Hollywood blockbuster films over a specific timeline required the use of detailed content analysis. As a result, their system of labelling had to be extremely specific to enable accurate numbers to be recorded. The

categories—which will be explained in greater detail in the next chapter—were verbal/hand, implied endorsement, signage and clutter.

It should be noted that in a previous study I identified another category of product placement involving characterisation. In this case an inanimate object is endowed with a distinctive character and personality and then placed within an actual film role (Nitins 2004). The emotional connection between audience and consumer that is generated by this placement results in a much higher rate of product familiarity and acceptance within the movie-going public. An example of this type of product placement was Tom Hanks' "co-star" in *Cast Away* (2001), the Wilson volleyball. Galician and Bourdeau (2004) suggested a similar concept with their examination of "heroic" product placements in roles considered central to a film's plot. According to their research, these placements were typically "presented in idealised images resembling television commercials" (Galician & Bourdeau 2004, p. 32). The car chase scene in *Die Another Day* (2002), for example, was so stylised and carefully choreographed to resemble an advertisement that shots were taken straight from the scene and transplanted into a Jaguar commercial with minimal additional editing required.

The business of product placement has also taken on different forms. Some arrangements involve a direct fee—Cuervo Gold reportedly paid an estimated $US150,000 to be the drink of choice in *Tequila Sunrise* (1988) (McCarthy 1998), while James Bond was enticed to smoke Lark cigarettes in *Licence To Kill* (1989) with a $US350,000 incentive from Phillip Morris (Karrh 1998). That said, many businesses engaged in product

placement activities claim not to have paid a single cent for the opportunity of placing their product within a film. They have instead contributed substantial amounts to a film's promotion rather than their production. For example, while the film studio MGM only assigned $US30 million to the promotion of *Die Another Day*, it received at least an additional $US100 million in "promotional support" from more than twenty businesses—many of which with products placed in the film (Weaver 2002). These included Norelco, Sony Ericsson, Omega and Ford Motor.

Other deals have included the exchange of services for free placements. FedEx shipped equipment for the filmmakers of *Cast Away* for free after stipulating that one pivotal scene in the film needed to be altered. The script originally stated that the FedEx plane that crashes at sea and strands Chuck Noland on a desert island for four years would be the result of a mechanical failure. Following discussions with FedEx, however, the script was altered so that the plane crash was the result of a lightning strike—an act of nature with no negative implications for the air freight service (Skinner 2004). Yet this is not a recent development. Even as far back as the 1930s and 1940s, advertisers were requesting changes to film scripts in return for the use of their products on-screen. For example, diamond broker De Beers instigated a successful public relations campaign to increase the profile of diamonds in the Hollywood film industry, with one film in 1940 changing its title from *Diamonds Are Dangerous* to the more innocuous *Adventures In Diamonds* (Schudson 1986). More recently, director Nora Ephron was reported to have changed the title of her film *You Have Mail* to *You've Got Mail* (1998) in order to duplicate AOL's trademark phrase—the internet service used by Meg Ryan and Tom Hanks' characters to

fall in love. It is also reported that executives from the company examined the script and suggested a number of changes to "make the e-mail correspondence more realistic" (Farhi 1999, p. 9).

Many films can now be seen in terms of being "marketing events" in the promotion and sale of any number of commodities (Hozic 2000, p. 209). Some companies even use films to kick-start the launch of a new product, such as the $US20 million BMW invested in the Bond film *GoldenEye* (1995) to launch their new car—the Z3 roadster (Karrh 1998). The amount of time and money businesses invest in building their brands is considerable; therefore it is not surprising that many of these businesses wish to exert pressure on filmmakers to ensure their brand's image is protected. Initially some studios set up bank accounts to hold any fees accepted through product placement agreements. Therefore, if a product was omitted during the editing process or if investors were in any other way dissatisfied, there was a safe guard in place to ensure their money could be refunded (Alsop 1988). However, it is now often the case that filmmakers are dependent on the money generated by these commercial investments to even get the films into production in the first place.

There are many reasons why the marketing industry considers cinema to be such an effective medium for product promotion. First, product placement virtually ensures advertisers access to a specifically desirable demographic for a relatively low cost (Maltby 1998). Second, except for the blatantly obvious, most product placements are able to conceal their commercial agenda inside a film's narrative (Galician 2004, Karrh

1998). Many people simply do not register the way a Coca-Cola can or a McDonald's carton has been deliberately positioned towards the camera to ensure the brand name is clearly displayed on-screen. By camouflaging itself within the guise of entertainment, an audience's attention is instead "focused on [the] movie's plot, [and as such] they may be influenced by such inserted images without much conscious attention to their presence" (Messaris 1997, p. 65). It would be safe to assume that, whilst watching a film, most people do not expect to be the focus on an advertising campaign. Therefore, it is quite unlikely that they would raise their mental defences and generate the necessary counter-arguments to offset the influential nature of these placements.

It is often the lifestyles associated with these brands—as much as the brands themselves—that make product placement arrangements so successful. Brands have become an intrinsic component of our culture. As a result, it is commonly argued that product placements help establish credibility within an audience by showing the actors using real-life products and services. As Carbone (2002, p. 15) asks: "People use brands in real-life, so why should film ignore this?" Yet, according to some academics, there are many reasons why film should ignore, and even condemn, the practice of product placement. Some call the practice "appalling" (Carbone 2002, p. 15), while others maintain that it is dishonest and undermines the integrity of both the film and the brands themselves. Many of the aforementioned alterations and "requests" proved to be minor with no real discernable impact on the overall development of the film's storyline. However, it is the fact that such alterations can and do occur at all that has raised concerns in the film academic community regarding the nature of the control a company

can exert over a film's production. As Alan Wurtzel, NBC's Vice President of Standards and Practices, was quoted as saying: "All of a sudden, it's not about character and story, it's about, 'I have to mention this product three times because it's helping to pay for the show'" (in Stanley 2002, p. 38).

While some would deem this level of intrusion reasonable, others have expressed concern at the level of interference in a film's creative process as a direct result of these commercial investments. As O'Farrell (2001, p. 3) states: "If a studio has been paid millions to show the hero drinking Budweiser, then the editor is duty bound to leave in that scene", even if it is no longer relevant to the overall story. Critics have also expressed concern that such practices have actually compromised, even corrupted, films meant to serve as social commentaries on consumer culture in favour of corporate messages (Prince 2001). The gritty and graphic film *Fight Club* (1999), for example, was intended as a criticism of the materialisation overtaking people's lives by encouraging audiences to reject the façade offered by advertising and commercialism. This intended message was somewhat undermined by the inclusion of such product placements as Starbucks, Apple Computers and Krispy Kreme doughnuts (Strauss 1999). Janet Wasko (1994, p. 214) therefore makes the claim that a number of the problems that could potentially be generated by the increased presence of advertising in the film industry can be measured "in terms of creative, economic and cultural implications".

As a result, this study has also referenced a wide range of standard texts from a number of different disciplines to help identify and isolate some of these cultural implications/

influences. For example, Richard Dyer's detailed study on the relationship between stardom and mass media in *Stars* (1998) examines ten "signs of character"—the steps associated with developing the star construct—which I then apply to the deconstruction of the James Bond character before comparing this with the development of brand identity in order to draw correlations between the two processes. He also identified four forms of media text critical to the development of the star persona—promotion, publicity, films and commentaries/criticisms. The examination of these texts in relation to the media surrounding the James Bond films forms the basis of Chapter Three, enabling the examination of the development of the James Bond character, and how it has changed and evolved during the course of the series.

As part of the examination of the publicity related to the James Bond films, I also refer to Umberto Eco's "Bond Formula", as discussed in his 1982 article "The narrative structure in Fleming", published in the edited collection *Popular culture: past and present*. His study into the basic principles underlying the development of narrative in Ian Fleming's novels was able to be used to demonstrate how this basic narrative structure is apparent in all James Bond films, and is an important component in developing audience foreknowledge of the character and the series, and the ensuing publicity that this generates.

Throughout this thesis, I also refer to Olson's definition of "textual transparency" as described in his book *Hollywood planet: global media and the competitive advantage of narrative transparency* (1999), and the journal article "The globalisation of Hollywood"

published in 2000 in the *International Journal on World Peace*. Olson proposed that the key components of "textual transparency" are based on such narratological systems as circular storytelling, open-ended narratives and audience inclusion strategies. Such a position enables an analysis of some of the many similarities that exist between films and advertisements that share "textual transparency" qualities. This system can then be applied to the deconstruction of *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997) in order to demonstrate how intrinsically brands are being incorporated into film narratives, specifically in relation to the James Bond film series.

One of the key characteristics of "textual transparency" is the use of archetypal characters, for which I draw upon Joseph Campbell's decisive book *The hero with a thousand faces* (1949). Campbell identified the main attributes of the various characters, including the concept of the "hero", that appear in differing forms in myths all around the world. The perception is that the use of these archetypal characters enables audiences to subconsciously recognise and identify with these "personalities" when used in either film or advertising format. The journey of the "hero" is particularly apparent in the James Bond film series as the main character battles arch-enemies and faces strategic challenges throughout his journey to "save the world".

Finally, particular acknowledgement needs to be paid to James Chapman's book *Licence to thrill* (2003) which was referred to consistently throughout this thesis. It is only one of a few resources that provides comprehensive analysis of the production history associated with the James Bond films. Chapman offers invaluable insights into the character's, and

the series', development and was essential in identifying some of the various cultural events that influenced the movie franchise. Yet, while excellent as a base of informative knowledge of the films, little in-depth analysis was completed by Chapman into the important role product placement played throughout the series, with no direct correlations made between the practice of product placement and the occurrence of specific cultural events and developments. In conclusion, while issues related to creative control and economic effects arising from product placement have already been given considerable academic attention, cultural implications related to the practice have been virtually ignored.

Methodology

As indicated in the literature review, a wide range of approaches and techniques have been employed in the field of product placement research. These studies have also used a variety of methodological approaches in studying the effect an increased presence of product placement in television and film has had—particularly on brand recognition, memory and attitude in audiences. DeLorme and Reid (1999), for example, applied a phenomenological approach in testing how product placements are interpreted and incorporated into the common day experiences of audiences.

Phenomenology is a form of methodology closely related to hermeneutics and the process of interpretation. In essence, it provides a "philosophical legitimation for interpretative studies of social life" (Jensen 2002, p. 22). Their results indicated that, regardless of age, all movie audience members actively engaged with product placements shown on-screen.

They found that older audiences seem to be resistant to higher levels of commercial product placements in films, viewing the practice as symbolic of a number of negative changes in the overall "movie-going experience" (p. 84). Younger audience members, however, felt reassured by the presence of product placements. As DeLorme and Reid (1999, p. 84) state: "Encountered brands were not seen as symbols of change by younger moviegoers; they were associated with belonging; comfort and security".

Alternatively, D'Astous and Seguin (1999) chose an inductive approach in conducting research into consumer reactions to product placements in television programming. It should be noted that the effect of product placement in film may not be the same as product placement in television programming. However, the level of categorisation used by D'Astous and Seguin as discussed in the literature review, is also applicable to studies related to film product placements. This suggests that an inductive approach could also be valid in examining film product placements, though the results and conclusions made about the practices may differ. Inductive methodology is based around the generalisation and abstraction of theories from single events. Using this approach, the researchers tested audience reactions to different levels of product placement contained in television programming and concluded that various "strategies of product placement impact differently on consumers' evaluative and ethical judgements and that their effects interact with the type of television program" (1999, p. 896).

Also interested in television product placement, Law and Braun (2000) designed an experiment that would utilise both explicit and implicit testing to measure participants'

recall and recognition of brands. Researchers using an experimental methodology base their conclusions and hypothesis on the results generated through specifically designed tests. Law and Braun, for example, designed their research around a "post-test" design in which participants were only tested after the experiment had occurred. The experiment in this case required participants to watch one of two short clips from a *Seinfield* episode before being asked to rate their impressions. The explicit design tested participants' recall and recognition of product placement in the segment while the implicit design measured how effective indirect exposure to product placement was on participant product selection. Another methodological approach to have been utilised in this field is that of empirical research. Tapan Panda's 2004 study into consumer responses to product placements specifically in Hindi films used an empirical research design to test the effectiveness of different types of product placement on audience recall and recognition. It was found that explicit placements (those formally included in the film or directly referred to or used by characters) were considerably more memorable than subtle or implicit placements (Panda 2004, p. 21).

Defined as the "specific linking of a necessarily selective empirical 'microcosm' with a theoretical 'macrocosm'" (Jensen 2002, p. 258), Russell (2002) used a similar approach in her study into the effectiveness of product placement in television programming by testing "the role of modality and plot connection congruence on brand memory and attitude" (p. 306). In Russell's study, alternative versions of a screenplay were videotaped with each version incorporating different levels and types of product placement. These were then shown to a group of participants whose responses were monitored and

recorded. It was found that product placements with a greater level of involvement in a program's plot had a more pronounced effect on brand memory and attitude in audiences.

This same screenplay was then developed into a pilot episode that was used by Stern and Russell (2004) to study consumer responses to product placements in television sitcoms. The researchers used textual analysis to break down the structure of the filmed sitcom episode in order to provide a detailed "scene-by-scene analysis of the text to describe the stimulus fully" before identifying some of the standard "genre rules that drive plot, character, theme and consumption" (p. 376). The episode was then shown to a group of participants to test audience responses to the connection between product placement and plot. The particular demographic selected for testing were business undergraduate students born between 1975 and 1981, members of Generation X. Their results found that despite the reputation that this generation were "media savvy", the majority of participants were unaware of a product placement's commercial agenda. Instead, 56% "simply viewed the products as realistic props" (Stern & Russell 2004, p. 389). However, the researchers believe that as product placement numbers increase, so too will audience resentment and intolerance to the practice.

Comparatively, Maynard and Scala (2006) focused on the effect of one product placement in particular when they examined the unpaid placement of the Wilson volleyball in the film *Cast Away*. They applied the Elaboration Likelihood Model to calculate how much Wilson Sporting Goods would have to have paid for the equivalent amount of advertising exposure they received as a result of the movie placement, and

what quantitative effects this rate of exposure had for the Wilson volleyball brand. It was found that by instigating the Wilson volleyball into a character role in the film, Wilson Sporting Goods gained "millions of dollars worth of unpaid advertising", acting as an incentive for other brands to try and "increase their level of involvement in the films into which they are placed" (Maynard & Scala 2006, p. 635).

Surveys have also been found useful in gathering information regarding the practice and implications of product placement. The primary goal of surveys is to "collect data after the fact" and to examine the "relationships or degrees of association between variables" (Gunter 2002, p. 214). Karrh, McKee and Pardun (2003, p. 142) sent surveys to a number of product placement businesses, asking a variety of questions related to four main categories: brand characteristics; measurement tools; executional factors; and beliefs about the practice. A surprising discovery found by the researchers was that many people working in the product placement industry believed that product placement can lead "to trade-offs between financial and creative considerations in film production" (2003, p. 138), yet some still lamented their inability to exert even more influence on filmmakers in relation to the way their products are used on-screen.

The majority of these methodological approaches have focused on testing audience responses and measuring brand recall and recognition as a result of product placement practices. While considerable research has been undertaken to calculate changes in the number and types of products placed in contemporary cinema, I have not been able to locate any studies that have tried to decipher whether these changes are the result of, or

been influenced by, external cultural developments. Therefore this thesis will analyse and categorise the products that have been featured in the James Bond film series in order to monitor how cultural changes have impacted upon and been influenced by product placement. To understand the complex nature of these cultural associations, I have chosen to utilise Yuri Lotman's "semiosphere" methodology which was originally intended as a way of studying the complex relationships that exist in semiotics. Based on the scientific concept of the "biosphere" in which all organisms within a particular ecosystem are understood to be interconnected, the semiosphere enabled the fluidity of language to be examined as "a function, a cluster of semiotic spaces and their boundaries, which, however, clearly defined these are in the language's grammatical self-description, in the reality of semiosis are eroded and full of transitional forms" (Lotman 1990, pp. 123-124).

A semiosphere is defined by its diversity. While the objects contained within the sphere's scope may be different with seemingly unrelated functions, they are all intrinsically connected to one another. In addition, "all elements of the semiosphere are in dynamic, not static, correlations" (Lotman 1990, p. 127). The fluidity of this methodology was drawn upon by Hartley (1996, p. 31) when he combined the concept of the semiosphere with the "public sphere" to create the "mediasphere". He wished to use the mediasphere to examine "the context within which mainstream journalism… circulates" (Hartley 1996, p. 13). Hartley's argument is that the popular reality around which journalism is based is constructed from a similar system of interrelated elements as contained in a semiosphere. According to Hartley (1996, p. 29), popular reality is "a politicised private

sphere, a feminised, privatised, suburbanised, consumerist sphere". Popular culture is another component of this sphere and encapsulates such mediums of mass communication as film. Through the application of this particular methodological approach, it will be possible to monitor and trace the vast array of cultural developments that have impacted upon and been influenced by product placement.

Content analysis is the most effective method of tracking and cataloguing changes that have occurred in product placement numbers as a result of these cultural developments. It enables such mediums as film to be measured and analysed according to a specific set of variables. Its main objective "is to provide a descriptive account" of what a media text contains (Gunter 2000, p. 60). It must do this in a systematic manner, with a clearly defined set of variables that would enable other researchers duplicating the study to achieve similar results. A similar study conducted by Galician and Bourdeau (2004) used content analysis to examine the number and types of product placements that occurred in the top 15 grossing films of 1977, 1987 and 1997. These results were then used to answer a number of key questions regarding the practice of product placement, including "Has the number of appearances of product placements changed from 1977 to 1997?"

The first step in conducting content analysis involves selecting one particular topic or subject that will be examined in the chosen medium. For the purposes of this thesis the focus of the content analysis will reside on product placement—specifically measuring and cataloguing the number of products and types of appearances that occur in one particular film series. This will help determine whether the practice of product placement

has increased or decreased over time, how deeply embedded the products are in film storylines, and whether this impacts on the distinction between entertainment and advertisement. The second step involves the selection of the "sampling frame" within which this topic will be analysed (Gunter 2004, p. 61). The sampling frame for this study is the "official" James Bond film series, that is, those produced by EON Productions which now legally owns the film rights to all Bond titles after finally procuring the rights to *Casino Royale* (2006) following a "messy legal battle" (Egan 2006). A filmography of all the official James Bond films has been included in the reference list.

A number of reasons exist as to why this particular film series was selected for analysis. First, the character of James Bond is one of the most well-known in popular culture. It is one of the longest running and most successful film franchises in cinema history, with an estimated $US4 billion so far generated in revenue (Giammarco 2006). Between 25% and 50% of the world's population have—in theory—seen at least one Bond film (Chapman 1999, p. 14). As a result, James Bond has become one of the few fictional characters, along with Sherlock Holmes, Frankenstein and Robinson Crusoe, to become "lodged in the memory bank of our culture" (Bennett & Woollacott 1987, p. 14). They are now known to many people—even those who may have never been exposed to the character in either its original print or film format (Chapman 1999). Many businesses wish to achieve this same sense of worldwide recognition when marketing their brands, making the global nature of Hollywood films an ideal site for collaboration.

At this point, it is perhaps important to clarify why the James Bond films should be considered to be examples of Hollywood filmmaking as opposed to being representations of the British film industry. The collaborative nature of today's film industry, with investment and involvement coming from a number of different international sources, often makes it extremely difficult to accurately define what constitutes as a "national" cinema. The argument is particularly contentious in relation to the James Bond film series—after all, it is an undeniable fact that the character is an established icon of British culture. Many of the stable products showcased in the films (Aston Martin, Savile Row for example) are also important symbols of British heritage. In addition, the films were primarily filmed in Britain, and relied heavily upon British film crews, studios, sound stages and even benefited from the British Government's Eady Levy (as will be discussed later). Regardless, the James Bond franchise was still predominately controlled and influenced by American interests. According to Monaco (2001, pp. 193-194):

> Through the 1960s, the Bond movies offered Hollywood a model for a slick entertainment package that deftly skirted what was left of Hollywood's disintegrating Production Code. The Bond films were all labelled 'British Productions', even though they were funded entirely from American sources and were quintessentially anchored in mainstream Hollywood culture.

In fact, as Phillips (2002, p. 236) states, "(s)o widely seen is classical Hollywood cinema that it has influenced virtually all narrative films: filmmakers either imitate characteristics of classical Hollywood cinema or decide not to". The James Bond film series for example exemplify many of the characteristics that typically define classical Hollywood cinema. The storylines are generally set in the present with the action filmed from external camera shots; the focus is on one main character who has a specific goal or goals in the storyline and must confront various problems or antagonists in order to achieve their objective; and

each film is given a sense of closure with all "loose ends" tied up for a "happy ending" (Phillips 2002, p. 236). The only exception to this formula is perhaps *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969) in which the film ends with the murder of Bond's bride straight after their wedding. This ending did not resonate well with audiences with the series soon reverting back to type. Therefore, for the purposes of this study the James Bond films will continue to be defined as examples of "Hollywood" cinema.

The James Bond films also provide an exciting opportunity to explore the various ways that product placements have been used throughout the series in rejuvenating the character and updating the franchise, helping to appeal to new audience demographics. For example, the inclusion of L'Oreal beauty products and the Revlon make-up range were thought to appeal to female audience members who may have previously seen Bond films as primarily directed at men. In addition, "Heineken and BMW ads [help] build interest among young males…while the Smirnoff vodka ads appeal to traditionalists" (Bryant 1997, p. 4). There has always been a long tradition of character and commodity association in the James Bond series. Ian Fleming, the character's creator and writer of twelve novels and two short story collections featuring Bond, used numerous brand name associations in his stories to help establish particular character traits. Bond's penchant for drinking Dom Perignon, wearing Savile Row tailored suits and driving expensive sports cars were all used to connote a certain sense of style and sophistication. One theory is that these exclusive commodities were being used by the character as a way of distinguishing "himself from the common mass" (Bennett 1982, p. 18), but Chapman (1999, p. 35) maintains that:

> Bond's, and Fleming's, obsession with expensive brand name goods…rather than being included merely for the snob-value…should be seen in the context of a country which had recently emerged from years of austerity and rationing and which, during the 1950s, was beginning to enjoy the consumer affluence promised by glossy magazines, television advertising and Hollywood.

The results of the content analysis will then be used to track the impact particular events have had on product placement in the series. Some of these events include the impact of the Cold War, the rise of consumerism, changing social roles for men and women, the incorporation of technology into day-to-day life, and the growth of global brands. Also to be examined is whether these developments affected the type of products specifically chosen to be associated with the character of James Bond. After all, the character himself has also undergone a number of notable changes throughout the years—from novels to films, from Cold War hero to sexual icon. In fact, some of the most significant alterations to the character have occurred as a direct result of changes made to the actor playing the title role—from Sean Connery to Daniel Craig, "each title role player [brought] his own character to the part" (Adams 1987, p. 57). Each actor interpreted the character differently from his predecessors and drew upon their own strengths to make James Bond their "own". All of these developments will be explored to discover whether, and in what ways, these changes have impacted upon the types of products placed in the films.

Many mainstream Hollywood films are now dependent on the added revenue generated by commercial activities such as product placement. Yet this practice is categorised and defined in any number of different ways. For the purposes of this study, it is necessary for the system of categorisation and analysis used to be extremely specific. It is only by clarifying precisely what constitutes a product placement, with a clear set of parameters

for distinguishing between different levels of placement, that accurate numbers can be gathered through content analysis. These categories, with examples taken from various James Bond films, will be discussed in the next chapter.

At this point it is important to discuss possible limitations to the content analysis undertaken for this thesis. First, while I have endeavoured to be as thorough as possible in cataloguing the number and types of product placements in the films, it is virtually impossible to ensure that I have been able to correctly identify and record every single placement in the entire film series. Second, at times it was often difficult to precisely allocate a product placement into one of the four categories selected for the content analysis. When this occurred, I conducted a process of trial and error until only one placement category was left. For example, in *Casino Royale*, Bond (played by Daniel Craig) looks at a New Holland tractor with the brand name clearly visible on-screen. However, as Bond is not at this point directly touching the tractor or referring to it verbally, it cannot be classified as a verbal/hand placement. The placement also directly involves an object and not merely an advertising sign and therefore does not fit the requirements for a signage placement either. Likewise, the placement cannot be viewed as "clutter"-based as the brand name is clearly visible on-screen. Therefore, as it is suggested that Bond will soon be using the tractor, I listed this particular placement as an implied endorsement. However, another researcher conducting a similar content analysis-based study may have a different interpretation which would in turn impact upon the calculated product placement percentages. While specific numbers may alter, the overall fluctuations in the number and types of product placement in the series would still enable

the same conclusions to be drawn by other researchers. Third, as changes can and are made to a film's footage, with certain scenes or footage either added or removed from edition to edition, it is worth mentioning that the films used by this particular study were from the "Ultimate James Bond collection" series released at the end of 2006, as well as the 2007 DVD release of *Casino Royale*.

As Janet Wasko (2004, p. 214) states, the effects of product placement can be seen on three levels—the creative, the economic and the cultural. Considerable literature has been written that explores the implications and benefits of product placement on the creative and economic aspects of filmmaking, while numerous studies have calculated the benefits to advertisers by measuring audience recall and recognition of products placed in films. Yet very few connections between cultural developments and product placement practices have been made. I wish to address this issue by cataloguing fluctuations in the products placed in the James Bond film series, before comparing the results with cultural changes occurring at the time the films were being produced. The results of this content analysis will be presented in the next chapter and used to identify patterns that will then be explored in the rest of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

Content Analysis Results

The research undertaken in this thesis was designed to chart fluctuations in the number and types of products placed in the James Bond film series. By conducting a longitudinal content analysis of each film, each product featured in the series was counted and categorised. This information was then used to calculate percentages to determine the level of different product placements that appeared in each film. These results were then used to isolate and identify various patterns and fluctuations in product placement numbers throughout the series. This data has been used throughout the thesis to demonstrate how cultural changes and developments that occurred during production impacted upon, and were reflected by, the number and types of products featured in the films.

As mentioned in the methodology, the system of categorisation I selected for this study was based upon Galician and Bourdeau's 2004 research conducted on product placement numbers in Hollywood films over a 20 year period. The categories are as follows:

- Verbal/Hand: A product name is verbally referred to in some way by an actor, or the product is physically touched or used on-screen. This generates the highest level of attention a product placement can receive. The Sony Ericsson mobile phone, pictured below, was prominently placed throughout *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997), in numerous close-ups with frequent displays of the brand name.

Figure 1: Sony Ericsson verbal/hand placement in *Tomorrow Never Dies*

- Implied Endorsement: A product with the brand name or logo visible is in close proximity to an actor on-screen, thus suggesting that the actor has used or will soon use the product. For example, in this scene from *Licence To Kill* (1989) it is implied that Bond has chosen Pan American Airways as his preferred airline service.

Figure 2: Pan American Airways implied endorsement placement in *Licence To Kill*

- Signage: This is described by Galician and Bourdeau (2004, p. 31) as a "prominent display of a brand name in the background of a scene". The following scene featured below is from *Moonraker* (1979), and clearly shows a signage placement in the form of a billboard advertisement for 7-Up softdrink.

Figure 3: 7-Up signage placement in *Moonraker*

- Clutter: The least intrusive form of product placement, a "clutter" shot is when a brand/logo is only briefly visible on-screen, usually in the far background of the scene or the brand/logo is in some way obscured. This example from *Casino Royale* (2006) shows Bond running past a display of Smirnoff vodka bottles. However, as the brand labels are not clearly displayed, it classifies as a clutter placement.

Figure 4: Smirnoff clutter placement in *Casino Royale*

Table One:

This table demonstrates the number of products that were featured in each James Bond film, illustrating that there have been a number of fluctuations in the number of products placed in the films. On average, the number of products placed in the James Bond films is approximately 13.

James Bond Film Series	Number of Products Featured in the James Bond Film Series
Dr No (1962)	11
From Russia, With Love (1963)	6
Goldfinger (1964)	16
Thunderball (1965)	6
You Only Live Twice (1967)	5
On Her Majesty's Secret Service (1969)	17
Diamonds Are Forever (1971)	20
Live And Let Die (1973)	10
The Man With The Golden Gun (1974)	19
The Spy Who Loved Me (1977)	9
Moonraker (1979)	9
For Your Eyes Only (1981)	18
Octopussy (1983)	11
A View To A Kill (1985)	16
The Living Daylights (1987)	14
Licence To Kill (1989)	14
GoldenEye (1995)	13
Tomorrow Never Dies (1997)	12
The World Is Not Enough (1999)	10
Die Another Day (2002)	13
Casino Royale (2006)	32

Table 1: The Number of Products Featured in the James Bond Film Series

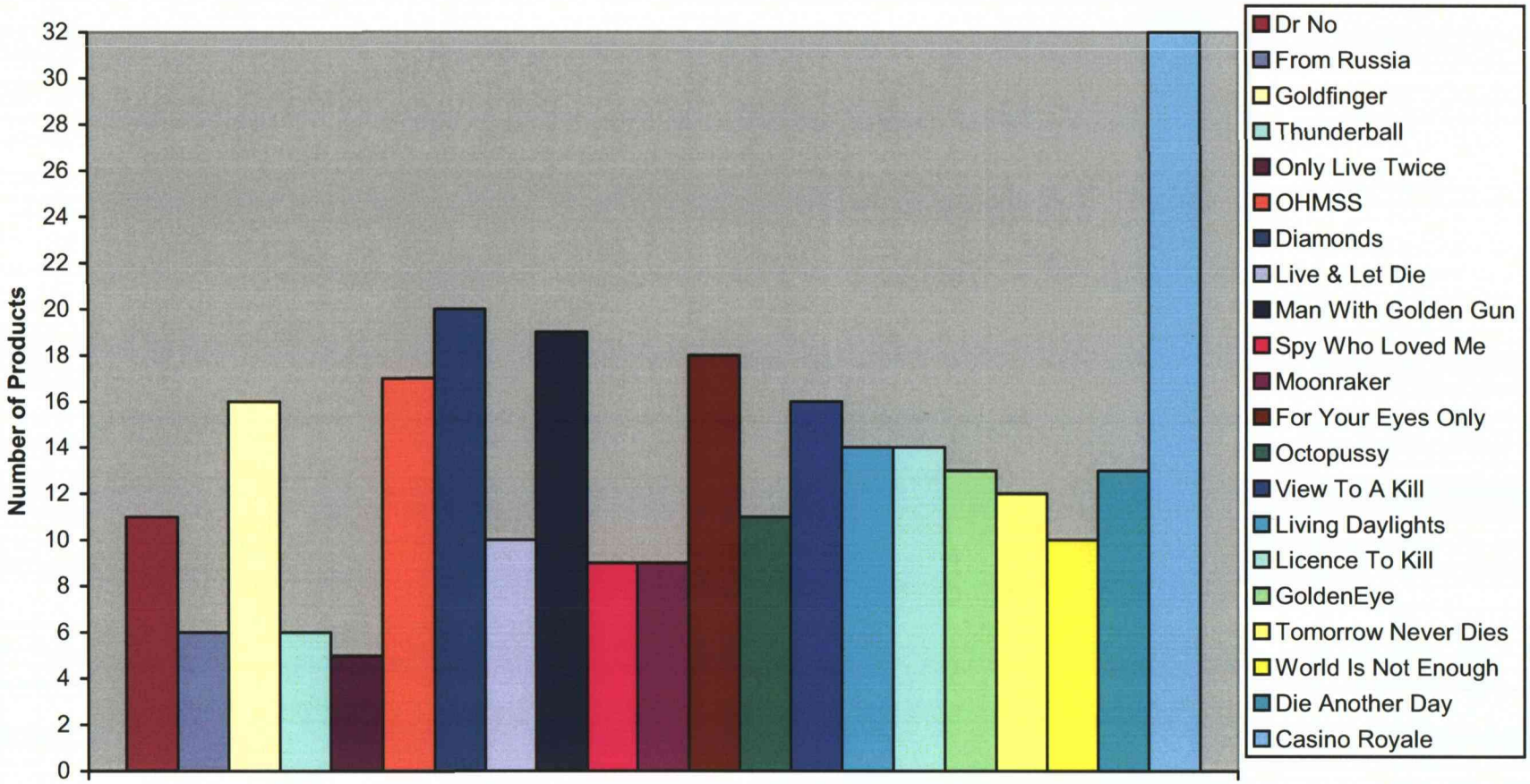
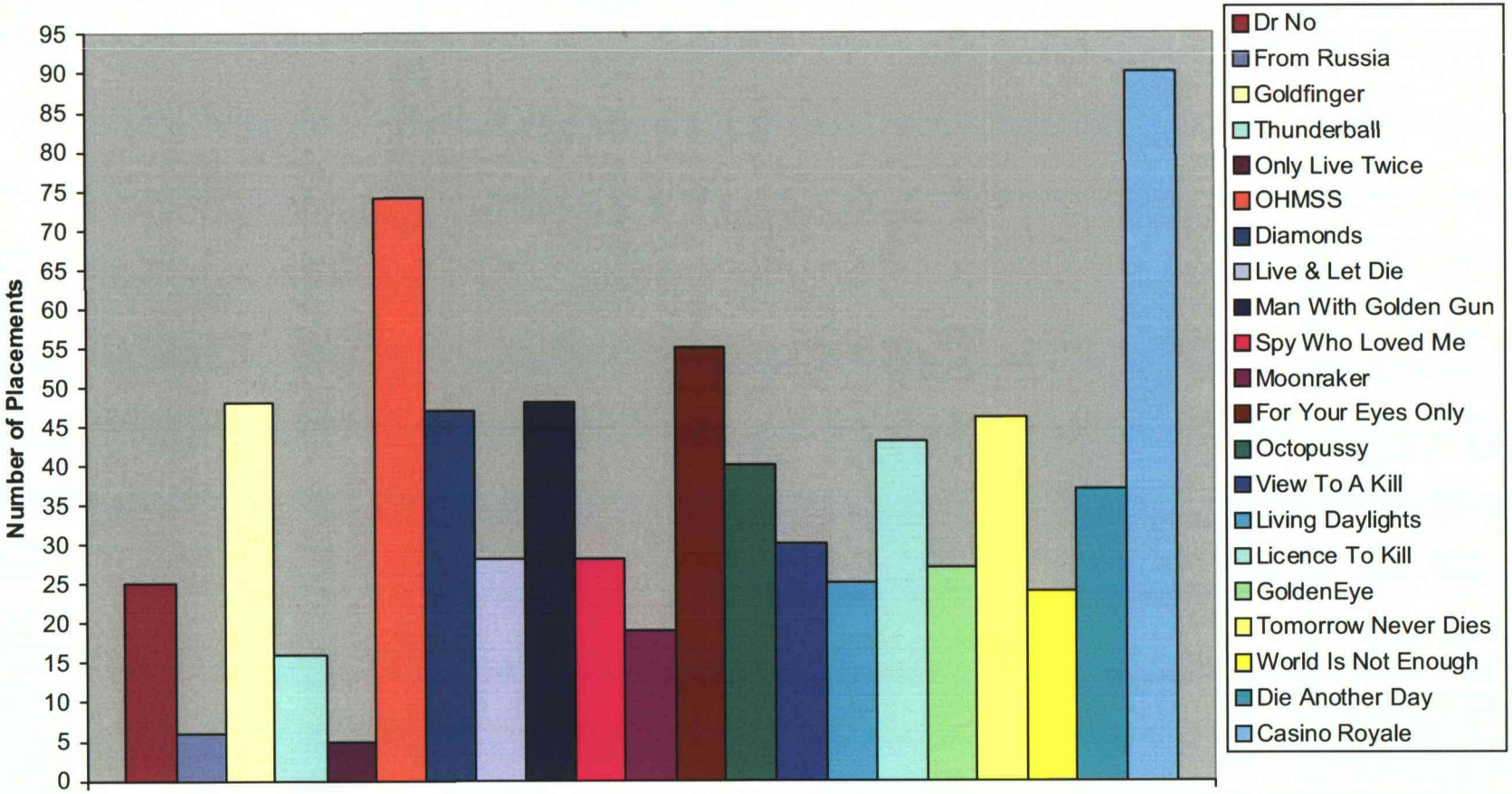


Table Two:

This table demonstrates the actual number of placements that were contained in each Bond film. While the standard number of products featured in the films averaged 13, the average number of placements in each film is 36. However, as the table illustrates, the number of placements has also fluctuated over time.

James Bond Film Series	Number of Placements Featured in the James Bond Film Series
Dr No (1962)	25
From Russia, With Love (1963)	6
Goldfinger (1964)	48
Thunderball (1965)	16
You Only Live Twice (1967)	5
On Her Majesty's Secret Service (1969)	74
Diamonds Are Forever (1971)	47
Live And Let Die (1973)	28
The Man With The Golden Gun (1974)	48
The Spy Who Loved Me (1977)	28
Moonraker (1979)	19
For Your Eyes Only (1981)	55
Octopussy (1983)	40
A View To A Kill (1985)	30
The Living Daylights (1987)	25
Licence To Kill (1989)	43
GoldenEye (1995)	27
Tomorrow Never Dies (1997)	46
The World Is Not Enough (1999)	24
Die Another Day (2002)	37
Casino Royale (2006)	90

Table 2: The Number of Placements Featured in the James Bond Film Series



Tables Three, Four, Five and Six:

The information presented in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 divide the placements into the specific categories of verbal/hand, implied endorsement, signage and clutter placements. These results can then be used to determine how the practice of product placement itself has changed over the course of the series' history. These tables chart the gradual shift in prominence products have taken, with verbal/hand placements becoming the preferred method of including brands in a film's storyline.

James Bond Film Series	Verb/Hand	Imp. Endorse	Signage	Clutter
Dr No (1962)	36%	8%	0%	56%
From Russia, With Love (1963)	50%	17%	33%	0%
Goldfinger (1964)	60%	19%	13%	8%
Thunderball (1965)	44%	0%	6%	50%
You Only Live Twice (1967)	60%	0%	40%	0%
On Her Majesty's Secret Service (1969)	16%	13%	22%	49%
Diamonds Are Forever (1971)	42%	28%	11%	19%
Live And Let Die (1973)	39%	25%	4%	32%
The Man With The Golden Gun (1974)	42%	25%	23%	10%
The Spy Who Loved Me (1977)	61%	36%	0%	3%
Moonraker (1979)	47%	11%	37%	5%
For Your Eyes Only (1981)	62%	4%	11%	23%
Octopussy (1983)	67.5%	27.5%	0%	5%
A View To A Kill (1985)	74%	3%	0%	23%
The Living Daylights (1987)	52%	16%	0%	32%
Licence To Kill (1989)	33%	26%	2%	39%
GoldenEye (1995)	70%	19%	4%	7%
Tomorrow Never Dies (1997)	78%	15%	0%	7%
The World Is Not Enough (1999)	46%	29%	0%	25%
Die Another Day (2002)	76%	19%	5%	0%
Casino Royale (2006)	72%	7%	4%	17%

Table 3: The Number of Verbal/Hand Placements Featured in the James Bond Film Series

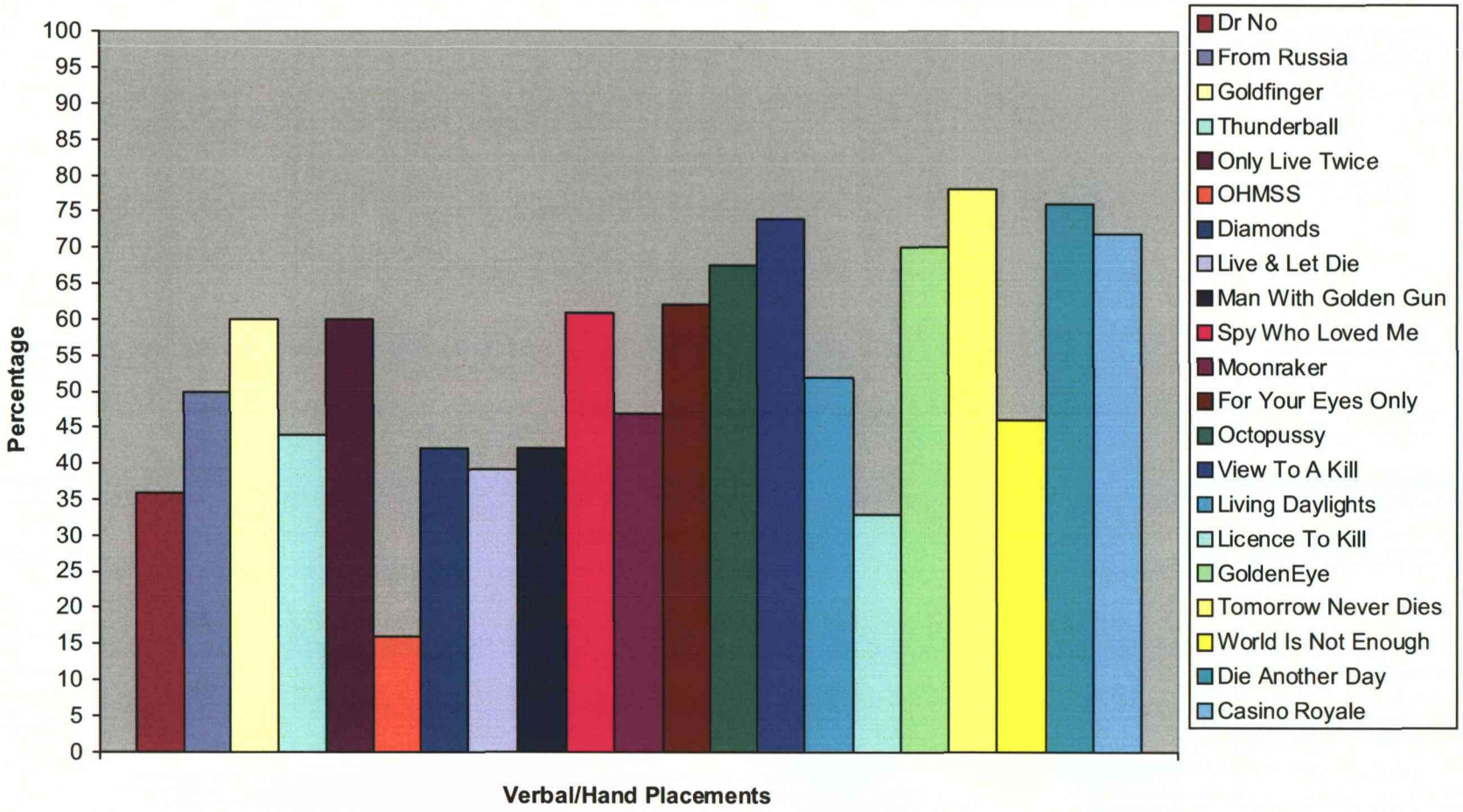


Table Four: The Number of Implied Endorsement Placements Featured in the James Bond Film Series

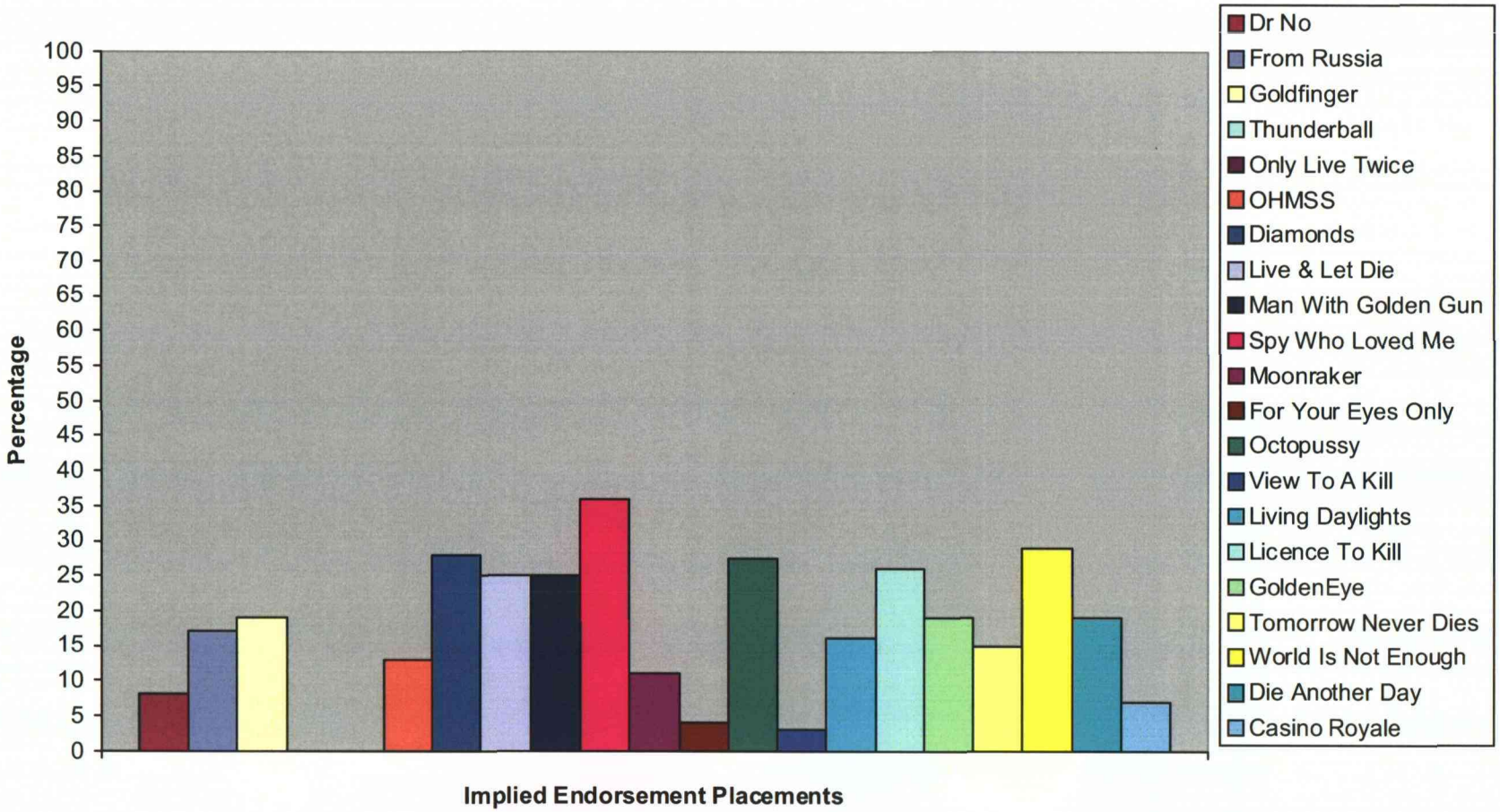


Table 5: The Number of Signage Placements Featured in the James Bond Film Series

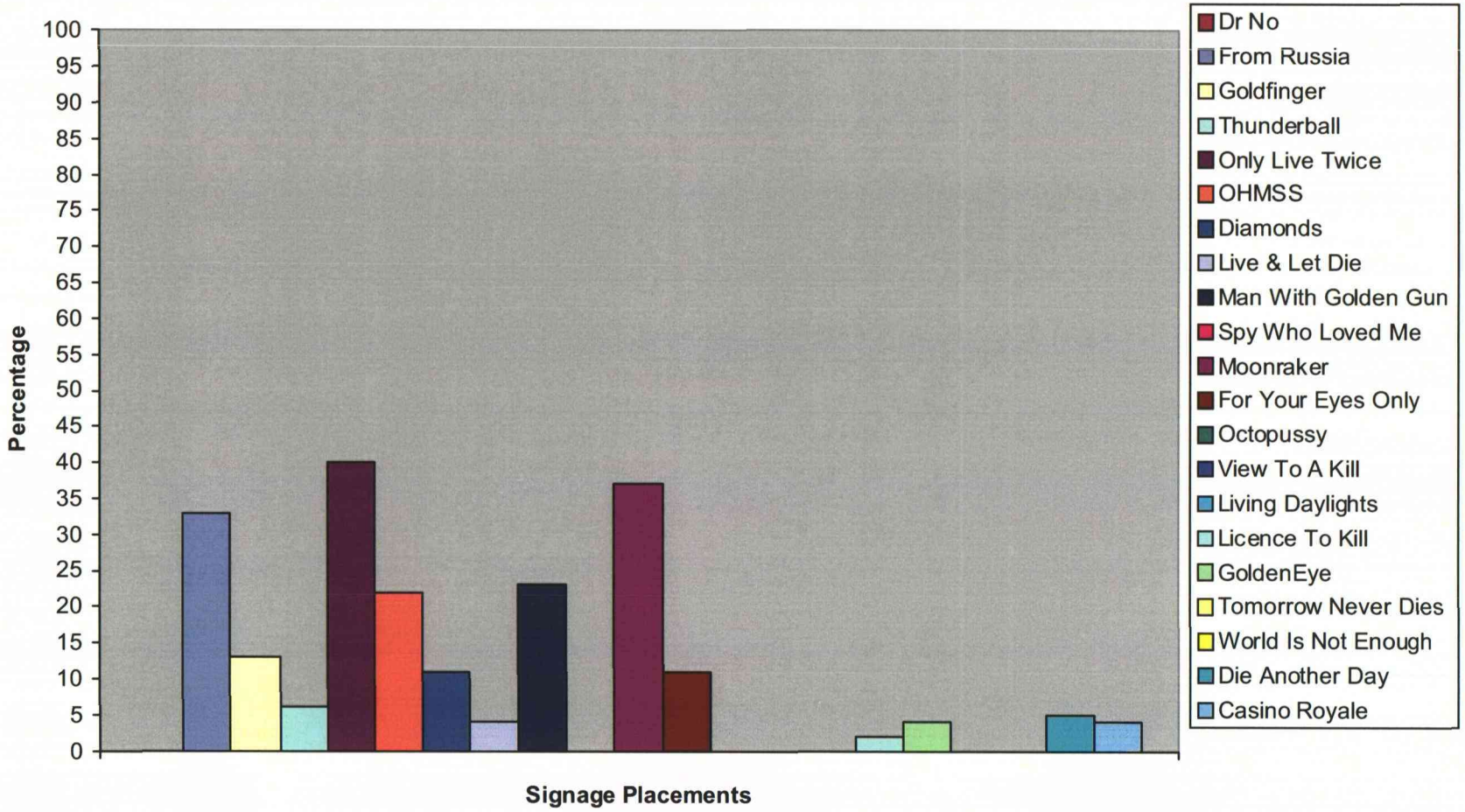
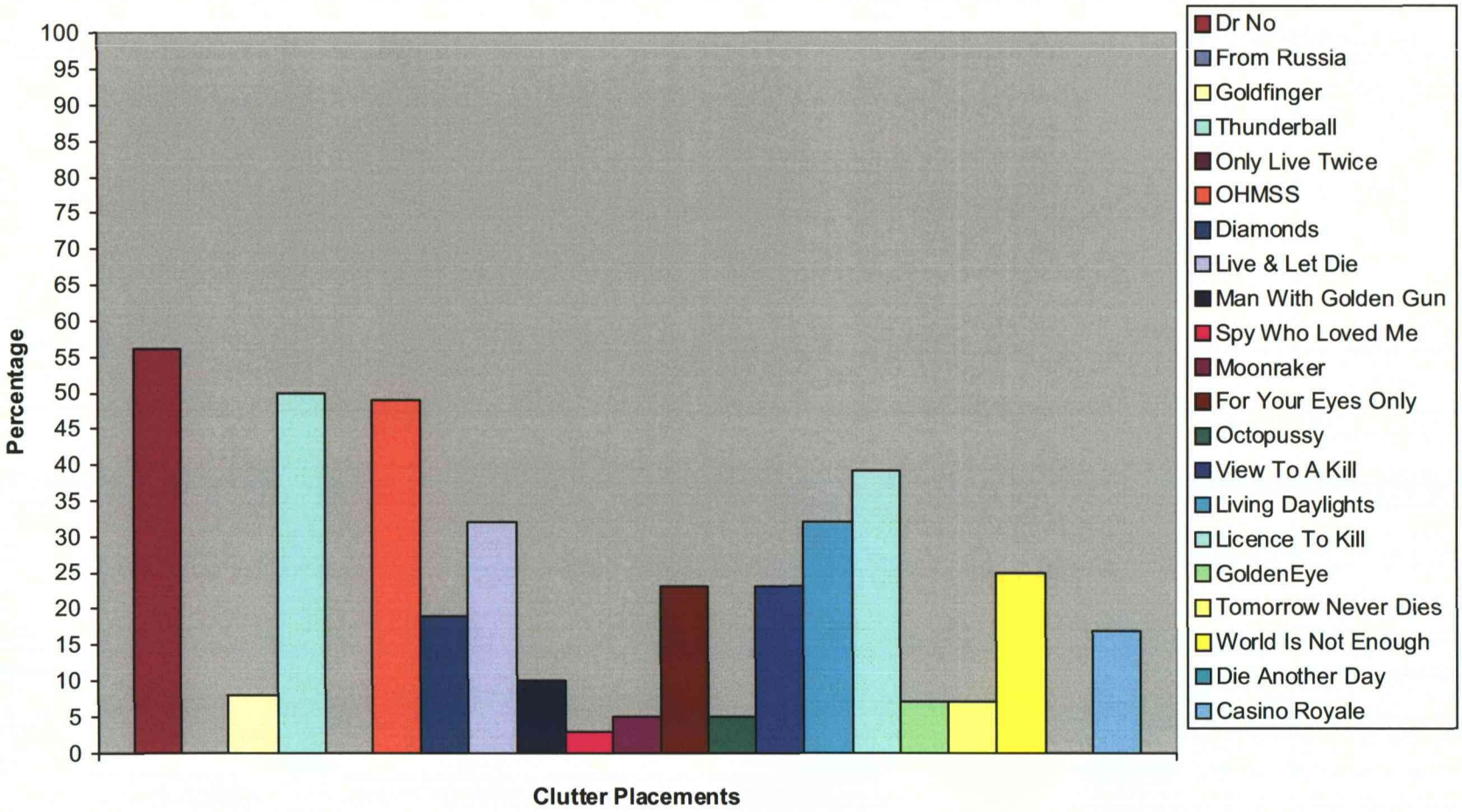


Table 6: The Number of Clutter Placements Featured in the James Bond Film Series



Tables Seven and Eight:

Finally, Table 7 tracks the dramatic increase in the production budgets for the series, while Table 8 charts the worldwide revenue that was generated by the films at the box-office. This information will then be correlated with the information presented in the preceding tables to determine the relationship between them. Please note that the numbers in these charts are based on original amounts, and have not been adjusted for inflation of the dollar. Refer to Appendix Five and Six for the adjusted figures calculated according to the 2009 CPI Inflation Index attained from the US Bureau of Labour Statistics.

Table 7: Production Budgets for the James Bond Film Series

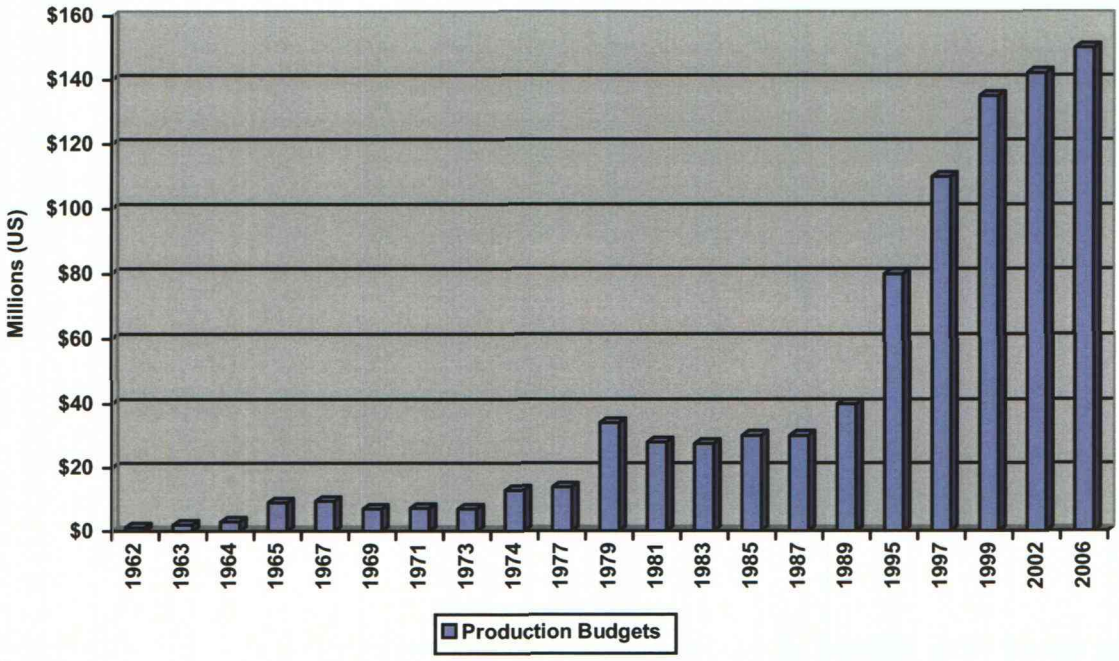


Table 8: Worldwide Box-Office Takings for the James Bond Film Series

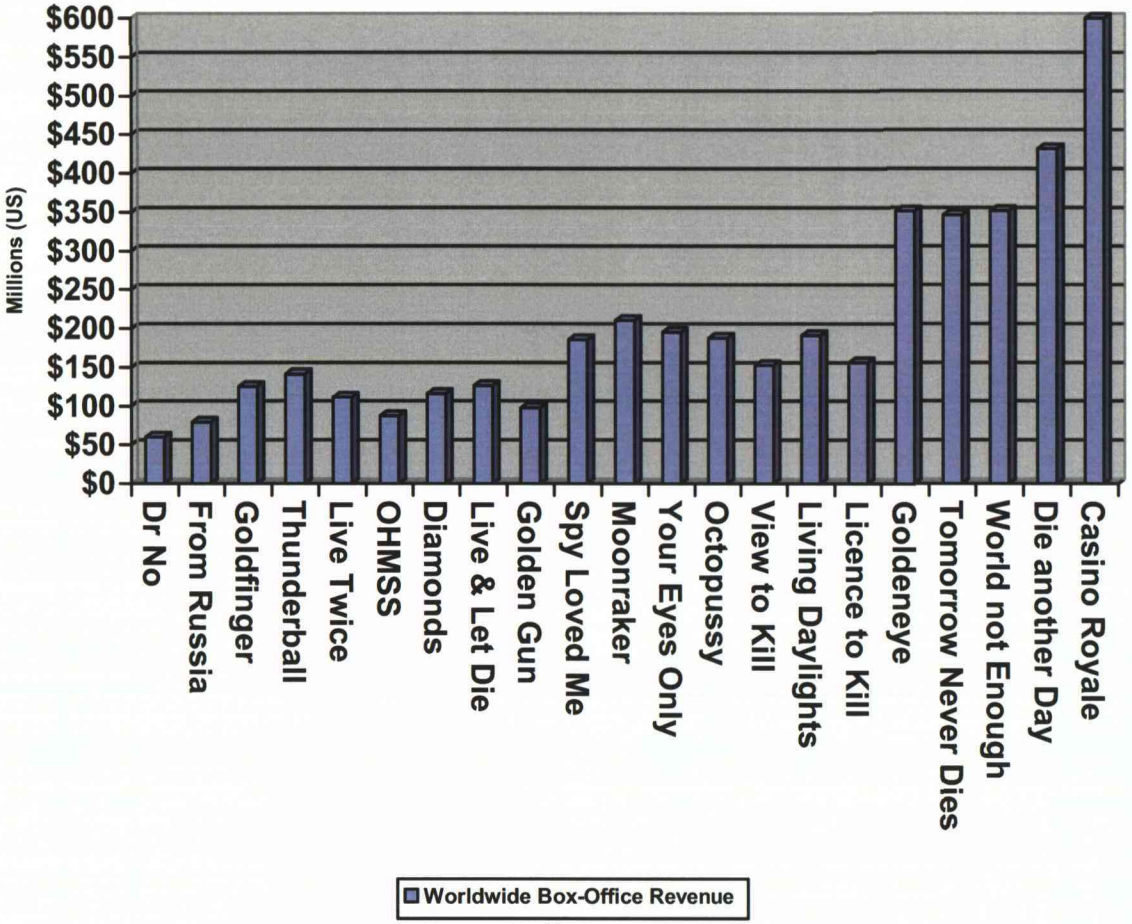


Table 9: List of Products Placed in the James Bond Film Series

Dr No (1962)	Les Ambassadeurs Bereta handgun (negative) Walther handgun Pan American Airways BOAC (negative) Cadillac Smirnoff vodka Red Stripe beer Savile Row Smith and Wesson (villain's gun) Dom Perignon
From Russia, With Love (1963)	Club talcum Pan American Airways Rolls Royce Berlitz Saison Vichy Blanc de Blancs wine
Goldfinger (1964)	Rolex Dom Perignon Bank of England Bentley Aston Martin Dunlop Slazenger Rolls Royce British United Airways Voltswagon Smith and Wesson Kentucky Fried Chicken Coventry Climax Sunoco Ford Brantly Helicopters
Thunderball (1965)	Dom Perignon Amstel Beer Breitling Top Time watch Bell Helicopter Marlboro cigarettes The Perfume Shop
You Only Live Twice (1967)	Toshiba Mitsibishi Dom Perignon Hilton hotel Walther PPK
On Her Majesty's Secret Service (1969)	Cougar car Dom Perignon Le Bleu perfume Rolls Royce

	Campari Camel cigarretes Playboy Tobler chocolates Kodak Super G fuel Piz Gloria restaurant BP Gillette Avon Tyres Corgi Hennessy Brandy Aston Martin
Diamonds Are Forever (1971)	Seaspeed hovercraft Tiffany Estee Lauder Playboy Still machinery Lufthansa Airlines Hotel Tropicana Alpine Village Inn Hertz Union Petrol Asian Airlines Apache Western Air West Ford Mustang Shell Coca-Cola First National Bank Mouton Rothschild wine
Live And Let Die (1973)	Rolex Pan American Airways Panasonic First Federal Savings Bank Coca-Cola Pepsi 7-Up Bollinger Smith & Western Evinrude Motors
The Man With The Golden Gun (1974)	Moet Champagne Nikon cameras Walther PPK Rolls Royce MGB car Peninsula Hotel Rolex watch Sony

	Minolta cameras Air France Blendax Pepsi Mercedes AMC cars Dunlop tyres Dom Perignon Mouton wine Tabasco sauce Hong Kong Macau Hydrofoil
The Spy Who Loved Me (1977)	Sony Bacardi Lotus Louis Vuitton BOAC Volvo Ford Tabasco sauce Dom Perignon
Moonraker (1979)	Bollinger champagne Air France Marlboro cigarettes Christian Dior Canon 7-Up Seiko watch British Airways Carlson boats
For Your Eyes Only (1981)	Guy Laroche Mercedes Benz Turbo Lotus Walther PPK Peroguet Olympic Airlines Phillips Miramount Hotel Coca-Cola Visa InterFlora Olin Mark skies Fischer skies Jeb's Helmets Longines Phillips Rolls Royce Seiko watches
Octopussy (1983)	Range Rover Faberge Sotherby

	Mercedes Benz Olympus Ralph Lauren Walther PPK Seiko watches Rolls Royce Bollinger champagne Sony
A View To A Kill (1985)	Bollinger champagne Lafite Rothschild wine Rolls Royce Phillips Electronics BP Michelin Tyres Jeep Cherokee Sharper Image credit card Whiskars Apple computers Ford Yellow Taxi Shell Chevron CEL Electronics Barcadi
The Living Daylights (1987)	J&B rare scotch Walther handgun Audi car Harrods Bollinger Unigate Phillips Aston Martin Palais Schwarzenberg hotel Cartier Carlberg beer Pepsi Hotel Ile De France Jack Daniels
Licence To Kill (1989)	Olympus camera Kodak Pan Am Airways Busch beer Budweiser beer Carlberg Michelob beer Bollinger champagne Rolls Royce Lark cigarettes Hasselblad camera Kenworth trucks Dodge car

	Catarrin planes
GoldenEye (1995)	Cagiva motorcycles Aston Martin Ferrari Bollinger champagne Alpine sound system Jack Daniel's black label British Airways BMW Z3 roadster IBM computers Walther PPK Perrier (Heineken beer) Omega watches Mercedes
Tomorrow Never Dies (1997)	HP sauce Aston Martin Avis car rental BMW car Sony Ericsson mobile phone Atlantic Hotel Smirnoff vodka BMW motorcycle Heineken beer Omega watch Walther PPK Range Rover (villain's car) Mercedes Benz (villain's car)
The World Is Not Enough (1999)	Berkeley homes Volvo Penta CAT machinery Omega watch Visa Windows CE Smirnoff vodka Bollinger champagne Rolls Royce BMW
Die Another Day (2002)	Omega watch Samsonite luggage Sony Ericsson Bollinger champagne Phillips Brioni Hong Kong Freight airways British Airways Ford Cadillac Range Rover Aston Martin Jaguar

Casino Royale (2006)	Jeep Cherokee New Holland Ocean Club Ford Sony Ericsson Range Rover Land Rover Sony Aston Martin Bollinger Body Worlds Taylor Dias Vogue Ted Baker Heineken Smirnoff Google Virgin Atlantic Texron Menzies Unimex Group Rolex Omega Hotel Splendid Audi Photoshop Basel Bank FedEx Spirit yachts Louis Vuitton Chanel Jaguar

CHAPTER THREE

Celebrity as Commodity/Commodity as Celebrity

This chapter will examine the process of celebrity construction and the way it is used in the James Bond film series to establish new actors in the title role. This procedure will then be compared with the steps involved in establishing a brand identity. Commercial practices linked to product placement—such as cross-promotional advertising—have increasingly resulted in celebrities becoming commodities and commodities becoming celebrities, with actors lending their stardom to celebrity promotion, and commodities being incorporated directly into film scripts. I will also analyse how both film and advertising industries use the process of "looking", and thus "desiring", in their promotional campaigns, before specifically demonstrating how the human body is commodified and used for commodification purposes in the James Bond film series. I will examine how changing social roles have impacted upon the practice of product placement, and determine whether this has affected the types of products typically associated with each gender in the series.

Commodifying Celebrity

Stardom and celebrity are not just intrinsically connected to the growth of mass media—rather they are, quite simply put, a product of it. As Dyer (1998, p. 97) concluded, "(s)tar images are constructed personages in media texts". He also identified four main media texts from which a star's image is comprised: promotion, publicity, films and commentaries/criticisms. Promotion refers to all materials that directly focus on the star themselves, including fashion shoots, premieres and other public appearances, handouts

to the press, advertisements featuring the star promoting a specific product, fan club magazines, etcetera; or are specifically related to the promotion of the star in their latest production—movie trailers, for example. All forms of promotional text are "produced as part of the deliberate creation/manufacture of a particular image or image-context for a particular star" (Dyer 1998, p. 60).

Theoretically, publicity differs from promotion on the basis "that it is not, or [at least] does not appear to be, *deliberate* image-making" (Dyer 1998, p. 61). It can include reports on the star in magazines and gossip columns, or direct radio or television interviews with the star themselves. The underlying principle is that this publicity seems to be more authentic as it often involves direct contact with the "real" person residing behind the star "persona". This, according to Dyer (1998, p. 61) is where it is often possible to detect "tensions between the star-as-person and her/his image, tensions which at another level become themselves crucial to the image". Marlon Brando was a prime example of this type of publicity. His often uncouth behaviour and appearance at Hollywood parties was in direct contention with the image Hollywood executives were trying to establish for him as a romantic, leading man (Wasko 2001). This conflict was absorbed by his persona and subsequently helped create his image as a "rebellious" figure.

It is virtually impossible to study the development of a particular film star without taking into consideration the types of films they have made. This is particularly true in the instances in which a film has been tailored in some way to accommodate a specific star—

from small adjustments to the story to entire scripts being written with a particular film star in mind. In some cases, these "alterations to the story might be effected in order to preserve the star's image" (Dyer 1998, p. 62). For example, when Nicole Kidman had to drop out of filming the thriller *Panic Room* (2002) due to a knee injury, substantial changes had to be made to the script to incorporate Kidman's replacement, Jodie Foster. As David Fincher commented: "When it becomes Jodie Foster…you have to juggle what the audience would believe in terms of helplessness. The part was originally written as a trophy wife", however Jodie Foster "is nobody's stay-at-home wife raising the kids" (in Giles 2002, p. 38).

The final media texts vital to the establishment of stardom and celebrity are commentaries and criticisms. These include the various comments and statements made by writers and critics regarding the star in question, and can be in the form of books written on the film industry, star biographies, and so on. In the particular case of the James Bond film series, it seems that every new actor to assume the role must first run the gauntlet of disbelievers who strongly express concerns regarding their suitability for the part. Never was the criticism so harsh however as in the case of Daniel Craig—the only blond, blue-eyed actor to don the James Bond persona. Critics and fans alike claimed that the actor was "too blond, ugly and insufficiently suave to serve on Her Majesty's Secret Service" (Egan 2006, p. 14). Some fans even went so far as to create a website dedicated to protesting Craig's selection, at the now defunct web address http://www.craignotbond.com. Another form of this type of media text is the film review, and as soon as *Casino Royale* (2006) was released the producers' choice seemed

vindicated. While some reviewers still expressed reserve ("You never warm to Craig's British super-agent: you just watch him go through the motions", Lowing 2006, p. 16), many were positively glowing, with one reviewer even claiming that Craig "comes to the role already a better actor than any of his predecessors, even the young Connery who became a good actor only after leaving Bond behind" (Macdonald 2006, p. 26).

Another important element of stardom and celebrity is the exposure generated through publicity. Three areas of publicity that will be examined in this section include publicity related to the actor chosen to play Bond, publicity that focuses on the movie itself, and publicity generated through cross-promotional campaigns. To illustrate these stages of character construction more effectively, the following section will focus primarily on the 17th James Bond film, *GoldenEye* (1995). In regards to the actor, Pierce Brosnan had actually been shortlisted to play James Bond after Roger Moore retired from the role eight years earlier. However, due to his contractual obligations to the television series *Remington Steele* (1982), he was unable to accept and the role was instead offered to Timothy Dalton (Chapman 1999). This delay seems to have eventually worked in Brosnan's favour, as "(n)ow in his forties, Brosnan was the right age for Bond, and with his old-fashioned, darkly handsome matinee idol looks he certainly had the right image for the part" (Chapman 1999, p. 251). Publicity surrounding the actor has emphasised the supposed signs of "fate" linking his life with that of the James Bond character, namely that the day he left Ireland—12 August 1964—was the same day Ian Fleming died, and that his first wife had been a Bond "girl" in *For Your Eyes Only* (1981) (Carr 1995).

His stint as the private investigator Remington Steele helped generate audience foreknowledge and accustomed people to seeing him in similar roles to that of James Bond. As Kung (2004, p. 153) stated:

> Long before he was assuming identities and seducing gorgeous women as super-suave James Bond, Pierce Brosnan was, well, assuming identities and seducing gorgeous women as super-suave 'detective' Remington Steele.

Roger Moore also had a similar background in television, playing the character of "The Saint" for several years before assuming the role of Bond in 1973 with *Live And Let Die*. This television show helped establish his persona as a "charming, debonair, international playboy" (Chapman 1999, p. 150)—characteristics synonymous with James Bond.

Another key component of audience foreknowledge is public awareness raised by movie publicity. One such technique is the publicity generated by the premieres of the films themselves. For example, *GoldenEye* premiered in America at the Radio City Music Hall in New York. The UK premiere was attended by Prince Charles who is reported to have cheered and clapped through many of the film's action scenes (MI6 2006). Yet, as far as panache goes, perhaps the most impressive Bond movie premiere was for *Thunderball* which opened on 21 December 1965. In front of record crowds, United Artists hired a jet-pack flyer to fly over the crowd in a direct reference to the movie's opening scene in which Bond straps on a jet-pack to escape his pursuers. The publicity team responsible for the stunt, however, were later arrested for failing to obtain the necessary permits for such an activity (*The Thunderball phenomenon* 1995).

In 1995, when the producers decided to retry the Bond formula following a six-year gap in production, there were concerns that film audiences would consider the character out-dated. In order to counteract this perception, considerable effort was made to "revamp" Bond, "updating the technology and keeping apace of rival action series through their spectacular stunts and set pieces, while at the same time maintaining the distinctive generic identity of the Bond formula" (Chapman 1999, p. 248). As such, publicity material released by the studio also emphasised the modern-day elements included within the story line, from "bungee-jumping and computer hacking to a…sports car that hasn't even been launched yet!" (in Chapman 1999, p. 252).

At the same time, producers went to considerable lengths to make enough references to the earlier Bond films to ensure the film would still be accepted by Bond "purists", and would also fit comfortably into the overall Bond film franchise. The opening sequence, for example, was filmed in a manner reminiscent of the first Bond film—*Dr No* (1962)—in which director Terence Young made the decision to gradually reveal Bond through lingering close-up shots of his hands, over his shoulder, the back of his head until finally the camera focused directly on Sean Connery's face as he uttered those famous words, "Bond, James Bond".

Similarly in 1995, the audience is unable to see the face of the dark-haired man clad in black running across the top of a dam. The camera angle then switches to above the man's head just as he bungee-jumps over the edge. The camera then focuses in on his hands as he shoots off a grappling gun, but it is not until he unexpectedly surprises a Russian guard sitting on a toilet that the audience can clearly see Pierce Brosnan's face—

albeit upside down, at which time he apologises in his distinctively upper-class British accent for not knocking before rendering the guard unconscious. This scene is actually a flashback to a previous mission in 1986, with the film thus "[straddling] the end of the Cold War" (Chapman 1999, p. 253).

The audience's introduction to Bond nine years later also makes reference to Sean Connery's performance in *Dr No.* After sitting down at a poker table opposite the femme fatale Xenia Onatopp, they play the exact card game Connery's Bond and the character Syliva Trench played in the opening scenes of *Dr No*, even concluding with the same end result of Bond walking away with the woman's money. Director Martin Campbell referred to this sequence in the film's commentary, as being "the classic Bond gambling scene with all the pizzazz that only Monte-Carlo Casino can give you". Even the cards themselves were symbolically chosen by the filmmakers, with Onatopp's 007 (Bond's secret agent number) trumped by Bond's 006 (a reference to the agent supposedly killed in his earlier mission).

Figure 5: The "classic Bond gambling scene" from *GoldenEye*

Figure 6: The audience's first introduction to James Bond in *Dr No*

Of course, before Bond was a film star, he was a literary hero and his exploits in Ian Fleming's novels helped to familarise the public with the standard structure each adventure would take. Umberto Eco deconstructed this structure into "a prearranged pattern" which he called "The Bond Formula". Despite the inevitable twists and turns in every plot line, this underlining formula assists audience foreknowledge in terms of what to expect. According to Eco (1982, pp. 254-255), the formula consists of the following standard pattern that can be compared to the moves typically made in a game of chess:

A. M moves and gives a task to Bond.
B. The Villain moves and appears to Bond (perhaps in alternative forms).
C. Bond moves and gives a first check to the Villain or the Villain gives first check to Bond.
D. Woman moves and shows herself to Bond.
E. Bond consumes Woman: possesses her or begins her seduction.
F. The Villain captures Bond (with or without Woman, or at different moments).
G. The Villain tortures Bond (with or without Woman).
H. Bond conquers the Villain (kills him, or kills his representative or helps at their killing).
I. Bond convalescing enjoys Woman, whom he then loses.

The fluidity of this pattern is where the true enjoyment resides for the audience. As one critic commentated after watching *GoldenEye*, "we already know the Bond formula—it has already earned our good will—so our pleasure revolves around seeing how the filmmakers execute their turn'" (in Chapman 1999, p. 19). There is, therefore, a conscious effort in the series to draw upon this generic structure to stimulate interest in audiences.

What is also interesting to note is how an increasing number of products have begun to be incorporated into the standard Bond formula. Ian Fleming regularly included descriptions of particular brand names in his stories, particularly as a way of establishing character. To demonstrate, consider the following excerpt from the first two pages of his novel, *From Russia, With Love* (1957):

> To judge by the glittering pile, this had been, or was, a rich man. It contained the typical membership badges of the rich man's club…a well-used gold *Dunhill* lighter, an oval gold cigarette case with the wavy ridges and discreet turquoise button that means *Faberge*…There was also a bulky gold wrist-watch on a well-used crocodile strap. It was a *Girard Perregaux* model designed for people who like gadgets. [emphasis added]

A major difference between the novels and the films is the way product placements have gradually begun to guide and shape the storylines in the film series. For example, in *GoldenEye*, the narrative structure is as follows:

B. The Villain moves (perhaps in alternative forms)

On a mission to infiltrate a Russian weapons research facility, James Bond and his co-agent 006, Alec Trevelyan, are cornered by enemy troops. 006 is captured and apparently shot in the head by Colonel Ourumov. Bond manages to destroy the facility before using

a **Cagiva** motorcycle in an elaborate escape sequence with numerous close-ups of the motorcycle's brand name. Bond holds himself responsible for Trevelyan's death and has a personal vendetta against Ourumov. However, as later revealed in the movie, the real villain is actually 006 and in his first appearance on-screen, he is concealed in dark shadows brandishing a weapon at Bond.

C. Villain gives first check to Bond

Nine years later, Bond meets a Russian woman by the name of Xenia Onatopp, who in many ways resembles a female version of Bond—she smokes cigars, gambles and seems to have an insatiable sexual desire. Their first encounter involved a dangerous car race between her **Ferrari** and his **Aston Martin**. However, while Bond exhibits some semblance of self-control, Xenia's desires and pleasures are much darker. She manages to kill a naval Captain during sex while Ourumov takes his identity badge, and together they steal a prototype helicopter from a naval gunship. Xenia and Ourumov, now a General, use the helicopter to fly to a Russian military base to steal the "GoldenEye" satellite program—a weapon that uses electromagnetic pulses to destroy all electrical equipment within its target.

A. Bond gets orders from M

The decision to have a woman (Dame Judi Dench) play M was an attempt by producers to diffuse some of the criticisms related to the outdated sexism that surrounds the character of James Bond. Initially, Bond does not trust nor like the new M and tries to draw comparisons to the previous M, but the successor is clearly comfortable in her position of authority:

M: Care for a drink?
Bond: Thank you. Your predecessor kept some cognac in the top drawer
M: I prefer Bourbon myself

Her choice of **Jack Daniel's Bourbon** over cognac is also a way for the filmmakers to demonstrate her lack of pretension, whilst perhaps appearing more attractive to an American audience more used to drinking bourbon over cognac. She orders Bond to find the stolen "GoldenEye", to establish the identities of those who stole it, discover their planned agenda and to stop it without resorting to a personal vendetta against General Ourumov for supposedly killing 006.

B. Villain reveals himself

The identity of the arch-villain is revealed when 006 finally confronts Bond, however in keeping with Bond tradition as a villain he is now physically disfigured. He sustained a severe facial burn when Bond set off the charges three minutes earlier than planned when escaping from the Russian chemical weapon research facility nine years earlier.

G. Villain tortures Bond

Bond is rendered unconscious from a tranquilliser dart and when he awakens he finds himself inside the prototype helicopter set to self-destruct with an unknown woman. They manage to escape after Bond activates the ejector seat before the explosion.

D. Woman shows herself to Bond

After their escape, Bond and the unknown woman are captured by the Russian army and taken into custody. Once alone, the woman identifies herself as Natalya Fyodorovna Semyonova, a computer programmer and the lone survivor from the Russian military base from which Xenia and Ourumov stole the "GoldenEye". Despite Bond and Natalya

managing to escape from the prison, General Ourumov takes Natalya hostage with Bond having to pursue them in a stolen Russian tank.

E. Bond consumes woman

Natalya is taken to an armoured train that 006 is using to travel around the country. Bond manages to stop the train by derailing it with the tank. He is again captured and brought before 006 who locks Bond and Natalya inside one of the train carriages that he has set to explode in three minutes—the same amount of time Bond set the detonators at nine years earlier. Bond uses the laser built into his **Omega** watch to create an opening for them to escape through after Natalya hacks into a computer and discovers that 006 and his subordinates are heading to Cuba. In essence, the **Omega** watch saves their lives. After escaping, Natalya and Bond share a lingering kiss.

Figure 7: A prominent Omega verbal/hand placement in *GoldenEye*

F. Villain captures Bond

Bond and Natalya are driving in his **BMW** along the Cuban coast when Bond makes contact with a CIA agent who informs him of 006's location. After flying to the remote

area, Bond deliberately lets himself be captured, thereby providing a distraction so Natalya can access the computer mainframe and disarm the "GoldenEye" satellite.

H. Bond conquers Villain

After Bond and Alec engage in a vicious fight on top of the satellite dish, Bond seems to take "personal relish at his former friend's demise", when he lets him fall to his death (Chapman 1999, p. 256):

> Alec: For England, James?
> Bond: No, for me

The "GoldenEye" satellite is destroyed and the satellite dish explodes.

I. Bond convalescing and enjoys woman

After escaping the facility, Bond and Natalya embrace in a field where she flirtatiously asks him about the possibility of someone seeing them:

> Natalya: Suppose someone is watching?
> Bond: No, there's no-one within 25 miles, believe me

However, the field they are kissing in is actually filled with camouflaged American marines sent by the CIA as backup for Bond.

Yet, this formulaic pattern is only one method of drawing upon audience foreknowledge in character construction. Content analysis of the entire James Bond film series has revealed the important role products play in extending audience foreknowledge, by providing a way of linking the Bond films together. The table listing all the products used in each film included in Chapter Two, was used to identify reoccurring product placement patterns. For example,

> *GoldenEye* explicitly locates Brosnan in the Bond heritage by showing him, immediately following the title sequence, driving a silver-grey Aston Martin DB5, thus invoking the memory of Connery who had driven the same vehicle in *Goldfinger* [1964] and *Thunderball* [1965]. (Chapman 1999, p. 257)

In this way, it could be said that brands are more indicative of character than the actor, serving as a touchstone for the audience to reconnect with the character even when the actor playing the role has changed. Other reoccurring brands include Walther PPK handguns, Dom Perignon and Bollinger champagne, Savile Row and Brioni suits, and Smirnoff vodka.

Often when a product has been placed in a film, businesses wish to captialise upon their involvement by referring to the placement in their own advertising campaigns. In return, the filmmakers get what is in essence free publicity for their film in a mutually beneficial arrangement. Take for example, the Aston Martin DB5 car's first appearance in a Bond film, when it was used throughout *Goldfinger*. As director Guy Hamilton discussed in the film's commentary:

> If there is one star who eclipses Sean [Connery] on the basis of *Goldfinger* success, it is the Aston Martin DB5. In fact, several DB5s were built for the film, each of which performed various functions. Upon the release of *Goldfinger*, the car proved to be such a phenomenal success with audiences that an additional car was built strictly for promotional tours.

There has been a long history of cross-promotion between celebrities and commodities. Film stars have been used to sell virtually everything—from soap to washing machines to cars and fashion (Dyer 1986, p. 5). The sense of glamour the film industry is able to generate was considered to be an essential component in fuelling this consumer frenzy. As Matthew (2005, p. 127) states:

> It made movie culture the core of a modern, everyday consumerism…[and] set them at the heart of a commercial popular culture that represented and reproduced the wonder of the modern world to a mass public willingly drawn into its embrace.

It is important to remember that at this time the film industry was in large part being funded by such capitalist institutions as banks and major investment groups. It is important to remember that at this time the film industry was in large part being funded by such capitalist institutions as banks and major investment groups. With the film industry burgeoning throughout the 1920s, many banking and investment companies began competing to handle their business (Balio 1985, p. 193). For example, in 1927 William Fox from Fox Films began seeking bank loans to cover the costs associated with expanding his business. He developed a close working relationship with Harold Stuart, president of investment firm Halsey Stuart in Chicago. According to Rollins (1997, p. 24), "these two kindred spirits worked closely to supervise the growth of Fox Film throughout the late 1920s".

> With the representatives of…economic powers [now] sitting on the directorates of the studio, and with the world of business pervaded by the new zeitgeist of consumerism, the conditions were right for Hollywood to assume a [starring] role. (Eckert 1978, p. 2)

The similarities that allow for this type of integration between celebrity and commodity go beyond a shared history of mass production. In the following section, I will break down the steps involved in developing character in the star construct in comparison with the development of a brand's personality. For instance, the characters that actors choose to play and how they choose to play them are all absorbed and integrated into a star's persona and then interpreted by the audience. In much the same way,

> (b)rand personality is inferred by the set of human characteristics typical of the user, or the brand's endorsers. The traits of the people associated with the brand are transferred to the brand. (Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 130)

For celebrities, this interpretation is contingent on what Richard Dyer (1998, pp. 106-107) calls the ten "signs of character". In addition to audience foreknowledge, these "signs" include name, appearance, objective correlatives, speech of character, speech of others, gesture, action, structure and mise en scene. Audience foreknowledge has already been discussed in regards to the use of the generic "Bond Formula" in creating public expectation.

The second of Richard Dyer's ten "signs of character" focuses on the connotations that can arise from something as simple as a name. After all, names are often used in narratives as a way of indicating to an audience certain character personality traits (Dyer 1998). Count Von Doom, for example, from *The Fantastic Four* (2005) is immediately typecast by the audience as the villain due to the images conjured by his name. The James Bond series also draws upon this tradition "by suggesting in an image or in a pun the fixed character of the person from the start, without any possibility of conversion or change" (Eco 1982, p. 261)—particularly in relation to the villains and women in Bond.

The assassin in *From Russia, With Love* (1963) was called Donovan "Red" Grant—the "Red" a probable reference to his affiliation with the Soviet Union in the novel. A henchman who can kill with unusual objects, namely his hat, is known as "Oddjob", and a villain obsessed with gold is known as "Goldfinger" (Eco 1982). Some of the names given to Bond's love interests are also image inducing—such as Tiffany Case from

Diamonds Are Forever (1971) being a direct reference to the famous jewellery store by the same name. In *You Only Live Twice* (1967), an oriental lover eager to please Bond in every imaginable way is called Kissy Suzuki—Suzuki being a possible reference to the Zen state of nirvana (Chapman 1999). Domino is the innocent pawn being manipulated by her villainous lover in a game she does not understand in *Thunderball*. Finally, sexual promiscuity and ambivalence is conjured by the name "Pussy Galore"—"Pussy" an obvious reference to the female anatomy and "Galore" either being the slang term for "well-endowed", as suggested by Eco (1982), or it may in fact be an allusion to her lesbianism, something that is only hinted at in the film but is more clearly conveyed in the novel. This same formula can also be applied to the villainness in *GoldenEye*—Xenia Onatopp who, as her name suggests, does indeed like it "on top". She is portrayed as a sexual predator who becomes visibly aroused by violence. In the very first filmed sex scene in a Bond film, Onatopp screams, slaps and scratches her lover before locking her legs around his chest until he is unable to breath. As he suffocates to death, she appears to reach her climax.

The third "sign of character" relates to appearance, which can often suggest as much about a character's personality as their name. This enables the audience to quickly and easily identify the main protagonists and antagonists in the story. As previously mentioned the villains in the Bond series are often physically disfigured or grotesque in some way. The leader of the terrorist group SPECTRE for example is a pale, bald man with a prominent scar down one side of his face. Dr No's hands have been amputated and replaced by black mechanical hands capable of crushing metal, and the henchman Jaws

who appears in the films *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977) and *Moonraker* (1979) was a man of gigantic proportions who used his metal teeth to bite cleanly through solid objects. The henchman in *Live And Let Die* had metal pincers instead of a hand which gave him superhuman strength. Similarly, the villain Renard in *The World Is Not Enough* (1999) had superhuman strength and endurance, after a bullet that lodged in his brain and disfigured his face, also destroyed his ability to feel fear, pain and fatigue. Finally, the North Korean henchman in *Die Another Day* (2002) was bald, with albino eyes and diamonds embedded in his face.

In much the same way, the "Bond girls" were often selected for their *Playboy* good looks, a "fantasy image of female sexuality: well-scrubbed, big-breasted, long-haired and sexually available" (Chapman 1999, p. 117). The appearance of these women on-screen was often designed in such a way as to quickly identify to the audience their role as Bond's "love interest". In *GoldenEye*, James Bond first sees Xenia Onatopp driving recklessly in a red sports car as they race each other down a mountainside. However, it is over a casino table where they are properly introduced. She is wearing a revealing black dress and is mannishly smoking a cigar. Her style and manner of dressing is completely at odds with Natalya Fyodorovna Semyonova who, in comparison, is first seen wearing an almost girlish outfit consisting of a skirt, singlet top and demure cardigan. This immediately signals to the audience which woman is to be considered "good" and which is to be considered "bad".

The focus of the next "sign of character" is on objective correlatives, defined as the use of "'physical correlatives to symbolise mental states'...through the use of décor and setting, montage and symbolism" (Dyer 1998, p. 112). James Bond, for example, is generally surrounded by the best of everything—the best wines, luxurious sports cars and impeccably tailored clothing to demonstrate his cultured sophistication. Villains are often shot in darkness, wear black clothing, and so on. Dyer (1998, p. 112) states, "(w)hat a character says and how s/he says it indicate personality both directly...and indirectly". For this reason, the fifth "sign of character" centres on the speech of character. In relation to the James Bond franchise, there exists two separate James Bonds—Fleming's version and the film version, with a number of noticeable differences between the two. Fleming's Bond was rarely humorous and the producers felt this was a quality missing from the novels. In response, the film scripts were liberally sprinkled with one-liners and sexual innuendos. As screenplay writer Richard Maibaum stated: "We made Bond more humorous, throwing away those one-liners that are now obligatory in Bond films" (in Chapman 1999, p. 57). In the commentary for *Dr No*, director Terrence Young also revealed that humour was an effective tool at deflecting censorship concerns regarding the level of violence depicted in the movies.

Physical attractiveness is also often indicated through speech. The chemistry that exists between James Bond and Miss Moneypenny for example, generates extensive wordplay as the following dialogue from *GoldenEye* demonstrates:

> Bond: Hmmm, I've never seen you after hours Moneypenny—lovely!
> MP: Thank you James!
> Bond: Out on some kind of professional assignment, dressing to kill?

> MP: I know you'll find this crushing 007 but I don't sit at home every night praying for some international incident so I can run down here all dressed up to impress James Bond. I was on a date if you must know, with a gentleman. We went to the theatre together
> Bond: Moneypenny, I'm devastated. What would I ever do without you?
> MP: As far as I can remember James, you've never had me
> Bond: Hope springs eternal
> MP: You know, this sort of behaviour could qualify as sexual harassment
> Bond: Really? What's the penalty for that?
> MP: Some day you have to make good on your innuendos!

Another example is when the femme fatale Xenia Onatopp ambushes Bond at a Bath. After he throws her to the ground, he pulls his gun on her:

> Xenia: You don't need the gun, Commander
> Bond: That depends on your definition of safe sex!

It is also important when examining the ten "signs of character" to consider the speech of others as well. For example, the American CIA agent Jinx (Halle Berry) in *Die Another Day* resembles a female version of James Bond in terms of sexual confidence and physical capabilities. This resemblance even extends to her dialogue, able to rally repartees with 007 with apparent ease:

> Bond: I'm just here for the birds…(holds up binoculars) Ornithologist
> Jinx: Ornithologist huh? (looks down his body) Now there's a mouthful

The seventh and eighth "signs of character"—gesture and action—can be examined together. Gesture can be used as an indicator of "personality and temperament", and is governed by two forms of code—formal and informal (involuntary). Involuntary gestures are often reflective of internal emotive states. It is quite possible for a character to be saying one thing but through facial twitches and small gestures indicate that they are actually feeling/thinking something completely different. Although subtlety was never a

major factor in the James Bond character, Pierce Brosnan's Bond still relies on a few small gestures to symbolise the essence of "007"—one such being the adjustment of his tie. In *GoldenEye*, Bond "commandeers" a Russian tank to pursue General Ourumov. Manoeuvring a tank through the busy city streets, crashing through buildings and smashing into cars whilst under constant gunfire, James Bond still takes a moment to fix his tie.

In *The World Is Not Enough* Bond uses a prototype jet-boat to chase after a terrorist that has just exploded a bomb inside MI6 headquarters. At one time Bond makes the boat submerge underwater to avoid an obstacle and upon returning to the surface, again takes a moment to adjust his tie—despite still being semi-immersed in water. In another scene from *GoldenEye*, a bullet ricochets close to Bond's head and he barely flinches. Perhaps the absence of involuntary gestures and twitches can also point toward particular personality traits—namely Bond's ability to remain unfazed in the face of danger, never flinching from his duty in life-threatening situations. For these reasons, in the Bond films it is possible to discuss action in relation to gesture—action referring to "what a character *does* in the plot" (Dyer 1998, pp. 113-114). Bond will do whatever he has to do to ensure he achieves his objective—he remains level-headed and purposeful, even when facing "certain death".

Each character's personality in a narrative is dependant on the ninth "sign of character"—structure. Either the development of a character's personality is directly related to the events in and the requirements of the plot, or the plot's development is contingent on the

personality of the main character/s (Dyer 1998). An example of the former is Tim Burton's *Sleepy Hollow* (1999), in which the main character Ichabud Crane (Johnny Depp) is sent to investigate a series of decapitations in the small village of Sleepy Hollow. Crane is depicted as a quivering coward who faints on a regular basis and shows an aversion to blood. However, to solve the murders he must continue in his investigations despite the overwhelming fear he feels. In comparison, the plot in any James Bond film emanates from who he is—an example of the latter structural form. Audiences watching the films expect to see a story based around the Bond formula, as defined by Eco (1982) and previously discussed, in which M sends Bond on a mission, he is outfitted with gadgets by Q, the villain makes the first move or Bond manages to counteract the villain, Bond meets the obligatory "Bond girl" and seduces her, they are captured by the villain, and so on.

Even Bond's love interests in the films are carefully structured around a pre-designated formula. When Roald Dahl was commissioned to write the screenplay for *You Only Live Twice*, he was directed not in any way to alter the "Bond girl" formula. In most Bond films there are three "girls". The first "girl" is considered pro-Bond and is usually present only in the first section of the film until she is killed, most typically in Bond's arms. The second "girl" is decidedly anti-Bond and works for the villain. It is her job to capture and/or kill Bond until she is overwhelmed by Bond's "sheer sexual magnetism", but is usually killed by the villain for her betrayal (Chapman 1999, p. 132). The third Bond "girl" is strongly pro-Bond—"she occupies the final third of the picture and must on no account be killed" (in Chapman 1999, p. 132). The structure may have changed slightly,

but this same premise can be seen in *GoldenEye*. In the first section of the film, Bond is attempting to charm a female psychiatrist sent by M to evaluate him. She soon submits to his sexual advances and clears him for active duty. He then meets Xenia Onatopp, a killer working for the enemy who attempts to seduce Bond in order to assassinate him. Finally, he meets the true "love interest"—Natalya Fyodorovna Semyonova, in whose arms he ends up after killing the arch-villain.

The final "sign of character" is concerned with mise en scene, defined as the "cinematic rhetoric of lighting, colour, framing, composition and the placing of actors…to express the personality or state of mind of characters". In the case of *GoldenEye*, the director Martin Campbell often chose to film Pierce Brosnan's face concealed in shadows except for his eyes in the typical film noir style. Perhaps this was an attempt by the director to emphasise the "man of mystery" element of the character. The ten "signs of character", as explored above, play a pivotal role in the construction of a star's identity. However, in the same way that an actor's *persona* or *character* must be carefully constructed, so to does that of a brand's identity. The following section will breakdown the process involved in constructing a brand image.

Celebritising Commodity

As Bullmore (in Pringle 2005) states:

> Before a product can be bought by anyone, it has first to find a place on a scale of fame. At the very lowest end of this scale is simple awareness. At the highest end of this scale is global celebrity. Today, many brands are more famous than the most famous of people.

With supermarket shelves filled with products all claiming the same properties, with no real discernable differences between them, manufacturers have recognised that it is not the product itself they have to sell, but rather the idea or "persona" of the product. Thus the concept of the "brand" was established. Some brands have been so effective that, despite being created in the late 1890s, they are still some of today's best selling commodities—such as Kodak, Coca-Cola, Lipton Tea and even American Express (Drawbaugh 2001). It is important to note at this point that the branding and the advertising of a product are two very different processes. To "brand" something is to embody it with values and ideals—often the same values and ideals that the manufacturer themselves wish to be associated with in the minds of consumers. This works to distance potential customers from the cold reality of a faceless corporation and the factory mass produced product. Branding has been defined as being "the total consumer experience of a product, its personality, the trust you have in it, the status it gives you, [and] the experiences you share with it" (Correy 1998). Advertising is only one small part of this overall process—a mere appartus used to convey this image and these values to the general public (Klein 2001).

The equivalent to audience foreknowledge, in branding terms, is the concept of *positioning*—"the image that a product or service has in the mind of the consumer" (Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 163). This image is of vital interest to the company as it enables people to define themselves and their individual personality through association with a particular brand. After all, the "promises made by brands are alluring: prestige, power, sex appeal, fun, sophistication, friendship, wisdom, adventure—all supposedly

achievable by simply purchasing a product or service" (Drawbaugh 2001, p. 232). For example, originally developed by a chemist in 1886 as a health tonic Coca-Cola has now become one of the world's most successful and lucrative brands. The values of optimism and multiculturalism associated with the drink have helped to position the brand to the point where consumer loyalty to an image or a perceived lifestyle even outweighs personal taste. To elaborate, a study found that while participants in a blind taste-test actually preferred the taste of Pepsi, when asked outright which drink they favoured the majority responded Coca-Cola (Henderson 2004).

As in character development, a brand name acts as a conduit for conveying a company's values to the general public. In fact, a brand is a company's "soul". As Drawbaugh (2001, p. 15) states: "[Brands] convey whole fabrics of value, attitude, emotion and awareness in a single word, logo, or sound". In 1891, the makers of Coca-Cola began an extensive marketing campaign, buying "space for the brand name, in its flowing script, on the sides of buildings, in newspapers and on billboards. They flooded the country with Coca-Cola girl pin-ups and enlisted Santa Claus as an endorser" (Drawbaugh 2001, p. 28). The trademark phrase "It's the real thing" began to be used in the 1920s, around the same time that the company opened its first foreign sales office. By the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, Coca-Cola was being sold in up to 45 countries.

In addition, the appearance—or packaging—of a product is also an integral component of brand development. The visual recognition of a familiar brand is often the first precursor to a purchase. There have been a number of instances where businesses have decided to

change the appearance of their product and suffered a significant decline in sales as a result. American brewing company Coors for example, were forced to remove the phrase "Original Draft" from new labels on their range of Coors beer after a backlash from consumers who mistakenly believed that this meant that "the product itself had been changed" (Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 151). Perhaps the most successful packaging of a brand has been the Coca-Cola bottle, which was specifically designed in 1915 to have a unique shape which was later trademarked in 1960 as a symbol of the Coca-Cola brand itself (Roberts 2005, p. 27). In fact, according to one Coca-Cola spokesperson: "In some people, the sight of the contour bottle alone actually triggers the metabolism to anticipate drinking a Coke" (in Drawbaugh 2001, p. 30).

This is because every brand is structured around two basic elements—the functional and the emotional. The functional aspect relates to the product itself—what it is, what it does and how it does it (Russell and Lane 1990, Uren 1999). An essential component of this element is ensuring that the product actually does what it promises to otherwise consumers will not make a repeat purchase—no matter how appealing the overall brand image is. The emotional aspect is rather less tangible and is more concerned with the character and personality of the brand. The main priority of the emotional element of brand design is to establish a "psychological connection…between producers and their marketplace" (Uren 1999, p. 50). Consumers are exposed to thousands of brands throughout their lives, however they will "develop an intense emotional attachment to only a small subset of these objects" (Thomson et al. 2005, p. 77).

As with celebrities, a number of brands have managed to attract their own fan base and cult following. Brand cults are on the rise, with an increasing number of individuals turning to brand name products in an attempt to generate a sense of identity.

> Some cult brands can be…blatant in their members' declarations of allegiance via appearance. Some tattoo brand logos onto their heads, arms, necks and ankles (Nike and Apple logos are often the most pervasive). Others wear brand T-shirts or have logos stickered on bags, clothing, and cars. (Atkin 2004, p. 28)

Rarely though is it the actual product that attracts its followers but rather, as previously discussed, the lifestyle and values that have become associated with the product through a carefully designed marketing and advertising campaign. As Atkin (2004, p. 97) states, "(t)oday's most successful brands don't just provide marks of distinction (identity) for products. Cult brands are beliefs. They have morals—[they] embody values". All of which enables the consumer to emotionally identify with the product.

However, establishing a new brand, or even maintaining an old brand, can prove to be significantly more difficult. The use of celebrities has proved beneficial in this process as research conducted "comparing the impact of advertisements with and without celebrity endorsers found that those featuring celebrities were rated more positively" (Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 300). The benefits to the brand are obvious—it can give a brand instant recognition, credibility and embody it with certain traits considered synonymous with the star. This is known as the *halo effect* (Fombrun & Van Reil 2004, p. 2; Pringle 2004, p. 72; Schiffman et al. 2001, p. 163). Retailers and manufacturers hope this effect will transfer some of the star's persona onto the brand. Of course, it is rarely the product itself that the celebrity is endorsing, but rather the brand's image—what the product has come

to signify (Tomlinson 1990). In this way, the halo effect can work in reverse, acting to extend the star's own persona beyond that established by film publicists.

Yet, perhaps the most important shared commonality between "celebrity" and "commodity" is the essential role looking, and thus desiring, plays in both the film and advertising industries. To demonstrate, I will analyse this process in the final section of this chapter. In addition, I will also decipher how the human body itself can be commodified in cinema, and what impact this has on cross-promotional advertising campaigns. I will also examine the extent to which the James Bond film series has objectified and commodified the human body, and what role gender has played in relation to the act of "gazing" in the films.

Gaze and Consumption

From the first moment Ursula Andress walked out of the ocean wearing "that" white bikini in *Dr No*, the series established the voyeuristic manner in which these women were to be "seen", not only by the character of James Bond but by the audience as well. Some theorists have argued against this position on the basis that it reduces the act of spectatorship to one of virtual stasis, involving "a uniformity of viewer response and meaning production" (Austin 2002, p. 12). Instead, they contend that readings are contingent on the individual with each a result of various "social and intertextual agencies within mass culture, seeking to structure reception beyond textual boundaries" (Klinger 1989, p. 4). Paradoxically however, these very same "social and intertextual agencies" can also act to restrict the range of these perceptions.

While at first glance the James Bond films appear to exemplify the position that equates the camera with the "male gaze", a closer examination reveals a more complex situation. For example, in *Casino Royale*, the 21st Bond film in the official EON Production series, it was James Bond himself and not his female co-star who emerged from the sea, tantalising in his wet semi-nakedness. In many ways, the producers have often placed as much emphasis on Bond's sexual appeal as they have on the "Bond girls". This "fluidity" of desire means that it no longer is, if it ever was, a simple case of "women want him and men want to be him", but rather that "Bond is himself a sex object for [homosexual] men and women who like men" (Faust 1996, p. 30). This section of the thesis will therefore test various theories related to the concept of the "male gaze" and its association with the sexualisation of the female form. It will then compare these to theories that connect the "female gaze" with the process of commodification. Also under consideration will be how the male body in cinema—represented in this case by James Bond—presents a site of contention whereby the films demonstrate how the "social and intertextual" agency of consumer culture overrides individual interpretations of gender in the creation of desire in spectators.

First, it is important to discuss how changing social roles for women have been reflected in the James Bond film series. Since the Second World War, an increasing number of women have entered the workforce. "Influenced by civil rights militancy and reacting to the imperatives of their situation, organised feminist groups reappeared during the 1960s after a 40-year absence" (Moss 1993, p. 80). They pushed for equal rights, equal pay, and

greater control over their bodies and sexuality through increased access to birth control, and the right to abort unwanted pregnancies. While their efforts did result in a number of significant changes, including the re-emergence of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1970, women "continued to encounter barriers in their struggle to overcome historical disadvantages and to achieve genuine equality" (Moss 1993, p. 442). Forms of cultural expression such as film, offer an opportunity to explore the conflict in sexual politics experienced at this time, as reflected in the storylines of the James Bond films.

For example, it is reasonable to say that from the series beginning, the women surrounding the James Bond character were predominantly "two-dimensional" and defined by their sexuality (Chapman 1999, p. 117). Ursula Andress' role as Honey Rider in *Dr No* saw the character spend the majority of the film clad in little more than a skimpy bikini, clinging to Bond's side. This sparked a tradition of helpless "eye candy" with sexually suggestive names as Kissy Suzuki, Plenty O'Toole, and Mary Goodnight, whose cinematic appearances were often supported by an obligatory *Playboy* photo-shoot (Chapman 1999, p. 118).

The first established actress to play a "Bond girl" was Honor Blackman as Pussy Galore in *Goldfinger*. The semblance of strength and independence exhibited by this character distinguished the role from previous "Bond girl" parts. Skilled in judo, Pussy was able to defend herself and as Goldfinger's personal pilot, she had also succeeded in a profession traditionally held by men. More importantly, she had achieved the position of Goldfinger's right-hand "man" while resisting his sexual advances. In the novel, this was

suggested because she was a lesbian but this element of the story was downplayed in the film. However, in the end, she succumbs to Bond's sexual prowess, sees the error of her ways and helps Bond stop Goldfinger from breaking into Fort Knox. It was also the first time a brand name product was specifically associated with a female character in the series, with Bond recognising Pussy's gun as a Smith & Wesson.

The next strong role for a woman in the James Bond film series was that of Tracey in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*. As Chapman (1999, p. 143) states, "Tracey is no mere 'object of to-be-looked-at-ness'; she performs an active role in the narrative, rescuing Bond when he is cornered at the skating rink, and actually causing Bond to rethink his profession". She is also the only woman to tempt James Bond into marriage. This greater narrative presence once again required the casting of an established actress to the role, namely Diana Rigg. As a result, this role was sufficiently large enough to warrant a number of her own product placement associations, wearing Le Bleu perfume and driving a red Cougar in an extensive car chase scene with Bond sitting in the passenger seat.

It would be another eight years before another strong female role was written for the series. By this time, "(t)he women's movement [had] gained momentum as more women changed their perceptions about themselves and their roles in society" (Moss 1993, p. 402). The character of the Russian spy Anya, played by relatively unknown actress Barbara Bach, was considered to be a major turning point in the films. There have been a number of female spies featured in the James Bond series—Russian agent Tatiana Romonova in *From Russia, With Love*, Japanese agents Kissy Suzuki and Akee in *You*

Only Live Twice, and British agent Mary Goodnight in *The Man With The Golden Gun.* However, these characters did little more than cling to Bond's arm and provide him with "added benefits". In contrast, as Russia's top spy, Anya was considered, in professional terms at least, to be Bond's equal. Like Bond, Anya had a number of gadgets in her arsenal, including a radio transmitter concealed inside a jewellery case and a cigarette that she used to blow a gas in Bond's face, rendering him unconscious. Barbara Bach commented on the role:

> Well, first of all, she is a spy and a serious spy. And she's really not one of Bond's girls so to speak. She's in the film doing her own bit and she meets up with Bond and it's only almost at the end of the film that there's any kind of attraction between the two of them, other than let's say, professional competition. So it's quite different. Most of the girls in the Bond films have just been merely beautiful girls that you know have small parts and come in and go out. Anya stays from the beginning to the end. (in Woollacott 2003, p. 111)

However, it was here that the ambiguities of the female role in the series became apparent. Not only does Anya eventually succumb to Bond's advances—despite his having killed her lover at the beginning of the film—but her contract also required Barbara Bach to participate in a obligatory bikini photo-shoot for publicity purposes.

> You have the traditional Bond girl image, which involves having the girl photographed in a bikini, in a bathing suit. This was something that took a certain amount of hassling with Barbara at the beginning. But it was something that was absolutely required because a Bond girl must, at some point, be seen within the Bond mould" (Cooper in Woollacott 2003, p. 113)

Yet, from this point onwards, the women in the James Bond series would play a significantly more involved role in the films, with greater narrative inclusion and character complexity. Also, the success of *The Spy Who Loved Me*, with a female in a stronger character role, perhaps encouraged investors to consider extending their product placement associations from James Bond to his female counterparts, as can be seen in

Moonraker. In this film, Bond's accomplice is Dr Holly Goodhead, a CIA agent also investigating the activities of villain Hugo Drax. Bond's suspicions regarding her true identity are first alerted after he breaks into her hotel room in Venice and finds a chilled bottle of '69 Bollinger champagne which meets his immediate approval. Searching her room he finds a number of gadgets, including a pen with a hypodermic needle, a diary that shoots darts, a radio hidden inside a purse, and a bottle of Christian Dior perfume that acts a flame thrower. This is the first time a product was gadgetised for a female character in the James Bond series. Other product placements associated with Dr Holly Goodhead include Marlboro cigarettes, Air France and Lois Vuitton hand luggage.

Figure 8: Implied endorsements for Marlboro cigarettes and Air France in *Moonraker*

However, once again the uneasy nature of the feminist movement in the James Bond series becomes apparent. Despite *Moonraker* being the first film in the series where the woman "possess[es] a narratively important skill which Bond does not" in that "she is able to pilot the space shuttle…her last line is to ask Bond to 'take me around the world one more time', thus reassigning Bond to the dominant role" (Chapman 1999, p. 195).

The most effective way to explore the ambiguity of the feminist movement in the James Bond films is to examine the changing role and physical appearance of the longest-running female character in the series, Miss Moneypenny. In 1998, Tara Brabazon maintained that by examining the changes in the way the character of James Bond interacted with Miss Moneypenny, it was possible to decipher the particular "gender politics" that were at play during filming (p. 94). At first glance, Miss Moneypenny appeared to be the model of feminist self-sufficiency—she was financially independent, supporting herself through work as opposed to marrying for security; she was attractive and confident and able to bandy sexual innuendos with Bond with ease. Lois Maxwell, the first to assume the role, and Sean Connery in particular exhibited a strong physical chemistry on-screen—most likely aided by the fact that she and Connery were of a similar age and level of attractiveness.

However, by the time Roger Moore assumed the role of Bond, the character of Miss Moneypenny was being deliberately aged through the application of heavy make-up and her wardrobe choices. As a result, her features appeared "ragged, over-painted and old, compared to a youthful, muscular and tanned Bond", and permitted "the ambivalent but disturbing proto-feminism of Moneypenny to be rendered desperate and a visual joke" (Brabazon 1998, p. 98). Her sexual by-play with Bond began to take on an element of desperation as her character continued to vie for Bond's waning interest. This situation became extremely apparent in *Octopussy* when Moneypenny was suddenly forced to share her office—and Bond's attention—with a younger, more attractive assistant. Is it a coincidence that at this particular period in time when second-wave feminism was

reaching its peak, that the appearance and role of Miss Moneypenny was altered so noticeably? Brabazon (1998, p. 99) felt that by framing "Moneypenny as the tortured spinster who no longer had a right to pine for the dashing hero, transformed the supersecretary into a warning beacon for ageing women". It was only in the most recent Bond films that the character of Miss Moneypenny was returned to her original role as a "desiring and desirable woman, who is able to demand rights in the workplace" and is once again able to confidently bandy sexual innuendos with Bond (Brabazon 1998, p. 100).

In fact, by the time the series reached "the mid-1980s… audiences were fed up with Bond girls whose only real function was to look sexy and helpless" (*Sunday Times* 22 August 1999, p. 67). This has led to a number of changes being made to the series, not only in an attempt to alleviate growing feminist criticisms but also to ensure that the films had a more modern, "twenty-first century" feel to them (Boshoff 1998). As Hibbin (1987, p. 23) states, "the Bond girls have changed as women's aspirations have developed". These changes have seen Bond's female counterparts taking a step away from the bedroom to play a more productive role in the story's plot. As Michael Apted, director of *The World Is Not Enough*, stated: "We want to bring Bond into the twenty-first century with a different attitude to women and different women in the film. That is my agenda" (*Sunday Times* 22 August 1999, p. 67). One of the biggest changes came in *GoldenEye* when, for the very first time, a woman was cast in the role of Bond's superior, "M". In one pivotal scene, the formidable Dame Judi Dench directly challenges Bond, calling him a "misogynist dinosaur" left over from the Cold War. In doing so, the film managed to

reduce the weight of feminist criticisms "by voicing them itself through the agency of a female authority figure" (Chapman 1999, p. 257).

In *Tomorrow Never Dies* for example, the filmmakers cast Chinese martial arts star Michelle Yeoh as Bond's counterpart, and gave her an independent fight scene of between three and four minutes. "Normally, that would have been three to four minutes of her staring into his eyes" (Miller in Smith 1998, p. 1). Yet many of these alterations still have proved to be only "skin deep". Despite women's increased relevance to the film's plot and the creation of strong, independent personalities, the emphasis in the films still resides on the women's physical appearances. Defending his decision to have his female nuclear scientist wear a skimpy singlet and tiny shorts in *The World Is Not Enough*, Michael Apted protested that there was no reason why an intelligent woman could not be attractive as well. He lost the moral high ground somewhat when he continued on to say: "I would have been shit on from a great height if I had not delivered jiggle-vision" (Brown & Giles 1999, p. 91). Famke Jansenn, who played the villainess Xenia Onatopp in *GoldenEye*, was resigned to her part in the film: "This is not anybody's bimbo, I try to bring my intelligence to the part. But women are always going to be objects of desire" (*Bendigo Advertiser* 28 January 1995, p. 22).

Desire is an essential component of cinema. According to psychoanalytic film theory, the underlying appeal of movies resides in its voyeuristic nature—a pleasure derived from "watching someone without being seen oneself" (Smelik 1998, p. 16). Many feminist film theorists maintain that this notion of desire in cinema is intrinsically connected to the

"male gaze" (Mulvey 1989, p. 19; Smelik 1998, p. 10; Stacey 1994, p. 130). In 1975, Laura Mulvey's controversial essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" galvanised the field of feminist film theory by being one of the first to locate two fundamental aspects of "visual pleasure"—looking and spectacle—in relation to the roles played by men and women, respectively, in cinema. As Mulvey (1989, p. 19) stated: "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female". In 1993, Yvonne Tasker may have detailed the evolution and development of the action heroine in Hollywood cinema, but she also argued that traditionally the woman's role in Hollywood action films has primarily been to act as the hero's love interest and reinforce his heterosexuality: "She both offers a point of differentiation from the hero and deflects attention from the homoeroticism surrounding male buddy relationships" (p. 16).

The James Bond films initially seem to support the theory that "male characters direct their gaze towards female characters" throughout the course of the narrative (Smelik 1998, p. 10). After all, there are numerous instances in the films where James Bond watches a woman admiringly before making his presence known to her. This "gaze" is established by the camera through a series of shots focusing on the woman's physical attributes. In *Dr No*, Bond hides behind a sand dune and watches as Honey Rider strolls out of the sea in her clingy bikini. The camera reveals his desire through a series of slow pans up the length of her body. In this way, the "spectator in the theatre is automatically and often unconsciously made to identify with the male look, because the camera films from the optical, as well as libidinal, point-of-view of the male character" (Smelik 1998,

p. 10). The manner in which Bond reveals his presence to the object of his gaze often jokingly refers to this process of looking, as can be seen in this following dialogue from *Dr No*:

> Honey Rider: What are you doing here? Are you looking for sea shells?
> James Bond: No, I'm just looking.

Similarly in *Die Another Day* (2002)—in an obvious allusion to this famous scene—Pierce Brosnan's Bond uses binoculars to watch (somehow in slow motion) Halle Berry rise out of the ocean also clad in a bikini. Bond continues to admire her as she dries herself with a towel before remarking: "Magnificent view!"

The title sequence of virtually every James Bond film (the majority of which were designed by Maurice Binder) featured either naked or scantily clad women gyrating around the screen or, as in the cases of *Goldfinger* (1964) and *Thunderball* (1965), a woman's body was used as a canvas upon which the film's credits were displayed. In fact, Roger Moore once quipped: "There's no nudity in Bond films—only in Maurice Binder's titles" (*Variety* 1987, p. 57). James Chapman (1999, p. 84) agreed that such scenes do tend to reflect "certain feminist theories of the representation of women in mainstream cinema", whereby "women function as fetishised 'objects of to-be-looked-at-ness'". This position is supported by the fact that a number of the earlier Bond actresses, including Ursula Andress, had their voices dubbed over, thereby literally reducing them "to the level of an object only to be looked at" (Chapman 1999, p. 84).

Mulvey's article however, received a barrage of criticism for its over-simplification with many feminist film theorists claiming that such a position rendered women powerless "victims". Teresa de Lauretis (1984, p. 15), for example, suggested that the female viewer is

> positioned in the films of classical cinema as spectator-subject: she is thus doubly bound to that very representation which calls on her directly, engages her desire, elicits her pleasure, frames her identification, and makes her complicit in the production of (her) woman-ness.

Alternatively, Mary Ann Doane (1990, p. 46) argued that there exists a definite separation between women and the "image" of women by arguing that "the woman is explicitly represented as a construction, as the sum total of a disembodied voice and an image…The woman becomes the exemplary work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction". Even Mulvey herself later addressed some of her critics concerns in an article called "Afterthoughts" in which she now maintained that a female spectator "may find herself secretly, unconsciously almost, enjoying the freedom of action and control over the diegetic world that identification with a hero provides" (1990, p. 24).

Yet it is also important to consider how advertisers have taken advantage of the way women are "seen" by other women through their associations with female stars. Some theorists maintain that the female gaze—while fuelled by desire—is not necessarily sexual in nature. According to Stacey (1998, p. 206), the same series of close-up shots of the female form which are sexualised in the male gaze, instead produce a "fascination" which could be seen "as a form of intimacy by female spectators". In other words, rather than merely *desiring* the female form, many women instead desire to *be* the female form.

In some cases, this sense of identification results in female spectators altering their physical appearance through the procurement of particular products, especially make-up and clothing, in order to better resemble the object of their admiring gaze (Matthew 2005, p. 129; Stacey 1994, p. 136).

While Michelle Yeoh joined Pierce Brosnan in the promotion of products featured in *Tomorrow Never Dies*, with both featured in cross-promotional print and television advertising campaigns for Omega watches (McCarthy 1998, p. 8), from this point forward the "Bond girl" has increasingly been seen by commercial investors as an advertising opportunity separate from James Bond. Particular commercial emphasis was placed on Hollywood star Halle Berry when she was cast as Jinx in *Die Another Day*. "We are putting a special focus on the Bond girl persona for this film", a Ford spokesperson stated (in Patton 2002, p. 12). A Ford press release claimed "What woman hasn't dreamed of being a Bond girl?" before announcing its intention of releasing 700 special-edition T-birds, as driven by Halle Berry in *Die Another Day*, and all in the same coral pink colour as the bikini she wore in the film (Patton 2002, p. 12). This colour just happened to match the lipstick she wore, also available for purchase from Revlon's *Limited Edition 007 Colour Collection* (Patton 2002).

Female stars have been used throughout cinema history to sell all manner of products—not just make-up and clothing, but also electrical appliances and other such household goods. In fact, "by the 1930s Hollywood was so heavily embroiled in the promotion of fashions, furnishings, and cosmetics that it had become the biggest single influence on

women's fashion throughout the world" (Maltby & Craven 1995, p. 93). In this way, it could be said that while the male gaze objectified the female form, it was the female gaze that commodified it. It is not such an unusual concept that the human body can be bought and sold much like a commodity in its own right. In the early 1950s, Hollywood agent Lew Wasserman even went so far as to "incorporate" a number of his star clientele, before literally selling them as enterprises to film studios and radio stations. As a result of this commodification process, the "incorporated" star "had to pay less than half the taxes required for salaried individuals" (Gomery 1998, p. 48). These studios and radio networks then set about capitalising on their "investment" through additional commercial activities such as advertising. According to Jackie Stacey (1994, p. 206), "Hollywood *sold* its stars as icons of feminine attractiveness, whose beauty could be replicated through the purchase of particular commodities" (emphasis added).

Yet, what of the male form? Is the male body subject to the same process of objectification and commodification? While Mulvey (1989, p. 20) did discuss the male body in relation to gaze, she negated any erotic component the gaze may have held for the spectator:

> As the spectator identifies with the main male protagonist, he projects his look onto that of his like, his screen surrogate … A male movie star's glamorous characteristics are thus not those of the erotic gaze, but those of the more perfect, more complete, more powerful ideal ego conceived in the original moment of recognition in front of the mirror.

In fact, some maintain that a society defined by its patriarchal and heterosexual ideologies simply cannot allow the male body to become "the erotic object of another

male look" and thus any sexual element the male body may hold for male spectators is repressed in the surrounding ideological culture (Neale 1983, p. 8).

However, action films such as the James Bond series contradict Mulvey's position and provide an interesting site of contention. Edwards (2006) for example, suggested that in this age of heightened commodification in which we all now live, men's bodies have also come under the increased scrutiny of the objectified "gaze". This has resulted in "a contemporary shift towards an increasingly anxious, image-centred and strangely gender-blurred but still reactionary and over-whelmingly commodified culture of bodily obsession" (p. 157). Yvonne Tasker (1993, p. 16) concurred, claiming that action in classic Hollywood films cannot simply be divided into active/passive "in which the male figure advances the narrative whilst 'woman' functions as spectacle" but rather that he simultaneously "controls the action at the same time as he is offered up to the audience as a sexual spectacle". After all, it could be said that the film producers placed as much emphasis on Bond's own sexual appeal as they did on his female counterparts with Sean Connery's physical attractiveness and sexual charisma playing an essential role in his being selected to play the character of James Bond. According to Toby Miller, producers specifically cast Connery "in the hope that he would appeal to women sexually and encourage cross-class identification by men" (Miller 2001, p. 248). His rugged good looks and muscular physique were generously put on display, not only by his frequent semi-naked appearances on-screen clad in little more than a bath towel, but also in the subsequent publicity material. As Miller (2001, p. 249) states:

> From the first, Connery was the object of the gaze, posing in 1966 for *GQ* and bare-cleavaged for *Life*, making it clear that sexiness did not have to be associated with a choice between ruggedness and style … [He was] the harbinger of a new male body on display.

The latest film *Casino Royale* provides an excellent example of role reversal that results in a shift in the focus of the objectified gaze. Set in the Bahamas where Bond is investigating a possible terrorist link, a scene opens on a beautiful woman in a bikini riding a horse down a beach. While this sequence of shots initially suggests that the woman is the passive recipient of the objectified gaze, the focus suddenly switches to the ocean from which Bond emerges in slow motion. As he gradually begins to walk out of the water, it is the woman who is watching him with desire and not the other way around. The woman's desire is communicated to the audience through the camera's slow pan up Bond's muscular naked chest. As one reviewer maintained, Daniel Craig's "claim to fame was assured as soon as he put on the Bond tuxedo, [yet] it's when he donned a pair of blue swimming trunks and walked out of water that he stood out from the crowd of other Bonds" (Chester 2006, p. 59).

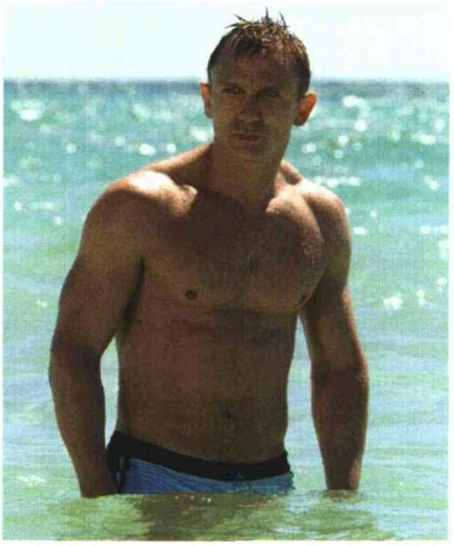


Figure 9: Daniel Craig as James Bond in *Casino Royale*

In a true reversal of the objectification and commodification process, James Bond's close association with specific brands and long history of product associations has helped to commodify the character—particularly in relation to the male gaze. A trailer for the first official James Bond film, *Dr No,* went into considerable detail as to the particular products Bond preferred in his wardrobe, specifically mentioning his impeccably tailored suit from Savile Row and his Walther PPK7.65ml handgun. The content analysis conducted on the entire James Bond film series has revealed dramatic fluctuations in the number and types of products placed in the films. In *Casino Royale* alone, more than 30 different products were shown in over 90 separate scenes—a significant shift from the 11 products in *Dr No* placed in 25 scenes. On the basis of this content analysis, it can be confirmed that the male body—represented in this case by James Bond—has become increasingly commodified "under the guise of consumer culture" (Edwards 2006, p. 156). As Partridge (1999, p. 1) states, "(m)arketing millions have been earned by 007 franchised manufacturers". Just some of the merchandise released after the success of the earlier Bond films included 007 lunch boxes, beach towels, soundtrack albums, "Special Agent" pens with dissolvable "spy" paper, action figures and miniatures.

There was also a brand of 007 vodka, clothing, shoes, aftershave, trench coats, underwear, magic sets, puzzles, watches, water pistols, a James Bond secret service game, pillowcases, trading cards and even a road race set (*Empire Promotion* 2006). Such is Bond's marketing power that when BMW used *GoldenEye* to launch its new Z3 roadster model, "the car sold out before it even hit the showroom" (Richard Wiesel from

product placement firm Norm Marshall & Associates in Carbone 2002, p. 15). As Kerr (2002, p. 45) states:

> Knowing the fantasy effect that Bond has on people, especially male consumers, companies fall over themselves to pay the producers to place their new cars and gizmos in a Bond film, often with 007's flip dialogue supplying the equivalent of the pay-off in a TV commercial.

Bond's sexual attraction for both "[homosexual] men and women who like men" demonstrated that it was not just the female form that could be objectified in the eyes of the spectator, but also the male body as well (Faust 1996, p. 30). Yet, as discussed earlier, the narrative structures of these films still tend to focus on a central male character, with the camera typically positioning the audience to adopt the male character's point-of-view. At the same time however, the James Bond films demonstrate that the male body is not immune from the process of objectification and commodification often thought of as connected to the female body. Despite advertisers' insistence that men and women have different responses to commercial messages, the reality is somewhat more "grey" in that the process of desiring, and therefore consuming, is virtually the same. Demonstrating this cross-over of desires, men's bodies can and have been eroticised in the audience's gaze, providing fuel for the same sense of identification and commodification that underlines the notion of the "female gaze". As Smith (1995, p. 83) states: "There is, in other words, a specific and even ritualised form of male objectification and eroticisation in Hollywood cinema". It is in this way that action films such as the James Bond series suggest the tenuousness of the essentialised notion of gendered ways of watching films, by showing how both men and women objectify and commodify bodies on the screen.

It is the stark similarities between the construction of celebrity and commodity that enable each to be used in the other's promotion. Both are products of a culture dependent on mass production. Both are carefully constructed through a multilayered process that hides the "reality" of the person or the factory-made product from the public. Both are subject to changing social roles and cultural trends. The long timeline of the James Bond films provides a unique opportunity to study the impact of these changes upon the practice of product placement in the series. From literary hero to blockbuster Hollywood action figure, the character of James Bond has undergone a number of changes over the years. In addition, alterations to the lead actor playing the title role have also had a significant impact on the way in which James Bond was portrayed. Throughout the next chapter, I will examine this evolution of the character before using the content analysis results to chart the impact these developments had on the number and types of products placed in the film series.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Evolution of Bond

In this chapter, I will examine the evolution of the James Bond character throughout the film series, and the impact these changes have had on the practice of product placement in the films. I will draw upon the content analysis results in order to establish the influence the various actors who have played Bond have had—not only on the character's development, but also on the number and types of products to be associated with him. This will demonstrate how brands are used as a way of establishing character traits. I will discuss a number of instances where competing brands have been placed in direct opposition to one another, in order that one becomes known as Bond's "brand of choice". I will then conclude this chapter with an analysis of how this situation led to brand competitiveness in the series.

The Changing Face of Bond

In order to understand Bond's evolution and the impact these changes have had upon product placement, it is first necessary to understand the character's literary origins. The character of James Bond was formally conceived in Jamaica on a Tuesday morning in January 1952 in the midst of the Cold War (Price 1992). There were 14 novels in total, written in the style of the spy fiction/crime thriller genre (refer to Appendix One for list). Most books in this genre attempt to base the threat in their stories on real-life areas of concern that their readers can relate to, but ultimately are "presented in terms that are eventually comforting rather than threatening" (Price 1992, p. 19). In other words, the readers are reassured by the hero's eventual and inevitable triumph over the genuine

threat to their lives. Author Ian Fleming drew upon the very real threat posed by the USSR at this time by typecasting Russians as the villains in the first three books in the series—*Casino Royale* (1953), *Live And Let Die* (1954) and *Moonraker* (1955). In doing so, Fleming also confronted "the deeper conspiracy that the Russians represent[ed]—a worldwide communist revolution that would reorder the conditions of life in the West" (Price 1992, p. 27).

However, these fears tended to be fluid and responded to changes in public opinion as to what constituted a threat. At the time Fleming was writing his fourth novel, the Soviet leadership had changed power, resulting in a series of political fluctuations known as "The Thaw". As the USSR now seemed less of an imminent threat, at least in public opinion, Fleming had to find another tangible "evil" for Bond to conquer. In *Diamonds Are Forever* (1956), therefore, Soviet Russia is no longer the focus, but rather "an organised crime [syndicate] so powerful and well-organised that it would threaten the existence of ordered society for its citizens" (Price 1992, p. 27). By September 1955, tensions between the two countries had once again began to escalate—a situation reflected in Fleming's next novel, *From Russia, With Love* (1957). In this story, the Soviet Russian assassination agency Smersh made a sudden reappearance, "conspiring not only to kill Bond, but through his death to discredit the British Secret Service and to demoralise Western intelligence services" (Price 1992, p. 28). During the late 1950s, when Cold War tensions and nuclear warfare fears were at their highest, the James Bond series achieved true success, reflected by Fleming's sale of the right to the character to the *Daily Express* newspaper for what would become a highly successful comic strip.

Then, in 1961, President Kennedy stated in an interview with *Life* magazine that *Dr No* (1958) was one of his favourite books. Up until this point, "the Bond phenomenon had been primarily 'an English phenomenon'" (in Price 1992, p. 24) but now, with the President's unofficial endorsement, the character began its incursion into the United States.

In 1959, Ian Fleming met with Kevin McClory from Xanadu Productions to discuss writing a new James Bond story specifically for film. Apparently it was McClory who suggested replacing the Russians as the standard "villains" with an international corporation of criminals known as SPECTRE (Price 1992). When the film deal later fell through, Fleming not only used the storyline as the basis for his next book *Thunderball*, he also credited himself as being the original creator of SPECTRE. He is quoted in Price (1992, p. 28) as saying:

> I have always liked the Russians as a people…I could not see any point in going on digging at them, especially when the coexistence thing seemed to be bearing fruit. So I closed down Smersh and thought up SPECTRE instead.

The use of an international criminal group allowed for fluctuations in global politics, enabling particular countries of concern (Soviet Russia, China, etcetera) to be instigated as co-conspirators, while underneath readers were faced with

> (a) new conspiracy to torment society's deepest fears—a faceless criminal conspiracy grown to global proportions with resources and organisation so powerful that it can not only threaten small nations, but can directly challenge the super powers. (Price 1992, p. 28)

The criminal organisation SPECTRE plays a pivotal role in the Bond film series. For example, the first story to be officially adapted to the screen—*Dr No* (1962)—was

actually based on the sixth book in the series, with the Soviet Russians replaced by SPECTRE as Dr No's financial backers. This trend continued in the next film *From Russia, With Love* (1963) which saw the role of the USSR change significantly from the instigators of the plot—as depicted in the novel—to co-victims in the film. According to the script, SPECTRE takes advantage of the distrust and animosity that still existed between Great Britain and Soviet Russia. By playing one country against the other, SPECTRE planned to use Bond to obtain a Russian cypher machine before assassinating him.

In fact, in the majority of the Bond films the USSR was to take a backseat to the central action. By the time the third film was in development, the infiltration of Vietnam by the communist North had alerted the public to a potential new threat originating from Asia. As such, "a new villain representing a newer and perhaps more virulent form of communism emerged in *Goldfinger* released in 1964" (Price 1992, p. 29). From this point forward the threat tended to be either posed by SPECTRE, as in the case of *Thunderball* (1965), *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969), and *Diamonds Are Forever* (1971), or from Communist states such as China, as depicted in *You Only Live Twice* (1967), and *The Man With The Golden Gun* (1974). In fact, the tenth film in the series, *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977), actually moved "the Bond series for the first time towards a positive ideology of détente" by actively promoting "the idea that East and West should work together to combat the threat" (Chapman 1999, p. 186).

However in the early 1980s, past "Cold War tensions assumed a greater significance in the Bond films…than at any other moment in the series' history" (Chapman 1999, pp. 202-203). Latent hostilities once again surfaced in the global political climate, with incidents such as the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the resulting boycott of the Moscow 1980 Olympics by America adding to the escalating tensions (Chapman 1999, p. 203). As a result, the Soviet Government made a reappearance as an antagonist in the 12th Bond film *For Your Eyes Only* (1981) with Bond temporarily reassuming his role as Cold War warrior. By protecting the British Isles from possible Soviet attack, the character was once again returned "to an ideological role that he had not performed since the novels of the 1950s" (Chapman 1999, p. 203).

The relationship between James Bond and his enemies is complex. The role of the villain itself encapsulates and personifies contrasting ideologies that were perceived as a potential threat to the Western "way of life". While Bond was considered to be the embodiment of male virility and sexual attractiveness, Bond's enemies were typically typecast as being grotesque in some way—either through a physical disfigurement or other such abnormalities/tendencies. In *Dr No*, the villain had metal hands, and in *Live And Let Die* (1973) the villain's main henchman, called Tee Hee, had a metal pincer for a hand. In *The Man With The Golden Gun* the legendary assassin Scaramanga was famous for possessing a third nipple. He also demonstrated a strange sexual proclivity in which he had sex only before a kill, to improve his "marksmanship". In *The Spy Who Loved Me*, one henchman/assassin in particular achieved an extraordinary level of notoriety. A man of gigantic proportions, he was given the name Jaws to correspond with his tendency to

kill his victims with his metal teeth. Such was the character's popularity with audiences that Jaws reappeared in the following film *Moonraker* (1979). The most famous antagonist, however, was Ernest Stavro Blofeld, the head of the criminal organisation SPECTRE and Bond's arch-enemy. Although he played an important role in earlier Bond films, the character was only fully revealed in *You Only Live Twice*. His bald head, pale features, disfiguring facial scar and tendency to stroke a white fluffy cat were later parodied as Dr Evil in Mike Myer's highly successful James Bond spoof series *Austin Powers* (1997, 1999, 2002).

In 1975, Lewis (p. 134) compared and contrasted the character traits typically associated with the villain in both the Fleming novels and the Bond films. He realised that, while in the novels the villains were usually "physically grotesque [and] disfigured", in the films the villains, whilst still usually being "physically grotesque" in some way, actually possessed a high level of elegance and sophistication. This sense of "sophistication" extended to an appreciation for the more cultured things in life and, like Bond, a penchant for particular brand name products. As previously discussed, there has always existed a high level of product association with the James Bond character. Ian Fleming, for example, paid particular attention to the description of specific brands he felt provided invaluable insights into a character's personality.

However, instead of ostentation purely for the sake of ostentation, Chapman (1999, p. 35) suggests that the emphasis on consumer products in the series can be seen "as a reflection of Britain emerging from the drab world of post-war austerity" to enter "a new age of

affluence in the 1950s". While a number of these original brand name associations were subsequently transplanted with the character into the film series, they were joined by a host of new placements and product references. James Bond's sexual allure and exciting lifestyle provided an irresistible drawing card for advertisers hoping to transfer some of these qualities onto their own products through close association with the character. The intention was that while audiences may not have been able to live Bond's lifestyle full of danger, excitement and beautiful women, the procurement of particular products used by the character became a small way of holding onto the dream.

What is of particular interest is the way in which some of these product placements have been used in the films to illustrate Bond's—and therefore England's—superiority, not only over individual villains, but also over other countries and ways of life. As mentioned in the preceding section, a common denominator between Bond and his enemies has been a shared love and appreciation for exclusive brand name products. Yet, in each case, Bond's superior knowledge of brands has been used, not only to further distinguish himself from his opponents, but also as a way of "putting them in their place", through a process of brand "one-upmanship". In *Dr No*, for example, when Bond grabs a bottle off the dinner table to use as a weapon, Dr No dryly remarks: "That's a Dom Perignon '55, it would be a pity to break it". Bond swiftly replies: "I prefer the '53", thus demonstrating his superior taste in quality champagne. This scene was virtually duplicated twelve years later in *The Man With The Golden Gun* when the villain's henchman offers Bond a drink of Dom Perignon '64, to which Bond replies that he prefers the '62 vintage. Later, over dinner, the assassin Scaramanga even writes down the name of a '34 Mouton wine

following Bond's personal recommendation with the intention of later adding it to his cellar.

In fact, it could be said that this form of consumer awareness became a mainstay of the film series. In *Goldfinger*, despite having a naked and very willing woman in his bed, Bond refuses to drink Dom Perignon champagne that has started to lose its chill. When she tries to cajole him back to bed, Bond insists: "My dear girl, there are some things that just aren't done, such as drinking Dom Perignon '53 above the temperature of 38 degrees Fahrenheit". In *From Russia, With Love*, Bond's suspicions regarding his supposed contact are raised after he orders a red wine to complement his fish meal. The "contact" is actually a SPECTRE assassin by the name of Red Grant and later when Grant holds a gun on him, Bond remarks: "Red wine with fish—that should have told me something". What is also interesting however, is how this brand knowledge has also been used to distinguish the character not only from the villains, but from other incidental characters as well. For example, when Bond meets his CIA contact Felix Leiter in *Dr No*, Leiter asks him where his suit was tailored to which Bond replies "Savile Row". This scene cleverly serves two purposes—not only does Bond's reply provide Savile Row a perfect opportunity for a verbal placement, it also subtly highlights the differences between the two men. According to Bennett (1982, p. 18), these product associations are purposely utilised by the character "to distinguish himself from the common mass—by the Bentley convertible he drives, his special cigarettes and hand-tailored suits". Yet some of the

most significant alterations to the character, and to the number and types of products associated with him, have occurred as a direct result of changes made to the actor playing the title role.

The Men of Bond

From Sean Connery to Daniel Craig, "each title player brings his own character to the part" (Adams 1987, p. 57). Each actor interpreted the character differently from his predecessors and drew upon his own strengths to make James Bond his "own". The fact that the film franchise still manages to achieve box-office success 44 years after its initial appearance on the cinema screen is testament to the drawing power of the character of James Bond, and not necessarily to the lead actor playing the part (Adams 1987, p. 57). How has James Bond become, as Anez (1992, p. 311) states, the most popular and successful "series character in film history?" According to a 2006 special edition *Empire* magazine, promoting the upcoming release of the James Bond films on DVD,

> (t)he answer, it seems, is simple: he epitomises what so many of us aspire to in a world fraught with contradiction…He represents decency, fairness, dedication and sophistication with a pleasure principle that's second to none. He is the quintessential English gentleman, yet remains an internationally recognised figure who is worldly and wise.

The first man to assume the role of Bond in the film series was, at the time, a relatively unknown Scottish actor by the name of Sean Connery and his "performance in *Dr No* did much to define Bond's screen persona" (Chapman 1999, p. 79). However, the choice of Connery to play James Bond raises an interesting point regarding the class coding system originally connected to the character. The actors initially considered for the role and suggested for the part by the author were selected on the basis of "the ruling class

characters they had frequently played" (Bennett 1982, p. 18). The producer Albert R. Broccoli however, saw the character somewhat differently. He felt that at the heart of the James Bond persona lay a more rugged personality and therefore wanted "the part to be played aggressively rather than in a smooth, laid-back, aristocratic manner" (Bennett 1982, p. 18). This decision was most likely also made from an economical standpoint in that Broccoli felt they could maximise their box-office opportunities by choosing an actor "able to appeal to American filmgoers as a man of action without putting them off with jarring British mannerisms" (Black 2004, p. 293).

As a result, Connery's interpretation of the character was a more cynical and tougher version than perhaps Fleming had originally intended, with class distinctions appearing to be absent from the part (Bennett 1982, p. 18). In fact, while the first film trailers for the series made a point of describing James Bond as being "the gentleman agent with a licence to kill", it soon became apparent that the character "had less in common with the traditional image of the English gentleman hero ...than he did with the rugged masculinity, physical presence and virile sexuality more often associated with American stars" (Chapman 1999, p. 81). Sean Connery also had a number of advantages over his successors to the role. First, there were relatively few expectations placed on him in regards to playing the part. After all, it was Connery who defined the role, while "the others filled it" (Nathan 2002, p. 7). He defined Bond's persona, the characteristics of which provided a basis for the other 007s to draw upon in their own interpretations of the character. Connery's other advantage was his close association with the director of the

first two Bond films, Terrence Young, whom Connery felt embodied many of the character's qualities:

> He was my role model. He frequented all the clubs, and he was very much on the latest shirts and blazers and was very elegant himself. (Connery in Desowitz 2002, p. 8)

This first official James Bond film in the EON Production series had a relatively modest budget of $US1,100,000. There were a total of 11 products featured in 25 separate scenes, of which only nine placements (36%) were verbal/hand based. Instead, the vast majority (56%) of placements featured in the film were comprised of "clutter" shots. In fact, the largest single placement in the film was for the beer Red Stripes, boxes of which were strategically placed throughout a fight scene in which Bond manages to hold off two assailants in a bar's storeroom. In total, there were ten separate "clutter" shots that featured Red Stripes cartons, resulting in 40% of the total product placements in the film. Therefore, the most common form of product placement at the commencement of the James Bond film series was the ambiguous background "clutter" placement.

Figure 10: Prominent clutter placement for Red Stripes beer in *Dr No*

Yet when it came time to market *Dr No*, the producers were faced with a major obstacle—how to successfully promote an unknown actor in a relatively unknown role.

Charles Juroe (1987), worldwide marketing director for EON Productions, came up with a strategy involving a number of staged publicity events. First, it was decided that James Bond should always be surrounded by a bevy of beautiful women, so Connery commenced on a Continental publicity tour through Turin, Bologna, Milan and Rome constantly accompanied by a female trio consisting of a blonde, a redhead and a brunette. Believing that the character and film still needed to make more of an international impact, Juroe enlisted the help of an Italian casino for a publicity stunt, in which it was reported that a "British actor playing this fictional British spy 'broke the bank'. It was front-page news in the States and throughout the world inside a week" (Juroe 1987, p. 58).

The publicity worked and the film soon became a relative box-office success, although a number of critics expressed some reserve or dissatisfaction with the manner in which Connery played the part. The *Monthly Film Bulletin* (1962, p. 136) published a review which stated that Sean Connery's performance made for "a disappointingly wooden and boorish Bond". This sentiment was echoed by *The Times* which claimed that the film's adaptation of the James Bond character failed to do justice to Fleming's version. However, it reserved the right to express judgement on Sean Connery himself, concluding that "perhaps Mr Sean Connery will, with practice, get the feel of the part a little more surely than he does here" (in Chapman 1999, p. 86).

The importance of Connery's performance in *Dr No* however, should not be understated. As Andrews (1994, p. 5) states:

> *Dr No*...marked the beginning of the big-budget "boy" movies that today dominate the film industry, movies marked by action, special effects, and men who never fail. In spirit and style, Bond is godfather to such movies as *Lethal Weapon* and *Die Hard*, and many films that star Sylvester Stallone or Arnold Schwarzenegger.

It soon became apparent in the next film, *From Russia, With Love*, that Connery was much more comfortable in the role, with many of the previous rough edges now smoothed out.

> (W)ith the nervous, edgy quality he had shown in *Dr No* replaced by a relaxed, wry performance of subtle wit and style...his interpretation of Bond really took shape, acquiring the exterior polish to complement the hardness. (Chapman 1999, p. 95)

The film did moderately better than its predecessor and generated $US78.9 million in worldwide box-office revenue, compared to the $US59.6 million produced by *Dr No* the year before (Imdb 2007). Yet it was the third film to be made in the series—*Goldfinger*—that sparked the international pandemonium that came to be known as "Bondmania". International box-office returns for the film totalled $US124,900,000—a significant increase from the $US78,900,000 generated by its predecessor (Imdb 2007). Shops were filled with Bond-related merchandise and cinemas played the film repeatedly throughout the day and night.

However, it should be noted that the public fervour generated by James Bond was not strictly "confined to the reception of the film themselves; it was a phenomenon which permeated into the wider realms of popular culture more generally" (Chapman 1999, p. 114). In other words, the reception of the films at this time need to be examined in the greater context—as symbolic of a turbulent, and rapidly changing society. It was also at

this time that the Beatles were achieving worldwide fame and a generation was seen to be throwing off the shackles of an oppressive lifestyle to embrace a more "free" and permissive way of life. In addition, great advancements in the realm of technology were opening people's eyes to a whole new world of possibilities (to be discussed in the next chapter). Therefore, it may not have been the films themselves, but rather what the character signified in terms of cultural and personal "freedom", that resonated most strongly with audiences in the grips of a "cultural revolution" (Chapman 1999, p. 116).

While the film may owe some of its success to the considerable shifts that were occurring in the political, cultural and economic environment of the time, its allotted advertising and promotional budget of $US25 million certainly played a role as well. As former head of advertising and publicity at Pinewood Studios, Derek Coyote (1987, p. 59) wrote:

> Cubby Broccoli and his partner at the time, Harry Saltzman, were my first experience of producers who believed that publicity and promotion were as important as the film itself. "No good having a great movie, if the public don't know about it"...It was my first experience of producers who kept publicists on the film from start of production to the first weeks of distribution, now a nearly regular happening for the big films. Nothing has changed in the last 25 years, and we still plan promotional activities coincident with the writing of the screenplay.

It was also during this time that the character of James Bond began to be "used widely in advertising and commodity design" (Bennett & Woollacott 1987, p. 15)—in the process becoming a commodity himself. Adams (1987, p. 57) suggests that it is this same semblance of "corporeality" or "semi-independent existence" that was to later enable movie audiences to accept regular changes to the actor playing the role of James Bond in the films. He also maintains that "(t)he public's acceptance of the regular change of lead actor indicates the Bond character is the draw, not the leading man".

In terms of box-office success *Thunderball*, the fourth film in the series, was even more profitable. Not only did it benefit from heightened public interest generated through "Bondmania", but also from the studio's adoption of a new system of film release and distribution that had been developed around this time. This formula centred on flooding as many cinemas as possible with a film to capitalise on maximum audience exposure.

> This strategy means that a film maximises the effectiveness of pre-release publicity, benefits from word-of-mouth, and also reduces the interest payable on the money invested in the film by accelerating the rate of box-office returns. (Chapman 1999, p. 113)

It is widely held that Spielberg's highly successful thriller *Jaws* (1975) "initiated the era of the Hollywood blockbuster" (Gomery 2003, p. 72). The film certainly benefited considerably from new marketing strategies created by Paramount's Lew Wasserman that combined extensive advertising (particularly on television) and high profile promotional campaigns to an extent never before seen. The film's overwhelming success heralded the beginning of the summer blockbuster. Yet, as Nye (2005, p. 1) argues, "there had been plenty of big movie money-makers before *Jaws*", it was just that "few of them had been summer releases. And none had been so purposely geared to attract that summertime crowd". The "Bondmania" that surrounded the release of *Goldfinger* and *Thunderball* is testament to this statement. According to Jim Velde, a senior United Artists distribution executive, the "theatre spread" for *Goldfinger* in America alone was between 600 and 800. Though there is nothing to suggest that the film was released in these theatres at the same time, it was still a "big buy in those days" (in Robbins 1987, p. 83). This suggests that the strategy Lew Wasserman set in place for the release of *Jaws* built upon previous distribution patterns that were then reinforced and enhanced by the use of extensive

television advertising and marketing campaigns that generated and capitalised upon phenomenal public interest in the film before it was simultaneously released in over 400 theatres across America to record-breaking crowds.

In 1967, with the release of the fifth film in the series—*You Only Live Twice*—Connery was beginning to lose his edge. For example, a number of critics described his performance in the film as simply "going through the motions, which in a sense he was, as he had already announced his intention of giving up playing James Bond" (Chapman 1999, p. 135). A review published in *Variety* (1987, p. 64) felt that, while Connery played the character with "his usual finesse", he looked "older and more tired". Audience interest in the series also seemed to decrease, with the overall number of worldwide box-office takings dropping from the $US141,200,000 generated by *Thunderball*, to $US111,600,000 for *You Only Live Twice* (Imdb 2007).

The series had now reached a critical stage with the future of the James Bond character dependent on whether audiences would accept someone besides Connery in the role. Some consider Connery's Bond to have possessed a cruel, almost sadistic disposition beneath the charming and charismatic veneer (Goh 1999)—a character that would not hesitate to kill a man nor beat a woman to achieve his objective. Many of these same characteristics were felt to have been shared by Sean Connery himself. This "blurring" between actor and character is an important component of the star persona, as was explored in Chapter Two. For example, *GoldenEye* director Martin Campbell believed that

> Connery can be Bond simply because Bond is Connery. There's a dangerous element to him—you would never think of double-crossing Sean Connery. He is charming, sexy, sophisticated but dangerous as hell. As those qualities are Bond's qualities. (Freer 2002, p. 18)

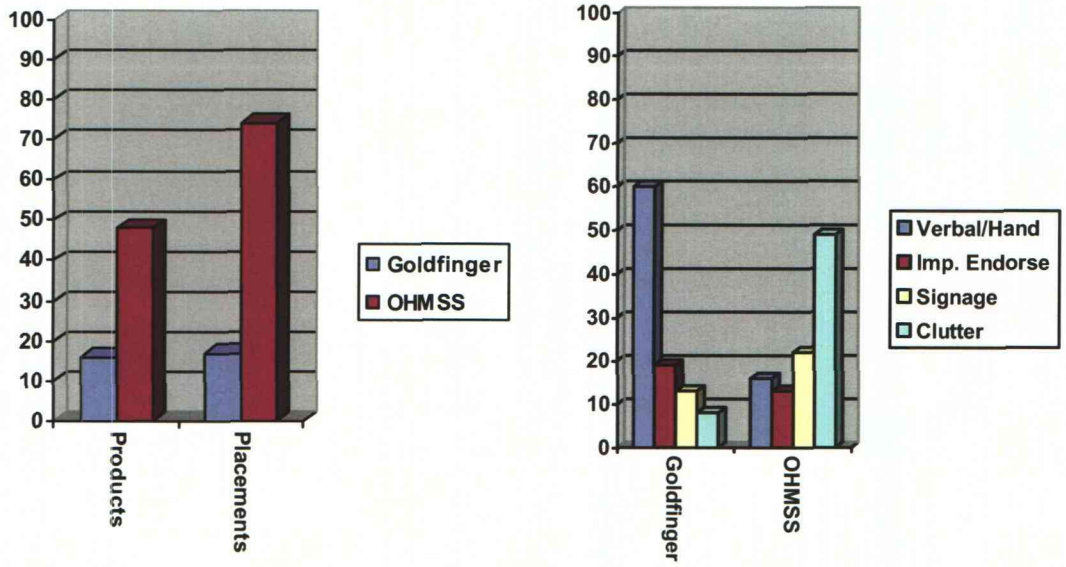
In an interview with *Playboy* magazine in 1965, Connery was asked how he felt about "roughing up a woman, as Bond sometimes has to do". Although later denied by the actor, the following statement revealed a violent quality reminiscent of the character he played:

> I don't think there is anything particularly wrong about hitting a woman—although I don't recommend doing it in the same way that you'd hit a man. An open-handed slap is justified, if all other alternatives fail and there has been plenty of warning. If a woman is a bitch, or hysterical, or bloody-minded continually, then I'd do it. (in Clark 2006, p. 1 of 1)

While Australian actor George Lazenby was selected by producers on the basis "of his tall, athletic physique and his ability to stage realistic fight sequences", his Bond was considered to be a more vulnerable, emotional, more "human" version of the character (Chapman 1999, p. 136). Even the storyline of *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* was more complex, dealing with deeper emotional content then ever previously explored. In this sixth film in the series, James Bond falls deeply in love and gets married, only to have his new wife murdered on the way to their honeymoon—unfamiliar emotional territory for "Mr Kiss, Kiss, Bang, Bang". While the film was relatively well-received, in the sense that many Bond purists believe it to be "one of the greatest Bond films ever" (*Empire* 2006), Lazenby's Bond was not. It was to be his one and only performance in the role. In addition to low international box-office returns, video rental numbers for the film also plummented to $US9,117,167 (*Variety* 1987).

The number of products and placements featured in the film actually rose with 17 products appearing in over 70 separate scenes. Previously the highest number of product placements in a Bond film had been the 16 products that had featured in 48 scenes in *Goldfinger*. However, the overall percentage of verbal/hand placements in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* plummeted from 60% in *Goldfinger* to a mere 16%, the lowest level in the entire film series, while "clutter" shots increased from 8% to 49%.

Table 10: Comparison of product placements in *Goldfinger* and *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*



This suggests that while advertisers were still happy to place their products in a James Bond film, they were more hesitant to associate their brand directly with an unknown element. The film's failure to resonate with audiences has also been suggested by some to be a result of larger, sociological issues. "Bondmania" had lost its momentum and "(w)hat had seemed fresh and exciting earlier in the 1960s had become outmoded by the end of the decade…James Bond now seemed a square and old-fashioned figure" (Chapman 1999, p. 146). Yet, Lazenby still played a crucial part in the series' overall

survival by breaking "the link between 007 and Sean [Connery], clearing the way for the role to be recast every decade or so into the next century" (Freer 2002, p. 11).

When Connery briefly returned to the character in *Diamonds Are Forever*, verbal/hand placements immediately increased to 42% while "clutter" placements dropped to 19%. Yet despite this brief return to the role, Connery's time as Bond was over. Roger Moore, the next actor to assume the part, was already familiar to many people from his portrayal of a similar character in the television series *The Saint* (Denning 1987). This background added a layer of depth and "history" to his performance as Bond. The filmmakers soon came to realise however that Moore simply did not possess the same physical skills that were so much a part of Connery's performance. Nonetheless, while "Moore lacked Connery's brawn and physicality and did not have the same grace of movement on screen", what he did bring "to the role was [a] greater [sense of] polish and sophistication" (Chapman 1999, p. 150). Wisely, Moore chose to draw upon his own strengths and elevated the humour previously associated with the character from "Sean Connery's deadpan one-liners" to his own "more self-mocking style" (Hibbin 1987, p. 23). As Roger Moore himself stated:

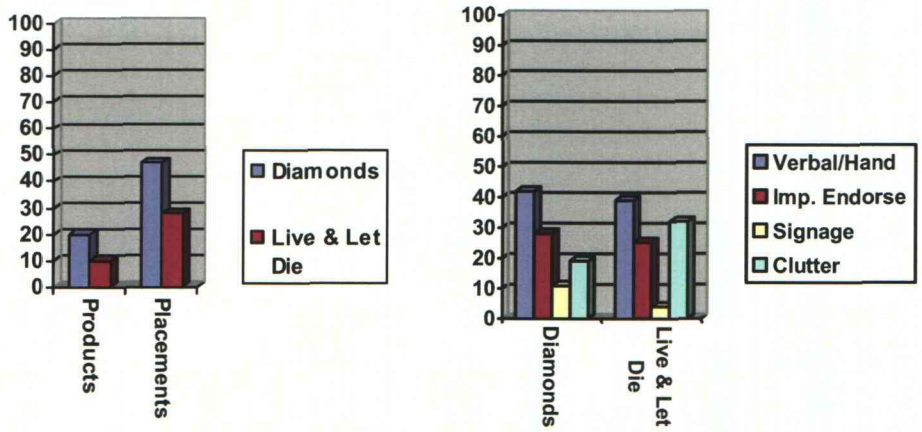
> Sean [Connery], physically, is a much tougher individual than I am…It's easier to accept him as a killer than me. I cannot say: "I'm going to kill you", and mean it—I don't mean it at all when I know damn well we'll both go to the bar and have a drink afterwards. (in *Empire* 2006)

In a special promotional piece in *Empire* magazine (2006), it was suggested that without these changes, the series may not have survived throughout the 1980s. What Roger Moore effectively demonstrated was that it was possible to base the character on a

completely different interpretation from previous actors' attempts—utilising a more "tongue-in-cheek approach…that opened Bond up in novel, more populist ways" (Freer 2002, p. 12). In doing so, Moore managed to attract "a whole new generation of audiences, without alienating the hardcore Bond fan base" (*Empire promotion* 2006, p. 8).

In *Live And Let Die*, his first film as James Bond, Moore "is stripped of many of the 007 trademarks—no M scene, tuxedo, dry martini or John Barry—to solidify the start of a new era" (Freer 2002, p. 12). Its moderate success at the box-office indicated that while the audience was inclined to accept Roger Moore as the new James Bond, overall interest in the character was on the decline (Anez 1992). Moore remained in the role for a total of nine films, however the series as a whole was struggling as the slapstick comedy and greater reliance on gadgetry began to reduce the character to a farce. Once again, a change to the actor playing the title role impacted upon product placement numbers. The number of products featured in *Live And Let Die* halved from 20 in *Diamonds Are Forever* to just ten, while overall product placements dropped from 47 to 27. In addition, as can be seen in the following table, the overall number of verbal/hand placements decreased from 42% to 37%, while "clutter" placements rose from 19% to 33%. One possible reason for this less dramatic drop in verbal/hand placements may have been that by the time *Live And Let Die* was produced, advertisers had been somewhat reassured that the James Bond persona they wish associated with their products can and would survive, despite changes to the lead actor playing the part.

Table 11: Comparison of product placements in *Diamonds Are Forever and Live And Let Die*



However, it was in *Live And Let Die* that Bond's watch—this time a Rolex—was first prominently used as a gadget. After being equipped by Q's workshop, Bond's watch possessed a powerful magnet that could be used to deflect bullets—or in this particular case—unzip a woman's dress. From this point forward there was a steady increase in the use of technology in the series—a move not appreciated by all with the shift in emphasis being seen "by some as an unnecessary display of technology for its own sake rather than serving a logical narrative purpose" (Chapman 1999, p. 105). It also resulted in a significant increase in production costs, with the budget for *Moonraker* more than doubling from the $US14 million used to produce *The Spy Who Loved Me* to a record high of $US34 million. Chapman (1999, p. 197) maintains that "with the cost of the film having been offset partly by deals with companies and manufacturers' anxious to have their products associated with James Bond, *Moonraker* [exhibits] what might be described as an aesthetic of product placement". However, the actual number of product placements in the film *decreased* from the number shown in the preceding film, *The Spy Who Loved Me,* from 28 to 19. As such, it is logical to surmise that the cost of the product

placements actually *increased* in *Moonraker* to help offset some of these additional production costs.

Throughout the Moore years, the number of products and product placements fluctuated in response to changes in technology and gadgetry appearing in the films—a topic to be explored in the next chapter. By *A View To A Kill* (1985) however, out of the 16 products to be featured in 30 separate scenes, 74% of these placements were verbal/hand based—a record high for the series at this time. When Moore announced that *A View To A Kill* was to be his final film as James Bond, the search commenced anew for another actor to assume the role. Timothy Dalton, a well respected theatre actor, had originally been considered for Bond earlier but at 24, he had felt himself too young for the part and the role was instead given to Roger Moore. Now at 40, he was considered the right age for the character. Dalton is considered to have been the only actor who took James Bond seriously as an acting part, delving into the character's background and psyche to discover his motivations and thinking patterns. The end result was a more serious and intense Bond than had ever previously been portrayed, and a much closer rendition of Fleming's original creation. In fact, the actor was renowned for drawing directly from the books when preparing for a scene:

> What I tried to do is make him less of a Superman, more of a real hero. The actors before me made a terrific success of playing James Bond. I just thought, 'If I'm going to play James Bond, what is, who is, James Bond?', and this was found in the books. (Dalton in Freer 2002, p. 17)

In regards to promotional marketing for the film, Sciacca (1987, p. 78) commented that the only real difference between marketing strategies for today's films and earlier films

"is that the budget for magazine advertising is virtually nil, replaced by new forms of communications like cable, MTV and video, which did not exist at the beginning of the series". Australian marketing plans alone for the release of *The Living Daylights* included

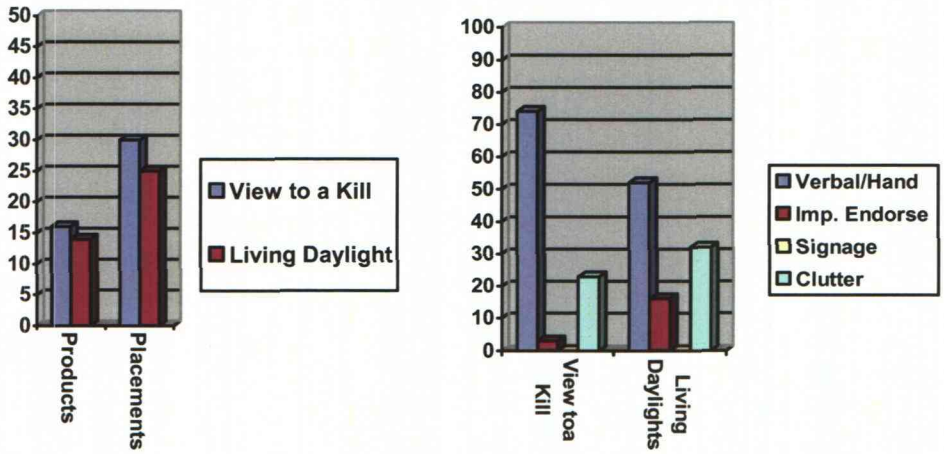
> a 112-wide department store tie-up for Bond memorabilia displays, merchandising items, video displays and competitions, use of the Aston Martin car from the film for large public events such as the Adelaide Grand Prix; promo tour of Oz by film's cast and crew; plus promotional links with numerous organisations and the media. (Kruger 1987, p. 72)

The box-office results for the film initially showed an increase in interest towards the series following Roger Moore's departure with international box-office takings jumping from $US152,400,000 for *A View To A Kill* to $US191,200,000 for *The Living Daylights* (Imdb 2007). This suggests that audiences were curious about Moore's replacement and what impact his departure would have on the series as a whole. Perhaps in response to this development, the filmmakers increased the production budget for the next film *Licence To Kill* from the $US30 million allocated for *The Living Daylights* to $US40 million. This upsurge in interest however proved to be only temporary, with box-office returns for the series continuing to fall with *Licence To Kill* generating $US156,200,000 (Imdb 2007).

Dalton's version of the character was of a man driven by rage and grief, "traumatised by past losses and living fast on the assumption that he won't last long" (Freer 2002, p. 17). His interpretation was much more realistic—showing Bond as a credible hero, tortured and flawed. However, the general consensus seemed to be that he took the character far too seriously, losing favour with audiences in the process. Verbal/hand placements once

again dropped, this time to 52%. At the same time, "clutter" placements rose 9% from 23% to 32%, becoming even more pronounced in his next film, *Licence To Kill.*

Table 12: Comparison of product placements in *A View To A Kill* and *The Living Daylights*



Despite an increase in the budget allocated for *Licence To Kill*, from $US30,000,000 to $US40,000,000 (Imdb 2007), verbal/hand placements continued to fall to 33% while "clutter" placements again increased to 39%. Timothy Dalton is known for trying to inject an element of seriousness into the role of James Bond (Desowitz 2002), yet some would suggest that such a dramatic departure from Moore's familiar satirical approach did not resonate well with audiences. As Newman (2002, p. 17) stated: "The general consensus is that Timothy Dalton's two-film run as James Bond did the series no favours. Dalton was too grim, the films too intense, the villains too credible, the girls too tough". This in turn seemed to have had a negative resonation with commercial investors.

After only two films, Dalton's Bond—and it would seem the series—was at an end. As a result of steadily decreasing box-office returns and a lengthy court case dispute with MGM Studios (Chapman 1999), it was feared that the ultimate superspy would never see the light again. Filmmakers struggled to produce a viable script amid concerns that James

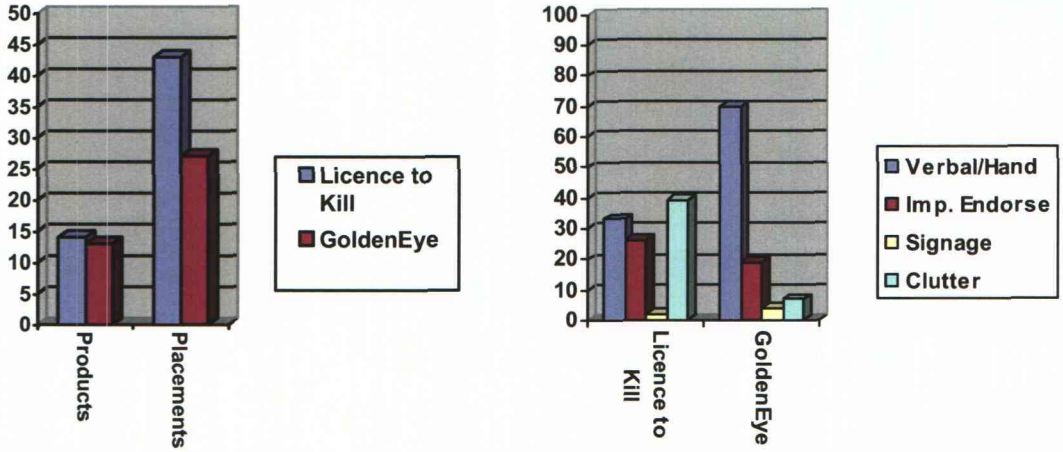
Bond had simply become too dated in audience's eyes and when Dalton announced that he would not be returning to the role, the character seemed destined to remain indefinitely retired. James Bond was laid to rest for six years, before MGM studio executives concluded that their most valuable asset, defunct though at the time, was still the James Bond character (*Bulletin* 23 November 1999, p. 91). The search commenced again for another actor to resurrect James Bond from the grave. A number of actor's names were bandied about in the press in the months leading up to the producers' announcement of the Bond successor, with Mel Gibson considered a firm favourite. In the end however, the role passed to Irish-born actor Pierce Brosnan. Brosnan had originally been considered for the part after Roger Moore announced his retirement from the series but, like Timothy Dalton before him, was considered too young for the role. "Now in his early forties, Brosnan was the right age for Bond, and with his old-fashioned, darkly handsome matinee looks he certainly had the right image for the part" (Chapman 1999, p. 251).

Accepting the role of James Bond carried with it the heavy burden of responsibility. The series had fallen into decline and it was now up to Pierce Brosnan to ensure the character would not only appeal to modern audiences who were no longer familiar with the character, but also contain enough similarities and references to the previous 007s to guarantee the character would be accepted as part of the overall Bond series. In the end, he managed to construct a seemingly perfect amalgamation, combining all the best elements of his predecessors into one definitive Bond. As Freer (2002, p. 21) stated:

> The panache of Connery, Lazenby's tortured soul, the comic timing of Moore and Dalton's ruthless streak—Brosnan's portrayal is of a spy who has shagged, shot and suffered, and come out the other end in significant style.

His first undertaking as James Bond in *GoldenEye* (1995) not only proved to be highly successful, it managed "to revive a worldwide interest in the franchise at a time when many believed it to be dead and buried" (*Empire* 2006). The film blazed onto cinema screens supported by an $US80 million budget—a record amount at the time for a Bond film and double the amount allocated for *Licence To Kill*. Still, commercial investors remained cautious with only 13 products placed in 27 scenes compared to the 43 placements featured in *Licence To Kill*. However of these placements 70% were verbal/hand, 19% were implied to have been used by the character with only 7% comprising of "clutter" shots.

Table 13: Comparison of product placements in *Licence To Kill* and *GoldenEye*



The film's success rejuvenated flagging interest in the series and the $US110 million budget allocated for the 18th James Bond film, *Tomorrow Never Dies,* was bolstered by the additional $US77 million spent by promotional partners BMW, Smirnoff and Omega on marketing in the United States alone (McCarthy 1998). Brosnan continued in the role

for another three films, but after suffering some injuries during the filming of *Die Another Day* (2002), announced that he was considering retiring from the series:

> I'm deeply proud of the work that I've done and having been part of this film, this franchise, this legacy… think the cards fell exactly the way they should have fallen. It seems like destiny, fate that I should play this, that I should be part of is. (Brosnan in Boehm 2002, p. 12)

Following the film's release, producers Michael G. Wilson and Barbara Broccoli also became concerned that the series had taken a turn too far from the original formula. They felt that the James Bond films had

> started getting too high in the sky—outer space, invisible cars—the technology began to overwhelm the story and the characters. We felt it was very important to bring it back down to Earth. (Michael G. Wilson in Giammarco 2006, p. 56)

They decided to take the series back to its roots—to get away from the "flash" and special effects that were beginning to dominate the storylines and concentrate on producing a grittier, more realistic film. To achieve this, they decided to take the series back to its beginning and based the next film on the first Bond novel Ian Fleming ever wrote—*Casino Royale*. While elements were updated to more effectively reflect a post-911 world, the original storyline still proved to be highly appropriate to today's times, with the story's main villain not a megalomaniac bent on taking over the world, but rather a financier of world terrorists. In keeping with this trend, the gadgets and special effects in the film were minimised, with a number of staple Bond characters and scenes—including Q and his workshop and Miss Monneypenny at MI6—failing to make an appearance. This story took Bond back to the beginning of his career as a "00" assassin for the government and for this reason, the producers felt it necessary to find a new James Bond to take over the reigns and "reboot" the series (Sutherland 2006). This decision

would prove to be the biggest gamble of all, considering that Pierce Brosnan had become one of the most popular Bond's in the franchise's history.

Not only did the producers' change the look of the character through their selection of Daniel Craig, the only blond, blue-eyed actor to so far play the title role, they also announced plans to reduce the commercial emphasis in the films. With over twenty different promotional partners, *Die Another Day* had received a wave of criticism "from fans and marketing executives for the large number of brands and products it showcased" (Terazono 2006, p. 12). While the topic of over-commercialisation and its impact on the James Bond character and film series as a whole will be examined in greater depth in a later chapter, it is important to note here that despite their assurances to the contrary, the total number of product placements in *Casino Royale* (2006) actually increased significantly. With only eight official promotional partners, the film was supposed to "feature far fewer brands" than *Die Another Day* (Terazono 2006, p. 12), however with over 90 individual product placements featured on screen, the film went on to receive the Niche Media's Brandcameo 2006 award for excessive product placement (*Marketing* 2006, p. 1 of 1).

Changes to the lead actor playing James Bond not only affected product placement numbers, they also provided financial investors with an opportunity to re-establish their position in audiences' minds as one of Bond's "brands of choice", such as Bollinger champagne and the Walther PPK handgun. Alternatively, it also provides a chance for

different companies to outbid established product placement arrangements to begin their own associations with the Bond franchise.

Brand Rivalry

Such developments can often result in a fierce economic battle between competing companies and their brands. In fact, it is not uncommon for ousted brands to exact some form of "revenge" against their successors. Take for example, British Airways somewhat less than magnanimous response to Virgin Atlantic's placement in *Casino Royale*. There have been a number of different airlines featured in the James Bond series—including Pan American Airways, Lufthansa Airlines, Asian Airlines, Air West, Air France and Olympic Airlines. However, since 1995 filmmakers seemed to have entered into an exclusive arrangement with British Airways. In return for featuring their airline service in the films, British Airways became an advertising partner and instigated their own extensive cross-promotional campaign. Yet despite this long-standing relationship, British Airways were unable to secure the rights to appear in the most recent Bond film *Casino Royale*. To add insult to injury, the winning bid was secured by Virgin Atlantic, the latest development in a long "history of rivalries and run-ins" between the two airlines, "stemming all the way back to Virgin's launch on the competitive trans-Atlantic routes in 1984" (*BBC News* 21 April 2007). In a move that has drawn considerable criticism for its irrationality, British Airways retaliated by deleting the scene in *Casino Royale* that featured a special cameo by Virgin magnate Richard Branson from the version shown on their flights. They also airbrushed out a visible Virgin Atlantic sign on

a plane's tailfin (*Times* 21 April 2007, *FoxNews.com* 23 April 2007, *Chicago Tribune* 22 April 2007).

Some brands have a longer history of product association with the James Bond character than others. For example, 23 minutes into the very first film of the official Bond series, we are introduced to what would become known as James Bond's "signature" drink—the vodka martini, seen here being specifically made with Smirnoff vodka. This original placement sparked a long-term relationship between the character and the brand that has since carried throughout much of the series. In 1997, Smirnoff drew upon this close association with the iconic spy figure in a print advertisement that simply stated: "35 years. 18 Bond movies. Countless women. Numerous villains. One shaken-not-stirred martini" (Wells 1997, p. 1). This relationship however would ultimately be tested in 2002, when Forman's Finlandia vodka outmanoeuvred Smirnoff to become a promotional partner for the 20th James Bond film *Die Another Day*. In return, numerous bottles of Finlandia vodka were visible behind the bar at the villain's ice hotel.

Perhaps in an attempt to "save face", Smirnoff issued a press release stating that demographics were behind its "decision" not to invest in the film. As one spokesperson for the company stated (in Lawton 2002, p. 1): "We are really looking to attract consumers that are more in the 21 to 29 age group", as opposed to the 25 to 45 age group that tend to watch Bond films. Smirnoff maintained that "(p)eople in that age group socialise more…and that fits in with their perceptions of Smirnoff and when it's best enjoyed…[as] James Bond isn't about socialising with friends. Bond is about status and

being cool". Yet in spite of these professions of demographic incompatibilities, by 2006 Smirnoff has once again reinstated itself as Bond's preferred "drink of choice" in *Casino Royale*. Spokesmen now claimed that it *is* the status surrounding the James Bond character that provides the best atmosphere for promoting their brand as "Bond is known as having discerning taste" (Marke Breene, Smirnoff vice-president in Howard 2006, p. 1). It was later reported that the real reason Smirnoff was not featured in *Die Another Day* was that the company had been "sidetracked in a corporate reorganisation" (Howard 2006, p. 1).

There have also been instances throughout the James Bond series when product placement arrangements have led to issues of creative control between businesses and filmmakers. For example, up until 1971 the only champagne to be associated with the James Bond character was Dom Perignon. However, it would appear that it was around this time that film producers began to experience some difficulties with the makers of the quality champagne. As a result, no champagne was featured at all in *Diamonds Are Forever* and with Roger Moore's first foray into the role in *Live And Let Die*, Bond began his initial association with competing champagne brand Bollinger. Now convinced that the producers were not simply bluffing, Dom Perignon must have agreed to "toe the line", returning to feature in the next two Bond films—*The Man With The Golden Gun* and *The Spy Who Loved Me*. Yet, it would seem that tensions between the film producers and Dom Perignon executives soon reached a breaking point. The former head of advertising/publicity at Pinewood Studios subtly referred to this past product association in the following carefully worded statement:

there are many fine champagnes and indeed there are some which may claim to be as good as Bollinger. Not many, by the way. It was one of the others whose champagne Bond drank for some years who really believed we needed them more than they needed us. We don't like that way of thinking and that is why for the last 10 years Bond has been drinking Bollinger R.D., and Bollinger in return has been joining us in celebrating its involvement in the film at press receptions around the world. (p. 83)

Figure 11: Advertisements for Bollinger champagne featuring Pierce Brosnan as James Bond

There is no product placement so integral to the action sequences in a Bond film as the vehicles he drives. Nor perhaps as profitable with the cars being "one of the few connections to reality in Bond movies" (Wilson 2002, p. 13). Ordinary people might not be able to live the life of a superspy, foiling villains and sleeping with beautiful women, but they can drive his car. As such, there has often been fierce competition between different car manufacturers to have their vehicles associated with the James Bond franchise. Throughout the series, Bond has turned his hand to driving almost anything—from a Mini to a stolen Russian tank. Officially however, the character has only ever been connected with three different car brands—the Aston Martin, the Lotus and the BMW (Brewer 2001). While Ian Fleming's car-of-choice for Bond was the Bentley, it was in 1964 with the movie *Goldfinger* that the character began his long-time affiliation with the Aston Martin. The impact of this initial product placement was as dramatic as it was immediate. As Tim Watson, a spokesman for the company commented: "The effect

was that orders doubled. Initially the plan was to make 200 DB5s a year, but once the Bond film came up orders soared to over 400" (Wilson 2002, p. 13).

In 1971 when Sean Connery temporarily returned to the role in *Diamonds Are Forever*, the character of James Bond was used to help promote the release of the new Mustang car, also owned by Ford. Although the car brand was never officially associated with the series as the Aston Martin was, Ford still offered to provide all the cars for a complex car chase in the film. As Director Guy Hamilton discussed in the film's commentary:

> Ford said if James Bond, Sean Connery, would drive that Mustang, they would give us all the cars. As many cars as we wanted for the demolition derby. So Ford supplied all the police cars, all the smashed cars, all the villains' cars, every car and there must be 80 cars that get it in this movie between all the chases. They're all Ford. It was just a huge budget item. In return for that, we said Sean would drive the red Mustang in the car chase.

The next car to be officially endorsed by the James Bond franchise was the Lotus Esprit after "an executive pointedly parked one in front of the producer, Albert Broccoli" (Patton 2002, p. 12). The car first appeared in *The Spy Who Loved Me* and was used in a stunt so extravagant that it resulted in audiences voting it "the most memorable car in film history" (Noah 2005). In one scene in which Bond and his female counterpart are being pursed by a helicopter, he drives the car off a dock into the ocean. As the car sinks, it converts to a submarine, fully equipped with rocket launchers which Bond uses to destroy the helicopter from underwater. To achieve this effect, seven different shells of the vehicle were used—each one demonstrating a different stage of the car's conversion to a submersible (Kendall 2006). Despite the "memorability" of this scene, the car only appeared in one more Bond film—*For Your Eyes Only*. This appearance was shortlived

as the car self-destructed in the first 23 minutes of the film. While Q manages to put the car together again, Bond is only seen briefly driving it in one more scene.

Filmmakers later switched to BMW for *GoldenEye*, *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997) and *The World Is Not Enough* (1999) in a move that reportedly "raised the hackles of dyed-in-the-wool British fans" (Brewer 2001, p. 9). Apparently the choice was also not initially welcomed by producers Michael G. Wilson and Barbara Broccoli who apparently needed considerable convincing to switch from the more traditional Aston Martin to BMW's prototype—the Z3 roadster. The deal that was eventually struck saw the car manufacturer provide free vehicles for the production and considerable cross-promotional advertising support estimated to be worth $US30 million (Kelly 2006). According to a Harvard Business study (Fournier & Dolan 2002) completed on the cross-promotional arrangement, BMW began negotiating the product placement deal with the film studio in Autumn 1994. Both parties came to the conclusion that each could provide something the other needed: "MGM sought a partner that could help them revive their 33-year old Bond franchise; BMW sought a premier movie placement capable of reinforcing its brand image" (Fournier & Dolan 2002, p. 6). In addition to the placement in *GoldenEye*, BMW also supported the Z3 roadster's launch through a wide variety of methods.

The first method utilised was a special, limited edition promotion in a Neiman Marcus Christmas catalogue. Within two days, over 100 orders for the car were placed—more than five times the number originally expected by the company. Even though they increased the total number of cars available for purchase, in three and a half months

"Neiman's had received 6000 orders or waiting list applications for the 100 cars" (Fournier & Dolan 2002, p. 8). BMW also developed a new website that offered potential customers the opportunity to select interior and exterior colour designs for a personalised Z3 roadster which then could be viewed from a variety of angles. So popular was this particular application that visits to the website apparently increased "from an average of 35 000 hits per day to 125 000" (Fournier & Dolan 2002, p. 8). In addition, the site contained links to the Neiman Marcus Christmas catalogue (as discussed above), as well as to the official *GoldenEye* motion picture website.

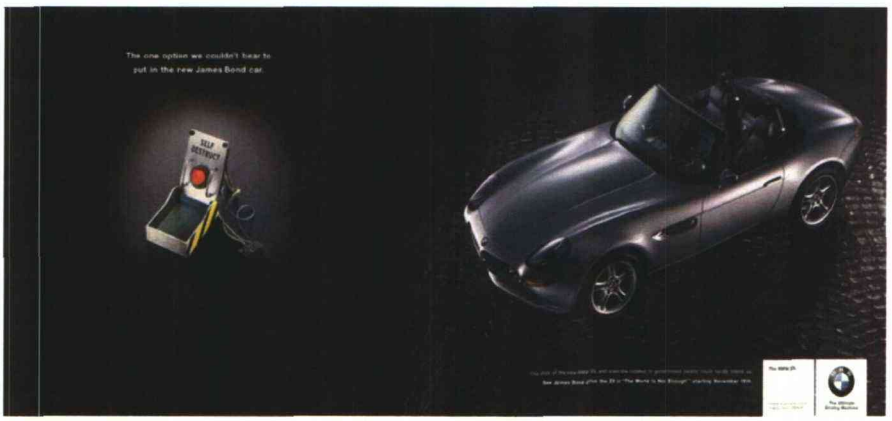


Figure 12: Advertisement for the BMW featured in *GoldenEye*

Then, in November 1995, to coincide with the film's premiere, BMW hosted a special "unveiling" in Central Park. An estimated 200 representatives from various media outlets listened as actor Desmond Llewelyn as his alter-ego Q described the individual specifications of BMW's latest prototype vehicle—the Z3 roadster. As described by Fournier and Dolan (2002, p. 8), the car "was revealed amid a splash of special effects precipitated by CEO Panke's entry of 'the secret code' that exploded the crate shielding the car". As part of this special introduction to the press and general public, the car was

also featured in a special skit on the popular late night chat program, the *Tonight Show*, along with special guest Pierce Brosnan to promote the release of *GoldenEye*.

In addition to special giveaways organised through radio DJ competitions and a short film produced by and available through BMW itself, these promotional activities were also supported by more traditional forms of advertising, including television commercials and print advertisements. The message underlining these commercials was simple and consistent—James Bond had *chosen* to switch car brands to BMW. As BMW advertising manager Carol Burrows, stated: "In essence it was a new Bond in a new world in a new car. Life had evolved and so had Bond" (Fournier & Dolan 2002, p. 10). In one advertisement, the car is pictured in an action scene reminiscent of a James Bond film, showing the car being pursued by a truck with two people firing machine guns at them. Underneath this picture is a small advertisement ripped out of a newspaper showing an Aston Martin for sale, with Q listed as the seller. Beside this is the pivotal sentence around which the whole advertising campaign revolves: "See the BMW that made James Bond switch".

However, due to the lateness of the negotiations the film script had already progressed to a point that made last minute alterations difficult to arrange. Director Martin Campbell explained in the film's commentary:

> the BMW deal came in late in the story, in terms of discussion. We had already had the script pretty much finalised, so it was a matter of actually dropping it in where we could, which we did.

As a result, the BMW's presence in *GoldenEye* is relatively insignificant, only consisting of two small scenes. The filmmakers' also made use of a Ferrari that featured in a race with Bond's Aston Martin early in the storyline that highlights the extensive nature of brand competitiveness in the series. There has been a long history of competition between the two car brands, particularly concerning the prestigious Le Mans car endurance race. For a long time Ferrari had been considered the race's "Goliath" (Levine 2006, p. 120). However, in 1959 this title was threatened when an Aston Martin won. This situation seems to have been reversed in the car race featured in *GoldenEye*. The scene opens on Bond driving his traditional and somewhat old-fashioned looking Aston Martin somewhere along the French coastline. Suddenly a beautiful woman overtakes him in a brand-new Ferrari and a race ensues.

Figure 13: Car chase scene between Aston Martin and Ferrari in *GoldenEye*

In the film's commentary, the director revealed that during the filming of this scene, the Ferrari was accidentally damaged. To avoid paying the $US80,000 repair bill, they specifically added an additional scene to the race sequence showing the Ferrari beating the Aston Martin. Could this have been an attempt by the car manufacturer to rewrite history? Revenge was obtained however when, seven years later in *Die Another Day*,

Ford managed to reinstall itself into the series. As director Lee Tamahori dicussed in the film's commentary, they deliberately took every opportunity to either blow up, throw them out of planes and to be as generally "dismissive of [the villain] Graves' cars" as possible—many of which were Ferraris and all competitors of Ford's. The Aston Martin itself appeared not to have suffered a single scratch.

Following *GoldenEye*, BMW appeared in two more Bond films—*Tomorrow Never Dies* and *The World Is Not Enough*. As the product placement deal was already in place before pre-production began on *Tomorrow Never Dies*, the car was able to feature much more prominently in the film's scripts. In one particular scene, the car was used in a complicated car chase that not only took place within the limited confines of a parking garage, but also involved the car being remote driven by Bond from the backseat. During this scene, it was remarked in the film's commentary that BMW "got their money's worth" before it was clarified that BMW had provided the shoot with mechanics and technicians to work on the vehicles during filming as well as a total of "17 cars, 8 motorcycles, plus truckloads of spares". However, the film received so much negative publicity in relation to over-commericalisation (a topic to be discussed in a later chapter) that the car's presence was significantly reduced in the next film *The World Is Not Enough*, in which the car was only used to blow up a helicopter before it was sawn in half. It is important to note at this point that, in what seems to have been a deliberate decision on behalf of the filmmakers, the villains in these films drove Fords, including Land Rovers and Range Rovers. This may have been an attempt to vilify their sponsor's

main competitors, as is often the case when two brands are placed in direct competition with each other.

After this film though, the Ford Motor Company was reported to have made a special agreement with the producers to reinstall itself back into the James Bond series with the film *Die Another Day*. According to the official Aston Martin website, while again no money was paid directly to the filmmakers, Ford agreed to provide all "the cars (seven Vanquishes, plus Jaguar XJ8's for the villain and Ford Thunderbirds for the female lead, Jinx, played by Halle Berry). In return, Ford agreed to provide advertising support for the film which [was] released on the 20 November 2002" (Aston Martin 2007). The actual cost of this support however has been reported to have been as high as $US63 million (Wilson 2002). Following this return to the film series, Ford employed media analysts Millward Brown Precis to measure the impact the association with the James Bond franchise has had on their overall media coverage. What was specifically under examination was "the media impact of its partnership with the film's [*Die Another Day*] media campaign activities in the [United Kingdom] and the [United States of America], as well as the public relations impact in Japan" (Millward Brown Precis, n.d.). In the United Kingdom alone, media coverage for the release of the Aston Martin Vanquish increased by over 30%. This is thought to have resulted from the general excitement within the media outlets at having two icons of British heritage reunited once again.

This association has since continued with James Bond, now played by Daniel Craig, driving an Aston Martin in *Casino Royale*. By restarting the series and filming the story

of Bond's first mission as a "00" assassin, *Casino Royale* offered Ford an opportunity to target a new, younger demographic. Myles Romero, head of Ford's global brand division, commented that by placing their cars in popular films like the James Bond series, Ford "get massive brand exposure that we couldn't have done on our own, and the fact that we get customers to see our brand who may never otherwise see us works for me" (in Miller 2006, p. 17).

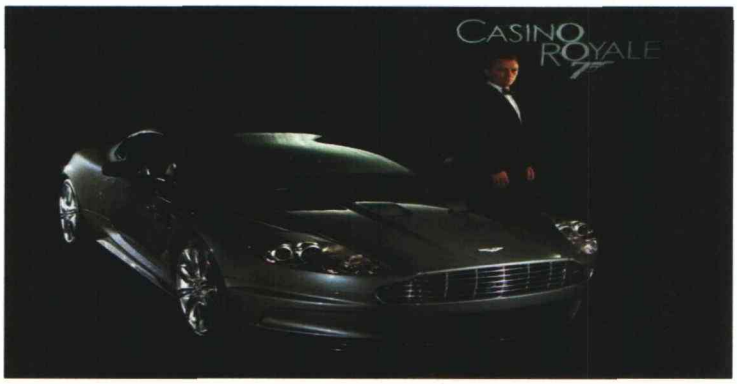


Figure 14: Aston Martin returns in *Casino Royale*

Product placement provides numerous benefits to both commercial investors and filmmakers. For businesses, it helps to expose their brands to a wider demographic, often on a global scale. They also benefit from the association of their products with some of the most famous people and franchises in the film industry and help to demonstrate to audiences the use of their products in "real-life" situations. There is also the matter of the high "shelf-life" provided by a product placement for one initial outlay of cost—from cinema screen to DVD to free-to-air television, the placement is repeatedly witnessed. Filmmakers benefit from the additional financial revenue generated by product placement agreements, either through direct payments or more commonly through cross-promotional advertising campaigns. The presence of popular brands in films can also help to generate a sense of realism in the storylines. However, what can also be seen in

films such as the James Bond series, is the way certain brands and brand associations are used by the filmmakers to convey certain character traits, even as a way of helping to distinguish between protagonist and antagonist.

What can also be seen from the content analysis of the James Bond films, is the increasing prominence of brands directly into film storylines through the use of verbal/hand placements. By having an actor specifically mention a brand by name or in any other way directly interacting with a brand on-screen, filmmakers are helping to increase brand recall and recognition in audiences. In fact, many of these verbal/hand placements now play a central role in shaping or changing the action of a film plot. One of the biggest influences on this development in the James Bond series has been the character's greater reliance on technological gadgets which has offered commercial investors another avenue for product placement opportunities. In the next chapter, I will examine this development in relation to the momentous technological and cultural changes that have occurred in society throughout the history of the film series.

CHAPTER FIVE

Technology and Gadgetry

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the content analysis indicated an increased presence of brand name products in the James Bond series. In particular, the higher rate of verbal/hand placements demonstrates that a greater number of products have been prominently positioned in the film storylines. The objective of this chapter is to chart how the level of technological gadgetry in the series has also impacted upon product placement numbers. I will demonstrate that the development of such significant societal and cultural events as the Cold War, the Space Race, espionage and surveillance during the McCarthy years, the fall of Soviet Russia, and the growth in global terrorism are reflected in the film narratives, and have dramatically impacted upon the use and perception of technology in the James Bond film series.

By charting the use of technology and gadgetry throughout these films, I will then be able to compare these results with changing societal perceptions and attitudes that were occurring at the same time the films were being released, and determine whether there is a correlation. As Wood (2002, p. 177) states: "Popular culture is a site through which cultural tensions are negotiated". Of particular interest is the way these developments have, in turn, proved extremely beneficial to commercial investors. By enabling branded technological gadgetry to be directly incorporated into a film's narrative, verbal/hand product placements have been significantly increased. I will also explore the associations between defense technology and consumerism that has assisted in this cross-over effect.

The Post-War American Audience

While other countries struggled to rebuild in the aftermath of the Second World War, America was a place of affluence and opportunity. As the main supplier to the Allies, the war effort had revitalised the country's economy and resulted in the growth of new automated industries that enhanced productivity. Yet the 1950s was also a time of massive "change and instability that manifested in different cultural features" (Vieth 2001, p. 55). The dynamics of society were rapidly shifting with the establishment of consumer credit, the spread of suburbia, mass advertising and consumerism. Government subsidies had enabled many American families to move out of the city and into suburbia. These subsidies, in conjunction with low-interest mortgage rates, resulted in a housing boom in the fifties with approximately 60% of American families owning their own home by 1960 (Moss 1993, p. 292).

With more money at their disposal, people began surrounding themselves with the latest gadgets and technological innovations. The electronics industry rapidly expanded during this time, mainly as a result of the invention of television, and resulted in the production of a wide range of new household appliances including clothes dryers, air conditioners, hair dryers and electric blankets (Moss 1993, p. 288). The advertising industry expanded accordingly as the procurement of these appliances became synonymous with the status of success. The expectation of "keeping up with the Joneses" was a prevalent underlying concern within most households. A home was not a home without a television set, electric oven, stove and washing machine.

The introduction of consumer credit also enabled people to purchase whatever they wished when they wished, despite not having the immediate funds to pay for it. "Consumer demand stimulated huge private sector investment in new plant capacity and new technology, an average of $10 billion per year" (Moss 1993, p. 287). So prevalent was the consumer culture of the 1950s that while a considerable proportion of women relinquished their wartime positions to returning soldiers, many remained in paid employment to help pay for this new affluent lifestyle. However, this period of history was also one of deep suspicion, fear and anxiety. The rate of technological change during this time was staggering, and may have contributed to contradictory feelings of mistrust in the general public about the very technology they were now surrounding themselves with. This situation was only compounded by the very real dangers society was facing at that time from Cold War nuclear tensions.

The Second World War "had been won by a coalition whose principal members were already at war—ideologically and geopolitically if not militarily—with one another" (Gaddis 2005, p. 6). Though the War had been won, those that prevailed regarded each other with deep mistrust. Soviet Russia had been allowed "to fill the power vacuum" left by Germany and Japan's defeat in Central Europe and Asia, and quickly sought to establish communist governments in their newly acquired territories (Vieth 2001, p. 58). In doing so, they extended the range of their political influence as well as protecting and broadening their own borders. A power struggle began between American-controlled territories in Central Europe and what came to be known as the "Communist Bloc" or

"Iron Curtain". Yet, from an ideological perspective, this was also a struggle between democracy/capitalism and communism/socialism.

This mistrust was compounded by the military superiority the nuclear bomb initially gave to the Americans. The Soviet Government "saw the bomb as a means by which the United States would seek to extract post-war concessions" (Gaddis 2005, p. 26), and quickly sought to create their own atomic weapon. On 29 August 1949, they achieved their objective and the race for nuclear superiority began. In 1950, tensions between the two superpowers escalated with the onset of the Korean War. At the end of the Second World War, Korea had been jointly occupied with Soviet troops in the North and American troops in the South. Despite the gradual withdrawal of foreign troops during 1948-1949, the country remained divided, "with each side claiming to be the legitimate government and threatening to invade the other" (Gaddis 2005, p. 41). In 1950, with support from the Soviets, North Korea invaded the South. The international community, represented by the newly established United Nations, quickly responded to this new international security threat and sent troops to defend South Korea.

However, North Korean troops were soon bolstered by an additional 300,000 soldiers sent by the People's Republic of China "eager to legitimise their [communist] revolution by winning Stalin's approval" (Gaddis 2005, p. 42). The resulting war continued for another two years with mounting American and South Korean casualties. In 1953, President Eisenhower threatened Communist China with a nuclear attack, and even went so far as to organise the transfer of atomic warheads to American bases stationed in

Okinawa, ready for deployment. These threats never eventuated, perhaps due to the knowledge that any nuclear attack against Communist China would be reciprocated by the Soviets. This was a very real concern as the Soviets had just exploded the first hydrogen bomb, with a destructive capacity many times greater than the atom bomb. This was also the same year that Ian Fleming published his first James Bond novel, *Casino Royale*, cementing the series firmly within this armed conflict. The story focuses on Bond's efforts to bankrupt and disrepute a member of the Soviet anti-espionage assassination agency Smersh, who has misappropriated Soviet funds. In the process, Bond discovers that his love interest, Vesper Lynd, is actually a double agent working for the Russians.

Meanwhile, in the real world, the arms race continued to escalate with America producing their own hydrogen bomb in 1954, before successfully launching the B-52 in 1955—an airplane specifically designed to carry and deliver nuclear payloads. However, within a few months the Soviets had deployed their own nuclear bombers as well. Eventually the two countries reached a nuclear stalemate exemplified in the military policy of Mutual Assured Destruction, with the appropriate acronym "MAD". It was believed that "the vulnerability that came with the prospect of instant annihilation could become the basis for a stable, long-term, Soviet-American relationship" (Gaddis 2005, p. 80).

However, it is also important to understand Cold War hostilities in relation to the Space Race. The Soviets demonstrated rocket superiority by successfully launching "Sputnik"

into space in 1957, generating mass panic in America. The knowledge that a Soviet satellite was currently flying over the United States was a terrifying prospect for the American public. From this point forward

> the race to the moon became a defining part of the struggle for global supremacy...The development of missiles and rockets went hand in hand with the struggle to develop the capacity to deliver nuclear weapons, to spy on the enemy and to control space. (Cadbury 2005, p. ix)

Furthermore, it was believed that this type of rocket technology could eventually lead to a country being able to launch a nuclear attack anywhere on earth from space, virtually undetected. More was at stake than a sense of patriotism and scientific advancement. The Space Race had suddenly become "a race for survival" (Cadbury 2005, p. xi). As will be discussed in the following section, in many ways these issues influenced the background story of the first official James Bond film, *Dr No* (1962).

Technology in the James Bond Films

In the movie adaptation of Fleming's original story, Bond is sent to Jamaica to investigate the assassination of an agent. In the process, he uncovers a secret operation to intercept and divert American space satellites launched from Cape Canaveral, masterminded by the villain Dr No. His intention was to escalate Cold War tensions between America and Soviet Russia, whom the Americans would suspect were behind the interference in their space program. The fact that Dr No used a nuclear reactor concealed inside an island to operate this "toppling" tower also added to public concerns regarding what might happen if nuclear technology fell into the "wrong hands".

Coincidentally, the film premiered in London two weeks before the Cuban Missile Crisis reached a critical point when "[Soviet] Russia and United States were involved in a face-off that might well have escalated into a third World War" (Chancellor 2005, p. 228). After the Bay of Pigs, Soviet Russia sent weaponry and technicians to Communist Cuba to protect the country from another American attack. President Kennedy refused to intervene provided that the weapons installed in Cuba were for defensive purposes only. However, the Soviets began to secretly install offensive nuclear missiles capable of reaching American cities and various military targets. When an American reconnaissance plane managed to photograph the nearly completed missile sites, Kennedy threatened Russian president Khrushchev with a nuclear war if the sites were not immediately disassembled. "For the next five days, the world hovered at the brink of catastrophe", before Khrushchev finally relented and the sites were removed (Moss 1993, p. 334).

Similarly, the release of *Goldfinger* in 1964 reflected a mounting concern in the West over China's increasing military strength. In the film, it is implied that Communist China provides Auric Goldfinger with an atomic device which he intends to use to contaminate America's gold supply at Fort Knox. Once again the film's release seemed to coincide with world affairs, with Communist China detonating its first atomic bomb just weeks before the film's premiere in America. Correspondingly, in *You Only Live Twice* (1967), it is insinuated that China has funded SPECTRE to capture American and Soviet space shuttles in orbit and instigate a nuclear war. In doing so, the film capitalised upon "Space Race" tensions as the American and Soviet Russian governments both struggled to become the first nation to successfully land a man on the moon before the end of the

decade. The film suggests that in the ensuing destruction, China would be able to establish itself as the new global superpower. According to Chapman (1999, p. 133), this "demonification" of Communist China, not only by the James Bond series but by a range of films produced during this time, "was almost certainly a reaction to the so-called 'Cultural Revolution' of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, as well as, in the longer term, a reflection of aggressive foreign policy in Tibet and on the Indian border".

In this way, these films provide a cultural site through which real-life concerns could be explored. For example, the threat posed by nuclear technology is a recurring theme in the James Bond films. In *Thunderball* (1965), SPECTRE operatives steal nuclear missiles to hold the world ransom. In *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977), a shipping magnate hijacks Soviet and American submarines armed with ballistic missiles in order to simultaneously attack both countries and initiate a nuclear war. In *For Your Eyes Only* (1981), Bond attempts to recover an operational system that can be used to order British nuclear submarines to launch missiles, before Soviet agents find and use it against British cities. In *Octopussy* (1983), a rogue Soviet general plans to detonate a nuclear device on an American air force base in East Berlin. Finally, in *The World Is Not Enough* (1999), the criminal Renard, in conjunction with Elektra King, steals a nuclear bomb which he plans to insert into the reactor of a stolen Russian nuclear submarine. The resulting catastrophic nuclear meltdown would destroy Istanbul and contaminate the Bosporus, leaving Elektra King's pipeline as the only viable network of transporting oil out of the Middle East. However, regardless of the considerable threat nuclear technology poses in these films—

particularly when controlled by criminal factions—the series ultimately acts to reassure audiences that James Bond, and hence civilisation, will prevail.

Willis (2003, p. 153) also believes that, in many ways, Bond's mastery over technology—as demonstrated through his gradual reliance upon, use and manipulation of technology—acts "as an antidote to the pre-eminence of technology that has…led to a belief in the inability of the human to deal with technological sophistication". Ian Fleming had a passion for technology, a passion that reverberated somewhat into the James Bond novels. His notes contain references to various gadgets and devices he considered incorporating into the stories, such as a cigarette filled with mustard gas designed to kill the smoker through septic pneumonia. Yet James Bond employs relatively few gadgets in the novels. In fact, it could be said that "the literary James Bond does not really see the point of using too many gadgets in the field, he even mildly disapproves of them" (Chancellor 2005, p. 153)

Fleming's primary focus instead resided on the physical attributes and specifications of "gadgetised" commodities. He would regularly expend as much effort extolling the virtues of Bond's latest car as he would a major development in the story's progression. According to biographer Henry Chancellor (2005, p. 151), "the technical detail that he wove into his books about gadgets, cars and boats was like a blurb in a 1950s brochure about some clever-sounding contraption". In fact, Ian Fleming was

> acutely aware of commodities, mundane objects of desire. No previous thriller writer had ever accommodated himself to such an extent to the psychology of acquisition and envy and the spiritual rhythms of the advertising industry. The makers and marketers of Bond movies understood this aspect of Fleming's appeal

> very well, and soon the world grew used to Bond's pedantic lectures on Taittinger and Q's proud demonstrations of the latest in British technology. (Cockburn 1987, p. 31)

Yet considerable emphasis was placed on technology and gadgetry throughout much of the Bond film series. For some time "(t)echnology, for Bond, [was] all about gadgets: self-contained, potentially useless machines that do just one thing" (Whitwell 1996, p. 12). However, the emphasis that was placed on technology and gadgetry in the later Bond films was a result of a gradual process of development throughout the series. For example, no gadgets appeared at all in *Dr No* with Bond relying entirely upon his own initiative. In *From Russia, With Love* (1963), the number of gadgets was kept to a minimum. Yet the film *Goldfinger* foregrounded "technology and gadgetry to a greater extent…indicating the direction which the series was to take thereafter" (Chapman 1999, p. 103). Many of these changes were a direct result of the series' attempt to appear more modern and innovative.

In the literary version of the story, for example, Bond's life is threatened by a circular saw; however, film producers felt that this was too archaic and melodramatic for film. As screenplay writer Richard Maibaum stated—"(W)e were sure audiences would find the episode [of the circular saw] old-fashioned, hackneyed and ridiculous" (in Chapman 1999, p. 105). Therefore, the filmmakers substituted it with an industrial laser beam, with promotional material for the film boasting that the laser was "a scientific device so new that only a minority of the general public have even heard of it" (in Chapman 1999, p. 103). This sparked a long tradition of the films foregrounding new technologies and gadgets, and presenting the character as the epitome of technological modernity.

In this film the character of Q, who was briefly introduced in *From Russia, With Love* and who would later become such an integral component in the film series, is given a much more prominent position. For the first time we are taken inside Q's workshop at MI6. It is here that Bond is outfitted with his new car—the Aston Martin, also destined to play a recurring role. It should be noted that the Aston Martin also first appeared in the *Goldfinger* novel and was even given some modifications. These included changeable lights, reinforced bumpers for ramming and a gun concealed inside a hidden compartment under the driver's seat. It was also fitted with a special radio that could receive a homing signal that enabled Bond to track Goldfinger's car. In the film however, Q's modifications were much more spectacular and included revolving licence plates, a tracking/homing device resembling an early prototype GPS, oil pumps, smoke screens, tyre slashers and a rear gun shield.

From this point on in the films, the storylines seem to increasingly revolve around Q's gadgets. This has had a considerable impact upon the character and the series. Instead of relying on whatever came to hand, as his literary counterpart tended to do, the film version of James Bond eventually became dependent on technology with the vast majority of Q's gadgets saving his life on numerous occasions. Some of the gadgets featured in *Thunderball*, for example, included an underwater camera, a miniature flare-gun, a re-breather concealed inside a cigar case, and a homing device that Bond swallows. Bond also gives the villain's mistress, now committed to helping Bond avenge the death of her brother by SPECTRE operatives, a geigo-meter concealed as a camera so

she can check whether nuclear weapons have been stored aboard the villain's yacht. In a substantial departure from the more traditional methods that were used to monitor movement in his room in *Dr No*, Bond now conceals a tape recorder inside a book which he then uses to retrace the sounds of an intruder's footsteps to find an assassin hiding inside his bathroom. More dramatically, in the opening scenes of the film Bond uses a jet-pack to escape gunmen before using a water cannon installed in his Aston Martin to knock over more guards.

Figure 15: James Bond using a jet-pack to make a quick escape in *Thunderball*

However, it should be noted that the use of technology and gadgetry was not restricted to James Bond alone. In another indicator of the similarities that exist between protagonist and antagonist, this same technological gadgetry is often utilised by the very people Bond is trying to stop. In *Thunderball* alone, these included a computerised cigarette case used to open a secret entrance into the SPECTRE headquarters, while an assassin uses a rocket launcher mounted on a motorcycle to kill one of their own operatives after he had outlived his "usefulness". In some cases, the henchmen in the films have even been altered or transformed by technology. Jaws with his metal teeth and killing bite in *The Spy Who Loved Me*, and Tee Hee with his lethal metal pincers for a hand in *Live and Let*

Die both serve as obvious references to Mary Shelley's Frankenstein's monster, and the inhuman implications related to the cybernetic amalgamation of the human body with technology.

The major difference between hero and villain however, is that "Bond's power comes from making technology perform for him rather than allowing it to take his place" (Willis 2003, p. 158). In this way, Bond can also be seen as defending the sanctity of the human body from the corrupting influence of technology. Bond's gadgets are a mere extension of his own skills, while the villains' very success or failure is entirely dependent on the use of technology. In some cases, Bond even manages to bring "the criminal masterminds to appropriate justice by using their own technologies to penetrate and destroy their physical bodies" (Willis 2003, p. 158). The traitorous ex-00 agent Alec Trevelyan is impaled by his collapsing satellite dish in *GoldenEye* (1995), Elliott Carver is killed by his sea-drill in *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997), while Renard dies when one of the submarine's nuclear rods punctures him in the chest in *The World Is Not Enough*. In this way, it could be said that the confidence and skill with which Bond uses technology in the films to alleviate danger helps to ease society's concerns regarding the use of technology for subversive purposes.

Even at MI6, the gadgets have spread beyond Q's workshop to be incorporated into the building itself. For example, in a conference room a large automated world map is revealed behind a painting as MI6 monitor a villain's ransom demands, in addition to holographic capabilities. Yet the increased emphasis on gadgetry in the films has also

been credited to some degree with Sean Connery's decision to leave the series. As Desowitz (2002, p. 8) reported, "(p)laying Bond was fun for [Sean Connery] until sci-fi and gadgetry took over and there was less to do as an actor". When Connery initially left the series following the film's completion, the emphasis on technological gadgetry in the next film, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969), was greatly reduced. Many critics welcomed this reduction in technological prominence, and *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* has since received praise for remaining closest to the original novels.

It was rather ironic that when Connery briefly returned to the role in *Diamonds Are Forever* (1971), the technological gadgetry that had played such a factor in his decision to leave, not only returned but escalated. The film focuses on Bond's attempts to infiltrate a diamond smuggling operation. During his investigation, he discovers that SPECTRE is planning to destroy global cities with "a diamond laser weapon aboard an orbiting satellite" (Broderick 1988, p. 23). This technology reflected the considerable advancements being made at this time as a result of the Space program. Bond even uses a lunar space buggy to escape a "Tectronics" research laboratory after being discovered.

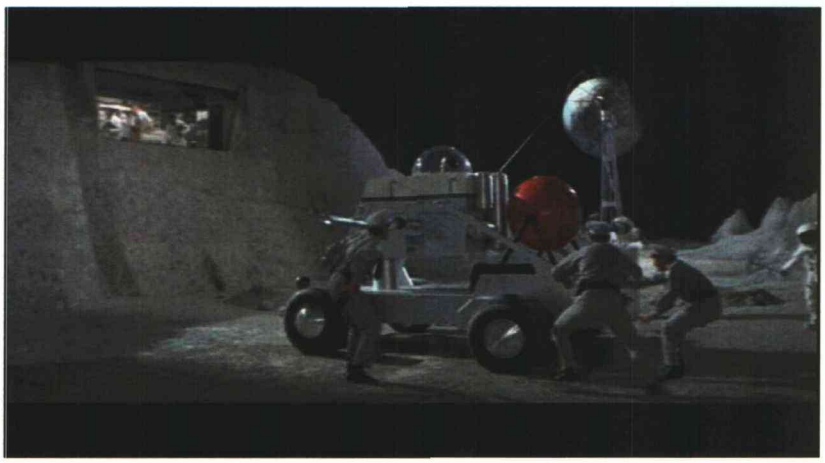


Figure 16: The lunar buggy Bond drives in *Diamonds Are Forever*

The film also explores issues related to the way technology can be used to disguise or confirm identity. When Bond travels to Amsterdam using another man's name, he approaches a woman called Tiffany Case. After offering Bond a drink, she takes his glass into her bedroom where she has an elaborate fingerprint scanner and computer concealed inside her wardrobe. Suspicious of Bond's identity, she runs the fingerprints she has scanned off Bond's glass. Bond's true identity however, has been concealed by the special latex fingerprints given to him by Q that have the other man's fingerprints imprinted upon them. Later, Q also provides Bond with a machine that can duplicate anyone's voice. Bond uses this machine to impersonate one of Blofeld's henchmen and gain inside information on the operation.

This notion of identity concealment was also a prominent topic in *Goldfinger*, in which a SPECTRE operative underwent extensive cosmetic surgery to assume another man's identity. This ability to completely conceal oneself reflected a concern still prevalent in America after the McCarthy years. In the early 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy led a "witch hunt" against suspected Communists that had supposedly infiltrated all levels of American society. In some cases, there was verity to these claims. In 1950, "British intelligence agents discovered an Anglo-American spy ring that had penetrated the atomic bomb project at New Mexico" (Moss 1993, p. 276). German scientist Dr Klaus Fuchs, a nuclear physicist at the complex, confessed to selling atomic secrets to the Soviets from 1943 to 1947. American politicians capitalised upon such discoveries to instil fear into the general public regarding potential sources of Soviet infiltration.

Americans were warned to spy on their neighbours and report any suspicious behaviour. As such, the SPECTRE agent's transformation in *Goldfinger* reflected real concerns in an audience still harbouring Cold War fears that the enemy could, quite literally, be anyone.

In relation to technology being used to confirm identity, the James Bond films also explore issues related to the growing prevalence of surveillance in society. George Orwell's classic novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, published in 1949, terrified readers with a vision of a future "in which totalitarianism has triumphed everywhere" (Gaddis 2005, p. 2), with everyone under constant surveillance by "Big Brother". Frances Cairncross (1997, p. 257) described surveillance as a "serious potential danger to liberty", and indeed America's recent Patriot Act has given the current administration incalculable power to spy on its own citizens. It is not surprising that surveillance technology has played such a prominent role in the James Bond film series, with espionage and surveillance being "traditional forms of intelligence gathering" (Willis 2003, p. 159). Yet, also of interest is the way this technology combines surveillance with the ability to provide immediate information (Willis 2003, p. 160).

The camera Bond provides Domino in *Thunderball* can also measure radiation levels, helping Bond locate missing nuclear missiles, while a tape recorder concealed inside a book enables Bond to detect intruders in his room. An X-ray machine is secretly used by a villain in *You Only Live Twice* to detect Bond's concealed gun, while security cameras and sniper guns are hidden inside voodoo dolls in *Live And Let Die* (1973), enabling drug traffickers to monitor and assassinate intruders. The film *Moonraker* (1979) featured an

X-ray machine concealed inside a cigarette case that Bond uses to open a safe, before taking pictures of the documents inside with a camera contained inside a cigarette lighter. A tape recorder hidden inside a candlestick holder enables smuggler Columbo to overhear Bond's conversation in *For Your Eyes Only*, while Bond uses an identi-graph to compose and identify the face of an assassin. In *A View To A Kill* (1985), Bond uses a camera concealed inside a ring to take photographs of guests at a party that are transmitted to MI6 for identification, while villain Zorin uses a camera hidden behind a mirror to take photographs of Bond's face before running them through an identification search engine on his computer to reveal Bond's true identity. Pierce Brosnan's Bond uses camera binoculars to take a digital photograph that immediately transmits to MI6 for verification in *GoldenEye* (1995), while a henchman in *Die Another Day* (2001) uses the camera in his Sony Ericsson mobile phone to take a photograph of Bond's face. He forwards the image to an unknown source that identifies Bond as an MI6 agent.

Another important element related to technology and identity is the way gadgets have been used throughout the series to distinguish between gender. According to Willis (2003, p. 156), "there has always been a clear connection between technology and masculinity/sexuality" in the James Bond films. The gadgets Bond relies on tend to be very "masculine" in nature, including cars with rocket launchers, watches with laser beams, and a multitude of guns. In comparison, the gadgets typically chosen by the filmmakers to be employed by women in the series are much more "feminine", and include perfume flame-throwers (as used in *Moonraker*), hand bag radios, and lipstick radio transmitters.

The prominence of such gender related gadgets in the films has also had a significant impact on the merchandise associated with the film series. Toy manufacturer A.C Gilbert released "a line of 007 dolls, complete with guns and gadgets", while "Corgi had its line of Aston Martin, [and] attaché cases with hidden toy guns made every kid on the block a secret agent" (Sciacca 1987, p. 78). Merchandising is an extremely lucrative business and a vital component of the Hollywood film industry. Typically defined as being "the creation of consumer goods based on a media narrative or brand idea" (Olson 2004, p. 69), a major element of merchandising is the licensing, or branding, of film characters for use by outside groups and corporations. In most cases, it is the film characters themselves that "are the driving force in a licensing industry that generated more than $US5.8 billion in revenue in 2000" (Desjardins 2001, p. 4).

It was the changing nature of the Hollywood film industry during the 1970s that enabled these consumer industries to flourish. By the time Roger Moore assumed the mantle of James Bond in 1973, the Hollywood film industry had entered the era of the New Hollywood blockbuster—a period defined by "its economic and institutional structure, its mode of production, and its system of narrative conventions" (Schatz 1993, p. 9). These films were considered examples of "high concept filmmaking", whereby narratives and characters are deliberately simplified to maximise merchandising opportunities, whilst establishing strong links between the film track and the music score (Maltby 1998, p. 38). Segments of the film could then be later used in music videos and even in advertisements promoting other commercial products. "High concept" filmmaking is also able to

generate and maintain considerable public interest and awareness of a film "through a comprehensive marketing approach including print, trailers, [and] television commercials" (Wyatt 1994, p. 113).

According to Schatz (1993, pp. 9-10), this system of filmmaking primarily produced

> high-cost, high-tech, high-stakes blockbusters, those multi-purpose entertainment machines that breed music videos and soundtrack albums, TV series and videocassettes, videogames and theme park rides, novelisations and comic books.

At the same time, big budget special-effects laden science fiction films such as Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) began to be amalgamated with high concept strategies in the production of *Star Wars* (1977). The phenomenal success of the *Star Wars* films and the subsequent billion dollar merchandising market it generated has been credited with "sparking" a shift in the film industry in which "the marketing men began to take over Hollywood and movies became events with associated merchandise" (*Australian* 6 May 2002, p. 32). As previously stated, merchandising has been an important component of the James Bond films from relatively early in the series. Yet the success of the *Star Wars* films took the merchandising industry to another level. Producers will now alter and adapt scripts and characters specifically to increase the number of toys and associated merchandise able to be spawned by a film's release (Hozic 2000). As a result, science fiction films became a legitimate, and highly successful, vehicle for high concept marketing. It was in this new environment that the James Bond films—a formulaic series already beginning to seem outdated—were trying to compete. This emphasis on science fiction storylines and high concept marketing had a considerable effect on the way the James Bond films were produced from this point on,

with a greater emphasis placed on big budget special-effects and the use of futuristic technology. This resulted in a considerable increase in the films' production budgets and, as a consequence, the level of product placement in the series has also risen—a topic that will be shortly discussed.

After the release of *Moonraker*, there was a deliberate attempt by the filmmakers to reduce the emphasis on technological gadgetry in the films. They felt that *Moonraker* had ventured too far from the standard "Bond Formula", with too much reliance on the "fantastic" (Chapman 1999, p. 200). In the next film, *For Your Eyes Only*, the focus returned to Cold War tensions that had once again escalated. These hostilities were reignited in 1979 when Soviet Russia invaded Afghanistan. The Soviets had become concerned when the Afghan government began to pull away from Soviet control. Unwilling to lose such a pivotal position in the Middle East, yet underestimating the level of resistance they would face, the Red Army "committed nearly 100,000 troops to a long, costly struggle with Muslim guerrillas" (LaFeber 1997, pp. 297-298). These Cold War tensions were then compounded by the American government's decision to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics. As a result, the Cold War "assumed a greater narrative significance in the Bond films of the early 1980s than at any other moment in the series' history" (Chapman 1999, p. 203). In fact, *For Your Eyes Only* was the first Bond film to feature a villain who was directly working for the Soviet Government. In terms of narrative structure, the film is reminiscent of *From Russia, With Love*, "in that it is a straight espionage thriller set entirely in Europe in which the Cold War provides the political background to the plot" (Chapman 1999, p. 204).

The conflict in Afghanistan was also prominently featured in *The Living Daylights* (1987) with Bond even joining the Mujaheddin, the local resistance, to launch an attack against a Soviet airbase. However, in 1989, a new Soviet government led by President Gorbachev, ordered the immediate pull-out of all Russian troops in Afghanistan. In 1990, the Cold War came to an end. As previously discussed the film *GoldenEye* captured this period of transition by exploring left-over hostilities between the two countries (personified by Bond's struggle with double agent 006), whilst suggesting a future of collaboration, symbolised by Bond's partnership with Russian Natalya Fyodorovna Semyonova in destroying the GoldenEye satellite.

The topics explored in the later Bond films have varied, yet the series has maintained a focus on "global" threats. The threat posed by transnational corporations and the dangers of monopolising information, as portrayed in *Tomorrow Never Dies*, will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. In *The World Is Not Enough*, the filmmakers examined issues related to the global oil crisis while the most recently released film, *Casino Royale*, focused on the financing of global terrorism. More importantly however, has been the way these recent films have managed to successfully rework the structure of the series, "updating the technology and keeping apace of rival action series through their spectacular stunts and set pieces, while at the same time maintaining the distinctive generic identity of the Bond formula" (Chapman 1999, p. 248). As a result, the production budgets for the films have increased exponentially, necessitating a greater reliance on such external sources of revenue as product placement to help recoup costs

and provide the films with free advertising. The character's gradual reliance on technological gadgetry in the series also offered commercial investors a unique opportunity to increase the presence of their products in the film narratives, as will be explored in the following section.

Gadgets and Product Placement

The more gadgets Bond used, the more opportunities this created for businesses to put forth their own products for the filmmakers' consideration. It also subconsciously encouraged audiences to associate these brands with technological innovation. As director John Glen stated in the commentary for *Octopussy*: "If there was something new coming out, it had to be in a Bond movie". This section will examine how this development resulted in a significant increase in the number of verbal/hand placements featured in the series.

Despite the fact that Q does not make an appearance in *Live And Let Die*, there is no shortage of technological gadgetry to mark Roger Moore's entrance to the series. For the first time, M and Miss Moneypenny come to Bond's apartment to brief him on his latest mission. M also gives Bond his new watch, a modified Rolex. This is the first time a gadgetised product is relied upon to such an extent in the storyline. The introduction to the Rolex is accompanied by three separate camera close-ups as Bond demonstrates its magnetic capabilities. Later in the film, Bond attempts to use this feature to attract a boat to him when he is trapped on a small island in crocodile-infested waters, but unfortunately the boat is tied up. The watch's magnetic field however, does save Bond's

life when he uses it to attract an airgun pellet to his hand after he has been tied up by the villain, which he later uses to kill him. The watch then turns into a buzz saw, cutting through Bond's ropes. In total, there were nine camera close-ups of the Rolex, demonstrating a trend in the series whereby gadgetised products become increasingly essential to the film's plot. While verbal/hand placements remained relatively low at 37%, of these placements 90% were a direct result of the "gadgetisation" of Bond's Rolex watch, showcasing the prominent role products could potentially play in the script.

Figure 17: The gadgetised Rolex watch featured in *Live And Let Die*

Interestingly in the next film—*The Man With The Golden Gun* (1974)—the villain utilises gadgets to a greater degree than Bond. Even though Q makes a return to the series in this film, his only role is to provide Bond with information rather than outfitting him with gadgets and weapons. It should be noted that this is the first time that we see gadgets being employed in the background of Q's workshop—in this case an exploding camera that provides a precursor for later films in which the background of Q's workshop is filled with gadget "gags". The only other form of gadgetry/technology associated with MI6 is a military base concealed inside an old shipwreck off the coast of Hong Kong from which England can monitor Chinese movements. In comparison, the assassin Scaramanga's legendary gun is gadgetised and is assembled from a cigarette case, lighter,

pen and a cuff link. His car was also modified so it could convert to a jet, enabling Scaramanga to escape Bond's pursuit. The film did comparatively less well at the box-office, with international revenue once again dropping from the $US126,400,000 generated by *Live And Let Die* to $US97,600,000.

There was a greater emphasis on "ever more elaborate and visually exciting technological gadgetry" in the next film, *The Spy Who Loved Me* (Chapman 1999, p. 182). For the first time the storyline of a James Bond film draws direct comparisons between the intelligence agencies of both England and Soviet Russia. The film emphasises their similarities, rather than their differences, which enables them to combine forces to defeat a mutual external threat. One of these similarities is the level of reliance both agencies place on technological gadgetry. For example, the audience is introduced to the Russian female agent XXX, also known as Anya, when she is contacted by the Russian Ministry of Defence via a transmitter concealed inside a jewellery case. When the scene changes to Bond seducing a woman in the mountains, he is similarly contacted via a technological gadget. In this case his watch prints out a message informing him to immediately report to MI6, although it should be noted that in this particular instance that brand name of the watch is not revealed. As Bond sets out down the mountain, his lover uses a radio transmitter concealed inside her handbag to alert assassins who pursue him. Bond uses a gun concealed inside a ski-pole to kill one of his attackers before skiing off the side of the mountain and deploying a Union Jack parachute.

Later in the film both Bond and Anya are in pursuit of a microfilm in Egypt but must work together to defeat the henchman Jaws. Once in possession of the microfilm, Bond uses a modified cigarette case and lighter to secretly view the microfilm. Afterwards, Anya pulls out a cigarette and asks Bond to light it for her. When he leans in to comply, she blows a powder concealed inside the cigarette into his face rendering him immediately unconscious. Upon awakening, Bond discovers that Anya has taken the microfilm and disappeared. Bond makes his way through Cairo to a tomb inside of which is another high-tech MI6 field office where he finds Anya has already reported to her superior, Russian General Gogol.

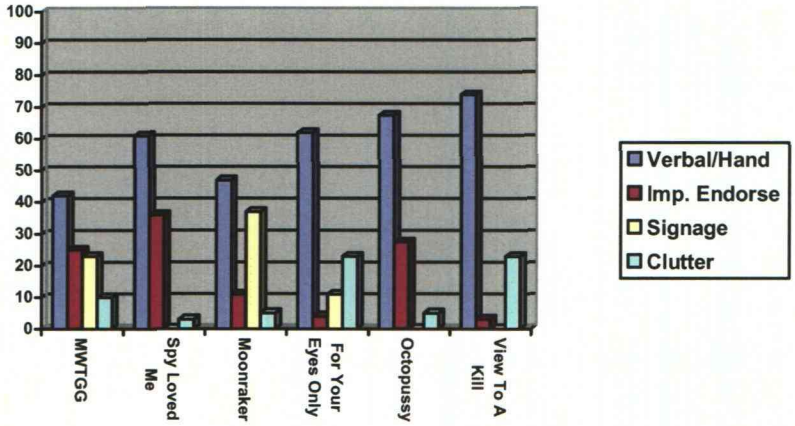
After being informed that their governments have agreed to combine forces against this mutual threat, Bond and Anya have no choice but to work together. They both enter Q's Cairo workshop where, for the first time in the series, the gadgetry "gags" have been given precedence over Q's inventions. In this scene, Q is working on a number of unusual projects—including a tea tray that flies across a table and decapitates a dummy, as well as an ejector seat concealed inside an ottoman cushion. Later in the film, Q travels to Sardinia to outfit Bond in the field, personally delivering his new modified car, the Lotus Esprit. Once again Bond's car plays a pivotal role in the story's progression. Aside from the usual features including a paint gun installed underneath the licence plates that squirts paint all over a pursuing car's windscreen (during which the Lotus brand name is shown in three separate camera close-ups), the car also converts into a submarine when it crashes into the ocean. As discussed previously, it is this particular adaptation that made the Lotus Esprit one of the most memorable gadgets featured in the series. Underwater,

Bond uses the car's modified weapons system to launch a rocket and ink activators to aid his escape. The car converts back as Bond drives it back onto land.

Figure 18:The Lotus Esprit submersible vehicle in *The Spy Who Loved Me*

The film proved to be one of the most popular films in the entire James Bond series with international box-office takings virtually doubling to $US185,400,000 (Imdb 2007). Yet, despite its success, *The Spy Who Loved Me* featured only nine different products in 28 scenes—a relatively low level of product placement in the series. This development may have resulted from the somewhat lacklustre audience response received by *The Man With The Golden Gun*. Of these 28 placements however, over 60% were verbal/hand based. As can be seen in the below table, from this point forward there is a gradual increase of verbal/hand commodities in the films' storylines.

Table 14: The gradual increase in verbal/hand placements in the James Bond films



It was originally planned that the next film to be produced after *The Spy Who Loved Me,* would be *For Your Eyes Only*. However, this was changed to *Moonraker* for two main reasons: first, as a direct result of *Star Wars* phenomenal success, science-fiction had become the latest popular film genre. In fact, the *Star Wars* films were a perfect example of the New Hollywood business structure governing the film industry at that time. As Squire (2004, p. 7) states, the *Star Wars* films "not only broke through the upper limits of grossing potential via repeat business, but also redefined worldwide income in book, music, and merchandising sales". This successful application of high concept strategies in turn created a wide range of new business opportunities, demonstrating the success of the new economic structure governing the film industry through vertical integration with a number of other profit-generating mediums. The second reason for the change in production schedule was that the film's topic proved more topical as "the American space shuttle programme was approaching a stage were the first flights would soon be taking place" (Chapman 1999, pp. 193-194).

The considerable emphasis that was placed on technology in *Moonraker* also dramatically increased the number of gadgets Bond relied upon—so much so that the filmmakers were "criticised for excessive use of gadgetry" (*New Straits Times* 2006). In the first ten minutes, Q outfits Bond with a wrist-gun that is activated by nerve impulses from the wrist muscles and shoots either armour-piercing or cyanide darts. Later, when Bond travels to California to investigate Hugo Drax, he uses an X-ray machine concealed inside a cigarette case to access Drax's safe. He then uses a camera hidden inside a

cigarette lighter to take photographs of the documents he finds inside. When Bond's mission takes him to Venice, his gondola has been specially modified to convert first into a speedboat and then into a hovercraft, enabling him to escape assassins trying to kill him in the canals. After finding one of Drax's buildings, Bond uses a modified nailfile to pick the gate's lock. Inside he finds a secret laboratory producing a toxin designed to kill only human beings.

Also in Venice, Bond sees one of Drax's employees, Dr Holly Goodhead, and follows her to her hotel where he discovers a number of gadgets placed around her room. As previously mentioned, these included a hypodermic needle concealed inside a pen, a daily diary that shoots darts, a flame-thrower inside a bottle of Christian Dior perfume, and a radio transmitter camouflaged as a purse. He thus determines that Dr Goodhead is actually an American CIA agent also investigating Hugo Drax's operations. In this way, gadgets have once again been used to distinguish between various international intelligence agencies, as previously done with the Russians in *The Spy Who Loved Me*.

This film also features a number of new gadgets inside Q's field workshop, including exploding bolas, camouflaged machine guns and laser guns concealed inside ordinary household objects. Once again these are used in a type of "gadget gag" montage—a sequence destined to be integrated into the formulaic pattern that governs the James Bond film series in general. Q also gives Bond a "gadgetised" Carson speedboat outfitted with mine ejectors and torpedo launchers. It also contains an emergency hang-glider that Bond uses when he drives the boat over the side of a large waterfall. He is eventually caught by

Drax's men and taken to the same room that Dr Goodhead is being held prisoner in. Using the explosive device concealed inside his modified Seiko digital watch, Bond blows the cover off the room's air vent enabling them both to escape. It should also be mentioned that this was the first time a digital watch had ever been used in a film (Hartlaub 2002).

Figure 19: A digital Seiko watch placement in *Moonraker*

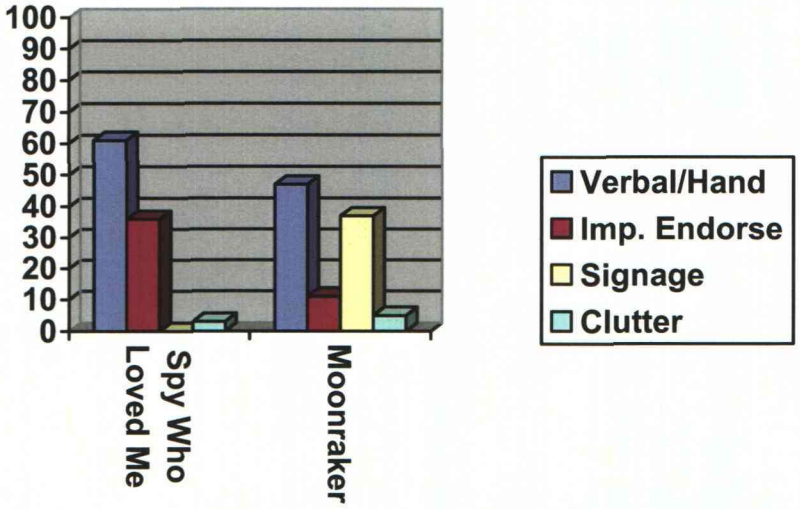
Yet the steady increase in technology in the James Bond series from this point forward was seen "by some as an unnecessary display of technology for its own sake rather than serving a logical narrative purpose" (Chapman 1999, p. 105). It also resulted in a significant increase in production costs, with the budget for *Moonraker* more than doubling from the $US14 million used to produce *The Spy Who Loved Me* to a record high of $US34 million. Chapman (1999, p. 197) maintains that

> with the cost of the film having been offset partly by deals with companies and manufacturers' anxious to have their products associated with James Bond, *Moonraker* [exhibited] what might be described as an aesthetic of product placement: Christian Dior perfume, Bollinger champagne and Canon cameras are featured prominently.

Overall, the total number of product placements featured in *Moonraker* decreased from the 28 placements in *The Spy Who Loved Me* to 19, while the actual number of products

shown in the film remained the same at nine. The number of verbal/hand placements also remained relatively low at 47%, yet over half of these products had been "gadgetised" and played an important part in the story's progression. It is also important to mention that the percentage of signage placements in *Moonraker* jumped from 0% in the preceding film to 37%, suggesting that producers were relying on more traditional product placements deals in an attempt to recoup some of the money lost from the film's exorbitant production costs. However, so blatant were these signage placements that even the filmmakers themselves, reflecting on the film in the director's commentary, stated that they had "probably overdid it a little".

Table 15: Comparison of product placement types in *The Spy Who Loved Me* and *Moonraker*



There seems to have been a conscious effort by the filmmakers to minimise the technological emphasis in the next film, *For Your Eyes Only*. However, the gadgets that now seem to be such an integral component of the James Bond scripts still make an appearance. These include a remote-driven helicopter that kills the heroine's parents at the beginning of the film, and a high-tech computer system concealed aboard a fishing trawler from which Navy personnel can covertly monitor Russian satellite activity. Miss

Moneypenny even seems to have embraced gadgetry with a special make-up mirror concealed inside a filing cabinet she uses when learning that Bond will shortly be reporting for duty. While Bond's car—another Lotus Esprit—has been modified, it makes a relatively limited appearance in the film. When someone tries to break into it early in the film, it immediately self-destructs. Other vehicles to be modified include assassins' motorcycles which have been mounted with machine guns.

While verbal/hand placements in the film increased to 62%, only two of the 18 products featured in the storyline were modified into gadgets, suggesting a deliberate attempt by the filmmakers to distance product placement from the film's plot. Despite *Moonraker*'s success at the box-office with international revenue estimated at $US210,308,099 (Imdb 2007), the filmmakers began to express concern that such big productions were not in keeping with the original James Bond formula. As Chapman (1999, p. 200) discusses in relation to *For Your Eyes Only*:

> At the level of visual spectacle, while they maintained the exotic and colourful locations, they downplayed the massive sets of the two preceding films in favour of a slightly less fantastic look in which authentic locations took precedence over futuristic technology. 'It may be that by then we had over-worked the sophisticated hardware in our pictures', Broccoli admitted of *Moonraker*.

Harry Saltzman, co-producer of nine Bond films, had expressed great concern regarding "the heavy technological turn" the films had taken, particularly in the 1970s (McCarthy 1987, p. 80). After Saltzman and fellow co-producer Albert Broccoli parted company in 1975, the technological emphasis in the series increased with the production of *The Spy Who Loved Me* and *Moonraker*. As Saltzman lamented in 1987:

> They're making rehashes of the early Bonds with new gimmicks. They're silly to try and compete with Spielberg and Lucas. They can't. The pictures cost so much money, much over $US30,000,000. It's too much money, even in today's market. (in McCarthy 1987, p. 80)

With the next film in the series *Octopussy*, the emphasis on gadgetry seems to have taken a turn for the ridiculous. Although the gadgets pushed credibility in previous films, they now became laughable. As Chapman (1999, p. 152) states:

> Gimmicks and visual jokes [had become] more pronounced, but at the expense of narrative logic and characterisation. The Bond films of the 1970s became more outlandish: visual spectacle, fantastic technology, and increasingly bizarre narrative situations were the order of the day.

In the opening sequence of *Octopussy* for example, Bond escapes in a small jet that had been concealed inside a horse float, but the "gadget gags" become even more pronounced when Bond travels to India as part of his mission. Bond and his Indian counterpart escape from assassins in a modified rickshaw with a powerful jet-powered engine. Finally, they drive the rickshaw through a hole in a wall that had been covered by a Bollywood poster and another poster immediately comes down to cover their escape. Inside they find Q's Indian workshop featuring a number of these "gadget gags" including a snake-charmed rope. Here Q gives Bond a fountain pen that squirts a highly corrosive acid, while the lid contains an extremely sensitive listening device that can pick up the bug/homing device Q inserts inside a Faberge egg.

Bond is also given a Seiko television watch that he can use to track the homing device. This new form of technology was discussed in the director's commentary: "In America and Japan they were producing TV wristwatches at the time. Sort of a gimmick, you

could hardly see anything, but they did work…If there was something new coming out, it had to be in a Bond movie".

Figure 20: The Seiko television watch featured in *Octopussy*

It was often this association between new technology and new commodities that has led to some long-standing product placement associations in the series. Corporations have historically been at the forefront of scientific and technological research. According to Noble (1977, pp. 112-113),

> (t)he first research laboratory in American industry, the GE Laboratory, was formally established in 1900…GE and AT&T were the real pioneers in electrical research, and they have dominated industrial research in America ever since.

These corporations understood the commercial benefits associated with technological research and advancement. As well as producing products for domestic consumption, a number even had government and defence contracts. For example, during the Second World War, a representative of General Electric was "under contract to US Army Ordnance" and played a pivotal role in interviewing German scientists regarding rocket technology (Cadbury 2005, p. 50).

> With scientific investigations and discovery as the engine of competitive innovation, capitalism becomes revolutionary at the core and competitors are compelled routinely to anticipate the future in order to survive. (Noble 1977, p. 3)

Filmmakers sought to directly associate the James Bond character with corporations known for their technological modernity and innovation. Former Pinewood Studios advertising/publicity executive Derek Coyote commented on one such arrangement between Philips and the James Bond series that commenced in 1981 with *For Your Eyes Only* (1987, p. 83):

> We are always looking for something new, and equally we like the comfort of people we can trust. For instance, we have had a relationship with Philips which started modestly… and now involves regular commitment…There is none bigger in consumer electronics, high-tech, defence mechanisms and so on. It offers its know-how and expertise to us and we are providing the Bond name to match one household name with another in promotional activities worldwide.

Verbal/hand placements increased in this film from 67.5% to 74%, but only one of these products had been "gadgetised"—a Sharper Image credit card that converted into a skeleton key Bond could use to open locks. This particular placement was also discussed in the film's commentary:

> Director: Product placement is a way for a film to gain exposure in return for using a product or showing a brand in the movie. An example of this in *A View To A Kill* is James Bond's Sharper Image credit card, which unlocks windows.
> Producer: We do have product placements in the films, where we have a relationship with a company. It involves us having a joint publicity campaign at the time of the opening. I think, with Sharper Image, Roger [Moore] was on the cover of their catalogue and they had some devices that we used.

Also featured in the film is a boat disguised as a glacier that Bond uses in the opening sequences to escape, a device concealed as an electric razor that can detect listening bugs, X-ray sunglasses, a special device that can make imprints of trace marks left on paper, and a miniature camera concealed inside Bond's signature ring. Q only makes two short appearances in the film, both in relation to a "snooper" robot he developed that can be

used to conduct surveillance. Once again, the villain also utilises technological gadgets to his advantage. First, he has a state-of-the-art laboratory hidden beneath a horse stable where he is experimenting with steroid micro-chips that are implanted into racing horses and can be activated via remote control to give the horse extra strength and speed during a race. He also tries to kill Bond by making him ride through a booby-trapped steeplechase on a horse injected with steroids.

In addition, there were a number of products that, while not "gadgetised", played important roles in the film, including the Michelin tyres on Bond's car which he uses to breathe underwater. The product association with Philips also continued to develop with a report published in *Variety* (1987, p. 57) stating that *A View To A Kill* contained "more than 100 Philips products, including electric shavers, pocket memo recorders and audio and video articles". That said, there were only two verbal/hand placements for the company in which the Philips brand name was visible. The first was a Philips tape recorder Bond uses to play a pre-taped conversation in his bugged room while he and his companion discuss their plans outside, and the second being a Philips tape that Bond uses to record a pivotal conversation the villain is having.

By the time Roger Moore left the series, the emphasis on technology and gadgetry that had begun to weave itself into the earlier films had insinuated itself into the very formulaic patterning that governed the James Bond series as a whole. According to Schatz (1993, p. 29), "films with minimal character complexity or development and by-the-numbers plotting (especially male action pictures) are the most readily reformulated

and thus the most likely to be parlayed into a full-blown franchise". Yet, while a greater reliance on two-dimensional characters and shallow plot development may increase a film's merchandising and cross-promotional opportunities it is not, as previously stated, without detrimental consequences for "narrative logic and characterisation" (Chapman 1999, p. 152). This situation was reflected in continuing poor performances for the James Bond film series at the international box-office during the mid-1970s and early-1980s.

Regardless, many of these firmly established product associations continued throughout the series. During pre-production of *The Living Daylights* (1987), the coordinator of Philips consumer products commented that it was "likely that an even larger number of Philips products" would be shown in the film (*Variety* 1987, p. 57). In fact, Philips was the most prominent verbal/hand placement in the entire film and was used in numerous other scenes as well. However, as the Philips brand name was only visible or verbally referred to in four separate scenes, these were the only times they could be counted in the content analysis. Yet, after Q presented Bond with the Philips key finder that would play such a pivotal role in the storyline, any time it was used or seen on-screen the audience would have been aware of its brand name. Having been "gadgetised" by Q, the Philips key finder could be used to release a nerve gas, explode, or open up to 90% of locks with a universal skeleton key. The Philips car radio installed in Bond's car also functioned as a police scanner.

The Aston Martin also returned in *The Living Daylights*, having been modified by Q to include such gadgets and functions as laser beams that shoot out of the car's tyres to cut

the wheels off a pursing car, rocket launchers, outrigger skies that can replace the car's missing wheel, spikes which come out of the other tyres to allow for grip on ice, rocket propulsion and self-destruct capabilities. The combination of the Aston Martin and Philips product placements alone account for 20% of the 52% of verbal/hand placements featured in the film. Other gadgets to make an appearance in *The Living Daylights* included a specially designed compartment that is used to transport a person through a gas pipeline into another country, a gardener's rake that can be used as a metal detector and an explosive device concealed inside a milk bottle.

The storyline in the following film, *Licence To Kill,* had a significant impact on the number of technological gadgets featured in the plot. Following a brutal attack on CIA agent Felix Leiter, Bond goes rogue from MI6 to bring justice to his friend. In doing so, he is initially cut off from his usual system of support, including Q's gadgetry. It is only when Miss Moneypenny intervenes and sends Q to Bond's location that he is given a measure of his former gadgetry arsenal. These included an exploding alarm clock, plastic explosive concealed inside a tube of "Dentonite" toothpaste, a signature gun with an optical palm reader that can only be used by Bond and is camouflaged as a camera, and a Polaroid camera that shoots laser beams and takes x-ray photographs. The detonator for the plastic explosive is concealed inside a Lark cigarette packet, resulting in one verbal/hand placement and four additional implied endorsements involving extreme camera close-ups. This product placement arrangement was apparently the result of a $US350,000 payment between the makers of Lark cigarettes and the film's producers (Karrh 1998, p. 36).

This was also the first Bond film to feature brand name products in the opening titles, in this case Olympus and Kodak. Kodak later made another appearance in Q's briefcase where a roll of Kodak film can be seen underneath the other gadgets. Ironically, the lack of gadgets and technology to appear in the film could be a major reason why the film failed to resonate with audience. This may seem to contradict earlier statements regarding the negative impact the increased reliance on technological gadgetry has had on the success of the series. However, after seven films featuring Roger Moore's slapstick use of over-the-top gadgets, their presence seems to have become part of the Bond formula—at least for younger audience members who may not remember the structure of the earlier Sean Connery films. As Mark Nicholls, a Melbourne film lecturer, states (in Carbone 2002, p. 15):

> James Bond is fantasy and desire. We *want* a James Bond who has this stuff because it is part of our rather screwy notions of what is desirable and what comprises our consumerist fantasies. (emphasis added)

Also, *Licence To Kill* had a more serious "edge" than previous films in the series in that it dealt with weightier issues such as revenge and the meaning of friendship. However as Graham Rye, representative of the James Bond fan club, was quoted as saying: "People don't want to see realism. The success of the Bond films was based on fantasy. People want to see great stunts, brilliant sets and beautiful, accessible women" (*Warrnambool Standard* 30 April 1994, p. 6).

When the series returned in 1995 with *GoldenEye*, gadgets also returned to play an important role in the series. Those featured in *GoldenEye* include binoculars that can take

digital photographs that are automatically transmitted to MI6 for analysis. MI6 is then able to contact Bond directly through the Alpine sound system installed in his car. The film also includes a visit to Q's workshop where Bond is given an exploding pen and his new BMW car. Q also demonstrates a modified dinner tray which can x-ray documents to read their contents—revealing Bond's British Airways ticket inside an envelope. This film also marks the return of the "gadget gag" sequence that takes place in Q's workshop with a number of assistants being shot across the room or trapped inside exploding phone booths.

Figure 21: An exploding telephone booth in *GoldeneEye*

Also making a reappearance is the ever important gadgetised watch—in this case, an Omega watch has been customised with a laser beam and can also be used as a timer for explosives, resulting in two additional verbal/hand placements. Knowing Q's work, the film's villain—an ex-MI6 agent—takes Bond's watch after capturing him and compares the newer version with his own Omega watch which is still working perfectly after nine years.

The marketing budget for *GoldenEye* alone is reported to have been approximately $US23 million. Product placements were also believed to have contributed at least another $US50 million to the film's production at no extra cost to the studio. As Lieberman (2002, p. 43) stated, commercial investors

> used the Bond film as an advertising vehicle, showing 007 in their TV spots and in their four-colour magazine ads, building an enormous 'buzz' that created an aura of glamour, excitement, and world-class style. This mirrored the image presented in the film, and gained the broadest possible awareness at no extra expense.

Combined with the cost of production, it took the film's

> total budget to about $US100 million, or a ratio of one dollar of advertising to every three dollars of production...Nearly $US14 million disappeared in only four weeks of network and local television, with some small amount on cable for 30-second TV spots. Another $US8.5 million was spent during the same time period for newspaper advertising. (Lieberman 2002, p. 43)

The film itself was well received by audiences with international box-office takings more than doubling from the $US152,200,000 generated by its predecessor to $US351,500,000 (Imdb 2007). Even without the additional revenue produced by "license fees for home video, network TV rights, cable and premium cable airing, let alone merchandising and licensing arrangements" (Lieberman 2002, p. 43), the film's distributor made a substantial profit.

In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, the presence of technological gadgetry in the storyline is even more pronounced. The film commences with Bond using a bomb concealed inside a cigarette lighter to create a distraction at a terrorist camp in order to steal a jet armed with nuclear missiles. In the next action sequence, the villain uses an underwater torpedo mounted with a rotating sea drill that can be operated via remote control to attack a

British Navy ship. The BMW reappears in the film with a much more prominent placement than it received in *GoldenEye*. Some of its many modifications include an electric defensive system, bullet-proofing, smoke pumps, the ability to release spikes to puncture pursuing cars' tyres, a circular saw concealed underneath the BMW logo, the ability to automatically re-inflate its own punctured tyres and rocket launchers.

Q also gives Bond a Sony Ericsson mobile phone that has been similarly "gadgetised" to include a fingerprint scanner, a voltage defence system, a remote control operation system for his car and an electronic skeleton key. It became the most prominent placement in the entire film with 15 separate close-ups in which the Sony Ericsson brand name was visible. This placement also marked the beginning of a new long-term product association between the James Bond franchise and Sony Ericsson, with the phone reappearing in *Die Another Day* and *Casino Royale* (2006). Gadgetry is once again used in *Tomorrow Never Dies* to provide a common denominator linking together different international intelligence agencies, as was done with the Russian Secret Service (*The Spy Who Loved Me*), and the American CIA (*Moonraker*). Bond's female companion is a Chinese secret service agent who makes use of a number of gadgets during the film and even has access to a Q-equivalent workshop. In another international stereotype-based "gadget gag" sequence, Bond is surprised by a fire-breathing dragon statue, an oriental fan that shoots darts and a rickshaw launcher. The warehouse also contains a secret compartment that opens to reveal an impressive arsenal of weaponry and other supplies. At this point Bond replaces his missing watch with another Omega that has been modified and contains a remote-control chip that he uses later in the film. In total,

"gadgetised" products account for 50% of the total product placements in the film, and 64% of the verbal/hand placements.

The "gadgetry gags" continue in *The World Is Not Enough* when Bond visits Q at his workshop at the Scottish MI6 headquarters and sees a set of bagpipes being used as a flame thrower and a machine gun. At this time Bond is introduced to Q's new assistant, played by John Cleese, who details the specifications of his new BMW: "The very latest in interception measures, titanium armour, a multi-tasking heads-up display and six beverage cup holders!" Bond is also given a snow jacket that can inflate into a large, insulated ball in the event of an avalanche. Bond's Omega watch provides a reliable light source as well as having a grappling gun and wire installed inside. His VISA credit card contains a skeleton key, reminiscent of the Sharper Image credit card placement in *A View To A Kill*. Other gadgets include a bomb detonator camouflaged as a lapel pin, a gun concealed inside a walking cane, and a Q-designed prototype speedboat that can submerge itself, has jet-fired propulsion and torpedo launchers.

Figure 22: A gadgetised VISA credit card placed in *The World Is Not Enough*

It should be noted however, that in this film there was a distinct lack of gadgetry involved in relation to the Sony Ericsson mobile phone placement. As previously mentioned, the Sony Ericsson mobile phone was the most "gadgetised", as well as the most prominent, placement in *Tomorrow Never Dies*. However, following the extensive negative publicity the film received for "over-commercialism"—a topic to be explored in more detail in the next chapter—there was a deliberate attempt on the filmmakers' behalf to minimise the presence of commodities in *The World Is Not Enough*. Interestingly, in *Die Another Day*, it was the mobile phone's own technology that was incorporated into the film, with no further modification required by Q. This in itself says something about the nature of modern technology and the vast array of applications now routinely included in their design—a topic that will soon be again touched upon in relation to the most recently released Bond film, *Casino Royale*. In *Die Another Day*, the phone's camera is used by the villain's henchman to take a digital photograph of Bond's face before transmitting the image for verification, while "Bond girl" Jinx uses her Sony Ericsson mobile phone as a timer to detonate an explosive.

A number of products continue to play important roles in the film's storyline, including Bond's Omega watch that contained a bomb detonator pin as well as acting as the detonator itself; and a vanishing Aston Martin Vanquish complete with motion tracking machine guns, rocket launchers, an ejector seat, and spikes in its wheels for traction. The car was also able to be driven by remote control and had a tracking system that used thermal imagery to detect life forms inside buildings. The henchman's Jaguar was similarly equipped with machine guns, rocket launchers, a ramming spike and another

thermal imagery system. Other non-product based gadgets to be incorporated into the film included a hunting knife with a small satellite dish concealed inside its handle, a virtual reality headset used by Q to test Bond's reflexes, and a ring that emitted a high-frequency sound to shatter glass. The villain's main weapon was a large satellite dish that magnified the sun's rays into a devastating laser beam that could be targeted anywhere on the Earth, destroying everything in its path.

The level of technological gadgetry featured in the films has undergone a number of dramatic changes—many of which have been explored in this chapter. However, one of the most significant changes to have occurred recently, is the way modern day products and technological gadgetry have amalgamated. Q and his workshop are not even featured in *Casino Royale* and with all the advances being make in the private sector, his services may no longer even be required in the series. The Sony Ericsson mobile phone returns once again to play a pivotal role in the storyline. First, Bond is able to connect his phone to a special computer system that utilises a GPS program to locate the origin of a text message received by a terrorist. Second, a henchman uses his Sony Ericsson mobile phone to arm a bomb concealed inside a key ring in an attempt to destroy a prototype airline carrier. Bond's phone even plays a crucial part in saving his life—after being poisoned, he is able to connect a diagnostic machine to his phone which then transmits his blood work to MI6 medical staff for analysis. Even without Q-style modifications, the product still received at least 11 separate verbal/hand placements in the film. Similarly, Bond's Aston Martin is remarkably "gadget free" with just two glove compartments having been added—one to store his gun, while the other contains the emergency

defibrillator that "Bond girl" Vesper uses when Bond's heart stops following his poisoning. In this way, the technological gadgetry in the series has become increasingly intertwined with commercial products, no longer necessitating special modifications.

As this section has demonstrated, new technological gadgetry and product associations have often been showcased in the Bond films. Interestingly however, the films themselves have also had an impact on technological advancements with many of "the outlandish devices Bond has used to outwit villains…fast becoming everyday objects" (*Australian* 12 October 1999, p. 13). In 1999 alone, marketing plans were announced for three "new" devices that could have been invented by Q himself. These included:

- A weapon known as a "smart" gun that can only be activated and shot by its owner—a similar concept to that seen in *Licence To Kill*;
- A wristwatch capable of receiving live television images transmitted via helicopter and reminiscent of the tracker television wristwatch employed by Bond in *Octopussy*; and
- In *A View To A Kill*, Q invented a domestic robot capable of vacuuming and performing other basic household chores whilst spying on its owner. In 1999, a similar robot was developed (sans spying capabilities) and is now readily available for purchase.

In conclusion, it was the rise of technology and gadgetry in the series that increased opportunities for commercial investors to associate their products with the James Bond character. This has lead to a steady increase in the number of verbal/hand placements featured in the films. Audiences seem generally willing to accept—even expect—these

product inclusions, particularly as many have become fundamental components of the character, and are often essential to the progression of a film's storyline. Yet, it seems that the patience of even the most loyal Bond fan can be tested with the more recent films in the series having received a barrage of criticism regarding the over-commercial nature of the films. As Williams (1999, p. 31) states: "There are still those…who believe his [Bond's] final undoing may be at the hands of the money marketers. He started as the world's sexiest sophisticate, whether he'll soon be seen as little more than the globe's greatest salesman may be [his] final chapter". It is this concept, as well as an examination of the impact globalisation has had on product placement in the series, that will be the focus of the next, and final, chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

The Global Brand of Bond

In this chapter, I will examine the impact globalisation and the growth of transnational media has had on product placement, specifically in the James Bond film series. By analysing the film *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997) in relation to textual transparency, I will demonstrate the manner in which brands can be integrated into a film's narrative, resulting in an increase in verbal/hand product placements. I will also explore the negative implications that can arise when this process becomes too blatant, resulting in claims of "over-commercialism" and the resulting impact this can have—not only on the character of James Bond, but on the film series as a whole.

In many ways Bond is defined by his products. He does not use just any mobile phone to initiate his plans, he uses a Sony Ericsson model. He does not drink just any sort of champagne, it must be Bollinger. While the content analysis conducted has demonstrated that the number and types of products placed in the series has been subject to fluctuation, overall the level of product placement has steadily risen. A number of these products have now become intrinsically connected to the film narrative. No longer mere props many of these brands have almost become stars in themselves. This development is symptomatic of a changing environment that places a greater emphasis on commercialism. In many ways, films, commodities and even characters have become globally recognised brands. This has enabled a higher number of products to be placed in a greater number of films then ever before, and exported to a rapidly increasing number of audiences around the world.

Global Brands

Many product placement arrangements can be considered partnerships, in which two international brands—the character and the commodity—effectively join forces. As Keith Snelgrove, EON Productions' Vice President of global business strategy, stated: "EON's goal is to find products that match our brand characteristics…cutting-edge, stylish, innovative and unexpected" (Pfeiffer 2002, p. 13). At the same time, marketers hope that the association of their product with the James Bond films will not only help distinguish their brands from their competitors', but also increase their exposure to international audiences and potential consumers. Brand consultant Steve King summarised the situation: "One of the unique things about cinema is its global appeal which means advertisers get the reach they cannot obtain elsewhere" (in *BBC News* 18 November 2002).

It could be argued that the James Bond films constitute a global commodity. The series itself has always been an international collaborative effort with Hollywood film industries taking advantage of the film producer rebate offered by the British Eady Levy. This was "a fund raised from sales of cinema tickets which was divided between producers of British-made films on the basis of their box-office takings" (Chapman 1999, p. 45). Combined with profitable exchange rates, this resulted in "cheaper filmmaking facilities" (Bennett & Woollacott 1987, p. 178)—all of which were extremely favourable to American investors. While the film was predominantly made with a British crew, both producers were American citizens—albeit living in England at the time—and the studio they organised distribution through was the American group, United Artists.

The impact of globalisation was reflected in the content analysis conducted on the James Bond film series, when two major "discrepancies" were observed in the results. The overall number of product placements in *From Russia, With Love* (1963) and *You Only Live Twice* (1967) were both well below average. The most logical explanation I can surmise for these results is the impact a foreign location had, at that time, on the filmmakers' ability to place products as realistically as possible in the background of shot. Foreign locations have played as an important a role in the James Bond films as they did in the novels—adding a heightened element of mystery and exoticism to the story. "As an idyllic paradise, these locations are the settings for sports, elaborate meals, and sexual adventure" (Denning 1992, p. 221), hence their appeal to the James Bond franchise.

Defined as the "pleasure periphery", the majority of the stories are based in

> the tourist belt surrounding the industrialised world including the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Indonesia. Much of this world is dependent upon the neo-colonialism of the tourist industry; it stands, for Bond, as an idyllic paradise, as a more authentic culture, and as a source of threat and upheaval. (Denning 1992, p. 221)

Yet the films based in these exotic, foreign locations had a significantly lower proportion of product placements than those films based in Western or industrialised countries. These placements were then, in some way, separated from the outside environment. For example, *Dr No* (1962) was primarily set in Jamaica—a place of special significance to the character's creator, Ian Fleming. Fleming travelled to his holiday home here every year to work on a new James Bond novel. It seems only fitting therefore that the first

story to be filmed by the producers was situated in the very place where the character of James Bond was first conceived.

Of the 11 products featured in 25 separate scenes throughout the film, only three of these placements occurred in London. Pan American Airways was used to convey Bond to Jamaica where an additional seven products were featured. However, it is important to note that all of these placements were contained and controlled. The inclusion of Smirnoff vodka, Savile Row, Smith & Wesson and Dom Perignon into the script, were the result of verbal/hand placements that all occurred indoors. The largest product placement of Red Stripes beer, comprising ten separate clutter shots, took place within a bar stockroom. In other words, while the film may have been primarily situated in Jamaica, there were no random product placements featured outside in the background of shot. As a result, the impact of globalisation and transnational advertising never really factored into the film's product placements.

It is important to clarify the difference between the globalisation of a product and transnational advertising of a product. Where the latter refers to the adaptation of commercial approaches to take into consideration locality and cultural differences, globalisation is based around the premise that there is "a competitive advantage in some sectors in marketing the same product in the same way around the world" (Myers 1999, p. 58). It is also more persuasive than traditional advertising, and results in

> the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before. (Friedman 2000, p. 9)

The actual term "globalisation" is believed to have first been coined in 1983 by business academic, Theodore Levitt. Initially just a theory, the concept was adopted and put into practice by advertising firm Saatchi & Saatchi as a uniform business strategy (Myers 1999). Many businesses had already established multinational offices in various countries throughout the world by this point. In the 1940s and 1950s, a new phase in global branding was initiated when "McCann-Erickson and J. Walter Thompson led American [advertising] agencies into the international arena" by starting "foreign branches from scratch" (Russell & Lane 1990, p. 618). In fact, Coca-Cola—the epitome of the global brand—was being sold in over 45 countries by the time the Second World War broke out (Drawbaugh 2001).

The difference between globalisation and transnational media can most clearly be seen in *From Russia, With Love*. The filmmakers wanted to take advantage of Istanbul's historical locations and famous buildings at a time when English billboards and advertisements would have looked decidedly out of place. There were a few Western companies that had ventured into the Middle East market at this time. Ever since the 1830s, Turkey has had to face numerous financial, political and social obstacles as a direct result of impinging modernisation (Kose 2007). The increased presence of Western commercialism has been one such development. Nestle, for example, has had a commercial presence in Istanbul since the early 1870s. It "was the first multinational company active there and still does business in Turkey today" (Kose 2007, p. 75).

However, the vast majority of these businesses utilised Arabic in their advertisements, thus limiting product placement opportunities for *From Russia, With Love*.

It is perhaps for this reason why only six products were included in six separate scenes in the film. Pan American Airways was once again used to transport Bond to Turkey where the only "outdoors" placement used was a Rolls Royce. The last three placements in the film were incorporated into a sequence aboard the transcontinental train, the Orient Express, again separating the products from the outside environment. Alternatively, this decline in placements may simply have been a result of the filmmakers having difficulty in finding advertisers willing to place their products in a film based in such a foreign location.

There were no such difficulties posed by the locations chosen for the next film in the series, *Goldfinger* (1964). With the storyline primarily based in Miami, London, Geneva and Baltimore, the producers were able to place as many products as they wished within a scene without issues of appropriateness to foreign environments ever arising. This would help explain the film's significant jump in product placement numbers to 48. One such example of this development occurred when Bond first approached the film's antagonist, Audric Goldfinger, on an English golf course. This offered the filmmakers an excellent opportunity for an extensive placement for the Slazenger brand, comprising of eight verbal/hand placements, one signage and three clutter placements. Later in the film Bond is captured by Goldfinger and flown to Baltimore, enabling a number of scenes featuring advertisements for American brands to be incorporated into the background of shot.

While Felix Leiter waits for contact from Bond for example, he parks in front of a Kentucky Fried Chicken store, implying his endorsement of the fast food franchise in two separate scenes. Ford and Sunoco signs were also visible during these street scenes, demonstrating that location does have a considerable impact on product placement opportunities.

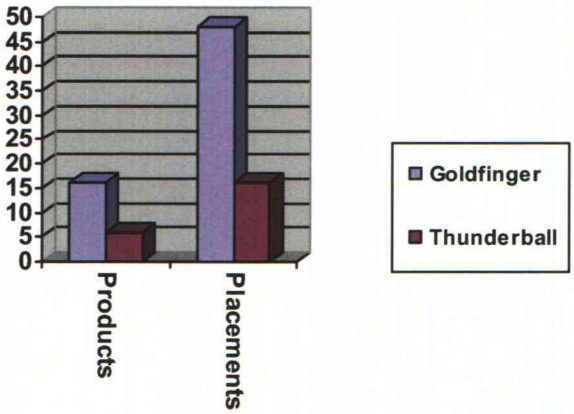
Figure 23: An implied endorsement for Kentucky Fried Chicken in *Goldfinger*

The fact that these brands were an actual part of the outside filmed environment is symptomatic of a consumer society in which people have accepted the inclusion of advertising into their day-to-day lives, enabling a greater number of brand names and images to be incorporated into public areas "that were formerly 'commercial-free'" (Karrh 1998, p. 34). As discussed in the previous chapter, consumerism was a major component of the American lifestyle in the 1960s and 1970s (Carlson & Kangun 1988), seen to be "tied in with the geopolitics of the Cold War but…also constitutive of other globalising trends" (Hilton 2007, p. 66).

In the next film, *Thunderball* (1965), a significant proportion of the story is based on the resort island of Nassau in the Bahamas. As a member of the Commonwealth, Nassau—

and locations like it—have always been attractive to British citizens lured by the façade of foreign exoticism whilst still secure in the knowledge that they are under the protection of the British Empire. It was on these shores that Bond seduced a bevy of beautiful women whilst trying to stop Largo, SPECTRE's Number Two agent, from holding the world ransom with the threat of nuclear attack. In this sense, Bond was still protecting Britain, albeit on far-flung shores, from foreign attack. Nevertheless, the overall number of product placements featured in the film dropped to 16, from the 48 previously shown in *Goldfinger*. This suggests that the location was still restricting some commercial arrangements, despite the placement of signs for Marlboro cigarettes and The Perfume Shop in the background of an island Mardi Gras scene.

Table 16: Comparison of product placements in *Goldfinger* and *Thunderball*



By this time, the global popularity of the James Bond films had reached a point that when Sean Connery travelled to Japan "he was mobbed by fans [while] the news that the new Bond film was to be set in Japan operated to increase rapidly Bond's already considerable popularity in Japan" (Bennett & Woollacott 1987, p. 210). In fact, so popular were the films in Japan that Sean Connery was frequently followed into bathrooms by over-eager paparazzi hoping for a candid photograph of "Bond's most important secret weapon"

(Sciacca 1987, p. 78). Soon after, a harassed Connery announced that the next James Bond film, *You Only Live Twice*, would be his last (despite a short-lived return to the role in *Diamonds Are Forever* [1971]). The fact that the film was predominantly shot on location in Japan—a country, like Turkey in *From Russia, With Love,* in which English is not the native language—resulted in a significant decrease in product placements. Only five products were incorporated into five separate scenes. Two of these placements were Japanese brands—namely electronics conglomerate Toshiba and car manufacturer Mitsubishi. Their inclusion in an internationally distributed Western film indicates that even at this time, these brands had attained some level of global recognition.

Western acceptance of Japanese brands resulted from Post-World War Two industrial changes, and the mass production of goods.

> Germany and Japan made the shift more quickly and fully than other countries, for their industry had been so thoroughly damaged during the war that they were forced to build it anew and did so deploying the latest technology, which was typically American, and organising production along the lines pioneered by the United States. (Cronin 1996, p. 243)

Yet neither of these placements played a prominent role in the story's development, limited to one sign each in the background of shot. At this stage it may be helpful to examine the film in relation to the original novel. While *You Only Live Twice* was the fifth film in the series, it was the 12th James Bond book to be written by Ian Fleming. Despite being a supposedly avid traveller, the literary Bond only ventured into a small number of countries in his journeys. Fleming finally came to the realisation that "France and Jamaica were becoming all too familiar" in his stories (Chancellor 2005, p. 171). In 1959, five years before *You Only Live Twice* was published, Fleming embarked on a five-

week tour of some of the most exciting and vibrant cities around the world. As a consequence, Bond began to journey further afield then his previous missions had allowed. It was Fleming's fascination with his experiences in the East during this trip that finally culminated in Bond's journey to Japan in *You Only Live Twice*.

While this trip occurred too late in Fleming's career to have had a significant impact on the James Bond novels, a number of his experiences and observations seem to have resonated in the films. For example, rather than basing the film *The Man With The Golden Gun* (1974) in Jamaica as it was in the novel, the producers instead chose to film on location in Macau and Hong Kong. Fleming had visited these two cities during his world trip and found them to be equally stimulating and exciting (Chancellor 2005). It was also with this film that the first real indication of globalisation became apparent. Despite being based in Macau, Hong Kong and Thailand, the film featured 19 products placed in 48 separate scenes. This included a substantial placement for the green Rolls Royces owned by the Peninsula Hotel in Hong Kong—where the cast and crew stayed during filming. The hotel was famous for its signature green Rolls Royces that were used to transport their guests around Hong Kong. In fact, all green Rolls Royces in Hong Kong at that time were owned by the Peninsula Hotel—a detail specifically incorporated into the film's script.

Later in the film, Bond waits opposite the entrance to a local strip club called "Bottom's Up"—another real establishment to have benefited significantly from its inclusion in a

James Bond film. As he waits, signs for Minolta and Nikon are visible behind him, in addition to a window display for Sony televisions.

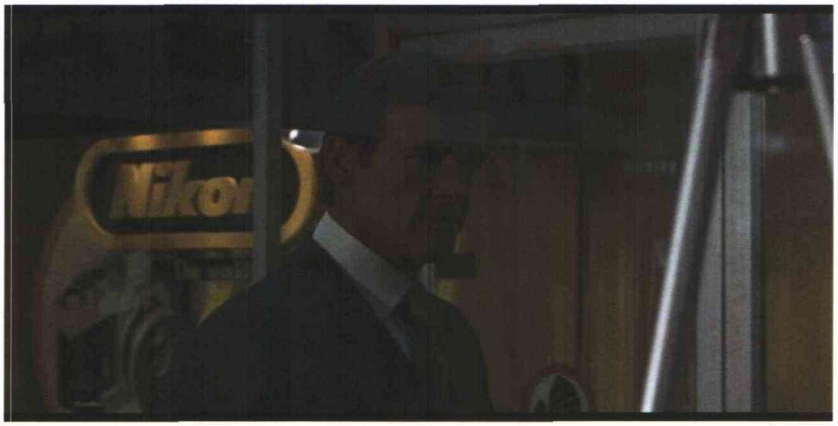


Figure 24: A signage placement for Nikon cameras in *The Man With The Golden Gun*

Such signage placements became even more apparent when Bond travelled to Thailand and arranged to meet the villain's mistress (who has agreed to help him) at a local kick-boxing match. Despite being based at a local event, English advertisements for Blendax and Pepsi are visible. During a car chase through the streets of Bangkok, two more Pepsi signs in addition to the three at the kick-boxing match are identified. Within seven years of the release of *You Only Live Twice*, it had become feasible for the filmmakers to incorporate English advertisements into non-English speaking localities.

Consider the following example of extensive globalised product placement in the eleventh film in the James Bond series, *Moonraker* (1979). When Bond and his female companion Dr Holly Goodhead are captured in the South American city of Rio, they are driven past a number of English billboards featuring such international brands as British Airways and Marlboro cigarettes. In the end, these extremely obvious forms of signage placement accounted for 37% of the total number of product placements to appear in the

film. In many cases though, it had now become virtually impossible to distinguish between the "clutter" placements deliberately placed in the background of shot, and incidental placements that were the result of the extensive proliferation of brands throughout the world.

By the time *Octopussy* was released in 1983, the amalgamation of products and gadgetry—as explored in the previous chapter—enabled commodities to be placed with greater ease in films based in exotic, foreign locations. For example, the most extensive product placement in *Octopussy* was the Seiko watch and while the film was set in India, the vast majority of these placements actually took place in Q's workshop. Any additional placements of the brand in India were a direct result of this "gadgetisation", enabling the watch to be filmed in extreme close-up without issues of appropriateness to location surfacing. This was also the case with the Philips key finder placement in *The Living Daylights* (1987), which enabled the product to be incorporated seamlessly into the storyline despite sections of the film being based in such foreign locations as Tangier and Afghanistan. As the emphasis on "gadgetised" product placements increased as the series progressed, it is not surprising that by the time *Tomorrow Never Dies* was released in 1997, 46 placements were able to be included in the script—despite large sections of the film supposedly set in Vietnam.

Perhaps there was another reason businesses placed their products in the James Bond films, beyond the perceived prestige garnered from associating their brand with one of the most popular and successful franchises in film history. As Myers (1999) suggests, for

a globalised approach to advertising to be truly successful, a form of globalised media needs to be in place to transmit these commercial messages around the world in a uniform and controlled manner. Product placements in film are ideally suited to this purpose. Hollywood films in particular offer a unique opportunity for businesses to convey their brands to a global audience. As Olson (1999, p. 30) states, "(w)orldwide, audiences are 100 times more likely to see a Hollywood film than see a European film". Olson (2000) also claims that, like many brands, the Hollywood aesthetic has gone global with a number of filmmakers duplicating the "Hollywood" format on foreign shores. The term "'(g)oing Hollywood' now…means adopting a certain way of engaging audiences with media texts, a way that allows vastly different kinds of audiences to make sense of the same media texts" (Olson 2000, p. 4). This particular characteristic of this style of filmmaking shares a common foundation with globalised branding—the minimisation of complexity to maximise its ability to be consumed by audiences/consumers worldwide.

In other words, by reducing character complexity, the text is able to be adapted to appeal to different demographics—a process Olson has termed "textual transparency". The key components of this transparency are based around "the narratological devices of circular storytelling, archetypal characters, open-ended narratives, audience inclusion strategies, negentrophy, high production values, and omnipresence" (Olson 2000, p. 15). By examining each of these characteristics individually in relation to the James Bond film *Tomorrow Never Dies*, the following section will demonstrate how the series is a perfect example of the type of long-term success such movies can achieve through the implementation of textual transparency.

Textual Transparency and *Tomorrow Never Dies*

First, a circular story can be defined as one which concludes at the start of the story. In most cases, the James Bond films begin with a miniature action story before the film's opening sequence. In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, Bond is conducting surveillance on an illegal weapons bazaar located on the Russian border. A British naval commander watching the live surveillance footage immediately orders a missile attack on the location. Bond is informed that he only has four minutes to vacate the vicinity when he notices a jet armed with two nuclear weapons at the edge of the bazaar. With the missiles now out of range, the naval commander is unable to abort the attack. Bond begins to make his way towards the jet, detonating explosives as he goes to provide a distraction. Bond finally reaches the jet and takes off just as the missiles hit, destroying the location. Thus the series typically begins with Bond prevailing over some form of threat and ensuring the equilibrium at the start of the film is established.

This balance is once again shattered shortly after the conclusion of the opening credits. Electronic terrorist Henry Gupta, working in conjunction with media magnate Elliott Carver, uses a stolen CIA decoder to alter British naval ship H.M.S Devonshire's GPS reading. As a result, the ship illegally enters Chinese waters and is being circled by two Chinese fighter jets. A stealth boat approaches the Devonshire covertly and launches a torpedo just as the Chinese fighter jets make another pass, leading the British Navy to surmise that it was the Chinese who initiated the attack. As the ship begins to sink, the stealth boat fires a missile and destroys one of the fighter jets, thus leading the Chinese

government to conclude that the British Navy had intentionally entered Chinese waters to launch an attack.

The film focuses on the issue of globalisation and the disproportionate power transnational media conglomerates can wield, with the film's villain attempting to "use the media to achieve world domination" (Leach 2003, p. 257).

> Carver: Good morning my golden retrievers. What kind of havoc shall the Carver Media Group create in the world today? News.
> News Director: Floods in Pakistan, riots in Paris and a plane crash in California.
> C: Excellent. Mr Jones, are we ready to release out new software?
> Jones: Yes, sir. As requested. It's full of bugs. Which means people will be forced to upgrade for years.
> C: Outstanding. Mr Wallace, call the president. Tell him if he doesn't sign the bill lowering the cable rates, we'll release the video of him with the cheerleader in the Chicago motel room.
> Wallace: Inspired, sir.
> C: And after he signs, release the tape anyway.
> W: Consider him slimed.

Figure 25: Transnational media control in *Tomorrow Never Dies*

Carver's media service was the first to break the news of the attack but in doing so, MI6 was able to conclude that CMGN had footage of the scene three hours before the first sailors' bodies were actually found. M orders Bond to Hamburg to attend a party for the launch of Carver's new satellite network that will broadcast his media service to every

person on the planet—except in China where the government refused to grant him broadcasting rights. This is the first indication as to why Carver initiated an attack against China, while the resulting war will also provide a perfect opportunity to launch his new media satellite service. During Bond's investigation, he joins forces with a female Chinese agent also investigating Carver's involvement. They finally manage to track down Carver's stealth boat in a small cove off the Vietnamese coast. Bond uses the detonator pin concealed in his Omega watch to set off a grenade inside the boat. The explosion breaches the hull just enough to enable the stealth boat to be picked up on radar. British and Chinese naval ships then begin firing on the boat's location while Bond confronts Carver and kills him. Bond and his female companion manage to safely escape before the boat is destroyed and an imminent war between two countries is averted. The equilibrium in the circular story therefore has once again been established.

Circular storytelling is a characteristic these films often share with examples of commercial advertising that utilise mini-narratives in their structure. After all, many mainstream Hollywood films and commercials are based around the same concept of a beginning, middle and end, in which an antagonistic force interrupts an equilibrium state until a counter-opposing force restores the equilibrium. In other words, a villain being overthrown by a hero in an action movie such as the James Bond films can have the basic narrative structure as a commercial for an antiperspirant designed to eliminate body odour (Newbold 1998). Narrative, therefore, forms a bridge between the discourses of film and advertising with each increasingly influencing the other. Some commercials have even created "miniature films" utilising famous movie directors, big-name stars and

exorbitant production budgets. The 2004 Chanel No. 5 television commercial featuring Nicole Kidman and directed by Baz Luhrman, and the highly successful series of BMW *The Hire* internet commercials starring Clive Owen and directed by such famous directors as Guy Ritchie and Ang Lee, are examples of a relatively new form of advertising known as "advertainment". Advertainments are commercials "that mimic traditional media forms but [are] created solely as a vehicle to promote specific advertisers" (Kretchmer 2004, p. 39). They generally contain a strong emphasis on narrative structure, and are based on a gradual unfurling of a story around a product with strong characters with whom the audience can identify.

Narrative is a fundamental component of the human experience. Through narrative, "people make sense of their lives by envisaging themselves as characters in a story interacting with different environmental events" (Proctor et al. 2002, p. 246). Narrative is also an essential element in the establishment of a company or brand "persona", defined by Stern (1998, p. 3) as "the embodiment of a firm's [or a brand's] mystique". Stern (1998, p. 11) goes further by stating that this "persona" comes to signify a connection between a specific set of values and beliefs with the company and/or brand, and that "matching the company image to the consumer's self-image is an important strategic marketing concern, since one's self-concept is thought to be an important determinant of product selection". For this reason, product placement in films which utilise this basic principle of circular storytelling in narrative could be seen as an integral component of global brand building.

Textual transparency also makes use of familiar archetypal characters, including "stock heroes, villains, and incidental characters that keep storylines within the comfort zone of audiences" (Olson 2000, p. 12). These characters form the basis for most myths around the world, enabling audiences to subconsciously recognise and identify with them. Joseph Campbell, in his decisive work on the structure of the myth, determined that regardless of its origin, "it will be always the one, shape-shifting yet marveously constant story that we find" (1949, p. 3). The basic premise underlining these mythical stories focuses on a hero's journey through departure, initiation and return. More specifically, the hero is sent on a journey where he confronts the archetypal father figure and receives supernatural help from a wise old man/woman at the entrance to the "shadow" realms. Upon entering, the hero faces numerous dangers whilst also encountering "the woman as goddess" and "woman as temptress". After overcoming the "shadow" realms and achieving his mission, the hero returns changed but stronger for his tribulations.

The same basic structure can be seen in the framework of the James Bond franchise. The hero is therefore represented by the James Bond character who, at the start of every storyline, is sent on a journey full of danger and peril in order to complete his mission and avert disaster. According to Campbell (1949, p. 30):

> A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are then encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boon on his fellow man.

In the same way, Bond is often called back into duty from a world of normalcy. In *Dr No*, he is interrupted playing a game of baccarat. In *From Russia, With Love*, he is on a picnic

with a female companion. In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, Moneypenny contacts Bond to inform him that there has been an international incident when he is making love to a female Danish language lecturer at Oxford University.

The archetypal parental authority is personified by the character of M who, until only recently, has been played by a man and thus provided the story with a domineering father figure. Typically in myths, this father figure has been portrayed as a potential threat to the hero. As Campbell (1949, p. 129) states, "the ogre aspect of the father is a reflex of the victim's own ego", an element the hero must confront and eventually overcome in himself. While the character of M would never be considered a direct threat to Bond, there was always an element of tension that resulted from the "dominated-dominant relationship which characterises from the beginning the limits and possibilities of the character of Bond and sets events moving" (Eco 1982, p. 245). Always slightly disapproving of Bond's somewhat unorthodox approach, M seemed to regard him as a father does a rebellious teenager. In fact, the director's commentary for *Live And Let Die* (1973) stated that a scene had been deliberately added to the film showing Bond using a noisy cappuchino machine just to annoy M—as a mischievous child would do.

Yet despite these tensions that resonate between the two characters, their relationship tends to be defined by "affectionate ambivalence" (Eco 1982, p. 246). At one stage in the novels however, this "ambivalence" took a more serious turn. *The Man With The Golden Gun* began with a brainwashed Bond attempting to assassinate M on behalf of the Soviet Union. According to Eco (1982, p. 246), this event "loosened a long-standing series of

tensions…which were aggravated every time that M and Bond found themselves face-to-face". Even when Dame Judi Dench took over the role in 1995, the character of M remained an authoritative parental figure, although this relationship was initially marked by mutual dislike and mistrust. In *GoldenEye* (1995), it was apparent that Bond resented the new M's succession over her predecessor, while M dismissed Bond as a "relic of the Cold War". However, by *Tomorrow Never Dies* the affectionate but ambivalent relationship between the two characters had been re-established.

Once started on his journey, the hero then encounters supernatural help in the form of an old man or woman. Campbell (1949, p. 73) writes: "Protective and dangerous, motherly and fatherly at the same time, this supernatural principle of guardianship and direction unites in itself all the ambiguities of the unconscious". Often this character endows upon the hero particular gifts that will protect him and guide him in his journey. This meeting typically takes place just before the hero enters the dangerous "shadow" realms. Based upon this description, it becomes obvious that, in relation to the James Bond films, this role is played by Q. After all, it is usually Q's workshop Bond visits before leaving on his mission where he is outfitted with a number of gadgets that, while not supernatural, often defy logic and have saved his life on innumerable occasions. At other times, this encounter takes place later in the story's progression with Q coming to Bond's aid half way through his mission and outfitting him in the field with the tools he will need to complete his task.

More specific details regarding the dichotomous relationship between Bond and the villain have already been discussed in Chapter Three's examination of the construction of the James Bond character. This section, however, attempts to examine the role of the villain in relation to the mythical structure underpinning the James Bond film series. For example, once armed with his necessary weapons as "gifted" to him by Q, Bond now must confront and enter the "shadow" realms. "Beyond them is darkness, the unknown, and danger; just as beyond the parental watch is danger to the infant and beyond the protection of his society danger to the member of the tribe" (Campbell 1949, pp. 77-78). At the gateway to these "shadow" realms stands the villain that Bond must eventually defeat. As such, once Bond has been outfitted by Q in *Tomorrow Never Dies*, he immediately travels to the media headquarters of Elliott Carver where he comes face-to-face with the villain. The rest of the film focuses on Bond's attempts to discover Carver's plans and avert an international incident. In the process Bond enters the "shadow" realms of international terrorism where he is in constant danger from Carver's henchmen, before eventually overcoming them and the villain is destroyed.

During this process, the hero encounters two more powerful forces in the form of "woman as goddess" and "woman as temptress". As discussed in an earlier chapter, each James Bond storyline will contain three love interests typically known as the "Bond girls". The first proves to be a short-lived romantic dalliance, dispensable in the sense that Bond is often prematurely pulled out of her arms by the call to duty or she is killed. The Danish lecturer in *Tomorrow Never Dies* is an example of the former, while Tilly Masterson in *Goldfinger* is an example of the latter after she is murdered by the villain

for sleeping with Bond. The second "Bond" girl is representative of the "woman as goddess". Campbell (1949, pp. 110-111) describes the goddess as being "the paragon of all paragons of beauty, the reply to all desire, the bliss-bestowing goal of every hero's earthly and unearthly quest". This "Bond girl" is often portrayed as innocent and pure—almost virginal as in the case of Honey Rider in *Dr No* and Aki, Bond's Japanese "wife" in *You Only Live Twice* (1967). In many cases, the culmination of this relationship does not take place until the end of the film, after Bond has managed to safely traverse the "shadow" realms and defeat the villain. In this way, the hero is "rewarded" for his efforts. For example, in *Tomorrow Never Dies*, the role of the "goddess" is portrayed by the character of Wai Lin who only succumbs to Bond's advances once his mission is complete and Carter is destroyed. They embrace just as the film's credits begin.

The third "Bond girl" in the films fulfils the role of "woman as temptress", and is usually sent by the villain to seduce and then kill Bond. In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, Carter sends his wife Paris to undertake this task, unaware that Bond and Paris had been lovers in the past. Instead of killing him, Paris warns Bond and informs him of a secret laboratory on the top floor of Carter's building. For this betrayal, she is later killed by her husband. In other films however, the role of the "temptress" is much more straight-forward. In *You Only Live Twice*, Bond is captured by a female SPECTRE agent by the name of Helga Brand who, after sleeping with Bond, tries to kill him in a plane crash. In *GoldenEye*, Bond manages to resist the lethal advances of Xenia Onatopp who—as previously mentioned—has a tendency to crush her unfortunate lovers to death between her thighs.

In other cases, the roles of the "goddess" and the "temptress" are contained within the one form. In doing so, she represents

> the death of everything that dies. The whole round of existence is accomplished within her sway, from birth, through adolescence, maturity, and senescence, to the grave. She is the womb and the tomb: the sow that eats her farrow. Thus she unites the 'good' and the 'bad'. (Campbell 1949, p. 114)

An excellent example of this amalgamation can be seen in the character of Vesper Lynd, Bond's love interest in *Casino Royale* (2006). While the 21st film in the official James Bond series, it was the first novel Ian Fleming wrote that starred the character of James Bond. The film is also based in the past, detailing Bond's first mission as a "00" agent. When he falls in love with Vesper, he is unaware that she is actually a double agent who has been blackmailed into helping the villain. When Bond returns to MI6 he is a different man—heartbroken and cynical but stronger for his experiences, and now armed with his trademark tuxedo and "Bond, James Bond" catch phrase that would resonate throughout the rest of the series. As such, this film in particular is illustrative of the mythical hero's departure, initiation, and return as set forth by Campbell in 1949.

The third component of transparent narrative is related to "open-ended plot", defined by Olson (2000, p. 12) as "stories that lend themselves to endless cycling, renovation and recapitulation". As the longest-running movie franchise in film history, the James Bond series is a perfect example of just how successful open-ended plots can be. While overall box-office revenue may have fluctuated at times throughout the series history, every film generated a substantial profit. In fact, Partridge (1999, p. 1) estimates that "the films invariably return between $US350 million and $US400 million for a production outlay of

about $US100 million". This, according to Olson (1999, p. 95) is because "sequels are [typically] expected to generate about two thirds of the revenue of their predecessor", and as such there is an "incentive to produce movies with at least the possibility of regeneration". The James Bond films also had the advantage of being based on a long-running series of novels that not only provided the basis for many of the films' storylines, but also helped put in place the basic open-ended structure that the films would later capitalise upon. It was always the filmmakers' intention to produce a number of films featuring the James Bond character. They saw "no reason why the cycle shouldn't continue as long as the productions deliver high quality" (*Variety* 1987, p. 58). At the end of *Dr No*, the producers even announced their plans of continuing the films by including in the movie's conclusion the statement "James Bond will return in *From Russia, With Love*". This is a practice that has continued, to some degree, in later movies—although the title of the next film is no longer included in the statement.

The later James Bond films, starring Pierce Brosnan and, more recently, Daniel Craig, have proven to be the most lucrative of all. This demonstrates that even after a considerable period of time has passed, a series based on open-ended plots can still be highly successful. One reason for this success is the familiarity they create with audiences. The repeated use of the same settings and stock characters such as Miss Moneypenny, M and Q result in audiences acquiring a background of knowledge that, in turn, generates enhanced feelings of familiarity and connection that increases with every addition to the series. It is this sense of familiarity that has enabled the James Bond franchise to survive "cast changes, increased competition, social transformation, and

other obstacles" (Olson 1999, p. 95). This concept of inclusion is an essential component of textual transparency and the success of global Hollywood films. Inclusion strategies are defined by Olson (2000, p. 12) as "devices that pull audiences into the action and help them feel involved". One strategy commonly employed by filmmakers is the use of camera angles that mimic a character's direct point-of-view and thus "contribute to the viewer's sense of identification with the looking subject and of participation in the action" (Phillips 2005, p. 93). As previously discussed in Chapter Three, these camera angles are regularly featured in the James Bond films as a way of indicating Bond's "object of desire", particularly in relation to the sexualisation of the female form.

However, what is also interesting to note is the impact such strategies of inclusion can have on product placement. After all, if inclusion strategies are thought to enhance audience connection and feelings of involvement in a film's script, it stands to reason that this same effect would occur with any products that have been deliberately incorporated into shot. Take, for example, the car chase scene in *Tomorrow Never Dies*. With his car surrounded by the villain's armed henchmen, Bond uses his Sony Ericsson mobile phone to start and drive his BMW via remote control. Once he manages to jump into the backseat, Bond continues to drive using the remote control and the video screen on his mobile phone to manoeuvre the car through a crowded car park. As a result, camera angles were frequently used during this sequence to establish Bond's point-of-view. In fact, 24 separate point-of-view camera angles were incorporated into a scene just over three minutes long, with the Sony Ericsson brand name visible in the vast majority of shots.

Point-of-view camera angles have two decisive advantages for product placements. Not only does it increase the opportunity for brand names to be shown in extreme close-ups, it also suggests a close personal connection between character and product. This is one reason why film is becoming more appealing to advertisers, who have realised that by camouflaging product promotion behind the veil of entertainment, they can effectively target people when they are most open to suggestion and emotional connection (Karrh 1998, Messaris 1997). In other words, the very camera angles and point-of-view shots that form the basis of transparent narrative inclusion strategies are also ideal for making products visible and tangible elements in cinema, resulting in a significant increase in audience recall of product placements. In fact, according to Karrh (1998, p. 36), product recognition can range anywhere from between 40% to 60% when a product is merely used by an actor onscreen. However, it is when a brand makes a significant contribution to the story (Russell 2002)—as in the case of the Sony Ericsson mobile phone—that memory retention is facilitated, as opposed to simple product recognition.

Another component of textual transparency that has significant implications for product placement in global Hollywood films is the effect of negentrophy. This term has been defined by Olson (2000, p. 12) as "the process by which the electronic media assure audiences that life is not fundamentally chaotic". As the majority of these films tend to be based on established formulaic patterns, it is believed that audiences take subconscious comfort from the internal knowledge that "good" will eventually preside over "evil" and order will be restored. This same element of negentrophy was present in the James Bond

novels in which real-life Cold War tensions were incorporated into the stories. However, these tensions were alleviated by the hero's triumph, becoming a source of comfort for readers in an uncertain world. With the Cold War now long over, the threats depicted in the James Bond film series have had to change in order to take into account modern-day issues and dangers. The filmmakers' intention now is to produce "a *contemporary* action film" that genuinely reflects the real "world in which we live" (in Chapman 1999, p. 252). For example, by focusing on international terrorism, *Casino Royale* attempted to reflect the current post-9/11 environment. A significant portion of the film even revolves around Bond's efforts to avert a terrorist from blowing up a prototype plane. In fact, in a discussion as to why *Casino Royale* was selected as the 21st film in the James Bond series, producer Barbara Broccoli stated:

> The world has changed. It has become more serious and the combination of that and getting the rights for the book allowed us to start again…(T)errorism is at the forefront of everybody's minds. (Egan 2006)

While the type of threat may vary from film to film, negentrophy still ensures that virtually every story has a "happy ending", enabling the audience to leave the cinema comforted and reassured. One film in the James Bond series that broke from this pattern was *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (1969), which finished sombrely with the murder of Bond's wife immediately after their wedding. It is thought that this ending left audiences feeling "dissatisfied" with the film in general. As Chapman (2003, p. 95) argues:

> It is surely no coincidence that those films which have deviated furthest from the usual narrative conventions, such as *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* (unhappy ending) and *Licence To Kill* [1989] (non-secret service storyline), have been the least successful.

The ending of *Casino Royale* also contains an element of sombreness, with the film culminating in the death of Bond's love interest after he has discovered that she has betrayed him. Yet why is it that the film did not leave audiences feeling dissatisfied? With *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, the filmmakers made the mistake of not showing Bond's revenge until the opening sequence of the next film, *Diamonds Are Forever* (1971). In *Casino Royale,* however, the story concludes with Bond having tracked down the man who had coerced Vesper into betraying Bond and obtaining revenge for her death. While in no respects a "happy ending", the film still manages to utilise negentrophy to ensure audiences are satisfied and reassured that "justice" was achieved.

As discussed earlier, by basing the premise of their consumer message around the return to a state of equilibrium, commercials mimic the circular storytelling component of transparent narrative. In doing so, they also invariably utilise negentrophy to convince and reassure consumers that their problems can be addressed by purchasing their products. For example, in the case of socially awkward young men, advertisers suggest that feelings of inadequacy and anxiety can be overcome and corrected simply by switching aftershaves. Commercials attempt to re-establish the equilibrium and, just like film audiences, consumers are reassured by the reduction of chaos and emphasis on order (Olson 1999).

While the overall objective of any advertisement is the promotion of a product, or a concept or an event, the structure will alter depending on its position on the "information to magic" spectrum (Huisman 2005). At the information end of the spectrum are the

object-orientated advertisements in which the primary focus resides on factual details—what the product is, how much it costs and where it is available from. At the other end of the spectrum are the "magic"-based advertisements that are instead centered on the subject—that is, the audience/consumer. The greater the emphasis on "magic", the less tangible facts will be presented. The consumer's attention will focus on the attributes—what perceived status the product will give the consumer, how much romance and glamour they are promised, and so on. Similarly, another distinct characteristic of global Hollywood films and textual transparency is the emphasis on "awe"—defined by Olson (2000, p. 12) as "spectacle that inspires the audience".

This typically involves the use of multi-million dollar production budgets and extravagant special effects. The James Bond films in particular are renowned for their use of "awe"-inspiring techniques. In 1964, *Goldfinger* featured a terrorist attack on Fort Knox that was preceded by a troupe of airplanes that were supposed to spray the surrounding town and army barracks with a lethal gas. The following year, *Thunderball* included one of, if not the, longest and most extensive underwater fight sequences at the film's climax, and in *You Only Live Twice,* the villain's headquarters was concealed inside a dormant volcano. However, in 1977 the production of *The Spy Who Loved Me* raised the "spectacle" component of the films to another level. The storyline followed Bond's investigation into the disappearance of a British submarine in addition to an American and a Russian submarine that have also gone missing. It is eventually revealed that the film's villain is using a super-size tanker to literally swallow submarines whole. After capturing the crews, he then plans to use the submarines' nuclear weapons to

launch simultaneous attacks against New York and Moscow that would result in apocalyptic nuclear fallout between the two countries. As there were no sets available at that time that were large enough to incorporate this scene, another was especially constructed beside Pinewood Studios. Large enough to fit two submarines side by side, it was reportedly the "'biggest set' in Europe" (Woollacott 2003, p. 103).

In addition, *The Spy Who Loved Me* also featured a new spectacular stunt-filled opening sequence that "was to have a pronounced effect on the future development of the series" (Chapman 1999, p. 182). The film opens with Bond's romantic interlude in a skiing lodge in the Alps being interrupted by an urgent summons from MI6. As he skies down the mountainside, armed KGB agents pursue him. Much of this sequence was actually filmed by a cameraman also on skies. Willy Bogner's experience as an Olympic skier enabled him to film the action whilst literally skiing backwards down the side of a mountain (*Variety* 1987). The sequence ends with Bond skiing over the edge of a cliff and falling through free air before successfully deploying a Union Jack parachute. "Widely regarded as one of the most spectacular stunts in cinema history", the pre-title sequence was now seen by the filmmakers as an opportunity "to display a stunt of an ever more spectacular and excessive nature" (Chapman 1999, pp. 182-183).

In *Moonraker,* for example, the pre-title sequence involved an elaborate stunt in which Bond is pushed out of a plane without a parachute. He free-dives to one of the assassins who had parachuted out of the plane earlier and manages to remove their parachute and safely deploy it. In *For Your Eyes Only* (1981), Bond is trapped inside a remote-

controlled helicopter operated by Blofeld while, as previously mentioned in an earlier chapter, the opening sequence to *A View To A Kill* (1985) featured Bond making an escape in a compactable jet concealed inside a horse float.

The producers drew upon this tradition when they re-launched the series in 1995 with *GoldenEye* (1995). The film's pre-title sequence was supposed to be a flashback to one of Bond's earlier missions in which he secretly enters a USSR chemical weapons facility. In filming this scene, the stunt team managed to break the record for the longest bungy-jump by leaping off the side of the world's highest dam (Aiton 1998). In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, the opening sequence featured a number of elaborate explosions as Bond flew a jet armed with nuclear weapons through a fireball caused by a missile strike. The film also included an extensive motorcycle chase—not only through the streets of Saigon, but also over the roofs, through windows and over the top of an operating helicopter. Bond stunt coordinator and action director Vic Armstrong listed the stunt sequence as one of his favourites in the entire series: "I think the motorcycle chase is still the best bang for your bucks sequence of all the Bonds. The jump at the end of the chase [over the rotating helicopter] was done *in situ* for real" (in *Empire* 2002, p. 19).

Figure 26: An elaborate motorcycle stunt in *Tomorrow Never Dies*

This emphasis on awe and spectacle in the film series is ideally suited for the promotion of products that wish to associate themselves with the "magic" end of the advertising spectrum. As previously discussed, businesses hope that some of the glamour of the films and the suave sophistication of the James Bond character will be transferred to their products and brand names. When Sony Ericsson announced a competition in Australia to celebrate the release of *Tomorrow Never Dies,* in which the winner would receive a BMW Z3 roadster, two key images were missing from the advertising material—namely the phone and the car. Instead, "(t)he central figure in the promotion was that of Pierce Brosnan as 007, with a raised Walther pistol, the film's logo, and the caption: Ericsson Made/Bond Approved" (Stock 2003, p. 220).

The success of such promotional campaigns is entirely contingent on the "saturation of the human environment by electronic media stimulation", defined by Olson (2000, p. 12) as omnipresence —the final key characteristic of textual transparency. After all, advertising campaigns, such as the one discussed above, are only possible if the majority of the public is aware of the James Bond character. Ubiquitousness is also vital for a film's success. One reason why Hollywood films in particular are able to achieve global success is that they have the infrastructure in place for extensive worldwide advertising campaigns. Often, a significant proportion of this advertising comes from the cross-promotional deals the filmmakers have arranged through their product placement agreements. As a result of the multi-million dollar revenue generated from these cross-promotional deals, in addition to the added publicity, the film's distributors are able to flood the media environment with advertisements for their film. This omnipresence is one

reason why many smaller, independent films are simply unable to successfully compete against Hollywood productions.

As well as an additional source of profit for filmmakers, another major component of omnipresence is the revenue generated from the extension of the film into merchandise, books, soundtrack albums and computer games—also known as synergy (Olson 2000). Significant sections of this thesis have already examined the issue of synergy related to the James Bond film series, particularly in regards to merchandising. Jeff Smith (2003) however, has explored the commercial success of the James Bond soundtracks throughout the series' history. According to Smith (2003, p. 118), "(o)f the eleven Bond soundtrack albums featuring [conductor John] Barry's work, only two, *The Man With The Golden Gun* (1974) and *The Living Daylights* (1987), failed to have any action on US trade charts". An article written by Phil DiMauro in 1987 lauded the fact that of the fourteen films that had been produced by that time, five had yielded songs that had made it into the top-ten charts in Britain. Some of the most popular include "Goldfinger" performed by Shirley Bassey, Duran Duran's "A View To A Kill", and "Live And Let Die", written and performed by Paul McCartney. With many of the Bond feature songs and soundtracks achieving worldwide appreciation and success, they themselves are now recognised as "a vital promotional tool" for the series, becoming "a remarkably adaptable component of the Bond formula" (Smith 2003, p. 131).

The Threat of Over-Commercialism

Product placements, and the revenue generated through cross-promotional campaigns, are still perhaps the most lucrative component of omnipresence and synergy in relation to film. However, with so many businesses and advertisers now clambering to be involved in the production of the James Bond films, over-commercialism is a genuine threat to the series' overall success. In other words, "(t)he greatest danger James Bond faces…is being upstaged by the entertainment provided by his promotional partners" (Goldman 1997, p. 62). The revenue generated by product placement arrangements for the series is estimated to be as high as $US100 million. As Pfeiffer (2002, p. 13) laments: "It's a far cry from the days of *Goldfinger*, when director Guy Hamilton refused to include Gillette products in a sequence because he felt it would be unseemly".

Yet it would seem that Guy Hamilton's motives for refusing the Gillette placements were not as "noble" as Pfeiffer would have us believe. In the film's commentary, Hamilton explained that it was not the placement per se that had concerned him, but rather producer Harry Saltzman's underhanded approach at incorporating the products into a scene. He explains that the morning before a particular scene aboard Goldfinger's plane was to be shot, Saltzman snuck onto the set and began scattering Gillette products around without consulting anyone. As Hamilton reveals:

> The merchandising is strictly not my business. I couldn't care less. I used to get a little angry. Harry [Saltzman] used to suddenly come on the set. In the plane, Pussy Galore is flying across the Atlantic, and Bond wakes up and pops in to shave. And suddenly the whole thing was a Gillette exercise. You'd never seen anything like it. There was Gillette foam. There was Gillette aftershave…And he'd [Saltzman] sort of done a deal with Gillette…It was fairly obvious, and I threw all the props out. And then, by the time we got to *Diamonds*, it was a well-

> organised thing, and I said 'It's simple. Give me a list of all the things that you want me to use from condoms down to zebras, and I'll tick off what I can happily [include]'.

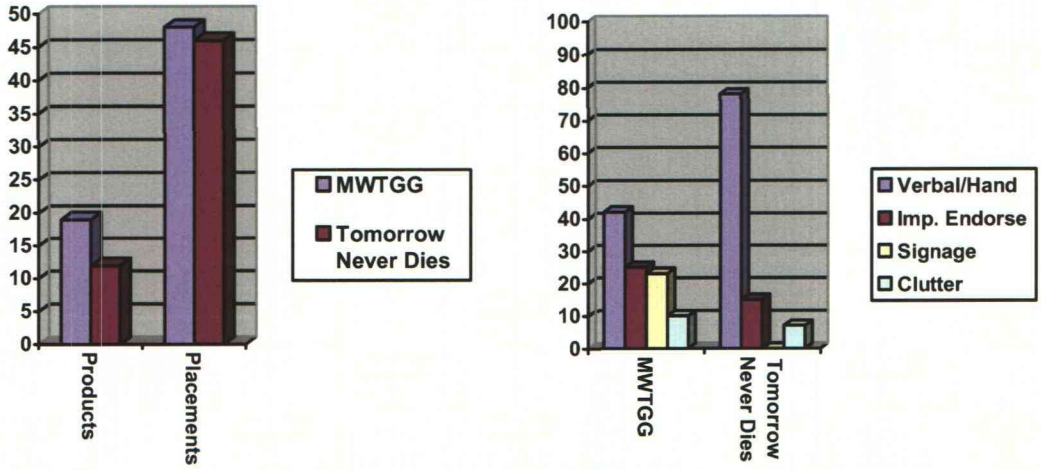
However, as Williams (1999, p. 31) asks, "is such a strong commercial presence in a Bond movie a good thing?" The fear is the loss of credibility that can arise from over-commercialism—not just for the films but also for the products. As one advertising consultant stated:

> My feeling is that by overtly promoting their role in product placement, which was basically a covert exercise, manufacturers run the risk of alienating consumers who are there to enjoy the entertainment rather than being sold something. (Greg Daniel in Williams 1999, p. 31)

In other words, if the commercial content of a film is too obvious or a product placement too blatant, filmmakers and advertisers alike run the very real risk of ostracising their audience and any potential customers. As discussed in the previous chapter, *Tomorrow Never Dies* in particular received extensive criticism for its excessive use of product placements. As Lowe (1998, p. 41) stated: "Brosnan seems to be a walking advertisement in what some have derisively called a two-hour conceptual commercial". Yet, in actuality, with 12 products featured in 45 scenes, *Tomorrow Never Dies* featured a smaller number of placements than previous films. Why was this one film so heavily criticised when the 48 product placements in *The Man With The Golden Gun* barely seemed to warrant mention? One viable explanation may be the fact that of the 48 placements featured in *The Man With The Golden Gun*, only 42% were verbal/hand based, compared to the 76% verbal/hand placements that appeared in *Tomorrow Never Dies*. This comparison highlights the strength verbal/hand placements have in garnering public attention, virtually guaranteeing commercial investors that their products will be

noticed by filmgoers. Too much attention however, as demonstrated by the criticism received by *Tomorrow Never Dies,* can generate a negative impact.

Table 17: Comparison of product placements in *The Man With The Golden Gun* and *Tomorrow Never Dies*



In addition, this commercial presence has impacted upon the film's supposed social commentary on the prevalence of globalisation and the adverse implications connected to transnational media conglomerates.

> Carver: Gentlemen and ladies, hold the presses. This just in. By a curious quirk of fate, we have the perfect story with which to launch our satellite news network tonight. It seems a small crisis is brewing in the South China Seas. I want full newspaper coverage, I want magazine stories, I want books, I want films, I want TV, I want radio. I want us on the air 24 hours a day. This is our moment! And a billion people around this planet will watch it, hear it and read about it from the Carver Media Group.

The irony of course resides in the fact that the James Bond films are in themselves examples of a transnational medium attempting to attain worldwide success. Despite the criticisms for over-commercialism, by utilising the seven key characteristics of transparent narrative, the film was able to appeal to audiences globally regardless of language or cultural barriers. It was reported that over 75.5 million people had seen the

film at the cinema worldwide, generating approximately $US346,632,007 in box-office takings—a slight decrease from *GoldenEye* but still a substantial profit (Imdb 2007). This is particularly so when you consider that box-office takings are now only thought to account for 15% of a film's total revenue (Hozic 2000). Like Carver's plans for world domination through media, the film production of *Tomorrow Never Dies* also generated books, merchandise, magazine articles, newspaper coverage, cross-promotional advertising, a soundtrack album and a computer game.

The film was also supported by an extensive cross-promotional marketing campaign that, as stated previously, often requires commercial investors to make significant contributions to a film's advertising and promotional budget. For example, BMW, Smirnoff vodka and Omega watches spent a combined $US77 million on US marketing alone for *Tomorrow Never Dies*. For this substantial investment, the film's stars or the James Bond logo are used in the product's own subsequent advertising campaigns. Both Pierce Brosnan and "Bond girl" Michelle Yeoh appeared in a number of print and television advertisements promoting the Omega watch in the lead-up to the film's opening.

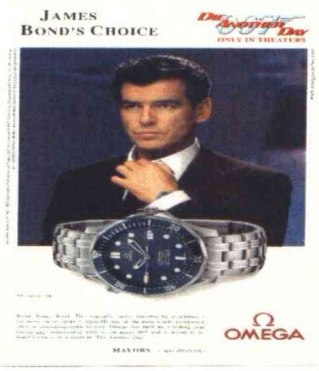


Figure 27: Advertisement for Omega watches featuring Pierce Brosnan as James Bond

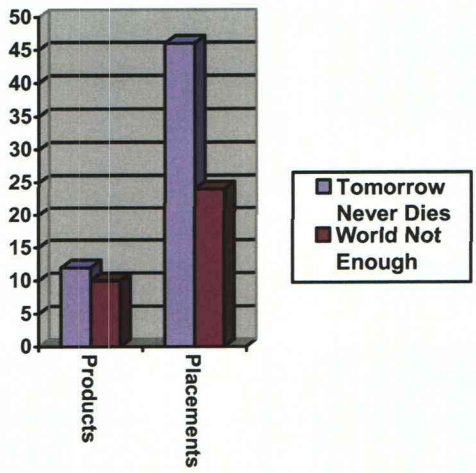
In fact, as Bryant (1997, p. 4) stated: "These days, it is hard to miss all the Bond-promotional ads. Ericsson cellular phones are suddenly 'Bond Approved'. His BMW car and motorcycle are described as 'Bond's new loves'". After all, "Bond makes the perfect corporate pitchman because of the high-tech and sexual aura his character has enjoyed for decades. Manufacturers hope the sexy, high-class cachet will rub off on their products" (*Bendigo Advertiser* 27 December 1997, p. 7). And despite the regular changes made to the actor playing the role of Bond, at the core there resides the basic conceptualisation or "brand image" of the character that still exists as an individual concept in the popular consciousness. It is this mythic identity that numerous businesses wish to associate with their product via advertising. This James Bond "is now, more than anything else, a trademark which, having established a certain degree of brand loyalty among certain sections of the cinema-going public, remains a viable investment in the film industry" (Bennett & Woollacott 1987, p. 244).

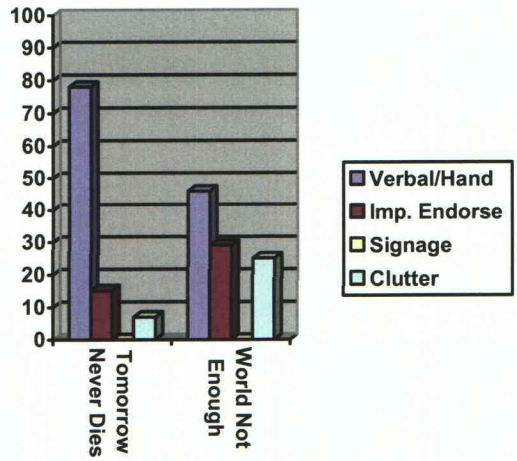
Yet sometimes the types of products chosen to be associated with the James Bond character are brought into question. One particularly controversial brand association was in regards to Heineken beer's involvement in *Tomorrow Never Dies*. James Bond was never actually filmed drinking the alcoholic beverage on-screen as producers felt that "it might be deemed unseemly for Bond to chug beers instead of martinis, [so rather] moviegoers watched a Heineken truck and bottles being smashed in an action sequence" (*Bendigo Advertiser* 27 December 1997, p. 7). Nevertheless, Heineken still ensured the product would be associated with the film character in audience's minds by combining this product placement with an extensive advertising campaign, featuring men from

around the world with the name of James Bond drinking Heineken beer (Wells 1997). However, this was not the first time a beer was placed in the film series, with Bond ordering a Budweiser beer at an American bar in *Licence To Kill*—although he never actually drank it.

Following the extent of the negative publicity received by *Tomorrow Never Dies*, there was a deliberate attempt on the filmmakers' behalf to minimise the presence of commodities in the next film, *The World Is Not Enough* (1999). As Pfeiffer (2002, p. 13) states, "both MGM and EON are [now] sensitive to any perceived backlash that might come from making the promotions so extravagant that they overshadow the film itself—a situation that occurred to some degree with the release of *Tomorrow Never Dies* in 1997". While the number of products featured in *The World Is Not Enough* dropped to only 10, the overall number of product placements virtually halved from 46 to just 24. Also, the percentage of verbal/hand placements in the film dropped significantly from 78% to 46% while, in turn, background placements rose from 7% to 25%.

Table 18: Comparison of product placements in *Tomorrow Never Dies* and *The World Is Not Enough*





However, with over 20 promotional partners, the series once again reached a crisis point with *Die Another Day* (2002). In this one film, Bond

> sports an Omega Seamaster watch, carries Samsonite luggage when he flies British Airways, sips Finlandia [vodka], shaves with Norelco, takes pictures with a Kodak camera and talks on a Sony Ericsson mobile phone. Halle Berry, who plays the American spy Jinx, wears Revlon make-up and drives a coral coloured Thunderbird. (Weaver 2002)

The extensive nature of the film's cross-promotional marketing even enabled brands not associated with James Bond on-screen to take advantage of the opportunity to associate their product with the well-known and popular character "through Bond-themed sweepstakes and special merchandise" (Weaver 2002). The soft-drink 7-Up is one such example. The brand has made two separate appearances in the James Bond film series, namely in *Live And Let Die*, as well as a substantial involvement in *Moonraker* that resulted in four separate signage placements and one additional clutter-based placement.

Figure 28: A signage placement for 7-Up soft-drinks in *Moonraker*

While 7-Up was not featured in *Die Another Day*, the company still engaged in extensive cross-promotional marketing that included putting Bond's silhouette and the "007" logo on millions of soft-drink cans, as well as other "in-store" promotional materials. As 7-Up

senior vice president Jim Trebilcock boasted: "Anytime someone is drinking 7-Up, they will see James Bond" (in Weaver 2002).

Once again the series received a barrage of criticism for over-commercialism. When the producers re-launched the franchise in 2006, they increased the production budget to a series record of $US150 million and supported it with a marketing budget of $US44.3 million (*Variety.com* 2007). However, they also claimed to have minimised the commercial content in the film. With only eight official promotional partners, *Casino Royale* was supposed to "feature far fewer brands" than *Die Another Day* (Terazono 2006, p. 12). Yet, despite the producers' assurances, content analysis of the film revealed that the total number of product placements in *Casino Royale* actually increased dramatically. With over 90 individual product placements featured on-screen, the film went on to receive the Brandcameo 2006 Chicken Little Award for excessive product placement (Niche Media 2005). It should also be mentioned that the overall number of products increased to over 30 with more than 70% of the placements still verbal/hand based.

The analysis of the seven elements of global Hollywood film has clearly illustrated why they are so suited for commercial purposes. Circular storytelling, an emphasis on open-ended plots and negentrophy, the use of archetypal characters, the application of inclusion strategies and the utilisation of awe and omnipresence are all characteristics that global Hollywood film share with advertisements. When examined as such it becomes apparent why such films provide an ideal environment for product promotion via

placement. As the content analysis of the James Bond films has revealed, product placement has increased significantly over the years. While their presence has not, as of yet, had a detrimental effect on box-office revenue, many critics of the practice now claim that a number of "authentic Bond characteristics have been sacrificed on the altar of advertising" (*BBC News* 18 November 2002).

CONCLUSION

Product placement is now a multi-million dollar industry and standard practice in the Hollywood film industry, and shows no signs of slowing down. With the 22nd James bond film, *Quantum Of Solace*, due for release at the end of the year, it has been reported that Tom Ford clothing, Virgin Atlantic Airways and Ford Motors have all managed to secure lucrative product promotional deals (Baker 2008, *London Independent* 6 February 2008, Rifkin 2008). There has been a significant increase in the number of products being directly incorporated into film narrative, shifting the role of product placement from mere background props to something more substantial. In many cases products are now being used to help progress the plot. Like cinematography, costuming and lighting, product placement has become another tool available to filmmakers' for creating meaning in a storyline. It is my belief that product placement is as much a cultural practice as a financial one.

The purpose of this research has been to examine the practice of product placement within these cultural contexts—an area of study that has, so far, received little academic attention. I demonstrate that a variety of cultural events have impacted upon, and been influenced by, product placement. With 21 films spanning a timeframe of 46 years and counting, the official James Bond series provided a unique opportunity to examine these various cultural factors that have impacted upon the practice of product placement, within set parameters. From the rise of technology and gadgetry in the storylines, to a shift in consumer culture and the growth of globalisation, the number and types of product placements have changed considerably over the years.

In Chapter One, I examined the historical background of the product placement industry, by establishing the connection that exists between consumerism and cinema. I argued that the same cultural, social and technological developments, such as the Industrial Revolution, led to the creation of a mass society with disposable income and leisure time. Entertainment industries such as cinema flourished in this environment whilst businesses began to imbue their products with particular characteristics or brand traits as a way of distinguishing themselves from their competitors. It was not long before the two industries began collaborating with Hollywood actors promoting commodities in advertisements, while product placement has been an important part of the film industry almost from cinema's very beginning. Yet the practice did not develop into an industry until the 1970s with the growth of the "Madison & Vine" business strategy that has seen an increased emphasis on the amalgamation of the advertising and entertainment industries.

In Chapter Two, I presented the results of an extensive content analysis undertaken into the number and types of products placed in the official James Bond film series. I then used this data to identify and isolate periods of fluctuation in product placement numbers that could be traced back to cultural developments that were occurring at the time the films were being produced. Some of these developments included the impact of the Cold War, the Space Race, the greater emphasis on technology and consumerism in society, and the growth of globalisation and transnational branding. I then used this information to

form the basis of the rest of the thesis, providing sources of discussion that were extrapolated upon in the individual chapters.

In Chapter Three I argue that the process for constructing a "celebrity" and a "commodity" are extremely similar, enabling each to be easily used in the promotion of the other. Both are carefully constructed through a multilayered process that conceals the reality of the person or the factory-made product from the public. Each construction is dependent upon audience foreknowledge, publicity, name and appearance, and devised around the same basic three-tiered structure. A "star" is based around an actor's biographical reality, character portrayal and persona, while the layers of a "brand" consist of its use value, its actual value and its exchange value. It is my belief that as a result of these similarities, stars and brands are ideally suited for cross-promotional purposes. I also demonstrate how the process of "looking" and thus "desiring" are equally vital in cinema as it is in advertising. The underlining appeal of movies resides in its voyeuristic nature—a pleasure derived from watching someone without their knowledge. I then argued that this same sense of desire has enabled the human body to be commodified and used for commodification purposes in the James Bond film series.

In Chapter Four, I outlined how changes to the lead actor in the film series not only had a significant impact on the portrayal of the James Bond character, they also resonated upon the number and types of products placed in the series. I argued that, in many ways, it was the products that acted to link the films together, providing common points of reference for audiences that helped them accept a new actor in the lead role. Bond's superior

knowledge of, and association with, these brands has also often been used in the series as a way of distinguishing himself from his opponents. By utilising this process of brand "one-upmanship", the filmmakers have used product placement to illustrate Bond's—and by conjunction, England's—cultural superiority, not only over individual villains, but also over other countries and ways of life. I then demonstrated how particular brand rivalries were incorporated into the series, and the manner in which a number of brand name products have drawn upon their long history of association with the James Bond character in their own advertising campaigns.

In Chapter Five, I focused on the history of technology and gadgetry in the series in relation to their cultural contexts. The Cold War, the Space Race, espionage and surveillance during the McCarthy years, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the threat posed by transnational corporate control of information were reflected in the types and level of technology utilised in the films. I argued that this growth in technology provided businesses with a unique opportunity to incorporate their products directly into the film narrative. This had a significant impact on the level of verbal/hand placements in the series and enabled brand names to be clearly seen on-screen in numerous camera close-ups, increasing brand memory and recall in audience members. In the most recent James Bond film, *Casino Royale* (2006), I also demonstrated that some modern products no longer require modification by Q as they contain enough "gadgets" of their own. In other words, modern day products and technological gadgetry seem to have amalgamated. In general, film audiences seem willing to accept—even expect—these product inclusions (or intrusions) in the series. After all, many have now become

fundamental components of the James Bond character, and are often essential to the progression of a film's storyline.

Finally in Chapter Six, I demonstrate the impact globalisation has had on the level of product placement in the films. I argued that relatively early in the series, the practice of product placement was restricted by foreign locations. Yet, as the series progressed, I was able to trace the effect globalisation had on the filmmakers' ability to realistically incorporate products into the background-of-shot in non-English speaking countries. However, the pervasive nature of consumer culture has progressed to the point that it is now often difficult to distinguish between deliberate background "clutter" placements and placements that are the result of the extensive proliferation of brands throughout the world.

Either way, for a worldwide advertising campaign to be truly successful requires the use of a uniform global medium, for which Hollywood films are ideally suited. The international nature of the James Bond series in particular has meant that the films themselves could have always been considered examples of global commodities, increasing their suitability for advertisers wishing to extend their market further afield. Product placement and the cross-promotional advertising it generates indicate just how close the mediums of film and advertising have become. This is because, in many ways, the standard format of Hollywood films resembles that of an advertisement. Throughout this chapter I demonstrated that both mediums tend to utilise "textual transparency", in which circular forms of storytelling re-establish a state of balance and equilibrium. They

also tend to share a reliance on various inclusion strategies aimed at enhancing audience connection and feelings of involvement in the text.

Of course, a serious implication related to the amalgamation of advertising and cinema is the impact over-commercialisation has—not only on film, but also on the product. In the final section of Chapter Six, I demonstrate that a number of characteristics considered synonymous with the original literary version of the James Bond character have been lost in the push for mass global appeal and commercial revenue generation. Advertisers also run the very real risk of alienating audiences and potential customers through overt product placement practices. However, if the content analysis of *Casino Royale* is any indication, the number of product placements will only continue to rise—not only in the James Bond franchise but in the Hollywood film industry in general.

Consecutively, brand name products will increasingly be incorporated into film narratives, ensuring maximum commercial exposure and heightening audience/consumer attachment. Yet, as I have demonstrated, that have been some films in the James Bond series that have been strongly criticised for over-commercialism while actually containing a lower number of product placements than other films in the series. While the content analysis suggests that this discrepancy is likely to be the result of an over-abundance of verbal/hand placements in the film narrative, further research needs to be conducted into where the "line" exists between acceptable and unacceptable levels of product placement.

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From Russia, With Love 1963, Terence Young (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Richard Maibaum (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Sean Connery, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Tatiana Romanova—Daniela Bianchi, Rosa Klebb—Lotte Lenya, Kerim Bey—Pedro Armendariz, "Red" Grant—Robert Shaw. Running Time: 116 minutes.

Goldfinger 1964, Guy Hamilton (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Richard Maibaum & Paul Dehn (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Sean Connery, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Goldfinger—Gert Frobe, Pussy Galore—Honor Blackman, Oddjob—Harold Sakata, Jill Masterson—Shirley Eaton, Tilly Masterson—Tania Mallet, Felix Leiter—Cec Linder. Running Time: 109 minutes

Thunderball 1965, Terence Young (director), Kevin McClory (producer), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (executive producers), Richard Maibaum & John Hopkins (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Sean Connery, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Domino—Claudine Auger, Largo—Adolfo Celi, Fiona Volpe—Luciana Paluzzi, Felix Leiter—Rik Van Nutter. Running Time: 132 minutes.

You Only Live Twice 1967, Lewis Gilbert (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Roald Dahl (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Sean Connery, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Kissy Suzuki—Mie Hama, Blofeld—Donald Pleasence, Helga Brandt—Karin Dor. Running Time: 116 minutes.

On Her Majesty's Secret Service 1969, Peter Hunt (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Richard Maibaum (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—George Lazenby, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Tracey—Diana Rigg, Blofeld—Telly Savalas, Irma Bunt—Ilse Steppat, Draco—Gabriele Ferzetti. Running Time: 140 minutes.

Diamonds Are Forever 1971, Guy Hamilton (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Richard Maibaum & Tom Mankiewicz (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Sean Connery, M—Bernard Lee,

Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Tiffany Case—Jill St John, Blofeld—Charles Gray. Running Time: 120 minutes.

Live And Let Die 1973, Guy Hamilton (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Tom Mankiewicz (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Solitaire—Jane Seymour, Kananga/Mr Big—Yaphet Kotto, Rosie—Gloria Hendry, Felix Leiter—David Hedison. Running Time: 121 minutes.

The Man With The Golden Gun 1974, Guy Hamilton (director), Harry Saltzman & Albert Broccoli (producers), Richard Maibaum & Tom Mankiewicz (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Mary Goodnight—Britt Ekland, Scaramanga—Christopher Lee, Andrea Anders—Maud Adams. Running Time: 125 minutes.

The Spy Who Loved Me 1977, Lewis Gilbert (director), Albert Broccoli (producer), Richard Maibaum & Christopher Wood (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Anya Amasova—Barbara Bach, Stromberg—Curt Jurgens, Jaws—Richard Kiel. Running Time: 125 minutes

Moonraker 1979, Lewis Gilbert (director), Albert Broccoli (producer), Christopher Wood (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions & Les Productions Artistes Associes. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, M—Bernard Lee, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Holly Goodhead—Lois Chiles, Drax—Michael Lonsdale, Jaws—Richard Kiel, General Gogol—Walter Gotell. Running Time: 126 minutes.

For Your Eyes Only 1981, John Glen (director), Albert Broccoli (producer), Richard Maibaum & Michael G. Wilson (screenplay), United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Minister of Defence—Geoffrey Keen, Melina Havelock—Carole Bouquet, Kristatos—Julian Glover, Columbo—Topol. Running Time: 127 minutes.

Octopussy 1983, John Glen (director), Albert Broccoli (producer), Richard Maibaum & Michael G. Wilson (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, M—Robert Brown, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Minister of Defence—Geoffrey Keen, Octopussy—Maud Adams, Kamal Khan—Louis Jourdan, General Orlov—Steven Berkoff. Running Time: 131 minutes.

A View To A Kill 1985, John Glen (director), Albert Broccoli & Michael G. Wilson (producers), Richard Maibaum & Michael G. Wilson (screenplay), MGM-United

Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Roger Moore, M—Robert Brown, Miss Moneypenny—Lois Maxwell, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Stacey Sutton—Tanya Roberts, Max Zorin—Christopher Walken, May Day—Grace Jones. Running Time: 131 minutes.

The Living Daylights 1987, John Glen (director), Albert Broccoli & Michael G. Wilson (producers), Richard Maibaum & Michael G. Wilson (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Timothy Dalton, M—Robert Brown, Miss Moneypenny—Caroline Bliss, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Kara Milovy—Maryam d'Abo, General Georgi Koskov—Jeroen Krabbe, Brad Whitaker—Joe Don Baker. Running Time: 131 minutes.

Licence To Kill 1989, John Glen (director), Albert Broccoli & Michael G. Wilson (producers), Michael G. Wilson & Richard Maibaum (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Timothy Dalton, M—Robert Brown, Miss Moneypenny—Caroline Bliss, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Pam Bouvier—Carey Lowell, Franz Sanchez—Robert Davi, Felix Leiter—David Hedison. Running Time: 133 minutes.

GoldenEye 1995, Martin Campbell (director), Michael G. Wilson & Barbara Broccoli (producers), Bruce Ferstein (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Pierce Brosnan, M—Judi Dench, Miss Moneypenny—Samantha Bond, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Natalya Simonova—Izabella Scorupco, Alec Trevelyan—Sean Bean, Xenia Onatopp—Famke Janssen, Jack Wade—Joe Don Baker. Running Time: 130 minutes.

Tomorrow Never Dies 1997, Roger Spottiswoode (director), Michael G. Wilson & Barbara Broccoli (producers), Bruce Ferstein (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Pierce Brosnan, M—Judi Dench, Miss Moneypenny—Samantha Bond, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, Wai Lin—Michelle Yeoh, Elliott Carver—Jonathan Pryce, Paris Carver—Teri Hatcher, Jack Wade—Joe Don Baker. Running Time: 119 minutes.

The World Is Not Enough 1999, Michael Apted (director), Michael G. Wilson & Barbara Broccoli (producers), Neal Purvis, Robert Wade & Bruce Feirstein (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Pierce Brosnan, M—Judi Dench, Miss Moneypenny—Samantha Bond, Q—Desmond Llewelyn, R—John Cleese, Christmas Jones—Denise Richards, Renard—Robert Carlyle, Elektra—Sophie Marceau. Running Time: 128 minutes.

Die Another Day 2002, Lee Tamahori (director), Michael G. Wilson & Barbara Broccoli (producers), Neal Purvis & Robert Wade (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions. Cast: James Bond—Pierce Brosnan, M—Judi Dench, Miss Moneypenny—Samantha Bond, Q—John Cleese, Jinx—Halle Berry, Gustav Graves—Toby Stephens, Miranda Frost—Rosamund Pike. Running Time: 133 minutes.

Casino Royale 2006, Martin Campbell (director), Michael G. Wilson & Barbara Broccoli (producers), Neal Purvis, Robert Wade & Paul Haggis (screenplay), MGM-United Artists/EON Productions & Columbia Pictures. Cast: James Bond—Daniel Craig, M—Judi Dench, Vesper Lynd—Eva Green, Le Chiffre—Mads Mikkelsen, Felix Leiter—Jeffrey Wright, Mr White—Jesper Christensen. Running Time: 144 minutes.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX ONE

An overview of Ian Fleming's James Bond series

YEAR	TITLE
1953	Casino Royale
1954	Live And Let Die
1955	Moonraker
1956	Diamonds Are Forever
1957	From Russia With Love
1958	Doctor No
1959	Goldfinger
1960	For Your Eyes Only
1961	Thunderball
1962	The Spy Who Loved Me
1963	On Her Majesty's Secret Service
1964	You Only Live Twice
1965	The Man With The Golden Gun
1966	Octopussy

APPENDIX TWO

An example of the content analysis undertaken in the thesis, the results of which are presented in Chapter Two

Moonraker Film Analysis

TIME (min:sec)	NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS
0:22	Traditional gun barrel opening	Establishes series continuity
01:32	Two men hiding inside an air plane transporting a space shuttle called Moonraker, access the shuttle and commence take-off, destroying the plane in the process	
01:59	At MI6, M's receiving the news from the Defence Minister. M asks Moneypenny where Bond is	
02:23	Scene changes to Bond flying back from Africa, seducing one of the air stewardess	
02:44	Stewardess pulls a gun on Bond	
02:54	The pilot destroys the controls and both he and the air stewardess prepare to parachute from the crashing plane. Bond kicks out and knocks the pilot's gun out of his hand. They begin to fight	
03:25	Bond pushes the pilot of the plane before a mystery person pushes Bond out of the plane without a parachute. Audiences then see that this was Jaws	Jaws was a villain from a previous Bond film, who was brought back due to popular request
04:03	Falling, Bond manages to reach the pilot, and after a brief tussle manages to steal his parachute	
04:56	Jaws also parachutes out of the plane and heads towards Bond. Bond deploys his parachute and manages to escape. Jaws' parachute fails to deploy and he crashes into a big-top tent	
05:40 – 08:28	Movie titles begin	
08:28	At MI6, M, Q and the Minister of Defence are waiting for Bond to arrive	
09:35	Bond learns from Q that the Moonraker was stolen in mid-air. The space shuttle was built by a company called Drax Industries, based in California	
10:26	Q gives Bond a wrist-gun that's activated by nerve impulses from the wrist muscles and delivers either armour piercing or cyanide tipped darts	**Gadget One**

11:08	Bond arrives in California and is flown in a helicopter by a scantily-clad woman called Corinne Dufour (first Bond girl) over Drax Industries	
13:22	They land at the lavish Drax residence	
14:15	Audience's first introduction to Drax as he and Bond are introduced	
16:43	It is only after Bond leaves that the audience learns that Drax is a villain, as he orders his Asian assassin/manservant (Chang) to do 'some harm' to Bond	
17:10	Bond meets Dr Holly Goodhead (second Bond girl), who is supposedly on loan to Drax Industries from NASA to help with Drax's space flight program	
18:08	Goodhead takes him to see a Moonraker shuttle being built	
18:36	After Goodhead convinces Bond to try the centrifugal training machine, she leaves the room to take a call from Drax. In the meantime, Chang takes over the controls	
20:58	He accelerates the machine to dangerous levels	
22:02	At 13Gs, Bond uses his wrist gun to stop the machine. Goodhead gets him out of the machine but Bond refuses her help – he is suspicious of her. He sees Chang leaving the control room	
23:35	Bond goes to Corinne and asks her to tell him information regarding Drax Industries. He kisses her twice, before she tells him that Drax has been working on something very secret but it had recently been moved – she didn't know where to	
24:40	They make love	
25:03	Once Bond leaves her room, he begins searching Drax's office. Corinne finds him and accidentally lets him know where Drax's safe is hidden	
26:27	He cracks into the safe using another one of Q's gadgets – an X-ray machine concealed in a cigarette case	**Gadget Two**
26:57	He uses a camera concealed as a cigarette lighter to take photos of secret plans he found in the safe. Apparently one of the parts being made for this 'secret plan' is from Venini Glass in Venice	**Gadget Three**
27:55	As Bond and Corinne leave the room, they are seen by Chang	
29:46	The next day, Drax invites Bond to shoot pheasants with him. Concealed in a tree, a sniper lines up a shot at Bond.	

30:19	Inside of shooting the bird that flew overhead, Bond shoots the sniper instead. He leaves for the airport safely	
31:29	Drax sets his dogs after Corinne for helping Bond and she is killed	
32:24	Scene cuts to Bond arriving in Venice	
33:43	He enters the Venini Glass work room and finds hexagonal shaped glasses similar to that shown on Drax's secret plans. He also sees Dr Goodhead leaving the store and follows her	
35:16	He confronts her in the street after seeing her enter a building behind the glass shop. She tells him that she's in Venice for a space conference	
36:45	As Bond is cruising down the canals, a funeral gondola approaches. The coffin on the back of the boat opens and an assassin throws a knife, killing Bond's gondolier	
37:14	Bond manages to kill the assassin. The gondola is outfitted with a speed boat motor, which Bond activates to avoid machine gun fire	**Gadget Four**
37:37	Another speedboat takes pursuit of Bond, firing at him	
38:42	Bond activates another hidden compartment on the gondola to reveal a steering-wheel, and inflating a tube under the gondola, turning it into a hovercraft. He leaves the canals and speeds away through the main square in Venice	**Gadget Five**
39:39	Later that night, Bond – disguised as a gondolier – travels to the building behind the glass factory that he saw Dr Goodhead examining. He uses a special 'nailfile' to open the padlocked gates	**Gadget Six**
40:20	Inside, he finds a keypad guarded door. Hearing footsteps and hides and sees a scientist opening the door	
40:54	Using the same keypad combination, Bond also opens the door. Inside he finds a secret laboratory	
41:50	He sees scientists carefully filling the hexagonal glasses with a clear liquid, and then placed into a large globe device	
42:17	Once the scientists leave the room, Bond enters and obtains one of the filled glasses. He steals a vial of the clear liquid	
43:08	The scientists re-enter and Bond quickly leaves the room, sealing the door behind him. The scientists accidentally knock over the glass Bond had left lying around and the vials are broken. The scientists immediately begin to	

	die horrible deaths. However, caged rats in the room appear unaffected	
44:05	After leaving the building, Bond is attacked by a masked ninja	
45:27	During the fight, the ninja's mask comes off to reveal Drax's assistant, Chang	
46:59	Bond throws him out of a building, killing him	
47:08	Scene changes to Dr Goodhead's room. As she goes to turn on a lamp, it is revealed that Bond is inside her room. He confronts her, thinking she had something to do with his attempted murder	
48:01	Even though she denies it, Bond discovers a number of concealed weapons in her room, including a pen containing a hypodermic needle, and a daily diary that shoots darts	**Gadgets Seven and Eight**
48:27	**Product Placement:** Goodhead has a bottle of '69 **Bollinger** chilling on a table, which Bond mentions by name	
48:40	**Product Placement:** She sprays herself with a **Christian Dior** perfume. When Bond picks up the other bottle, he finds that it's actually a flame thrower	**Gadget Nine**
48:57	Her purse turns out to be a radio. Apparently this is all standard CIA equipment and he deduces that she was deliberately placed in Drax's company by the CIA to spy on him	
49:19	She suggests they pool their resources, just before he kisses her	
49:30	**Product Placements:** Behind her back, Bond opens a drawer to see an **Air France** ticket and a packet of **Marlboro** cigarettes	
49:52	Although she denies that she isn't going anywhere after Venice, she looks over at her packed luggage case waiting by the door	Director's Commentary: Apparently the luggage used was Vuitton. - "We got into product placement a bit here"
50:10	They make love. After Bond sneaks out, Goodhead orders someone to come up and take her bags	
50:41	Next day, Bond escorts M and the Minister of Defence into the building that contained the secret laboratory	
51:34	However upon entering, they discover no sign of the laboratory – just Drax standing in an ordinary room	
52:15	Humiliated, the Defence minister orders Bond to be taken off the case, however Bond gives M the vial he took from the lab the previous night to	

	be analysed by Q. Bond is ordered to unofficially keep pursuing his investigations	
53:17	Inside the room, Drax orders another assassin to replace Chang. It is Jaws	
53:54	**Product Placement:** Bond lands in Rio on an **Air France** jet. Plane's logo is visible as it lands and as Bond disembarks	
54:17	**Product Placement:** A woman drives up behind Bond's car and begins to take photos on a **Canon** camera	
	The woman (Manuela) who followed Bond is in his hotel room when he arrives and is making a martini for him. Apparently she has been sent by M to assist him (third Bond girl)	
56:04	They make love	
56:27	Later that night, Bond and Manuela push through a Marti Gras on the street to access a building owned by a subsidiary of Drax Industries – C&W Inc, Import and Export	
57:21	Bond climbs up the side of the building to find an entry while Manuela waits in the alley below. A large clown from the party begins to walk towards her	
58:19	Bond finds a sticker inside the empty building that says 'Drax Air Freight'	
58:37	The 'clown' removes his head piece to reveal that it is Jaws	
59:22	Just as Jaws to about to bite and kill Manuela, Bond jumps on him from above. Jaws then gets dragged away by an enthusiastic Marti Gras crowd	
60:14	Manuela tells Bond which airport Drax's Air Freight Service operates from	
60:37	**Product Placement:** Next day, Bond enters a building with a large **7-Up** banner on the side. He comes out at a lookout and uses a viewing machine to spy on Drax's airplanes as they take off	
61:27	He sees Dr Goodhead also at the lookout, doing exactly the same thing. She sees him and tells him that Drax's planes have been taking off every two hours	
62:57	Bond and Goodhead board a cable car. On the other side, Jaws stops the mechanism and climbs down to another cable car. Once on top, another Drax thug starts the machine again and stops it when he reaches Bond's cable car. Bond and Goodhead had climbed onto the roof at this point	
64:54	Jaws jumps onto Bond's gondola and they begin grappling	

65:35	Bond and Goodhead manage to throw Jaws inside the cable car and lock him inside	
65:57	Using a chain, Bond and Goodhead slide down the cable wire towards the bottom. Drax's goon sends Jaws' cable car after them, but they jump onto the ground before it hits them. Jaws' cable car crashes into a building	
66:38	**Product Placement:** Another shot of the **7-Up** banner as Jaws' cable car crashes through.	
66:47	**Product Placement: 7-Up** cans and containers are scattered throughout the remains with their logos visible	
67:18	Jaws meets a girl who helps him out of the wreckage and falls in love. Part of the **7-Up** banner is still visible in the background	
67:40	Dr Goodhead kisses Bond, thanking him for saving her life. As they embrace, some men dressed up as ambulance officers knocks Bond unconscious and kidnaps them both	
68:14	Bond wakes up inside an ambulance van – both he and Goodhead are tied down onto stretchers. Goodhead distracts the guard while Bond slips his bonds free	
69:04	Bond frees himself and begins fighting with the guard	
69:16	**Product Placement:** Outside shot of the ambulance driving up a winding steep road, and they drive past a large billboard advertisement for **7-Up**	Director's Commentary: - "There was quite a bit of product placement here too' - "A little product placement coming up" - "Yeah. We probably overdid it a little"
69:20	**Product Placement:** Another billboard advertising **Seiko watches**	This is the brand of watch Bond wears
69:23	**Product Placement:** Another billboard advertising **Marlboro** cigarettes	
69:47	**Product Placement:** Bond and guard fall out of the ambulance. The guard ends up stuck in a billboard for **British Airways**	
70:02	Bond is next scene riding a horse disguised in a poncho and hat	
70:31	He arrives at a 'monastery' but opens a door to see two supposed 'monks' engaged in hand to hand combat	
71:05	He comes across Moneypenny in another room and she directs him to Q	
71:24	More Q gadgets on display – exploding bolas, concealed machine guns and laser guns	**Gadgets Ten, Eleven and Twelve**

71:57	Q escorts Bond to M	
72:19	Q tells Bond that the vial he recovered contained a highly toxic nerve gas that has no effect on animals or plants. Its chemical formula is from a rare orchid only found in the Amazon jungle	
73:09	Q gives Bond a special speedboat to travel up the Amazon river to find where Drax is processing the plant	
73:37	Another speedboat comes up behind Bond's boat, leading to a chase up the Amazon river. Bond's boat is equipped with mine ejectors and torpedo launchers	
74:12	Bond releases mines, one of which destroys his pursuers' boat	**Gadget Thirteen**
74:36	Two more boats take up the chase, one of which has Jaws aboard	
75:04	Bond releases two torpedos, destroying another boat	**Gadget Fourteen**
75:26	**Product Placement:** Bond's boat has a **Carlson** logo clearly displayed	
75:46	Another shot of the **Carlson logo**	
76:04	Another shot of the **Carlson logo** as Bond puts on a helmet – the boats are headed towards a massive set of falls.	**Gadget Fifteen**
76:10	Hang-glider wingers open up above the boat and Bond glides away, as the boat goes over the falls, followed by Jaws' boat	
76:53	Bond lands safely in a jungle clearing	
77:21	He comes across a quiet waterfall and sees a woman walking through the jungle. He follows her to an ancient temple. Inside the temple is a modern facility	
78:25	She beckons Bond inside. She is joined by other beautiful women. These are Drax's attendants – they are all wearing the same skimpy uniform that Corinne was wearing	
79:24	A secret trapdoor is activated and Bond is thrown into a pool. An anaconda enters the water as the attendants impassively watch on. The snake grabs Bond and starts to strangle him	
80:14	Bond uses the hypodermic needle pen to stab the snake, injecting it with poison. As he starts to climb out of the pool, he sees Jaws standing above him. Jaws lifts him out of the pool by his head	
80:39	Drax enters and escorts Bond into the next room, containing a mission control centre	

82:30	Bond watches as Moonraker 1 space shuttle lifts off	
82:54	Moonraker 2 space shuttle lifts off	
83:03	Moonraker 3 space shuttle lifts off	
83:11	Moonraker 4 space shuttle lifts off	
83:41	Drax tells Bond he had to hijack the other Moonraker space shuttle he sold to the US government as he needed it to replace one of his faulty shuttles	
84:22	Jaws takes Bond to a room and finds Dr Goodhead already there. She runs over to embrace him	
84:50	The room turns out to be below the rocket launcher for Moonraker 5 space shuttle	
85:25	**Product Placement:** Close-up shot of Bond's digital **Seiko** watch. Inside the watch is an explosive device which Bond uses to blow off the grill to an air vent, escaping just as the rocket (containing Drax) launches	
86:35	They come out inside a loading bay	
88:00	In stolen uniforms, they board the Moonraker 6 space shuttle just before it launches into space	
90:32	Bond realises that the shuttle is a passenger ship, filled with human couples – a new Noah's ark	
91:50	They realise that all the space shuttles are converging on a secret space station, hidden from radar scans	
95:20	They disembark into the space station, as do Jaws and his girlfriend	
96:00	Drax reveals his plan to create a new super-race of human beings. He plans to use the nerve toxin to eliminate all human life on Earth and then use the offspring from these specially selected individuals to repopulate the Earth	
98:40	Bond and Goodhead find the room containing the radar jamming device. They knock out two guards and uncloak the space station so that it is visible to Earth's radars	
99:10	The station's presence is detected by the US military	
100:05	Drax launches one globe containing vials of the nerve gas	
100:18	Jaws discovers Bond and Goodhead and takes them to Drax	
100:47	The US military launch a rocket to investigate. Drax becomes aware that the radar-gamming device has been disabled	
101:57	Drax launches a second globe	

103:40	Bond makes a point of clarifying that those not deemed perfect by Drax's standards will be exterminated in front of Jaws and his girlfriend	
104:10	Jaws has second thoughts about Drax's plans and begins to help Bond, taking out some guards, but they are all captured	
104:54	Just as the station prepares to destroy the intercepting US space shuttle by laser, Bond hits an Emergency Stop button, causing the station to stop rotating – throwing everyone off balance and turning off the gravity, enabling Bond, Goodhead and Jaws to escape	
105:46	Drax's guards in spacesuits enter space and head towards the US space shuttle	
106:02	The US shuttle opens and releases its own troops in spacesuits	
106:21	They engage in a laser fight in the middle of space	
107:26	The US space shuttle manages to dock the space station before someone manages to reactivate the station, restoring gravity	
107:35	US troops enter the station	
107:55	Drax launches a third globe	
108:23	Bond, Goodhead and Jaws link up with US troops and they enter the main control centre	
109:01	Drax tries to escape and Bond follows	
109:41	Bond kills Drax with a dart from his wrist gun. Bond pushes him into an air dock and releases him into space	
110:10	Goodhead tells Bond that the US troops have taken control of the space station	
110:40	The space station, having sustained serious damage, begins to break up. The troops retreat to their space shuttle while Bond and Goodhead head towards Moonraker 5 which is armed with a laser gun that they can use to destroy the three released globes before they enter the Earth's atmosphere	
112:48	**Product Placement:** Inside the space station, Jaws finds his girlfriend unharmed. They find an unbroken bottle of **Bollinger** champagne and sit down to enjoy it. In the shuttle, Goodhead discovers that the door release mechanism is jammed	
113:45	Jaws helps release the shuttle just as the station explodes. The section containing Jaws and his girlfriend flies free and heads towards Earth –	

	Bond is confident that they'll make it	
115:04	Bond destroys one globe	
115:32	Bond destroys the second globe	
116:14	Bond misses the third globe and switches to manual firing	
117:20	Bond finally destroys the third and final globe	
117:57	Bond and Goodhead make love in the space shuttle	
118:16	Ground control establishes audio-visual contact inside the shuttle and witness Bond and Goodhead floating in midair as they make love	
118:57	Credits begin	

PRODUCT NAME	**PRODUCT APPEARANCES**
Bollinger Champagne	Verb/Hand: 2
Number of brand-shots included:	Imp. Endorse: 0
1	Signage: 0
	Clutter: 0
Air France	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 1
2	Imp. Endorse: 1
	Signage: 0
	Clutter: 0
Marlboro cigarettes	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 0
1	Imp. Endorse: 1
	Signage: 1
	Clutter: 0
Christian Dior	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 1
	Imp. Endorse: 0
	Signage: 0
	Clutter: 0

Canon	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 1
	Imp. Endorse: 0
	Signage: 0
	Clutter: 0
7-Up	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 0
0	Imp. Endorse: 0
	Signage: 4
	Clutter: 1
Seiko watches	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 1
1	Imp. Endorse: 0
	Signage: 1
	Clutter: 0
British Airways	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 0
0	Imp. Endorse: 0
	Signage: 1
	Clutter: 0
Carlson boats	
Number of brand-shots included:	Verb/Hand: 3
3	Imp. Endorse: 0
	Signage: 0
	Clutter: 0

Total Number of Products: 9
Total Number of Product Placements: 19
Most Prominent Placement = 7-Up
Percentages:
Verb/Hand: 47% **Signage: 37%**
Imp. Endorse: 11% **Clutter: 5%**
Products mentioned in director's commentary but not directly referred to or seen on-screen:
1) Vuitton luggage

APPENDIX THREE

Table of all technological gadgetry featured in the James Bond film series, as discussed in Chapter Five

MOVIE:	GADGETS:
Dr No	- No gadgets - Verb/Hand: 36%, Imp: 8%, Signage: 0%, Clutter: 56%
From Russia, with Love	- Q officially appears in the second Bond film *From Russia with Love* in which he gives Bond a booby-trapped briefcase complete with gas bomb, hidden gold coins and weaponry. - Verb/Hand: 50%, Imp: 17%, Signage: 33%, Clutter: 0%
Goldfinger	- First visit to Q's workshop, and the first introduction to the specially modified car, the Aston Martin. Some of these modifications included revolving license plates, a tracking/homing device, oil pumps, smoke screens, tyre slashers and a rear gun shield. - Verb/Hand: 60%, Imp: 19%, Signage: 13%, Clutter: 8%
Thunderball	- In the opening scene, Bond uses a jet-pack to fly away from gunmen and once in his Aston Martin, uses a water cannon concealed in the car to knock over more gunmen. - A villain uses a computerized cigarette case to open a secret door at enter the SPECTRE headquarters. - Another villain uses a rocket launcher attached to a motorcycle to destroy a car. - MI6 has also been 'gadgetised' with a large automated world map revealed behind a large painting. - Bond has a tape recorder concealed inside a book which he uses to check to see if anyone's been in his room while he's been away. - It is also the first time Q outfits Bond in the field and gives him a Geiger-meter concealed inside a watch (this is also the first time a brand-name watch, the **Breitling Top-Time** watch, has been used as a modified gadget complete with its own camera close-up), an underwater camera, a miniature flare gun, a rebreather concealed inside a cigar case and a homing device which Bond is to swallow). - Bond gives Domino a Geiger-meter concealed as a camera so she can check to see if the nuclear weapons are aboard Largo's yacht - Verb/Hand: 44%, Imp: 0%, Signage: 6%, Clutter: 50%
You Only Live Twice	- Bond uses a special breathing apparatus when he fakes his own death and has to be rescued from

	underwater. - A Japanese agent has a radio transmitter concealed in her purse - Bond uses another gadget to gain access to a safe - A villain uses an X-ray scan to detect Bond's concealed gun - A Helicopter with a large magnet attached to it picks up a car that is pursuing Bond and drops it into the ocean - Q again outfits Bond in the field and brings 'Little Nelly'—a mini-helicopter that can be assembled from a kit and is complete with machine guns and missiles, flame thrower and aerial wires - Blofeld's secret base is concealed inside a volcano - A small rocket bullet is concealed inside a cigarette which Bond uses to kill one of Blofeld's henchmen - Verb/Hand: 60%, Imp: 0%, Signage: 40%, Clutter: 0%
OHMSS	No Q in this film, and there are only two gadgets used: - A safe cracker concealed inside a large briefcase - Transmitters concealed inside powder compacts - Verb/Hand: 16%, Imp: 13%, Signage: 22%, Clutter: 49%
Diamonds are Forever	- Cloned Blofelds - A booby-trapped cigarette case which crushes a guard's hand when he tries to frisk Bond - Tiffany Case has an elaborate fingerprint scanner concealed inside her wardrobe - Q has provided Bond with a set of fake fingertips (latex) with a different set of fingerprints on them - Bond uses a grappling gun to access Blofeld's apartment and then uses it again to shoot one of the Blofeld clones in the head - Q creates a machine which can mimic anyone's voice which Bond then uses to impersonate Blofeld's assistant - Q uses a special ring which emits a particular frequency that sets off pokie machines in a casino - Bond uses a large inflatable ball to parachute from a plane and then roll across the ocean's surface to Blofeld's oil rig - Blofeld tries to escape in a mini-submarine - Verb/Hand: 42%, Imp: 28%, Signage: 11%, Clutter: 19%
Live and Let Die	- An earpiece emits a fatal frequency which kills the UK's representative to the UN - M gives Bond a **Rolex** watch that contains a magnet which Bond later uses to unzip a woman's dress—more involved placement than the Breitling in *Thunderball* with numerous camera close-ups - A cigarette lighter inside a car is actually a concealed radio transmitter Felix Leiter uses to communicate with Bond

	- A radio transmitter is also concealed as Bond's grooming kit with the microphone inside his shaving brush - Bond uses another device to search for listening bugs - Bond's lover Rosie accidentally discovers a hidden compartment aboard a boat with an elaborate communication system - Sniper guns and security cameras are concealed as voodoo figurines on the island and are used by the drug traffickers to monitor and kill intruders - A spy uses a radio transmitter concealed inside a flute to report on Bond and Solitaire's movements - Verb/Hand: 37%, Imp: 26%, Signage: 4%, Clutter: 33%
The Man with the Golden Gun	- An exploding camera goes off behind Bond and Q in his workshop - A secret military base is concealed inside a shipwreck off the coast of Hong Kong - Scaramanga assembles his gun from a cigarette case, lighter, pen and cuff link - Scaramanga's plane converts into a plane which he uses to escape Bond - Verb/Hand: 42%, Imp: 25%, Signage: 23%, Clutter: 10%
The Spy who Loved Me	- A radio transmitter concealed inside a jewellery case - A walkie-talkie concealed inside a purse - Bond's watch prints out messages received from MI6 - A gun concealed inside a ski-pole - Bond uses a specially designed cigarette case and lighter to view a microfilm - Anya pulls out a cigarette and blows a powder into Bond's face when he leans over to light it for her and it knocks him unconscious - At his Cairo workshop, Q is working on a tea tray that flies across a table and decapitates a dummy, an ejector seat concealed inside a cushion, etc - Bond's **Lotus** has paint sprays which he uses to obscure a pursuing car's windscreen. The Lotus also converts into a submarine complete with rocket launchers - Verb/Hand: 61%, Imp: 36%, Signage: 0%, Clutter: 3%
Moonraker	- Q gives Bond a wrist-gun that's activated by nerve impulses from the wrist muscles and shoots either armour-piercing or cyanide tipped darts - An X-ray machine concealed in a cigarette case - A camera concealed inside a cigarette lighter - Bond's gondola not only is outfitted with a speedboat motor but also converts into a hovercraft - A special 'nailfile' that can pick locks - A pen containing a hypodermic needle

	- A daily diary that shoots darts - A flame thrower inside a bottle of **Christian Dior** perfume - Q's workshop on location had exploding bolas, concealed machine guns and laser guns in ordinary objects - Q gives Bond a special **Carlson** speedboat with mine ejectors and torpedo launchers and an emergency hang-glider capability - An explosive device is concealed inside a digital **Seiko** watch (this was new technology as well!!) - Verb/Hand: 47%, Imp: 11%, Signage: 37%, Clutter: 5%
For Your Eyes Only	- A remote-driven helicopter - A secret compartment aboard a fishing trawler where Navy personnel covertly monitor Russian satellite activity - A make-up mirror concealed inside a filing cabinet - A self-destructing **Lotus** - Machine guns mounted on motorcycles - A tape recorder inside a candlestick holder - A giant iron diving suit with pincer claws - A **Seiko** watch that alerts Bond when MI6 needs him - Verb/Hand: 62%, Imp: 4%, Signage: 11%, Clutter: 23%
Octopussy	- A small jet concealed inside a horse float which Bond uses to escape pursuers - A modified rickshaw with a powerful jet-powered engine - Q's Indian workshop has numerous gadget gags including a "snake-charmed" rope - Q gives Bond a fountain pen that squirts a highly corrosive acid, the lid is a highly sensitive listening device - Q also puts a homing device microchip inside a **Faberge** egg - A **Seiko** TV watch which also picks up the homing device emitted by the egg - A hollow crocodile suit that Bond uses to approach Octopussy's floating palace - A rotating saw attached to a rope that an assassin tries to kill Bond with - Verb/Hand: 67.5%, Imp: 27.5%, Signage: 0%, Clutter: 5%
View to a Kill	- A boat disguised as a glacier - A device that can detect listening bugs concealed as an electric razor - X-ray sunglasses - A special device that can make imprints of trace marks left on paper - A camera concealed inside a ring

	- A lab concealed underneath a horse stable - A camera behind a mirror takes photos of Bond's face which the villain then runs through an identity search engine to determine Bond's true identity - Steroid micro-chips implanted into horses - A rigged steeple-chase which tries to kill Bond - A modified **Sharper Image** credit card (see director's commentary) - Q's snooper robot which is used to conduct surveillance - Verb/Hand: 74%, Imp: 3%, Signage: 0%, Clutter: 23%
The Living Daylights	- A specially designed compartment that can transport someone through a pipeline into another country - A gardener's rake is actually a metal detector - An explosive concealed inside a milk bottle - A **Phillips** key finder which releases a nerve gas and can explode. It also has a skeleton key which can open 90% of doors - A police scanner concealed inside a **Phillips** car radio - Laser beams that shoot out of the **Aston Martin** tyres and cut open the bottom of a pursuing car. It also has rocket launchers, outrigger skies that replace the car's missing wheels, spikes which come out of the other tyres, rocket propulsion and self-destruct capabilities - Verb/Hand: 52%, Imp: 16%, Signage: 0%, Clutter: 32%
Licence to Kill	- A large manta ray frame which is used by Bond to secretly approach a boat underwater - Q arrives and outfits Bond in the field despite his having gone rogue and gives him an exploding alarm clock, plastic explosive concealed as toothpaste, a signature gun with an optical palm reader that can only be used by Bond and is concealed inside a camera, a Polaroid camera which shoots out a laser beam and takes X-ray photos - A detonator is concealed inside a packet of **Lark** cigarettes - Verb/Hand: 33%, Imp: 26%, Signage: 2%, Clutter: 39%
GoldenEye	- Binoculars with camera which digitally forwards the photos to MI6 - MI6 transmissions come through an **Alpine** sound system in the **BMW** - Q gives Bond an exploding pen - An X-ray tray is also shown - A laser beam in his **Omega** watch which also acts as a bomb detonator - Verb/Hand: 70%, Imp: 19%, Signage: 4%, Clutter: 7%
Tomorrow Never Dies	- A bomb concealed inside a cigarette lighter - An underwater torpedo with a rotating drill on its front that operates from remote control

	- Q gives Bond his car, the **BMW750** which is protected by an electric field, is bullet-proof, emits smoke, can release spikes to puncture pursuing cars' tyres, a circular saw underneath the BMW logo, can inflate its own punctured tyres and rocket launchers - Q also gives Bond a **Sony Ericsson** mobile phone with a fingerprint scanner, a voltage defence system and a remote control for his car. It can also open doors. - A lock pick is concealed as an earring - Chinese 'Q' type workshop: Fire-breathing dragon statue, an oriental fan that shoots darts and a rickshaw launcher. A secret compartment opens to reveal a wide range of weaponry and supplies - A remote control chip is taken from Bond's **Omega** watch - Verb/Hand: 76%, Imp: 13%, Signage: 4%, Clutter: 7%
The World is not Enough	- A button on his glasses that causes a dummy gun to explode - A bomb detonator concealed inside a lapel pin - A prototype speedboat that can submerge itself, has jet-fired propulsion and torpedo launchers - In Q's Scottish workshop, Bond sees a bagpipe being used as a machine gun and flame thrower - Q's new assistant gives Bond a run-down on his new **BMW**: "The very latest in interception measures, titanium armour, a multi-tasking heads-up display and 6 beverage cup holders". It also has rocket launcher - Bond is also given a snow jacket that inflates into a large insulated ball to protect the wearer in an avalanche - Bond's **Omega** watch provides a light source and has a grappling gun and wire installed inside - X-ray glasses - A skeleton key concealed inside Bond's **VISA** credit card - A gun concealed inside a cane - Verb/Hand: 46%, Imp: 29%, Signage: 0%, Clutter: 25%
Die Another Day	- A knife with a small satellite dish that comes out of the handle - A bomb detonator pin concealed inside Bond's **Omega** watch as well as a button to make the bomb explode. The watch also has laser capabilities - **Sony Ericsson**'s own technology is used when a henchman takes a digital photo of Bond's face and transmits it to be verified - Jinx uses her **Sony Ericsson** mobile phone as a timer to detonate C4 - A virtual reality headset which Q uses to test Bond's reflexes - A ring that emits a high-frequency sound that can shatter all glass - A vanishing **Aston Martin** with motion tracking machine guns, rocket launchers, an ejector seat, spikes

	in its wheels for traction. The car can also be driven by remote control and has tracking system which uses thermal imagery to detect life forms - A henchman uses a similar thermal imagery system to find Bond's camouflaged car in his **Jaguar**. It also has machine guns and rocket launchers as well as a ramming spike - A satellite dish that can magnify the sun's rays into a devastating laser beam
Casino Royale	- No Q - Bond uses a special computer program and GPS system to locate the origin of a text message - A **Sony Ericsson** mobile phone is used to arm a bomb concealed inside a key ring. The phone is then used to detonate it. Bond connects a diagnostic machine to his **Sony Ericsson** mobile phone before stabbing it into a vein – the machine then transmits Bond's blood work to MI6 for analysis - Bond is injected with a locator chip by MI6 - Bond's **Aston Martin** has an emergency defibrillator inside a compartment

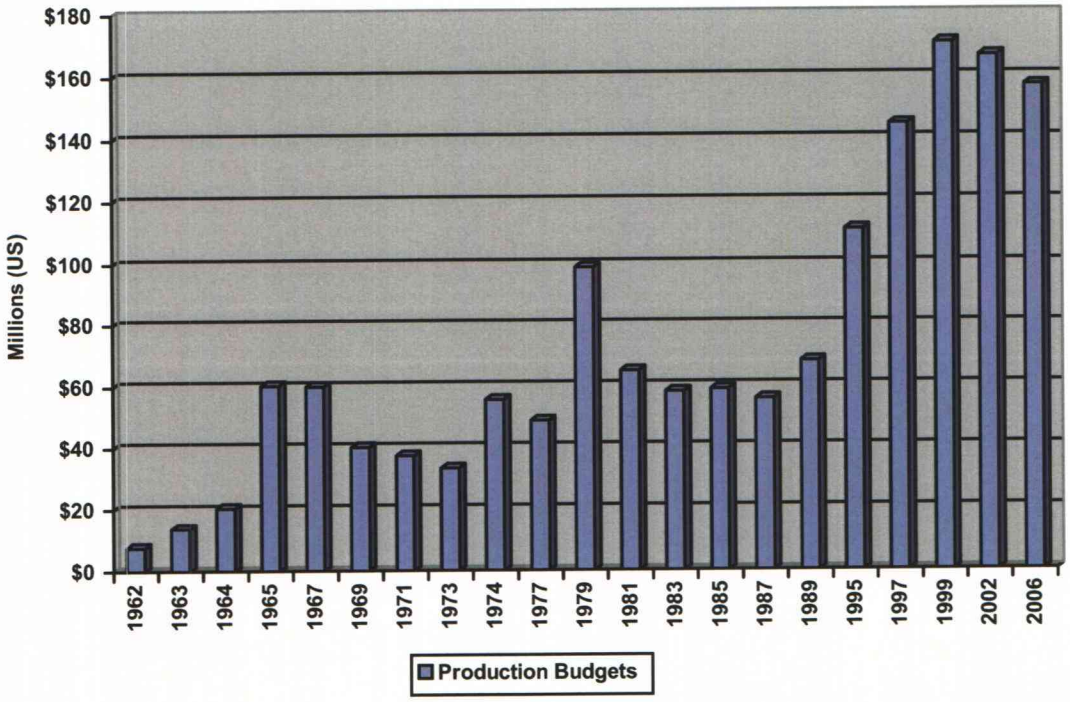
APPENDIX FOUR

A list of all film story locations, as discussed in Chapter Six

Dr No (1962)	Jamaica, London
From Russia, With Love (1963)	Venice, London, Turkey
Goldfinger (1964)	Miami, London, Geneva, Baltimore
Thunderball (1965)	Paris, Nassau, Miami (off-shore)
You Only Live Twice (1967)	Hong Kong, Japan
On Her Majesty's Secret Service (1969)	London, Spain, Switzerland
Diamonds Are Forever (1971)	South Africa, Amsterdam, Los Angeles, Las Vegas
Live And Let Die (1973)	New York, New Orleans, San Monique, London
The Man With The Golden Gun (1974)	China (filmed in Thailand), Macau, Hong Kong, Thailand
The Spy Who Loved Me (1977)	Moscow, Egypt, Sardinia
Moonraker (1979)	California, Venice, Rio
For Your Eyes Only (1981)	Greece, Manila, London, Cortina, Albania
Octopussy (1983)	Cuba, London, India
A View To A Kill (1985)	Paris, London, San Francisco, California
The Living Daylights (1987)	Gibraltar, Vienna, London, Tangier, Bratasla, Afghanistan
Licence To Kill (1989)	Florida, Panama
GoldenEye (1995)	Russia, French Riviera, Caribbean, Cuba
Tomorrow Never Dies (1997)	Hamburg, Saigon (filmed in Thailand)
The World Is Not Enough (1999)	Spain, London, Scotland, Kazakhstan, Istanbul
Die Another Day (2002)	North Korea, Hong Kong, Cuba, London, Iceland
Casino Royale (2006)	Prague, Uganda, Madagascar, London, Bahamas, Miami, Montenegro, Venice

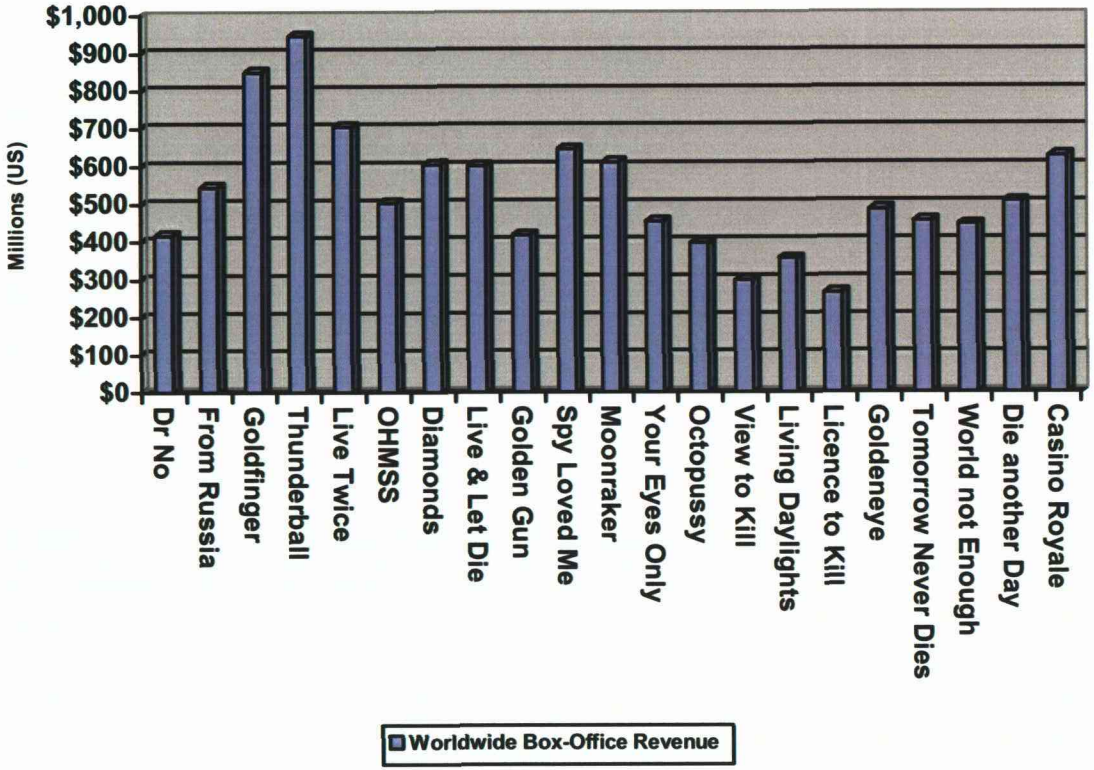
APPENDIX FIVE

Production Budgets for the James Bond Film Series adjusted by CPI Inflation (2009)



APPENDIX SIX

Worldwide Box-Office Takings for the James Bond Film Series adjusted by CPI Inflation (2009)



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