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**Using the 2011 Rugby World Cup as a catalyst
for the reproduction and refinement of
New Zealand's national identity:
Uniting a nation around a brand image.**

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on how the New Zealand Government used a mega sports event, the 2011 Rugby World Cup, as a catalyst for the reproduction and refinement of national identity. The ways that the government used a major event to unite the nation of New Zealand around the strong brand image generated by the event are examined and critically discussed in the thesis.

This study used a case study methodology with data collected through discourse analysis. The three key themes *Presenting New Zealand*, *Being a New Zealander* and *Growing New Zealand* emerged, with the theme of Propaganda identified and introduced for further discussion at a later stage of the study.

The discourse analysis highlighted how the government sought to promote New Zealand to the rest of the world with particular emphases on *opportunity*, *reputation* and *innovation*. Such an approach led to the success of the government's and Rugby New Zealand's *stadium of four million* strategy. In addition, the potential for future similar campaigns to be grounded on national identity was established.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In shaping this study my initial focus was on event management as this was an area that interested me, particularly the management of international equestrian events. As large scale international events in Europe they consistently gain attention from international media and in terms of spectators, even with a relatively small niche spectator base, the governments of the participating nations choose to be financially involved. This was an interesting discovery because as discussed later in this chapter, there isn't always a substantial economic benefit resulting from this level of government involvement. After some reflection on this information my focus shifted to thinking about the ways event organisers draw the attention and financial support of their respective governments.

The justification for such government action seems to be that while the events are organised and run by the governing body of the sport and a select committee, the local governments and councils are able to use the opportunity presented by the increase in visitors (which includes other tourists) and international media to promote their country or region. These endeavours have the potential to consolidate and stimulate change to a country's national identity and image, attract investment and encourage tourism. More often than not the financial burden is greatest around hosting the event due to the necessity to upgrade and develop infrastructure. This was true of the 2004 Olympic Games for instance, where EUR1.4 billion was estimated in comparison with the 2011 RWC with projected costs of NZD100 million for the event (Deloitte, 2008).

There is however, a genuine belief that the social and future economic benefits outweigh the initial cost. This is supported in the Deloitte (2008) report about the potential economic impact of the RWC on a host nation. While the authors caution that a positive economic outcome may not always be the case, the RSM International (2010) report on the 2010 FIFA World Cup highlights that "the 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Seoul brought South Korean multinationals (LG Electronics; Samsung; and others) to international prominence. The 2008 Beijing

Olympics showcased the rising commercial power and technological prowess of China and the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro are widely anticipated as Brazil's arrival as a major global player" (para. 2). Furthermore, according to a report by the Mayor of London and the government department that promotes businesses in the United Kingdom, "so far £9.9 billion in international trade and inward investment has been won because of the Games and Games-time promotional activity – with more being announced" (p. 43). The report asserts that new contracts, sales and foreign investment in the year since the Games were due to the hosting of them. It seems that if event organisers have their local councils or governments on side they are likely to have increased marketing and infrastructure support for their event which contributes significantly to the success of the event.

In light of my early research and examination of the literature it became clear that considerable emphasis is placed on the promotion of a nation's identity and image by governments when a decision is being made to secure the hosting rights of a major sporting event. This resulted in my initial focus question about the ways event organisers draw the attention and financial support of their respective governments to subsequently be developed the question: How can sporting events be used to promote a nation? To answer this question I decided to draw on the 2011 Rugby World Cup as a specific case study.

In the aforementioned Deloitte (2008) report, the RWC has been labeled the third biggest sporting event in the world and probably one of the world's top five major sports events. These claims are based on several key factors which include: largest paying attendances; largest number of international visitors (second only to the FIFA World Cup); broadcast reach; event duration; and social media following. I considered that the data gathered from the 2011 RWC event would enable me to obtain useful data which could be used to answer my reframed research question. It was clear that as a major sporting event the RWC had gained the support of the government while still in its conceptual phase, hence my shift from how to engage government support towards what the government hoped to achieve from its investment seemed justified.

I also had an interest in the social benefits of hosting such an event, which was generated by reading about a central element of London's bid for the 2012 Olympic Games. This was that the bidders believed the event could be a catalyst for change to increase physical activity within younger generations and to promote grass roots sports throughout the United Kingdom. As was stated in the joint United Kingdom Government and Mayor of London (2013) *Inspired by 2012* report, "lasting impacts in sport and healthy living have always been at the center of Olympic and Paralympic Games legacy ambitions" (p. 21). I discovered that the New Zealand Government also had aspirations for social and cultural benefits and espoused these in the document, the *Government Framework for the RWC*: "As well as economic benefits, there are also significant social and cultural benefits to be gained from hosting an event of this scale" (New Zealand Government, 2010, p. 3).

These social benefits were articulated in the document as "Supporting the development and delivery of a volunteer and hosting programme that recruits and mobilises New Zealanders in all walks of life to support the tournament delivery. This will create a great tournament culture and drive wider economic and social benefits" (p. 11). In a more recent report by the New Zealand Government (2013) these aspirations appeared to be endorsed, although interestingly (and a topic for discussion later in the thesis) the specific social benefits were not specifically stated. "Economically and socially RWC 2011 has been great for New Zealand, with a marked boost in economic activity that's had a positive effect on our regions. An independent assessment put the short-term (2006-2012) economic impact of the tournament at around NZ\$1.73 billion, and that it sustained the equivalent of 29,990 jobs for one year" (New Zealand Government, 2013, p. 21).

My wonderings, reading and ongoing discussions with others led once more to the need to reframe and refine the study and my research question in light of my further thinking about the topic.

Reframing and refining the study

A key government objective for the 2011 RWC was to increase the appeal of New Zealand as an events and tourist destination (New Zealand Government, 2011). This was linked for example, to the promotion of food and wine as ‘pure’ and top quality and was in line with existing tourism projections for New Zealand which were being explicitly promoted by certain bodies. Tourism New Zealand (a Crown Entity funded by the New Zealand Government and led by a Board of Directors appointed by the Minister of Tourism) was one such body that began its RWC campaign in 2008. As the RWC event aligned with Tourism New Zealand’s primary goal of promoting New Zealand abroad to attract international visitors and potential investors, its strategies were well supported by its association with the RWC even though the event three years away.

At the end of the 2011 RWC a key question for the government was whether it had achieved its core objectives which can be summarised as being about maximising the “opportunities of a Major Event and ensuring enduring benefits for New Zealand (leverage and legacy)” (New Zealand Government, 2010, p. 11). Such an important question proved difficult to answer as the longer term benefits stated by the government were not likely to be observable for 2 or more years after the RWC. Whilst the outcomes were intended to be positive for all involved, there was a considerable amount of media coverage and discussion about the detrimental aspects of the RWC for small business, and that overall it may have caused significant financial loss to the country. A recently published report (New Zealand Government, 2013) seeks to dispel these perceptions, however that is not to say they are not very real for a number of people. Similar issues were raised post the London Olympics when Sky Sports estimated that the total cost of hosting the Games and the following Paralympics amounted to approximately £24bn up from the initial 2005 estimate of £2.4bn (Yahoo News, 2012). It has since been suggested by various media that significant numbers of people were disadvantaged by London’s hosting of the event and that most of the jobs created by the event were short-term despite promises to the contrary.

Hence the focus of this research shifted further to also include discussion about whether the massive investment of the government in the 2011 RWC has had the desired impact in terms of building upon the existing national image to increase trade, investment and tourism opportunities for New Zealand and its citizens. While this was not a part of my core research and is perhaps more of a question for students of economics, it did focus my attention towards the literature about branding and image in relation to how New Zealand presents itself to the rest of the world, and an examination of the malleability of national identity and image.

The issues of identity and image eventually emerged as the study's main focus with two overarching research questions:

1. How has the New Zealand Government used the 2011 RWC as a catalyst for the reproduction and refinement of national identity?
2. How did the New Zealand government use a major event to unite the nation of New Zealand around a strong brand image (the RWC)?

These helped with the identification of three further inter-related sub-questions. These are addressed in both of the findings and discussion chapters.

- What are NZ's national image and identity?
- Do New Zealanders view themselves in the same way non-New Zealanders view them?
- How were the citizens communicated to about the impact and purpose of a major sporting event in relation to image and identity?

When I began to research and think about national identity, I first read two seminal books in which New Zealand authors explored and articulated their thinking about New Zealand culture and identity. Sinclair (1986), in *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for national identity* (1986), and McLaughlin (1987), in *The passionless people – New Zealanders in the 1970s*, both argue convincingly for the significant place of rugby in the development of the New Zealand national identity. It was McLaughlin's (2012) *The passionless people revisited – 21st century New Zealanders* that initially resonated with me although I

must admit to, initially at least, rather uncritically concurring with much of what he had written. It was only when I had moved to England that I came to some realisations which contradicted a number of McLaughlin's opinions, perceptions and observations. I had heard the sayings: 'the further you get from home the more like home you become' and 'absence makes the heart grow fonder'. These have proved true for me but much more has grown out of my overseas experiences thus far. I have come to know that as a New Zealander I have an identity that is unique and I have observed, is recognised by non-New Zealanders. My New Zealand identity is present in my work ethic; my 'can do' attitude; my pragmatic approach to life; my hitherto unarticulated passion for New Zealand's land and people; and a new consciousness of what it means to be a New Zealander.

My New 'Zealandness' has won me jobs, connected me with new people with ease, and enabled me to make the most of my new environment. When I lived in New Zealand I frequently heard people say that the defining features of New Zealanders are their hospitality and warmth but I could not always see that it was so. Now living in this new land, I have become aware of the truth of this. On walking into a New Zealand store for me it was a given that I would be greeted warmly by the staff and was something I now know I took for granted, but this basic level of human interaction is noticeably absent in my new setting. I have found that I live in an environment that is strongly influenced by social class and where a highly individualistic "each to his own" belief system exists.

Although New Zealand is a relatively new and young nation, as a young New Zealander I can see that it and its people have forged a strong identity. As a second generation New Zealander on my father's side, and third generation on my mother's, many of my family's traditions have originated in England, Scotland, Ireland and Denmark, and continue to contribute to the richness of my family culture. I identify most strongly with my New Zealand identity however, which I can now see and acknowledge has evolved partly out of the ethnic diversity that makes up my family tree but mostly from being a New Zealander.

Even in the early days of New Zealand's nationhood, commentators were able to identify those unique traits which still permeate the identity of New Zealanders in the 21st century. In 1915 for example, the British war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett described New Zealand soldiers as "courageous, ingenious, good humored, patient yet direct, irreverent in the face of authority, naturally egalitarian and with a high sense of camaradie yet contemptuous of British class differences" (Ashmead-Bartlett, 1915 as cited in Wikipedia, 2013). It can be easier to see differences than similarities and so in understanding what we are not, we are able to see what we are. More often than not 'others' views are an accurate reflection of who we are, enabling an identity to be built upon those characteristics that are valued. New Zealanders are often seen through the actions and prowess of the men who make up the national rugby team, the All Blacks.

Many of the characteristics described during times of war are still used to define the people of contemporary New Zealand and are the characteristics that are valued in New Zealand's rugby players (Sinclair, 1986). As Whannel (2008) has pointed out, the reproduction of war-like behaviours and terms within the media in relation to team sport competitions prevail. In addition he claims, these ideas are often reproduced to reinforce stereotypes and identity. Sinclair (1986) for instance, has used a war metaphor in his description of New Zealand's 1905 test match with Wales, calling the match 'the Gallipoli of New Zealand sport'.

It was over three decades ago that both Sinclair (1986) and McLaughlin (1976) wrote about the place of rugby in the development of the New Zealand national identity. Nauright (1990) points out too, that Phillips's (1984) examination of the "development of rugby within national consciousness" (p. 221) in his book *Rugby, war and the mythology of the New Zealand male* highlighted the uniqueness of this in relation to the development of national identity.

Rugby and its associated media then, are ideal points to engage in a discourse about identity and image because New Zealanders clearly value the attributes and characteristics of the All Blacks. Desmarais and Bruce (2010) have identified that

the images and dialogue produced “reinforce long-standing beliefs about the New Zealand character as encompassing composure and quiet strength” (p. 339).

Rugby has long been a form of identity construction, a place for social gathering and the strengthening of small communities as well as a nationwide community (Media Resources, 2011; Deane, 2008; Nauright, 1990). When New Zealand hosted international matches prior to the RWC for instance, games were played around the whole country rather than restricting them to the larger cities. These stadiums which regularly hosted grassroots and provincial games rugby clubs and were already strong foundations in their communities rose to the occasion and were seen to epitomise those characteristics New Zealanders seemed to be renowned for.

John Kirwan, who is a former All Black, believes the game of rugby has almost always been able to unite communities. He has commented that rugby helped New Zealand to develop an independent identity which makes it "part of our heritage, it's how we identified ourselves when we detached from England, so it's really entrenched in our psyche" (Media Resources, 2011, para. 5). This view is reflected in Nauright's (1990) earlier claim that “two themes have emerged in analyses of the position of rugby in New Zealand society” (p. 219). The first of these and the most relevant to this study, is to do with how “rugby, particularly, success internationally, has helped to shape a New Zealand national identity” (p. 219), although the second theme about how rugby has contributed to the forming of a male identity in New Zealand is one that has begun to receive more attention in research.

A changing demographic in New Zealand has meant the nation has become more multi-national and multi-cultural hence there has been a need to promote the game to those for whom it is not customary. The NZRU have developed a GrassRoots Rugby television channel to make the game known and readily available to a wide range of people. The traditional way that rugby has been organised also makes it inaccessible to some thus game times have been shifted and the game more overtly promoted to ensure its ongoing place in New Zealand communities. The

international success of the All Blacks has been built on the strength of what is commonly called ‘grassroots rugby’ – through schools, clubs, and the representative teams of New Zealand's 26 provincial unions. Despite the changing demographic “international rugby games involving the All Blacks, regularly rate among the most popular mass viewing events; they are a significant ritual in New Zealand Life” (Desmarais & Bruce, 2010; Day, 1999). As such, I believe the RWC provides an ideal case for the study of New Zealand’s reproduction and refinement of national identity especially as the RWC appears to have been a prime catalyst for this discourse.

The All Blacks have long been part of the New Zealand culture and key contributors to New Zealand’s identity and image. One source, a former Australian Wallabies coach claimed the All Blacks play instinctive rugby (Connolly, 2010). “The All Blacks play instinctive rugby, which has been bred into them from a young age...The philosophy is very much that they will play to the style that suits the players, and if you try to match them or imitate, they're comfortable with that. If you score two tries, they'll step it up and score five.” These comments align with most New Zealanders’ view of themselves and is articulated thus by Tourism New Zealand (2013). “New Zealanders ... have a background of quiet but rugged individualism, self-reliance, and a genius for invention - qualities still evident in the population today ... Their isolation and exposure to the elements forced these early New Zealanders to become hardy and multi-skilled. This resourcefulness and ingenuity has greatly contributed to the New Zealand character.”

This thesis explores how through the 2011 RWC the government and RNZ used the opportunity to promote New Zealand to New Zealanders and the world with the specific objective of raising the profile of the nation’s identity and image; create a greater awareness of New Zealand internationally; and use New Zealand’s internal community to promote it externally to individuals and national communities who chose to visit during the tournament, or follow the global television coverage of the RWC.

To that end in the next section I consider it important to provide further information about the RWC and its key stakeholders.

Background

The Rugby World Cup (RWC)

The inaugural RWC was held in New Zealand in 1987. Notably it was the first and last time the All Blacks won what was known as the Webb Ellis Cup until New Zealand hosted the event in 2011. New Zealanders pride themselves on their prowess in rugby and the game has always held the status of being the national sport. The All Black's failure to win the top rugby prize in the years after the first RWC carried huge weight in public opinion. As such the ongoing stigma that New Zealanders had begun to associate with the All Black's failure to win the RWC was of major concern to the International Rugby Board (IRB) when considering New Zealand's bid to host the 2011 RWC. Their concerns centred around the consequences should the All Blacks fail to proceed into the tournament final, as had been the case in previous tournaments.

There were concerns that if this were to occur in New Zealand, the nation could withdraw vital support from the RWC and other rugby competitions. Therefore it was critical they determined, that the RWC be viewed as an international event, not the New Zealand cup or the All Black cup (Snedden, 2012) as it would show that the RWC was about international rugby and international teams. Despite these concerns and in consideration of the promise of a stadium of four million, the hosting rights for the 2011 RWC were awarded to New Zealand on November 17, 2005.

In the next section I briefly outline the roles of the various organisations involved in the RWC.

Securing the hosting rights

The RWC is owned by an international governing body which is the International Rugby Board (IRB). The event is hosted by a different nation every four years, which differs from the Olympic Games in that they are hosted by a single city

rather than a country. It is helpful to understand too that unlike the Olympics, the bid to host the event is not made by the government of the country but by the national governing body for the sport. In the case of the RWC that body was the New Zealand Rugby Union. Generally the government of the country will become involved once the bid has been secured.

In order to secure the hosting rights to global sporting events on the scale of RWC 2011, countries must be able to demonstrate their ability to run an event efficiently and without disruption, and to protect the rights of official sponsors of the event. These capabilities are both critical to the successful delivery of major events. To ensure that New Zealand could fulfill these requirements, the New Zealand Government passed the Major Events Management Act in 2007. (The Ministry of Economic Development, 2010, p. 2)

A key reason that New Zealand won the right to host the RWC therefore, was because the government purposefully supported the bid from the beginning. This support extended to the active involvement of Helen Clark, the former New Zealand Prime Minister who was a member of the team that presented the bid to the IRB.

Once granted the rights to host the event, Rugby New Zealand (RNZ) was formed. RNZ's role was to deliver the RWC. The chairpersons of this organisation comprised people from both the New Zealand government and the NZRU. RNZ communicated directly with Rugby World Cup Limited (RWC Ltd), a subsidiary of the IRB and protected and promoted the interests of the IRB in the event. Essentially there were three major power players off the field in the event with each wanting to ensure their own interests were expressed and their objectives achieved.

The International Rugby Board (IRB)

The IRB comprises 22 members from 13 different nations who are entitled to vote for or against the bids made by those countries wanting to host the world cup event. Its main objectives are to ensure the development of the game on a global scale, to provide ongoing promotion of rugby, and to supply the game with laws,

regulations and enforcement. According to the IRB, the RWC is the “financial engine which drives the development of the game world-wide” (IRB website, 2013). The money raised from this and smaller events, distributed back into the member unions to develop and expand the game.

The New Zealand Rugby Union (NZRU)

The NZRU is responsible for the direction of the game of rugby within New Zealand. This includes fostering, developing, administering, promoting, and representing the interests of New Zealand national rugby. The NZRU governs the provincial rugby organisers whom it charges with goals. One particular goal of the RWC is to increase participation at grass-roots level. The NZRU’s vision is to inspire and unite New Zealanders through strong community rugby, make rugby a positive influence in New Zealand society, and make the All Blacks ambassadors for New Zealand and for rugby in New Zealand. In order to enforce a positive global presence, a key aim is to contribute in various ways to the IRB, which in turn benefits the growth of rugby internationally.

The New Zealand Government

The New Zealand government took on the responsibility for the promotion of New Zealand through the RWC event. It supported the bid, built and developed infrastructure, and was behind the REAL New Zealand Festival which provided a chance to “see some magnificent rugby” and to “see and experience the country”, but also to really absorb everything New Zealand had to offer whilst “following your team during the event” (RWC, 2011).

The government’s key objective was to ensure enduring benefits from the hosting of the RWC for New Zealand. It is important to note that when the New Zealand government first showed its support for the bid to host the RWC, it was Labour led and Trevor Mallard had been appointed as the Minister for the RWC. In 2008 however, a National led government came into power and Murray McCully became the RWC minister.

While all three groups wanted to ensure that the Rugby World Cup was delivered successfully and had their own reasons for doing so, as Snedden (2012) writes in *A Stadium of Four Million*, never before had a government had so much input in a mega-event as it did with the RWC.

The lead up

The lead up to hosting the event began with a number of promotions that involved the appearance of a giant rugby ball between 2007 and 2010 in some of the major cities of the world - Paris, Tokyo, London and Sydney. The rugby ball concept was developed by Tourism New Zealand to attract attention to New Zealand and the RWC. George Hickton (CEO of Tourism New Zealand) suggested that the ball fulfilled many functions which included showcasing New Zealand food, wine, produce, business, innovation, education, tourism, as well as immigration opportunities. From the initial appearance of the ball in these four cities, 62 million media impressions and 160 million broadcast impressions of New Zealand beaches, volcanoes, bush walks and rugby match sidelines were generated. According to Media Resources (2011):

An estimated 75,000 people, including royalty, dignitaries, sports stars and celebrities, visited the ball while it was overseas, gaining huge international media exposure for New Zealand. Branded 100% Pure New Zealand, the ball provided a high profile temporary venue for functions and receptions showcasing the best of New Zealand tourism activities, food and wine. (para. 3)

Prior to the RWC, New Zealand's exposure through a variety of strategies was significant and had the desired effect of drawing people to New Zealand for the RWC.

Once the event itself was underway however, the level of exposure was immense. For example, games were broadcast to record breaking audiences globally and despite time differences single matches attracted peak audiences of 18.1 million from France; 3.3 million from Australia and 7.6 million from the United Kingdom. Up to 98% of New Zealanders viewed the final match between the All Blacks and France. While these were the strongest viewing nations, the games

were broadcast to 207 territories with online data showing that the RWC app. was downloaded 3.5 million times and that the website had 17 million unique users (RugbyWorldCup.Com, 2011). The data showed that viewership increased across all demographics and nations, and that there were 135,000 international visitors. As RWC Chairman Bernard Lapasset commented:

We are delighted with these figures, which are an endorsement of the strong Rugby World Cup brand, our broadcast strategy comprising both free-to-air and satellite run in partnership with IMG, increased competitiveness on the field and a memorable and ultimately successful Rugby World Cup 2011. They also underscore the IRB's mission to reach out to new and emerging markets such as USA, Brazil, Russia, China, India and Mexico, and grow Rugby beyond its traditional strongholds (Infonews, 2012).

Conclusion

The RWC cup provided a rare opportunity for change in relation to New Zealand's national identity. It provided the opportunity to showcase New Zealand's food and wine, business, investment opportunities, innovation, and of course to increase demand for New Zealand as a tourism destination. Throughout, one common theme throughout was that the benefits of showcasing New Zealand had the potential to be significant in a number of ways.

This study demonstrates the ways in which a mega-event was a catalyst for the refinement and reproduction of New Zealand's national identity.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review examines and critically discusses the research on sporting mega-events which have long been an integral part of human life. The first recorded sporting event was in fact a 200 metre foot race at the 776 B.C Olympics in Greece which continued in honour of the Greek gods until 393 AD (Coakley, 2007). In 1896 what we have come to know as the Modern Olympic Games was revived to encourage physical activity among European nations but also to foster international relations. There has always been some kind of political involvement in sports and indeed as Whannel (2008) states, “No one nowadays could claim, with a straight face, that sport is nothing to do with politics” (p. 8). The Olympic Games, as the biggest sporting event in the world, is a case in point. So too, is what is now the third largest sporting event in the world, the Rugby World Cup (RWC). The benefits of these aptly titled mega-events to the host nations and the opportunities they provide to create positive national images cannot be ignored.

As sporting events have grown in size and significance so too has the body of literature which considers the importance of these events in relation to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), tourism, investment and the ability to promote a region or nation through high international interest and media coverage. Hence one of the critical aspects of the New Zealand bid to win the RWC hosting rights in 2011 was the *stadium of four million* concept, which comprised the promise that the entire population of New Zealand (almost four and a half million people) would support the event. Unlike most other major sporting events the financial backing of the New Zealand Government for the RWC was extensive despite the government being faced with the likelihood of a NZD39 million loss, and the possibility it would be substantially more than that. As such the New Zealand Government had to be sure that the other benefits of hosting the RWC would outweigh such a significant loss of taxpayer money, hence the opportunity for New Zealand’s reputation, national image and economy to benefit from this

particular sporting event featured strongly in discussion and debate well before the rights for the RWC were secured.

International mega-events have been identified by Chen (2012) and Lepp and Gibson (2011) as having the ability to change a nation's image. These authors researched the effects of major sporting events and positive image development for China's 2008 Olympic Games, and South Africa's 2010 FIFA world cup respectively. Prior to the RWC, New Zealand had already developed a strong image through the 100% Pure campaign which has been primarily used to represent the country for over a decade. Even so, a strong image needs to be sustained and it seemed this was no longer the case as is exemplified in the following example. In 2006 New Zealand was first in the Environmental Performance Index which "ranks countries on performance indicators tracked across policy categories that cover environmental, public health and ecosystem vitality" (Yale University, 2012) but by 2012 had slipped to 14th. With the National Government walking away from the Kyoto Protocol in 2012, New Zealand faced a challenge to continue to maintain its 100% Pure image in a world increasingly focused on sustainability. Nor was this just an external image problem, the maintenance of the nation's image matters in the domestic as well as the international environment.

The view a population has of its national identity has been shown to impact upon the image others have of that nation. Furthermore, the literature about national identity and national image points to an interrelationship between the two, where identity influences and impacts national image (Chen, 2012; Lepp & Gibson, 2011). When hosting a sports mega-event for instance, governments tend to enhance the favourable aspects of a country's national identity and downplay or marginalise the less favourable. Through that kind of strategy the positive associated images that are created reflect favourably upon both the nation and the government of that nation (Chen, 2012).

According to Gioia, Schultz, and Corley (2000) "organisational identity usually is portrayed as that which is core, distinctive, and enduring about the character of an

organisation” (p. 63) which can be extrapolated to nations, which are in effect organisations. These authors argue however, that considering the inter-relationship between identity and image, identity is better described as a “relatively fluid and unstable concept” (p. 63), and if viewed in such a way can lead to effective and positive change. Hence, over the last few years attention has increasingly been paid to the role of public relations in sports and tourism (Hopwood, 2007; L’Etang, 2006; L’Etang, Falkheimer, & Lugo, 2006). Public relations can be a key architect in the development and communication of both identity and image according to Taylor (2000) who found that “future communication campaigns” should draw on a public relations approach “based on relational communication” (p. 179).

It has been established that public relations is adept at “dealing with more complex social and political issues or for soliciting deeper forms of citizen participation” (Cheney & Christinson, 2001, p. 236). Nevertheless when the New Zealand Rugby team first toured in the Northern Hemisphere in 1905 it appeared that the potential for the game of rugby to become an important contributor to New Zealand’s identity was more serendipitous than planned. As too was the comment in the *Express and Echo* in Devon where the name ‘All Blacks’ was first used when the team beat Devon in their first game of the tour. “The All Blacks as they are styled by reason of their sable and unrelieved costume ... and their fine physique favorably impressed the spectators” (New Zealand Rugby Fans, 2011). Notably, near the end of the tour the Daily Mail made “direct mention of the All Black team that everybody was talking about” (New Zealand Rugby Fans, 2011).

Over time public relations has been used to draw on the sense of identity forged by game of rugby and is frequently used by government, corporates, media and individuals to shape, remould and at times adapt (Gioia et al., 2000) New Zealand’s identity and image. Due to rugby being both an international and everyday activity (in school playgrounds, recreational sites) it has an unprecedented ability to shape relationships at every level showing that effective communication through sports can improve interactions between people, communities and nations (L’Etang, 2006). As a profession, public relations

encompasses stakeholder and shareholder relations, promotion and publicity, event bidding and management, and reputation and crisis management. It is seen as a driver of “socio-cultural, economic, political, relational and moral change” (L’Etang, 2006, p.386). The involvement of public relations in mega-events and sports is therefore vital and is explored in greater depth later in this review of the pertinent literature.

This literature review will critically examine and discuss what the research has to say about the relationship between national identity and image. Importantly the contribution that sport has made to national identity will be identified and discussed because the ongoing reproduction of national identity in the international sporting arena is a frequent link which seeks to depict “what we are and are not” (Whannel, 2008, p. 191). In addition the role that sporting mega-events play, and have played in the construction, reinforcement, adaptation and alteration of national identity will be discussed. The literature appears to confirm that sporting mega-events intersect pivotally with a number of core themes as they relate to identity, therefore the discourse surrounding them is a particularly rich site for the study of national identity (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003).

Whannel (2008) has identified that sport and politics are interrelated particularly when it comes to mega events hence the literature about the relationship between governments and sporting events is explored in order to make further links between sporting events, identity, image and reputation, and politics. More importantly, the ways that governments communicate with publics and the effects and implications of this will be identified and critically discussed. Finally, the theoretical framework for this study will be outlined.

In order to critically discuss the relationship between national image and identity however, there first needs to be a clear definition of both. The first section of this literature review will therefore outline the definition and offer some description of national identity and national image. It is important to note that the literature on national identity is extensive. As a result, it is not possible within the scope of this thesis to encompass all literature surrounding identity and image. In this

literature review therefore, public relations theories will be used to focus upon identity, image, brand and reputation.

Identity

According to Guibernau (2004) the definition of national identity involves five dimensions: psychological, cultural, territorial, historical, and political. These dimensions contribute to the sentiment of belonging to a nation regardless of whether the nation is defined by geographic boundaries or not. Prior definitions developed by Herb and Kaplan (1999) determined that to contribute to a national identity the individual had to be residing within the nation, indicating that nations were defined by borders. This is one reason why geographical limits are part of the way that national identity is understood (Rembold & Carrier, 2011). Guibernau (2004) however, has argued that this is not the case because nations such as Scotland for example do not hold their own state. Neither do those who live outside their nation of origin automatically denounce their national identity or stop contributing to its development when away from it.

This notion of Guibernau's (2004) is of particular importance for consideration as leading authors on national identity such as Anthony Smith, Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson concur that a national identity is a fluid and ever changing construct. According Barker and Galasinski (2001) it is determined by "identification with representations of shared experiences and history told through stories, literature, popular culture and the media" (p.69). The stories that are told about a nation place emphasis on traditions, a collective origin and a 'natural way of being'. It is these narratives that we recurrently use for identities that can come to serve as natural predictors of behaviour and thus create stereotypes, which will be explored briefly in a later paragraph. Yet as Clancy (2011) points out, when considering these views on national identity, the fact that it is fluid and able to be manipulated also means that identity is often a point of power.

As previously stated, the belief that a nation is constructed by many different social, cultural and political groups where each has their own identity and ideologies contributes to the national identity of the nation. In agreement with

Clancy (2011), Guibernau (2004) has identified that politics plays a crucial part in the development of national identity, and Gilroy (1997) has also determined that national identity is an intrinsically political operation. Additionally, Anderson's (1991) claim that nations and national identities were imagined constructs generated and sustained through discourse has led Clancy (2011) to raise the question about who or what is imagining the nation. Despite this notion of an imagined national identity, Zimmer (2003) has stated that "a purely constructed nationality would be hopelessly undetermined" (p.180) and so there is a requirement for both the subjective and the objective in the construction of a national identity (Rembold & Carrier, 2011).

In a globalised world however, these authors argue that a single state containing multiple and diverse cultures cannot easily create one unified identity. As Gilroy (1997) and Clancy (2011) have suggested, identity becomes a question of power and authority as a nation's dominant coalition determines the relationship between identity and difference, sameness and otherness. Where the belief is held that identity is purely imagined they claim, the past and history of that group or area does not impact upon identity. On the other hand Smith (1994) would argue, the identity of a nation tends to stem from the original ethnic group that has lived within the boundaries of the modern defined territory. Regardless of how national identity is constructed according to Clancy (2011) and Rembold and Carrier (2011), it nevertheless remains attractive in its use to shape ideologies and redistribute power particularly within a political context. Often changes in identity they claim, tend to be invoked as part of a larger change in political power.

National identity then, appears to be situated within a political context and delivered through narratives which generally include the image of the nation. This is developed to unite individuals around the idea of the nation and thus the national identity. Therefore the idea that identity is established from an image and vice versa, must be entertained rather than simply accepting that image comes from identity. The source of the ways that national identity is reformulated must be taken into account and examined in the process, and a government's ability to

re-imagine a nation should not be underestimated along with their ability to officially sanction knowledge which impacts the national identity and image (Clancy, 2011).

Image

Prior authors have suggested that national identity is controlled or developed through political operations. Nye (2004) would agree that the same holds true for national images. A national image Nye (2004) has asserted is a nation's intangible resource both within and outside the state boundaries. National images contribute to the political capital of a nation and are often branded by the nation (Chen, 2012). Kaneva and Popescu (2011) and Dzenovska (2005) similarly outline that national images are the product of how the 'elite' have imagined that a nation should be seen hence enabling and disabling certain views about how it should and should not be. While identity can become a contention point for power, the image that others have of a nation is not so easily controlled. This can be seen using stereotyping as an example.

Assuming, as stated above that identity is to do with who people are and that it is defined by characteristics that people portray, and that image is how this identity is viewed by others, stereotyping is to do with linking identity and image in a more lasting fashion (Gerzen, 2010). Stereotyping is one way that we have of viewing these images and is especially prominent in sports and media. Desmarais and Bruce (2010) outline how it is generally used to demonstrate national contestation and that it is often used as a way to connect with audiences through the reinforcement of familiarity and understanding. They assert that stereotyping helps to define groups through differentiation, in a manner much the same as occurs in identity creation (Gerzen, 2010). As Whannel (2008) has suggested however:

... the stereotypes that others have of us often appear slightly ludicrous and often outdated. The stereotypes that we have of others, by contrast, while recognisably exaggerated and paradoxical, are ... more likely to be perceived as representing a degree of veracity. Like any victim, we can

perceive mode of unfair treatment not apparent to the perpetrator; but are likely to be blind to our own stereotyping of others. (p.171)

Thus it can be useful to recognise when examining an image the importance of not confusing stereotyping with image for as Whannel has suggested stereotypes are likely to be exaggerated. Desmarais and Bruce (2010) concur that stereotypes can act independently of evidence or substantiation thus can be inaccurate reflections of societies. While it is important to consider where stereotypes have come from and how they contribute to others' viewpoints and to some extent national image, it is also important to remember that stereotypes are a view held by one group or another.

The majority of the literature surrounding national image also discusses national branding, therefore in discussing the relationship between identity and image it is most likely the literature will also incorporate discussions of branding. According to Chen (2012), governments are beginning to realise that not only national images can be branded but also the benefits that branding holds. The following example illustrates this and also demonstrates that branding contributes to auto-communication, which is discussed later in this chapter. For example as referred to earlier, Tourism New Zealand developed the 100% Pure campaign which has a focus on the geographic and strengths of the country. The brand was developed to promote New Zealand's clean, green image through the enhancement of its natural beauty and the size of its relatively small population. The identity to support this image was linked to the nation's nuclear free status and position, and its strong position on environmental issues (Roper, 2009). This demonstrates the link from identity to image to brand and suggests the use of auto-communication as the image is reinforced by the brand and the external audience and then fed back to the internal audience.

This example is supported by Kaneva and Popescu's (2011) assertion which has identified that image and brands are able to "reach both internal and external audiences, creating a loop of identity articulation within which commercial images, created for external presentation, also affect internal national imageries"

(p.193). The multiple audiences that need to be addressed in national imageries is therefore an ideal task for those in the public relations profession especially where image construction, identity management and to some extent branding, are an everyday task (L'Etang, Falkheimer, & Lugo, 2006).

National branding can enhance understanding of how a government presents the nation to both the external and internal audience according to Clancy (2011). His view that there is no straightforward relationship between national identity, image and branding is supported by Kaneva and Popescu (2011) who add that external branding, usually for the purposes of tourism, creates an image of utopia which can be at odds with any domestic identity. Nevertheless Clancy's (2011) claim is that despite the challenges and terminology overlaps, image and branding are important tools for governments to use in the shaping of national identity.

Branding

The term branding is generally coined in relationship to marketing as a form of differentiation. In this review however, I am going to follow Anholt's (2005a) idea that in the context of nation branding brand is simply another term for reputation. A brand image is usually communicated through the media from a combination of tourism, government and policies, products and business activities, and their people – including social and cultural developments (Anholt, 2006a). Thus the concept of brand is an important one to consider for this review as reputation management best represents a government's attempts to manage national identity. Chen (2012) states that by branding an appropriate and strong national image governments think a positive story of a nation's people, its society and aspects of its government will be created.

While it is impossible to manage all aspects of a brand, the benefits from a branded national image can contribute to everything from purchasing habits to perceptions of nations and their populations (Chen, 2012). In this sense a strong brand is critical as they first, attract tourists, consumers, investment and attention. Second, they attach meaning to products. By thus promoting the brand and creating valuable products simultaneously, the nation brand can create an

“umbrella of quality” (Anholt, 2000, p. 23). These branding exercises are becoming more frequently a part of the ways that both international and domestic audiences build and substantiate views of national identity. Most importantly they unite people around a shared purpose and goal, creating order Anholt (2005c) has claimed out of potential chaos.

Anholt (2005d) has stated that a brand is the context that a message is communicated through and that the brand comes from the people. In other words, it is the background that allows people to understand the message being transmitted and what the message is based upon rather than an add-on”: “The brand belongs to the consumers, not the company, in the same way that the State belongs to the people, not to the government” (Anholt, 2005c, p. 303). This confirms the idea that identity, image and brand are inter-related and, to a large extent, dependent upon each other. A brand can provide a specific and definite story that gives people something to talk about. As both Anholt (2006e) and Cheney and Christensen (2001) have observed, people are the most effective advertising tool for communicating with other large groups of people. This is particularly true when they all tell the same positive story about a nation with a consequence being that they are also assisting tourism and investment (Anholt, 2000). Furthermore, when these people can be engaged in the story as they travel outside the nation-state they become persuasive, loyal ambassadors. A strong story creates a strong brand that can remain positive even in the face of negative attention (Anholt, 2006b).

Creating a shared vision and purpose can be achieved through what Nye (2004) has termed ‘soft power’, which is the use of attraction and cooperation rather than coercion within world politics. As discussed later in the thesis, the use of authority does not lead to enthusiasm and support for a brand. While it remains difficult to unite independent entities with different interests and opinions, an endorsement by the majority of stakeholders to support a shared national brand image is powerful. For Anholt (2005b) the stronger the brand, the more likely it is to be able to change people’s perceptions. He has argued that people are more likely to promote a country once they have visited it so that the best tools “are the

kinds of event that will give people a reason to go to the country in the first place” (p. 103). This idea has been supported by Chen (2012) with the view that mega-events transfer positive images to the nation and its government in ways that create a positive relationship between the event, the nation, and the government. In the global market place as in the local market place, perception is as important as reality and as Anholt (2005c) has pointed out, “in today's globalised world, it is naïve and dangerous to think that how a nation is viewed by the world will not have consequences from an economic, geopolitical and national security standpoint” (p.304).

New Zealand's identity, image and brand

In a 2009 interview Anholt stated that if New Zealand was in an equivalent geographic location to France, it would attract more tourists than France itself. As it stands tourism is still New Zealand's biggest economic contributor, accounting for 9% of the GDP in 2012 (Statistics NZ, 2012). As such much of the New Zealand brand rests upon the tourism brand of 100% Pure. Anholt (2007) would argue that solely relying on tourism creates a less stable identity because of the volatility of the tourism industry. Nevertheless, New Zealand continually and consistently attaches the New Zealand brand to its products, which enables it to carry the quality, innovative and trustworthy reputation associated with the nation (Anholt, 2009).

Roper (2009) has argued that while New Zealand seeks to profit from this clean, green, pure image the fact remains there needs to be a solid foundation of sustainable practices from both the government and the people. Without this link with the real world, the discrepancies between image and reality could have serious implications. As small and relatively isolated islands in the Pacific, New Zealand must use what is available to it to distinguish itself from competitors. The RWC has allowed New Zealand to promote a number of aspects of the New Zealand brand and tell other stories about New Zealand, thus extending aspects of the New Zealand identity both internally and externally.

As a nation, key defining factors of New Zealand and the people occur throughout the literature. The first of these and referred to previously, is that New Zealand is high-quality and trustworthy. The second is that it is hospitable – in fact in Anholt's (2009) brand index New Zealanders rank as the fourth most hospitable people in the world and second as the friendliest nation on the planet according to the World Economic Forum (Subramanian, 2013). The New Zealand Government is also viewed favourably. According to Anholt's (2009) nation brand index, New Zealand is viewed favourably due to its human values, policies, liveability and landscapes and are prominent features in the New Zealand brand. Anholt (2009) has concluded that New Zealand is punching well above its weight in world affairs in the areas of innovation and creativity, and is renowned for its quality manufacturing and innovative products.

New Zealand's national image is crucial for the nation as both a competitor in various markets and as a tourism and event destination with a core part of the development of this image being through its branding. My own thinking about the relationship between identity, image and brand which is that image and brand are to a significant extent dependent on identity, is effectively summarised in Kaneva and Popescu's (2011) statement, "national identity and culture are seen as fixed, independent variables that contribute to the essence of a national brand - a dependant variable" (p.192). Even so, while it is understood that identity impacts upon national image it is not the sole creator of it. Furthermore, regardless of who determines a national identity, it is continually reinforced through discourse and practices so that the ways in which politics, national identity, image, and sports are represented are interlinked.

Sport and identity

The literature on national identity is extensive and as the authors referred to thus far demonstrate, many different factors contribute to its construction. In this section of the review I consider national identity and image specifically in regards to sporting mega-events. Examining the purpose of national identity in the wider context of this study has been to understand how it impacts upon the image and brand of a nation, hence understanding the former will enable a deeper

understanding of New Zealand's national image enabling a better understanding about the best ways to use sports mega-events as a catalyst to adapt or change New Zealand's identity. The 2011 Rugby World Cup has been one such catalyst. I consider it prudent to mention here that while there is substantial literature on sports mega-events, it is most often found in specialist sports journals (Grix, 2010) and not necessarily as accessible to a broader audience.

As L'Etang (2006) has pointed out, authors from sports studies often touch on the concepts of public relations but provide no reference to public relations theories emphasising that the ability for sports to unify nations, promote social change and affect the national psyche make it a powerful cultural agent that falls well within the realms of public relations' practices and research (Curtain & Gaither, 2005).

National identity is a constructed, imagined concept that is impacted by a number of diverse factors. It is claimed by Horne (2006) that the notion of national identity being a fluid and social construct leaves it open for manipulation and the creation of narratives. According to Cronin and Mayall (1998) sport can influence and support the construction of a nation as an imagined community. However, as Whannel (2008) states, "national identities are always constructed from a combination of elements" (p.170). Imagining a national community therefore is achieved through the telling and retelling of an invented history that often places an emphasis on who does and doesn't belong (Bishop & Jaworski, 2003; Maguire, 2011; Whannel, 2008).

Sport, national identity and mega-events

One of the main bid factors highlighted in New Zealand's success in winning the right to host the Rugby World Cup was the government's indication that it would attempt to use the mega-event to alter its national image, both regionally and nationally. This tactic has been employed by other countries with varying degrees of success according to Cashman (2006). His research about the Olympic Games, found that mega-events offer no change to identity, image or culture in any significant or continuing manner. In contrast, Lepp and Gibson (2011) found that the attempt to re-image South Africa through the 2010 FIFA World Cup was quite

successful. Anholt's (2000) contribution to this discussion would likely be that a country's brand image or reputation is so highly complex, robust and built up over such a long period of time that it is difficult to alter. However, he would also hold the view that any changes that may be made will often not be seen in the immediate future as "a country's brand image takes miles to pick up speed, but equally it takes miles to slow down again, change direction or stop" (p.25).

This author has remarked in later articles however, that the promotion and opportunity that events such as the Olympic Games provide tend to take a long time to wear off (Anholt, 2006c).

Before the success and failings of previous re-imaging attempts is explored in this chapter, it is useful to discuss the concept of a mega-event, in particular mega-sporting-events. Mega-events have been labelled with many names and by numerous different authors over a substantial period of time (Frey, Irardo, & Melis, 2007; Ritchie, 1984; Roche, 2002). The amassing of their research has led to mega-events being described as unique large scale events that encompass mass popular appeal and have cultural, political and international significance. Often these events are an accumulation of cooperation between national governments and international nongovernmental organisations, and as such require careful relationship management (L'Etang, 2006). She continues that these events have the potential to "promote nation-states and to forge national identity in the international arena" (p.389).

It is the attraction of guaranteed international attention that involves the governments and politicians of nations. As Dolles and Söderman (2008) have outlined, mega-sporting-events are creating an industry with unparalleled global reach and power. In the United Kingdom for instance, sport related turnover is equivalent to that of the automotive and food industries. In addition, they note that the majority of mega-events have high media coverage and the opportunity to present and promote their national identities to billions of audiences "around the globe via television, the Internet and other developments in telecommunications make mega-events a truly global event" (Dolles & Soderman, 2008, p.150). This view is supported by Roberts (2004) and Maennig and Zibalsit (2012) who have

suggested that a mega-event is a short term event with long term consequence. They have pointed out that whether the consequence is positive or negative depends on the individual event, city or nation, and the field being studied.

Despite Horne and Whannel's (2012) claim that there is often an over-estimation of the benefits of mega-events and a marked under-estimation of the costs, Dolles and Söderman (2008) believe that the value of media-related aspects of hosting mega-events cannot be overlooked. Televised sport for example, is one of the main areas that nations are able to imagine and construct themselves (Demarasis & Bruce, 2010) through shared experiences. The number of viewers of a single event is what make this possible. For instance the opening ceremony at the 2012 London Olympics attracted 900 million viewers globally (Ormsby, 2012) while social media generated 306 billion pieces on the World Wide Web in relation to the 2012 London Olympics (Bullas, 2012). As both Doczi (2011) and Maguire (2011) have observed, sport has become both one of the most globalised parts of a nations' culture and is itself an engine of globalisation. As a result there is an increasing number of sports consumers. Mega-events in turn give consumers the opportunity to create and celebrate national values and identity and the politicians an opportunity to promote their nation and create unity around identities (L'Etang, 2010).

The role of sport in developing national identity

Bishop and Jaworski (2003) suggest that media coverage of special sporting events is a particularly rich site for the study of national identity. They point out that the reproduction of national stereotypes in sports reporting is a frequent link depicting 'what we are and are not'. This concept is supported by Boyle and Haynes (2002) who state that the mass media directs attention towards the construction of national identification. Lepp and Gibson's (2011) research endorses this further and shows that media coverage of major sporting events is influential and should be managed to achieve desired results.

Public relations is an ideal vehicle for this management, particularly because the idea of hosting a mega-event needs to be sold to the public and often has to

incorporate issue management and corporate social responsibility. As already discussed and will be discussed further, sporting mega-events are more than just competitions between the elite athletes of nations, they are intrinsically political so as such have become “global spectacles imbued with significant symbolic capital” (L’Etang, 2006, p. 214). This is particularly prominent during the opening and closing ceremonies where the host nation demonstrates its uniqueness, qualities and characteristics (Cashman, 2006). Paradoxically as sports and sporting events have become more global, there has been an increasing and intense focus on the intersection of sport and national identity (Doczi, 2011). Therefore the intangible benefits of mega-events have become centred around concepts of national image and identity (Chen, 2012; Maennig & Zibalist, 2012).

Much of the literature considers that main stream sports and sporting mega-events contribute to the identity of a nation. As Bairner and Dong-Jhy (2011) have pointed out, “in many parts of the world and for various groups of people, national identity is highlighted and produced through sporting rituals and competitive events” (p. 232). Black and van der Westhuizen (2004) concur and claim that international sporting events intersect pivotally with key ideas about national identity as host countries of major events seek to attract investment through developing a country as a brand. Hosting sporting mega-events offers a country a unique opportunity to showcase itself and “demonstrate its acceptability to the international community” (Black & van der Westhuizen, 2004, p. 1198).

The hosting of mega-events Bairner and Hwang (2010) assert, also plays an important role in allowing governments and other prominent groups to promote particular and/or favoured identities. This concept is a common theme of Bairner’s (1996) who has discussed the use of sport as a means of developing political nationalism. Although he is in disagreement with this use of sport he acknowledges its effectiveness. In addition, Black and van der Westhuizen (2004) purport that major sporting events have the capacity to generate powerful emotional experiences and this therefore points to the appeal for sport to be used as a political force. As Cashman (2006) has pointed out, the opening ceremonies at the Olympic Games and various world cups have had a critical role in the

redevelopment of national identity domestically and internationally. In their consideration of the New Zealand context, Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) have identified that as a major national sport, rugby has become a key site for the representation of New Zealand national identity.

Levermore and Millward's (2007) beliefs conflict somewhat with those cited above. They suggest that in a globalised world it is easy to create a borderless consumer who relates neither to localities nor to nationalities. This thinking aligns with that of Gerzen (2010) and Maguire (2011) who claim that despite our desire to create an identity that separates 'us' from 'them,' as the world become more interconnected the national boundaries between us become blurred. On the other hand, Doczi (2011) has argued that the globalised world allows migrants and minorities to through sports, maintain connections with their national identities.

In agreement with both Doczi (2011) and Gerzen (2010), Rowe (2012) has stated that even though national identities lose significance in some sports, in others sport remains a crucial means for expressing aspects of nationality. According to a number of authors it is often team sports which provide the greatest opportunity for the manifestation of national identity (Carrard, 2002; Cingiene & Laskiene 2004; Maguire, 2011). However Doczi (2011) does caution that due to the highly competitive nature of sport, basing a national identity upon a team is risky. This is partly due to the fact that national pride is often affected should the team underperform and thus potentially alter positive aspects of national identity previously sustained by the team. For instance when the All Blacks lost to France in Cardiff, Scherer and Jackson (2007) highlighted how the "shocking loss triggered an emasculating crisis in national identity" (p. 270).

National identity is not the only result of a successful or unsuccessful mega-event, national image is one of the critical products of this relationship between politics, sport and culture. L'Etang (2006) has outlined how mega-events are culturally significant and through the use of public relations can construct and dismantle ideologies. The Olympic Games for instance, have long been used as a bolster for

reimagining, sustaining or creating a national image. Mangan, Ok, and Park (2011) support this and state that sports is “so often the barometer of global modern wealth, success and status” (p. 2340). This statement can be viewed in context when examining how Hitler used the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games to further assert his political power and increase the spread of race segregation. His Propaganda Minister developed links between Nazi Germany and the traditional Greek athletes with the images designed to suggest the superiority of the blonde haired, blue eyed and refined features of the proposed Aryan culture, and continually linked them to the identity Hitler wanted the nation to assume (Grix, 2009). This allowed those who fell within the group to become a more dominant group that then had criteria for exclusion to confirm their assumed superiority.

The Summer Olympic Games of 1936 were used to showcase this national image to the rest of the world and many international tourists returned home with an improved opinion of the Nazi-regime, essentially convincing the international audience that Germany was benign (Grix, 2009; L’Etang, 2006; L’Etang, Falkheimer & Lugo, 2006). Bainer and Dong-Jhy (2011) have argued similarly, that when under Japanese rule, sports were implemented to impose a Japanese identity upon the Taiwanese people thus demonstrating the systematic use of sport for political purposes. Anholt (2006d) found this a common occurrence in his research, finding that when people visit a nation they are more likely to agree with the prevailing views of the government of that nation.

The London 1948 Olympic Games were the first games after World War II. The intention of the British Government was that they would enable Britain to move forward post-war. Yet Attali and Saint-Martin (2010) have suggested that these Olympics also re-opened the question of politics in sports and, more notably, the use of the Olympic movement for propaganda. The absence of such nations as Germany, Russia, Japan and Israel from the games acted as clear identifiers that politics were heavily involved in the event (Attali & Saint-Martin, 2010). So too did the tone of the media coverage. Furthermore Attali and Saint-Martin (2010) assert that these Olympic Games helped nations to reassert their national identities after the loss of so many young soldiers.

Seoul used the 1988 Summer Olympics with success to reimage itself after the Cold War. The president sought to enhance the image of South Korea in the eyes of both its people and the peoples of the world. He suggested that the Olympics were a transformative sports event which could restore pride “by means of sport and identity declared by means of a new made assertion in a new international idiom” (Mangan et al., p.2341). The games not only sought to give South Korea a new identity and image but also to show the world that a “new nation had risen from the ashes of old Korea” (Mangan et al., p.2342). The government hoped to use sport as a tool for image building and construction both internally and externally with the ultimate aims of cohesion among its people and international recognition (Anholt, 2005a; Mangan et al., 2011). It sought to create a common goal in a brand image that developed the national image and was achieved through multiple publics. Mega-events can change both perceived and actual paradigms of a nation and the change that took place in South Korea made the nation very different post-Olympics.

It is clear that over the course of the Olympic Games the event has often been used to reimage the host nations. More recently both China in 2008 and London in 2012 have used the games for nation-building and prestige, to promote their own values and as an instrument of social policy (Chen, 2012; Girginov, 2008). China’s aim was to promote Chinese nationalism with the aim being to unify the multi-national nation and in doing so encourage Taiwan, Tibet, Hong Kong and Macao to identify more strongly with the mainland (Bairner & Dong-Jhy, 2011; Chen 2012; Girginov, 2008). Rowe (2012) has claimed that this is commonly seen through the incorporation of minority groups into Chinese national celebrations to symbolise national unity. China also sought to legitimise an authoritarian regime with its internal audience (Chen, 2012). Anholt (2006b) though, suggests that the use of authority in brand building is ineffective. This is because the people of the nation will tend to be less enthusiastic “and an enthusiastic population or workforce is a prerequisite for building a power brand” (p. 226). London certainly aimed for a power brand and promoted the mantra to “stage inspirational games that capture the imagination of young people around

the world and leave a lasting legacy” (Coe, 2007 as cited in Girginov, 2008, p. 903). It was made clear that the United Kingdom Government intended to promote and inspire sports participation and physical activity nationwide.

Girginov and Hills (2008) have highlighted the need for public support as ingrained behaviour and social structure would be challenged by such initiatives as described above (Maguire, 2011). This is a key area of public relations as drawing on public relations theories and practices is critical in the alteration of behavioural patterns (Cheney & Christensen, 2001). Furthermore, public relations recognises the importance of maintaining goodwill among all publics. This is seen as critical for long-term images which involve “more complex social and political issues or for soliciting deeper forms of citizen participation” (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p. 236). Public relations is at the centre of these primary activities and definitions of change hence it is impossible Bairner and Molnar (2010) contend, to inhibit political agendas within mega-events as result.

Girginov (2008) argues that the politics surrounding sports also has the potential to destroy the image it is attempting to build. In the quest for medals to “prove the superiority of their political systems” (Grix, 2010, p.117), Grix (2010) has identified that nations pour unprecedented amounts of money into elite sport with the argument that success at high levels encourages participation at grassroots. However as identified by both of these authors, the potential funding for those participating at grassroots level is often redistributed upwards among a nation’s elite athletes rather than more widely.

Derek Mapp the chair of Sport England, has summed up the paradox of the situation by asking how the image the government wants to portray, and the identity and legacy it wants to develop, be achieved when significant funding is directed towards the elite thus “seriously endangering the creation of a sporting legacy from the 2012 Games” (Mapp, 2007). Such a concerns highlight the ever increasing involvement of western government in sports (Girginov, 2008). Yet imitation is not always practical, particularly as following this kind of model of funding provides the elite with the potential to undermine long-established

amateur traditions and the autonomy of sports governing bodies (Girginov, 2008, L'Etang, 2006). It also has the potential to create further rifts between elite and amateur sports people, and political leaders again indicating the need for public relations.

While the focus of this study and therefore this literature review is specifically on identity, image and branding it is prudent to briefly comment on other benefits to nations which host mega-events. These benefits contribute to the attraction of political attention, particularly when nations are making their bids to host mega-events. Lepp and Gibson (2011) have identified how, since the guaranteed media exposure and sponsorship of major events has increased, that so too the value of mega-sport-events has substantially increased. They suggest that one of the attractions of sports is the opportunity to develop policies and infrastructural upgrades. Hence on result of many mega-events is the legacy created for the people of the nation through infrastructural development (Newman, 2007). In this sense it can also boost morale and national pride (Mangan et al., 2011). South Korea for example, attempted to use their staging of the Olympic Games not just for identity and image construction but also to make a political statement that it was a nation in its own right. Thus the games assisted South Korea to develop relationships with other nations (Mangan et al., 2011). In turn this enabled international recognition, and, this in turn, assisted, the strengthening of relationships, trade, and economic success.

It has been further noted by Swart and Bob (2004) that mega-events add value to a nation through it being able to promote its products on a global scale. The mega-event allows the promotion of a brand followed by the transfer that brand to a product. Such is the case with the New Zealand 100% Pure campaign where there was a recognition that produce exported around the world is healthy and wholesome (Roper, 2009). These factors all contribute to the economic growth of a nation thus the negative short term cost of a mega-event is seen to be substantially outweighed by the perceived long term benefit (Chen, 2012). Being able to position the nation in the international spotlight before, during and after an event enables the attraction of foreign investment, an increase in the interest in

products, and the enhancement of the attraction of a nation as a tourist destination (Roper, 2009). L'Etang (2006) has noted too that public relations professionals are fast becoming those who facilitate the development and running of mega-events, and are the manufacturers of the associated and required images.

Mega-sporting-events can lead to change in image and a call for cohesion around an identity as most often defined by a nation's leaders. The relationship between -sporting mega-events and the role that public relations can play in their development cannot be played down. Sport and mega-events have been "shaped by social, economic and political change, and affected by ideologies and politics, bureaucratisation, science, technology and the mass media" (L'Etang, 2006, p. 389). Sport is a reflection of social life and as such is ideal for exploring concepts of power relations and those of identity. Yet despite the use of sport as a vehicle of communication there remains insufficient research into the use of public relations in this field. Public relations practices are critical in the manufacture of major sporting events and the process and politics which surround them. This points to the need for the further study of mega-sporting-events, in relation to identity and image within a public relations context, and is the focus of the next discussion in this chapter.

Politics, public relations and sports communication

Sport has also allowed for the communication of more positive and brand building messages. In an increasingly global and multicultural world many nations are assessing how they identify themselves and how they communicate that identity to the world (Anholt, 2007). Newman (2007) has argued that this is one of the biggest challenges for a modern government – to manage both the external reputation and internal purpose. In this next section the literature about the way that governments communicate in a persuasive manner is discussed. The discussion also includes an examination of the role that public relations and the media play in helping them to do this.

A number of authors who have conducted academic research in sport have argued that sport and politics should not mix (Lee, 2012) but they also acknowledge that

sport has always played a role in the projection of political statements. For example, as previously discussed, sporting mega-events have often been used to create imagery for audiences world-wide (Horne & Whannel, 2012; L'Etang, 2006). The idea presented by Attali and Saint-Martin (2010) that political ideologies are dominant within national identities and that sport has become a tool for governments to reach internal and external goals as Bergsgard and Norberg (2010) and Houlihan and Green (2008) have also claimed, is supported by Doczi (2011) and Lee's (2012) concept that people in places of power use it to promote and legitimise their own political agendas. According to Grix (2010) sport is very much about politics and as such a useful tool for observation of power, governance and identity.

Doczi (2011) has identified the use of sport as an area of contestation for political communication in his research about Hungary, a nation similar in terms of population, size and urban and rural dispersal to Ireland and New Zealand. He has referred to the way political parties often relate to separate groups of people and thus differing identities (e.g. urban and rural). As such when political parties change, the national identity tends to also change to reflect this (Bergsgard & Norberg 2010; Doczi, 2011; Vliegenthart, 2012). Taiwan is an illustration of this as throughout its history those in power have struggled to impose an identity upon the people – initially Japan and most recently China. Sporting mega-events gave governments the opportunity to extend an identity to include an entire nation, as was seen when China included Taiwan and the SAR's in their image – and at the same time compressed it to obscure social divisions which served to indicate to Taiwan that they were under the control of the People's Republic of China (Bairner, 2009; Bairner & Dong-Jhy, 2010; Lenskyj, 2004). Australia used a mega-event in a similar way to China. The concept of reconciliation was an 'intended' positive legacy of the Sydney Olympics yet even as a united face of equal human rights was presented to the world, the Aboriginal people largely remained discriminated against (Rowe, 2012). Yet the games in both countries also gave both Taiwanese and Aborigines a way to oppose an inclusive identity as it was presented by various politicians and government and to establish one of

difference. Despite Grix's (2010) claim that sport is a way to cure societal ills, Rowe (2012) has been able to conclude that it is,

‘extravagant’ to believe that a sport event like the Olympics could have a profound impact on deeply entrenched social problems, and ‘naive’ to expect ... broadcasts to carry appropriate ‘social and political messages which change the way that people think. (p. 297)

The importance of a nation being united has been stressed in the literature. Nevertheless, despite governments' attempts to impose a national identity and image integrated with their ideologies they are often faced with a more global and opinionated society (Smith, 1994). This means they must not only engage in two way communication with those who support them but also those who do not. It is never more important to obtain the support from the entire nation than when an event that is going to cost the nation millions of dollars. It is common during these times for governments to focus on the positive aspects of the issues which are of concern to its public and often means that they react more intensely to the public to negative issues (Doczi, 2011; Newman, 2007; Vliegenthart, 2012).

Governments often successfully present the idea that only a mega-event can mobilise the regeneration of the ‘problem’ areas that they have identified (Raco & Tunney, 2010). Thus the ideals of developing a legacy of infrastructure, jobs, home and community facilities and the more individual notion of expertise and experience become key points in these discussions. This is especially noticeable when government's use terms such as rejuvenation and economic gain as was heard in relation to the London, Barcelona and Montreal Olympics (L'Etang et al, 2006; Kim & Morrison, 2005; Newman, 2007; Raco & Tunney, 2010; Whitson, 2004). Rowe (2012) has asserted that legacy has become a common discourse in mega-event communication but has argued too, that the notion of legacy is elusive and perhaps intentionally difficult to measure. Political communication therefore is mostly centred in discourses of economic gain and infrastructural development in order to get people on side.

This need to unite a nation around a common cause has seen a change in political communication as it simultaneously becomes more professionalised, more entertaining and most importantly, more personalised to create engagement (Vliegenthart, 2012). Government communication can now be a political speech and friendly conversation simultaneously (Fairclough, 1995). By creating a more personalised means of communication, Vliegenthart (2012) and Smith and Rainie (2008) have highlighted how politicians can bypass traditional media outlets and communicate directly with the public through the internet and social media. Political parties have started to place greater emphasis on the people in the party because Anholt (2006c) has suggested, people's perception of the messenger can be more important than the message itself. It is important to note here that increasing personalisation and professionalism are stronger in those countries that have a candidate-centred political system and are more democratic (Newman, 2007; Vliegenthart, 2012).

Governments have long seen the benefits of using mega-events to redefine identity and create the long term transformation of a nation. They have also recognised a need to manage the event to ensure success as illustrated by the legislation that is passed to manage the games (Newman, 2007; Rowe, 2012). Communication is a critical piece of the political puzzle and there are infinite ways to do this (Gurau & Ayadi, 2011). It has been suggested by Anholt (2007) that the large range of communication methods used to instigate changes in the behaviour of the public can be found throughout mega-events. For instance the use of a mass image of the host nation is often circulated both internally and externally (Rowe, 2012). Mega-events when successfully bid for and managed, enhance faith in a government and enhance its relationship with the public (Hong, 2010; Newman, 2007; Zhang & Zhao, 2009c). Consequently the government image abroad is also enhanced giving the impression of a stable environment, which is attractive to investors (Chen, 2012; Newman, 2007).

Newman (2007) has discussed the way that the United Kingdom Government created ways for the public to easily show support and spaces (such as in Trafalgar Square) where they could present images of a harmonious London. In

these places “opportunities for leader – follower relationships can be consummated” (Newman, 2007, p. 261) and citizen roles can be defined. He has contended that political leaders relate through soft power strategies, such as persuasion and emotional appeals. These are tactics which regulate, manage and guide the behaviours of public in accordance with the ideologies of the government of the time (Foucault, 1991 as cited in Nye, 2004). As a result the public’s support of an event can imitate the values a government places on the mega-event. Yet as Gursoy and Kendall (2006) argue, the research on mega-events tends to show that the public’s support may diminish quickly after the event. This can happen if the promised benefits are less than expected, for example the events tend to direct tourists into particular areas of a nation resulting in significant loss for some and the contestation of ideologies that had been presented (Burgel, 2006; Raco & Tunney, 2010).

Mega-events attract the worldwide gaze of media and tourists whose attention is used as a tool by government to generate commitment and unity (Chong, 2011; L’Etang et al, 2006). London’s bid document represented it as open, multiracial and dynamic thus when it the bid was won – Londoners assumed this identity (Newman, 2007). The use of official documents in China indicated to the public how they were to behave during the Olympic Games. The government enforced the idea that non-compliance or ensuring that others complied would bring shame. Hence the government sought to foster and promote the concept of self management rather than the top down governance that China was perceived as having (Raco & Tunney, 2010).

Volunteers are particularly critical to the success of sporting mega-events. They were carefully selected in China and presented as examplea of the model citizen but also given the power to govern others’ actions. Chong (2011) has highlighted how the use of these kinds of soft power communication methods caused the moulding of the public and led it to “internalise the values and act to the objectives” (p. 25). These methods of communication are not visible but are espoused in official documents, media mediums, speeches and images - all which indicate correct ways of behaving positively. They are often words or ideas that

are repeated throughout the mega-event enabling a government to guide from a distance while portraying a sense and image of unity (Chong, 2011).

The constant negotiation of identity between an organisation and its audience positions public relations practitioners as intermediaries (Curtain & Gaither, 2005). Anholt (2006e) has suggested that governments should look to this area as “creating wide-scale changes in opinion and behaviour through persuasion rather than coercion, through attraction rather than compulsion” (p. 275) as the essence of this practice. Public relations as L’Etang et al. (2006) have claimed, have always played a role in communicating a government’s ideals. However they contend that over time, this role that has had to develop as communication between government and public becomes a two way interaction. Curtain and Gaither (2005) would argue that two way communication is limited in its capacity, particularly when the dominant coalition are the ones who tend to have most access to the benefits of public relations practice, but that it is still dependant on circumstance and individuals.

Public relations was initially developed in the late 19th century as a defence based means of responding to public attacks on an organisation (Cheney & Christenson, 2001) and since then has evolved considerably by becoming substantially more flexible and responsive to audiences, and maintaining an ongoing dialogue with positive and beneficial relationships. Thus the role of public relations in this sense has had to adapt from the propaganda and authoritarian type of communication seen in Berlin in 1936 to communication that appeals and attracts as seen to some extent in Beijing in 2008 and then in London in 2012 (Chong, 2011). In these ways public relations helps governments to communicate to gain support for their actions.

Media influence

Just as politicians and governments have been subject to the rise in internet communication the mainstream media has also been affected (Kent & Taylor, 1998; Vliegenthart, 2012). The media’s selection of news, its bias and its values are all critical to its own identity and often results in the portrayal of messages

significantly different to that which was intended by a political actor (Walter & Vliegthart, 2010). Yet the media, Fairclough (1995) has asserted remains a tool for politicians to attempt to use and, of course, the state has an interest in controlling the media output, whose influence and immense power have increasing benefits for governments while maintaining a crucial form of communication between the public and private domain.

While those in the media endeavour to ignore government propaganda, and Anholt (2011) and Fairclough (1995) have acknowledged that media outlets are not overtly or even largely controlled by political powers, they are still part of the nation-state. It is this state that governments are communicating to and as such will reflect their ideologies in any reporting. Furthermore Fairclough (1995) and Brownall (2012) have suggested that because the media also contributes to the shaping of governments, the interaction between formal and informal, and institutional and social media means that it still has a significant influence over the way that the public think and subsequently social change.

Politics is still very much played out and is reliant on the visible media environment (Rowe, 2012). As such some media outlets support certain governments or ideas that they represent. For example the BBC was a strong promoter of the 'Back the Bid' campaign for the London Olympics (Horne & Whannel, 2012). As Fairclough (1995) has asserted the media output is "very much under professional and institutional control, and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic, political or cultural power that have the best access to the media" (p. 40) ensuring that the dominant voices are those of the political and social establishment. Furthermore Chen (2012) has argued that media coverage of mega-events is often controlled by a government. For instance in China the idea that media would be allowed to travel the country freely would never have eventuated. Despite the ideology of two way communication in much of the public relations literature, it would seem that the essential nature of the media is to provide information in a one way communication channel where the audiences are spectators.

Auto-communication

The theory of auto-communication was developed by Cheney and Christensen (2001) in response to what they identified as saturation in communications. Although their theory on auto-communication is centred around organisations, as with Gioia et al's (2000) theorising about organisations' identity and image, the theory can be applied to nations as large organisations. Cheney and Christensen (2001) have outlined that in order for organisations to be heard in such a noisy environment they need to provide a strong and clear identity to their publics, and contend that "... in contemporary organisations, auto-communication is stimulated by the quest for identity" (p. 233). Although the theory was developed as a result of and for organisations, there is sufficient literature which suggests that nations are also employing the same or similar methods to first communicate an image and second to brand a nation.

According to Cheney and Christensen (2001) there is nothing better for an organisation than to have its own members promoting and living the identity, the image and the brand. Auto-communication is where the same message is being delivered to all publics creating transparency and validity, and means that the image being portrayed is supported by those within the organisation as it becomes both the organisation's identity and the people's identity within the organisation. Furthermore, the self enhancing aspects of auto-communication allow the external image to be played back to the organisation so that it can view itself in the ways it wishes to be seen by others, which in turn allows for evaluation and adaptation (Gioia et al. 2000).

According to Roper (2009) a nation is seen to be an organisation which attracts both investment and consumers. Yet the difference and difficulty for a nation is that the usually publics of a nation are diverse hence the requirements for successful imaging and branding are more complex (Roper, 2009). Anholt (2006c) would suggest that the difficulty in nation branding is that competing for the general public's attention in the busy public sphere inundated by media, commerce and communication is too different to that of an organisation, especially as a government is seeking to 'sell' social change rather than products.

Furthermore Clancy (2011) has outlined that as tourism has become more lucrative, governments become more involved in the promotion of their nations. Thus a need for nations to use theories commonly held within the realm of management communication and business has increased.

The ways that nations try to control and manage image as much as possible has been outlined by Lepp and Gibson (2011) but they find that in the current media-saturated environment this is increasingly difficult. Hence the theory of auto-communication requires that two audiences are communicated to at once. This can be seen in the case of General Motors where the company's leaders relied on employees who received internally distributed memos as well as televised commercials to convey GM's new emphasis on safety. This example shows that the image that is being portrayed is supported by those within the organisation as it becomes both the organisation's identity and the employee's identity within the organisation.

The definition of branding has previously been identified in relation to consumer targeting and national identity has focused on members of the nation, however Clancy (2011) has suggested that their borders are becoming blurred. Cheney and Christensen's (2001) theories on auto-communication concur and the authors state that new communication activities "often involve both internal and external functions in ways that blur their presumed boundaries" (p. 232). This is becoming particularly clear in the field of public relations where internal groups also comprise parts of external publics, hence Cheney and Christensen (2011) would argue, it is difficult to convince an external public of an "organisations' deeds if the internal audience does not accept the message and vice versa" (p.232).

The concept of auto-communication therefore suggests that the identity creates the image, the image creates the brand and vice versa. Initially Kaneva and Popescu (2011) have argued "national identity and culture are seen as fixed, independent variables that contribute to the essence of a national brand - a dependant variable" (p.192). Furthermore Clancy (2011) has argued that national identity is not only relevant for international preference and behaviour but also for domestic politics,

thus demonstrating that image and brand are somewhat dependent on identity. It is interesting to note here that not all identities and images correlate as discrepancies between a projected or intended identity and its reception often occur indicating a lack of cohesiveness (Roper, 2009).

In their study of Bulgaria and Romania, Kaneva and Popescu (2011) noted that the nations used two interconnected identity building projects. One was developed for the outside world and the other for the internal yet interestingly, while the way the message was targeted at the internal and external audience was different, the message itself was essentially the same. As Clancy (2011) has highlighted, branding campaigns although generally targeted towards foreign audiences also subject citizens to the same branding - at times deliberately. Lepp and Gibson (2011) for instance, discussed the deliberate targeting of citizens in their research of the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa. Anholt (2006a) is in agreement and has suggested that branding more often than not needs to be internal to create consensus, passion and ambition.

Clancy (2011) has also outlined that the similarities between national identity construction and image or brand construction are very comparable. As Holt (2004) has pointed out, both brands and national identities attend to desires and anxieties through constructed meanings and the establishment of differences to instil change. Both use the past: who they have been and the future and who they would like to become (Clancy, 2011). Kaneva and Popescu (2011) have noted that both Romania and Bulgaria used “self-reflective” methods to both communicate and modify their images. Here Cheney and Christensen (2001) would argue, self reflexivity is another aspect of auto-communication whereby the external image is played back to the organisation thus allowing the organisation to view itself as it is seen by its publics subsequently creating opportunities for evaluation and adaptation. Rather than simply being the receiver of a message therefore, an external audience also becomes the reference point for the organisation’s identity.

Public relations plays an important role in the connection of these two areas allowing the views of the public to feed back into the organisation to inform the communication process (L'Etang, 2006). Furthermore Anholt (2009) has identified that as images and brands are circulated throughout the world, they create a sense of what a nation represents. Thus when that brand and its associated information is fed back to the nation, the brand is reinforced in the eyes of the nation's people and encourages them to be what the brand says they are. "... it is a key for making people see themselves in a new way, and so behave in a new way, and so eventually be seen in a new way" (Anholt, 2006a, p.101). Anholt (2005c) has provided the example of how America's foreign audiences seem to understand the brand that America is portraying better than America does. In this sense it is critical for America to listen to its consumers. Dunphy, Griffith, and Benn (2007) also support the conception of auto-communication with their notion of transformative change. These authors discuss how transformative change requires input from those both inside and outside the organisation hence a completely new way of thinking and the defining of a new identity for the organisation. They have argued that it is not enough to create a vision of the future and build an informed commitment to it. It is necessary first to build a shared understanding of the organisation's current reality and of the need to radically shift that reality (Dunphy et al. 2007).

On a similar vein Roper (2009) has outlined how legitimacy depends equally on views held by both external and internal publics. Moreover when applied to a nation she has articulated, it is all stakeholders within the nation whose collective efforts are required to manage a cohesive national identity. According to Anholt (2006b) it is critical in the sense that the government of a nation is aware of its publics' perceptions rather than relying on what they believe to be true about the nation. This author adds that when a change in a brand occurs it is not due to advertising and marketing but more simply reflective of the "change that was taking place in the conditions, the people, the policies and the opportunities" (p.31) of the nation.

Regardless of how nations believe they differentiate from others, all of the things which define a nation such as the past, the present and the future are communicated through images, acts, narratives and stories. Despite understanding that the nation state is the most prominent player in the management of identity, image and brand however, the ways these are constructed, maintained and communicated to all publics remains important.

Conclusion

The notion that national identity impacts upon the image and branding of a nation is critical to this study. It is clear that if a government is able to influence national identity it is able to influence image and branding. The literature examined in this review supports the idea that identity and image are developed through storytelling/narratives and while they may be subject to propaganda and manipulation, are crucial in the development of a nation.

Maguire (2011) has stated that sport has been positioned as an important part of national practices that have long been used to reinforce, represent, maintain or challenge identity and image, even though Chalip (2006) cautions that while sport may be a useful tool for building national image, it is also highly dependent on the other initiatives it is linked to and who is using these initiatives.

The literature then, makes it clear that the ideas portrayed in the sporting arena offer points of reference for national identity. Interestingly, Whannel (2008) and Anholt (2007) have both suggested that racist tendencies can come to the fore in sport which can have a negative effect on national image. Anholt (2007) has asserted that traditional racial segregation can have a lasting effect on a country's image – whether that segregation still exists or not and draws on France as an example of a country whose image is still dominated by that of a white Christian European. As a result those who do not fall within this category can be left out of the story of the nation, creating a lack of unity and subsequently impacting the nation's external brand or reputation (Anholt, 2007). Yet sport L'Etang (2006) has claimed, is the ideal ground for discussing such issues and public relations is an ideal facilitator of such discussions. Newman (2007) has further pointed out

that sport also enables international and national, political and economic debates between peoples of a nation and their leaders leading to the forming of ideas that cluster into concepts of identity and image.

Public relations has been shown to be critically important in the construction, maintenance and communication of national identity. The literature has highlighted the close relationship between public relations and political communication and the role that governments play in shaping national identity and image.

Of particular importance to this study is the notion of how national identity is shaped, reinforced and even changed through sporting mega-events. The sports sector offers a particularly rich site for exploring ideas about identity, image, brand, public relations and politics. It allows for the exploration of the rationale for decisions made by governments and how they communicate their ideologies. Thus the overarching focus for this study about the ways the New Zealand government used a sporting mega-event to unite the nation of New Zealand around a strong brand image to further shape its identity, remains timely and relevant.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter addresses the methodological approach and research method selected for this study. In the first section I outline the theoretical framework of the interpretive research paradigm and qualitative methodology. In the second section I explain my choice of a case study methodology followed by discussions about narrative and thematic analysis. Finally the data collection process is explained in some depth in order to set the scene for a discussion of the findings in Chapter 4.

Theoretical framework

This qualitative study explores the concepts and relationships between New Zealand national identity and image with regards to the 2011 Rugby World Cup. Aligned with a case study methodology an interpretivist paradigm is considered most appropriate for this study. Cohen and Manion (1998) point out that in an interpretive context “theory is emergent and must arise from particular situations” (p. 37) hence in this study as the researcher, I will bring my own interpretations and meanings to the research process, the purpose and the analysis of the data. According to Cresswell (2009) the purpose of interpretive research is to “clarify how interpretations and understandings are formulated, implemented and given meaning in lived situations” (p. 54) therefore interpretivist researchers must “generate or inductively develop a theory of pattern of meaning” (p. 54). They “begin with individuals and set out to understand the world around them” because the data gathered is to be understood by the researcher and “glossed with the meanings and purposes of the participants” (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p. 37). This ‘glossing’ of meanings and purposes can be compared between different times and places and most often occurs through the use of qualitative research methods, which are discussed below.

An interpretive case study approach acknowledges the opportunity for reflexivity within the study (Yin, 2012). It is also important to note that an interpretivist approach can support case study research that is intended to be subjective in that the knowledge generated by the process and outcomes of the research is intended to be “socially constructed” (Stake, 2003, p. 654). As this author points out, through their “experiential knowledge and contextual accounts, case study researchers assist readers in the construction of knowledge” (p. 654).

Qualitative research

Qualitative research according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), places an “emphasis on processes and meanings that are not rigorously examined or measured, in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency” (p. 8). Thus there are instances where research is more important in developing understanding, insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Hancock (1998) supports this idea emphasising that the primary purpose of qualitative research is to explain social phenomenon, behaviour, attitudes, and opinion. Furthermore the research focuses on the effects events have on people and differences between social groups (Polit & Hungler, 2003). It therefore becomes important that the choice of methodology and method used in qualitative research is reflective of the nature of the research and questions to be answered (Morgan & Smirich, 1980).

Qualitative research arises from social science research and uses methods that gather data through methods such as participant observations, open-ended interviews and as is the case for this study, the analysis of documents. Eisenhart (2006) describes qualitative data as powerful and able to “evoke vivid images and recapture remarkable events” (p. 567). Researchers who favour a qualitative approach argue they are able to gather rich descriptions and full pictures of what events are really like in lived situations and interactions (Cohen et al., 2007; Yin, 1981). As Cresswell (2009) has stated, qualitative researchers prefer a focus on individual meaning and “the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation” (p. 4).

Case study methodology

A qualitative case study methodology will enable an in-depth investigation of the research questions for this study. Case studies are an effective way of engaging in qualitative research. No matter what methods are used to study the case it will remain for some time at least, the pivotal point of the study (Stake, 2003). As Anderson (1991) outlines, case studies allow the exploration of “contextual realities and the differences between what was planned and what actually occurred to be explored” (p. 53). Both he and Yin (2003) assert that a case study research is pertinent to the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions that allow the researcher to obtain rich data from events they have little control over. Therefore in choosing a case, Stake (2003) and Patton (1990) assert that it is crucial to choose one that we can learn the most from. The case must not only provide rich data but the opportunity to learn and allow in-depth analysis of a particular area of interest.

A case refers to an event, an entity, an individual or even a unit of analysis. It is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. (Yin, 2003, p. 91).

Hence the Rugby World Cup (RWC) provides an ideal case for this study for as Bishop and Jaworski (2003) claim, the media surrounding such events is one of the richest sites to obtain information on the development of national identity and stereotypes. There are significant opportunities to learn from the data made available unintentionally and directly by the RWC.

Stake (2003) identifies three types of case study. First is the *intrinsic* where the primary purpose is to understand that particular case. The second type is *collective*. This is where the interest is in a phenomenon outside of the case. Thirdly, is the *instrumental*. Here the case is examined to provide insight into an issue and as such “the case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else” (Stake, 2003, p. 643).

While Bergan and While (2000) largely support a case study approach, they argue it has some flaws particularly in relation to the validity of the data that is gathered which subsequently contributes to the poor perception some have of the methodology. They argue that the “poor definition of case study results in a variety of assumptions being made about the robustness of the method” (p. 927). They identified four areas previously presented in a model by Guba (1981), which tend to be assailed by non case study researchers: *truth value*, *applicability*, *consistency*, and *neutrality*. These four areas are discussed further below with their respective advantages, disadvantages and applicability to this research.

Understanding these types of case study is critical to understanding the use of a case study methodology for this research. The 2011 New Zealand RWC case study is *instrumental* in type. As the fundamental link and source for the literature review and the research it will remain of ‘secondary interest’. The ‘something else’ that Stake (2003) identifies is the interest in understanding the importance of the relationship between national identity and national image.

Truth value

The *truth value* of research relates to how confident the researcher is with the truth of their research findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest several ways to increase the reliability and validity of case study research. First, another researcher familiar with the subject area could assess the data; second, the findings should be grounded in data; third, the researcher should continually engage in reflexivity which involves acknowledging their place within the research; and finally, *truth value* can be enhanced through triangulation and time sampling (Lincoln & Guba 1985). This final point is supported by Stake (2003) who outlines that the “collaboration of multiple qualitative techniques enhance the validity and reliability of the findings” (p.109).

As my case study is *instrumental*, the case is a vehicle for the development of ideas surrounding national identity and image. Therefore it stands to reason different methods of data gathering will be used. The sheer size of the RWC means that the amount of research previously conducted and the amount of data

available will allow me to investigate arguments and claims that I make. I am under no illusion that my bias will not be present in the research, however if I seek to engage in reflexivity as Carr and Kemmis (1986 as cited in Stake, 2003) purport, I am “committed to pondering the impressions, deliberating on recollections and records – but not necessarily following the conceptualisations of theorists, actors, or audiences” (p. 201). As Stake (2003) contends “data is not continuously interpreted on first encounter but again and again. The researcher digs into meanings, working to relate them to contexts and experience. In each instance the work is reflective” (p. 50).

Applicability

The applicability of the research refers to the degree that the findings can be applied to other contexts or groups (Krefting, 1991). Holloway and Wheeler (2002) consider that the focused nature of case studies makes them inherently difficult to develop generalizations from and cannot be seen as representative. This view is supported by Corcoran, Walker, and Wals (2004). These authors argue that case studies are purely introspective and that their grounding within a single setting makes them inapplicable to the wider population. They continue that if “the research is to be applied to the wider evidence base then it has implications for the way the study is conducted and disseminated” (p.0000). In contrast to the former, Anderson (1991) argues that the primary focus of a case study is to centre attention on a particular issue, that is it is not to represent the world, but to represent the case. According to McGlione (2008) “The case study’s methodological approach provides an intense, in-depth method of inquiry focusing on a single real-life case, while using a variety of sources of evidence to generate theories and hypothesis” (p. 53). Nevertheless these authors agree this type of qualitative research does seem to lack scientific rigour and reliability as Johnston (1994) as indicated. However Yin (2003) asserts as do others, that a case study facilitates the generation of rich and deep data, which in turn allows case study researchers to generalise the happenings of their case to other situations and forecast scenarios. They expect their audience to comprehend the researcher’s interpretations, but derive as well their own consequential meanings (Stake, 2003). In a similar vein Yin (2003) argues that case study methodology helps to

expand and generalise theories which subsequently can be used by the wider population. He continues that comparisons obtainable through case studies in turn create generalisations and subsequently lead to replication.

This ability for case studies to enable the researcher to create comparisons between different concepts and ideas is particularly pertinent to my research in its exploration of the relationship between national identity and national image. The descriptive nature of case study research provides me with the ability undertake in-depth exploration of these concepts in relation to the RWC, and the opportunities to generalise and forecast to future events. I appreciate the importance of both understanding and knowing that I will pass on my own “personal meanings of events and relationships – and fail to pass along to others”, also that “readers, too, will add and subtract, invent and shape – reconstructing the knowledge in ways that leave it differently connected and more likely to be personally useful” to them (Stake, 2003, p. 655).

Neutrality

Neutrality is explained by Guba (1981) and Kreifing (1991) as the degree to which the data obtained is the result of the conditions of the research, and not of other influences, biases, or perspectives. Provided the researcher is continually reflexive and uses a series of methods for gathering data they will be able to acknowledge their bias and focus on obtaining data that may be overlooked by other research methodologies (Yin, 2003).

The use of a case study will enable me to delve into the concepts of national identity and image in relation to the RWC as a large scale international sporting event. As a researcher with little knowledge of these concepts I have little opinion yet about the information that I will access in the course of this study. I understand that my interpretation of the data will be influenced by my own background, as well as the ideas that develop during the research process. My aim however, is to remain relatively neutral and profess to the reader in the clearest manner possible my research findings, and how I came to my conclusions.

Consistency

Consistency relates to the concept of whether in replications of the study, the data could be classified as consistent (Guba, 1981). The belief held by many authors is that case studies can allow a kind of storytelling. Miles and Huberman (1994) believe that qualitative case studies cannot be expected to transcend storytelling therefore they create an image of untruthful research. On the other hand, Bassey (1999) believes that the case study (storytelling) approach can assist with the evaluation of a situation.

For this case study research the storytelling aspect seems appropriate. Regardless of the use of data trails, this concept of storytelling means it will not be easy to replicate the case as it is me as researcher who will decide what the story is to be, the decisions I make in the data analysis will give my own voice to the story, without having the same background, experiences and knowledge, any researcher attempting to replicate the case will be unlikely to come to the exact same conclusions as myself.

Context

“The case to be studied is a complex entity located in a milieu or situation embedded in a number of contexts or backgrounds” (Stake, 2003, p. 645). Hence despite the case not being the primary focus of the research, rather a tool for undertaking the research, it is important to position the case within the context of the event. Consideration of the following is therefore critical:

- the nature of the case, particularly its activity and functioning;
- its historical background;
- its physical setting;
- other contexts such as economic, political and legal

Whether the external contexts surrounding the case appear to be influences or not, their examination remains crucial as they may have hidden links to the main research focus that would otherwise be left unexplored and under developed (Stake, 2003). From an interpretivist perspective, human behaviour is as varied as the situations and contexts supporting it. Therefore there is an understanding that the world is socially constructed (Daymon & Holloway, 2011). The presentation

of this research using case study methodology allows complex issues to be explored while providing the context and background to make sense of the findings.

Throughout the case study literature, researchers using such an approach face an ongoing dilemma when analysing data, in particular the decision of what to represent and how to do this is crucial. It is important that the data gathered is represented in a way that is valid and reliable hence narrative analysis with a thematic analytic approach has been deemed an appropriate method.

Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis is framed with the interpretive paradigm leaving the understanding of the data open for interpretation (Smith & Sparkes, 2008). Yet Strand (2009) argues the data still needs to be presented by the researcher within a theoretical perspective and presented not just as raw data for the reader to construct their own meaning - but as meaningful – keeping in mind that different people will interpret it differently. As my data is that which was intended initially at least, to be communicated to New Zealanders I consider that my interpretation of the meaning will be a reasonable representation of what was communicated, and also enables me to consider what was not communicated. When a story is told it is positioned in space and time and given order to enable the audience to make sense of, normalise and explain what has or was imagined to have happened Bamberg (2006) outlines. Thus the narrative can either discuss how a person or group of persons experienced an event or it can be used to provided sense to an experience or event. Essentially, as the former suggests, ‘on the narrative’ or the latter ‘with the narrative’ (Bamberg, 2012). My research is ‘with the narrative’ in the sense that the narrative is the tool to research the experience or the event, rather than ‘on the narrative’, where the actual narrative is the study focus. The research aims to identify why this story was told.

Frost (2009) states narrative analysis recognises that people use stories to make sense of their lives, thus narrative analysis is a useful tool in understanding data that surrounds the concepts of national identity and image. Furthermore as Barker

and Galanski (2001) assert, it is in experiences, background and storytelling that we create and sustain national identities, in both identification with and in contrast to others. Nations and governments construct preferred narratives about history in order to manufacture the present identity (Riessman, 2008; Shenav, 2004). As such, identity can be altered through changing stories, making narrative analysis well suited to the exploration of identity as it is sensitive to subjective meaning making and social processes (Emerson & Frosh, 2004). This also makes it useful for the study of political languages as it seeks not just to discuss the authors intended meaning but also to discover the meaning that is hidden in the language of the text (Strand, 2009). Shenhav (2004) furthers that as politicians rely on communication through narrative, like all other human beings, they can often create good stories that are believable yet not always true. Thus narrative analysis encourages the researcher to consider both what is said and how it is said to uncover the different interpretations and meanings (Gibbs, 2008; Holstein & Gubrium, 2004).

Stories are analytic in nature, thus when people tell a story they use analytic techniques to make sense of their world, as such they communicate in ways that are similar or enhance understanding (Smith & Sparkes, 2008). Thus narrative analysis allows the exploration of different stories which contribute to what Bishop (2001) terms a meta-story, enabling the expansion of possibilities, debate and creating a more inclusive perspective. Smith and Sparkes (2008) continue that stories can reconstruct the sense of an event allowing multiple stories to be heard and also those conflicting voices. Furthermore it questions the assumptions made about what is being said and explores the reasons how the audience are persuaded that the narrative is a realistic portrayal of the event, states Bishop (2001). Those telling the story can simultaneously construct and reflect reality (Peacock & Holland, 1993). Bishop (2001) continues that narratives that are persuasive in nature can instigate change and have social force particularly when they are communicated to large numbers of people. Again narrative analysis is useful here as it allows changes to be observed over a period of time (Shenhav, 2004).

Shenhav (2004) proposes that the components of a story are spread throughout many texts and as such they need to be collected and correlated and chronologised, this process allows the development of the narrative to emerge. Riessman (2008) furthers that collecting and chronologising the data is the first step and typical of all narrative analysis. The next stages are determined by the time of method intending to be used to analyse the data, that is the organisation of the data, composition of field notes and the selection of discourse for closer inspection. There are three analytic stances that Riessman (2008) identifies which can be used to examine the data. First is structural analysis which considers the way that the story is told. Second is interactional analysis where the dialogic process is the focus. Third, is thematic analysis which focuses on the content of the text. The type of analytic approach that is most pertinent to my research and most likely to derive the most useful information from the data is thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is common among interpretivist researchers, as such themes come from both the data and the researchers prior knowledge of the event, the literature and the theory (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Thematic analysis is an analytic approach to the method of narrative analysis and relies on categorising accounts or aspects of accounts that are being told (Riessman, 2008). The development of themes helps to create a story of what is being communicated. This is useful for my research because as Shenhav (2004) suggests story telling is involved in the construction of a nation – thus you can study the narrative of nation which subsequently addresses the values and characteristics that a person or group of people assign to a nation. Furthermore in analysing political speeches and documents the values that the politicians assign to the nation and their communication of these attributes can be analysed in through the methods suggested.

Thematic analysis has a strong focus on the content of the text, as such it considers what is said rather than how it is said, states Riessman (2008). She continues the process of the analysis begins with the collection of many stories

and the creation of conceptual groups from the data. The thematic approach is ideal for discovering common elements across a range of cases, the strength of this approach lies in its ability to utilise data from many different sources. On the other hand there needs to be consideration for those themes that fall outside the common themes, and the researcher needs to be careful that the unspoken is also accounted for as often it is as much about what is not said as what is.

The interest in thematic analysis lies in the content of the speech. Researchers interpret what is said by focusing on the meaning that any competent user of the language might find in a story. As a result metaphors provide another strong tool for thematic analysis. Metaphors are, as Frost (2009) highlights, devices of representation which enable meaning to be understood. They help the speaker to communicate as metaphors, like stories, are grounded in socially shared knowledge and conventional use. However the danger in categorising using metaphors and other more generic terms is that readers must assume that when they are categorised under the same heading – they mean the same thing, thus the researcher must be aware of different meanings applied to the same word or groups of words (Riessman, 2008).

Hence this research uses the Rugby World Cup as a case through which to examine the identity and image of New Zealand. The data gathered will be analysed using narrative analysis and one of its associated analytic approaches of thematic analysis. The study will be centred within an interpretivist paradigm.

Data collection

Due to the nature of the analysis employed, the amount of data gathered needed to be significant in order to ensure the validity of the research. As such all available press releases from Rugby World Cup Limited and from Tourism New Zealand were gathered. These were the only ones that I obtained as both these organisations are chaired or governed by the government in power. As this research has a base in political communication this was important. In total 153 press releases were obtained although not all of them were used.

Further to the press releases; interviews and speeches made by John Key, Martin Snedden, Helen Clark, Trevor Mallard, and Murray McCully were obtained. In total 40 speeches and interviews were analysed. Of these 40, 10 are attributed to the leaders of the Labour government and 20 to the National government, this provides a relative ratio to the time during the RWC that each of these governments were in power. The remaining ten belong to Martin Snedden who provides a point of comparison, however it is also useful to consider if his discourse changes with that of the change in government.

The analysis began with reading each piece of discourse, each sentence was categorised depending on the information it contained. Rather than the categories defining the information that was used, the data in the text was used to establish a category. If a sentence or section of text was similar to a category that had already been defined it was placed under that area. If the text did not fit a previous category then a new one was created. The placement of the data was defined by the repetition and reoccurrence of certain words and their placement. All gathered data was analysed in this way and placed under general headings in chronological order:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| - Accommodation | - Hospitality |
| - Celebration and Party | - Opportunity |
| - Experience | - Pride |
| - Four Million Hosts | - REAL Festival |
| - Importance of Tourism | - Reputation |
| - Infrastructure | - Showcasing New Zealand |
| - Investment | - Stadium of Four Million |
| - Involvement | - The Third Biggest Sporting |
| - Kiwi Culture | Event in the World |
| - Legacy | - This is what is best for New Zealand |

From these categories sub-themes were derived, as although common words were used, they did not all have the same meaning. For instance Snedden's use of the

term legacy was most commonly used in relation to that of grassroots rugby, while Key coined the term legacy most often in relation to infrastructural development and economic gain. As a result many of the sub-themes related to other sub themes which fell under different categories. This helped in the development of final three themes to be analysed; the recurrence of certain words and their synonyms was also taken into account. At this stage I had to make decisions about what data was no longer relevant to the research and as such some of the categories gave no relevant contribution to the following discussion. The final themes and what they encompass are outlined below:

Presenting New Zealand

This section covers the concept of the opportunities that were presented to New Zealand by winning the rights to host the RWC. It incorporates discussion about legacy in all areas, including infrastructure, tourism, creating an events destination and economic and social development along with how well New Zealand was presented to the rest of the world.

Being a New Zealander

This section encompasses the ideas of identity and image, and the need for New Zealand to unite not just as the *stadium of four million* but as four million hosts. It incorporates the ideas of uniting as a nation and being involved in the event for the good of the nation, that is the act of hosting or caring.

Growing New Zealand

This section discusses the culture and identity of New Zealand, and its relationship to rugby. It identifies the legacy that was created through the RWC and its contribution to the development of the New Zealand image and brand and subsequently the benefits to New Zealand itself.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described and justified the research design for this study which aims to examine how a sporting mega-event can be used to unite a nation around a brand image, and the ways in which the 2011 RWC was seen to be a

catalyst for the reproduction and refinement of New Zealand's national identity. I have outlined the development of the research focus and the research methodology and method have been discussed. The findings are presented and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together and critically discuss the data. Summarising and reporting on the data with the accompanying interpretation has been useful in making sense of their meaning. This approach was deemed to be the most appropriate and effective because it allowed the narrative of the case to be more robustly examined and critiqued.

Three key themes have emerged from this study. Each theme comprises ‘stories’ about how the New Zealand Government used the Rugby World Cup (RWC) to unite New Zealand around a national identity and reinforce the New Zealand brand. Each of the themes therefore contributes to making sense of and understanding the importance of the 2011 RWC to New Zealand in a number of ways. As stated in Chapter 3 the ‘stories’ have been organised into three themes: *Presenting New Zealand*, *Being a New Zealander*, and *Growing New Zealand*. Each theme effectively encapsulates ideas about how RWC was a catalyst for, and provided an opportunity to unite New Zealanders around a set of characteristics intended to both reinforce national identity and subsequently New Zealand’s image and brand.

Presenting New Zealand

In the quest to respond to the main focus for this study it is important to understand how the New Zealand government presented their case for hosting the 2011 RWC and also what they hoped to achieve from it. The focus of this theme is centred on two questions:

1. How did the government communicate to New Zealand citizens that New Zealand needed the RWC?

2. How did the New Zealand government want to showcase the nation during the RWC?

These questions are important because the RWC was not just about a sporting event but also a tool being used by the government for identity and image building. The government needed the citizens of New Zealand to believe that hosting the RWC was worthwhile before they began to communicate ideas of identity and change. As Cheney and Christensen (2001) suggest, if a nation's citizens do not accept the message being delivered it is virtually impossible to convince an external audience to believe in the same discourse.

In order to convince New Zealanders that hosting the RWC was beneficial the government frequently engaged with the public through speeches, press releases, associated organisations and the media. Their endeavours were often embodied in statements such as these:

If we all do a little bit to welcome our visitors wherever we encounter them, if we all make the effort to take part in some way, then we would have made the most of this once in a lifetime opportunity. That is our challenge next year (Tourism New Zealand, 2010).

Before and during the RWC the previous Labour government and the current National government frequently used words which seemed to contain multiple meanings to communicate with the citizens of New Zealand. Some of those used most prevalently - *opportunity*, *innovation* and *reputation* - are discussed under this theme as they and their synonyms were used in ways which seemed to suggest change, motivation, success and improvement aligning with the idea of presenting or showcasing New Zealand in the best possible way. Interestingly, while they were commonly used and appeared frequently in the data they appeared to be more prominent in the years leading up to the hosting of the RWC.

Opportunity

The term opportunity was used most frequently in the lead up to the 2011 RWC and is important in illustrating why the New Zealand government needed to host a successful RWC. The data suggests that reference to opportunity is to do with

both chance and uncertainty, and that it has positive connotations. Opportunity is often presented as an option - something to do with a set of circumstances that enable something to take place. Interestingly however, the opportunity to host a successful RWC is not presented in the government communication as an option but more as a requirement as is illustrated in Snedden's quote below.

The eyes of the world will be upon us and we will have to step up to the mark to ensure we make the most of this priceless opportunity to showcase the best of New Zealand (Snedden, TNZ Press Release 'Getting match-fit for the game of our lives', March 31, 2010).

Raco and Tunney (2010) suggest that the benefits of hosting a mega-event are often emphasised within a discourse of both intangible and tangible gains for the host country. These authors have claimed the government implied that only a mega-event could deliver these changes and John Key's address to the leaders of New Zealand at the 2010 Local Government Conference exemplified this.

We all agree on one thing – the Rugby World Cup represents a huge opportunity that we simply cannot afford to miss (Key, Opening address to Local Government New Zealand Annual Conference, 26 July, 2010).

The idea that the RWC presented an opportunity that could not be missed indicated the importance the government placed on the event. Such confirmation of why the RWC would be so beneficial for New Zealand seemed to occur frequently in the narratives of a number of people. Reference to *opportunity*, even though the word might not be specifically used, was recurrent and preceded by facts that referred to the size of the event, its capacity and its value. This is evident and typified in the statements from a number of key stakeholders.

RWC 2011 will be watched by a cumulative television audience of four billion, providing a priceless opportunity to showcase New Zealand to the world (Snedden, TNZ Press Release – RWC 2011 tickets set to roll, 30 March, 2010).

There is simply no overstating how important the RWC will be for New Zealand. It's the third largest sporting event in the world, and our fantastic country will be in the spotlight for six weeks. We're expecting at least

85,000 international visitors, and billions more will be watching from home” (Key, Speech to 2010 New Zealand Hotel Industry Conference, 13 May, 2010).

The cup will bring 85,000 international visitors to New Zealand, 2,000 international media and be watched by millions of views in over 200 countries (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – Showcasing New Zealand, 5 May, 2011).

Reserve Bank Governor Alan Bollard said in January, RWC 2011 could add around \$700 million to the NZ economy (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Facts and figures dominate these statements and there are recurring and specific references to the RWC being the ‘biggest sporting event this year’, ‘the third largest sporting event in the world’, and ‘the eyes of the world will be on New Zealand for six weeks’. The government clearly intended to make much of the massive number of visitors expected, the extensive media coverage and viewership, and the predicted economic value of the event in promoting and developing national identity in the context of the RWC brand. Certainly the data has supported the view that presenting and showcasing New Zealand to the world began with the convincing claim, supported by facts and information, that the RWC was an *opportunity* that should not be missed.

The kind of worldwide gaze that events of this kind attract was clearly seen by the government as being of significant and long-term benefit if managed correctly. The majority of authors of mega-event literature recognise and acknowledge the importance of the media in the promotion and reproduction of a national identity and image (Dolles & Soderman, 2008; L'Etang, 2010; Roberts, 2004). This was also supported by the government's view that New Zealand was capable of being recognised for far more than it already was. As McCully, the Minister for the RWC communicated through a 2011 NZ Government Press Release:

The Rugby World Cup puts New Zealand into the spotlight like never before. This is an unprecedented opportunity for a small trading nation to surprise the world with our extraordinary capabilities (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – Showcasing New Zealand, 5 May, 2010).

Here it was made clear that the government believed the RWC would provide New Zealand with a chance for further development both externally and internally. Snedden supported this view as can be seen in this excerpt from an interview:

We are unlikely to ever have another opportunity that will unite us quite as much as the RWC; the only other event would be if we went to war (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July 24, 2011).

Although a more extreme context to draw on, this kind of emphasis and fervour was also evident during the Seoul Olympics and the Beijing Olympics. It was the intention of the president of South Korea that the Olympic Games would enhance the image of South Korea in the eyes of both its people and its international trading partners. While national image was important for China, it also sought to boost the profile of its government during the Games. According to Chen (2012) successful mega-events can reflect well upon the government of the country, making the country more attractive and stable for those considering investment, as well as instil and affirm the faith of the citizens of the nation. By effectively communicating the importance of the RWC event and its benefits to the nation, the New Zealand government aimed to (as occurred after the London Olympics with Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London) create a leader – follower relationship thus allowing the government to generate a national commitment to, and unity around the event (L'Etang, 2006; Newman, 2007).

The biggest problem the government had in the initial stages of this event however was to sell the idea to the New Zealand public that the long term benefits of the event would outweigh the short term and significant costs. As Vliegenthart (2012) has emphasised, when societies become more knowledgeable they also become more sceptical and opinionated hence those invested in selling the idea of the RWC to the nation needed to ensure they presented a transparent and believable concept. In such situations Doczi (2011) believes it is common for governments to focus on the positive aspects of an event and those issues of particular concern to its citizens. As such he outlines, this can result in the government reacting in a more aggressive manner when things go wrong. An

example of this was the upgrade of the transport infrastructure in Auckland before the RWC. The positive spin on hosting the event was articulated thus by Snedden:

The tournament is also being used as a catalyst to upgrade facilities and infrastructure across the country. For example investments in rail to help streamline the transportation of spectators in Auckland and the \$256 million upgrade of Eden Park — all of which will attract new events and opportunities in the future (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July 24, 2011).

Somewhat inevitably some less optimistic commentators might say, on the opening night of the event the transport failed spectacularly. The reaction from Key and McCully was intense and the responses was instant. In less than a week, new event legislation had been drawn up which allowed McCully to take control of the Auckland transport management. He explained that the “special legislation has proven valuable in dealing with a need to address the events of last Friday in a compressed timetable” (McCully, September 16, 2011). This kind of careful control and management L’Etang (2006) points out, emphasises that mega-events have so much potential in promoting nations that it is important to ensure that they are managed effectively.

This example demonstrates how important the RWC was to the NZ government and highlights their dedication to, and the value they placed on delivering a great event. It also leads into the next part of this discussion, which is to do with the importance of maintaining and building *reputation*. Although Snedden (2012) outlined in his book *A Stadium of 4 Million* that he felt the government over-reacted over the transport issue and that the incident was relatively small, from the government’s perspective it remained that the situation was directly related to the need to maintain and enhance the *reputation* of New Zealand.

Reputation

Throughout the data reputation seems to have a two-pronged meaning. First, it is one of the key indicators of how New Zealanders need to act in order to present and showcase the best of New Zealand, and second, it is an integral part of the rationale as to why New Zealand needs to be promoted.

Many authors have written about identity, image and branding, and claim that *reputation* is closely linked to these concepts. In relation to the RWC therefore, reputation is to do with the way the rest of the world perceives New Zealand. Richard Branson for instance, identified New Zealand as a small nation with a people who push the boundaries. And at the conclusion of the RWC Helen Clark, a former Prime Minister of New Zealand stated:

It's a project that I think many in the international sporting world thought we were too small to cope with, and what we've done over the five years or so we've had to prepare for this tournament is significantly increase our capability levels in order to make sure we are able to deliver the standard of tournament that is quite rightly expected (Helen Clark, Interview with Marcus Lush, 25 October, 2011).

She went on to say:

People do hear of New Zealand because to use the old over used clichés we do “punch- well- above –our- weight” and hosting the cup in the way that we did was certainly punching above our weight, but we do it, and we do it with style, so all of those things were on our minds when we got in behind the cup. Yes rugby was important as a sport to the nation but we could use that as a platform to leverage tremendous ongoing benefit for New Zealand (Helen Clark, Interview with Marcus Lush, 25 October, 2011).

These comments indicated the way that Helen Clark believed New Zealanders are viewed by non New Zealanders. It epitomised those characteristics identified and discussed in Chapter 1 that are valued in New Zealand society – that is, a hardworking people who achieve quality through ingenuity and teamwork. A good reputation appears to be prized and people are proud of it thus the government's ability to appeal to peoples' pride in their nation was important. The literature states too, that placing an emphasis on reputation can contribute to the self-regulation of behaviour (Nye, 2004). The government quite convincingly used the types of soft power communications that Nye (2004) has referred to, in their later stages of communication. Snedden illustrated this in the following comment:

I think probably the biggest lesson is just a reminder of the risk that you have to get this right. There's so much at stake. The reputation of your country is internationally on the line (Martin Snedden, Interview with Paul Holmes, 10 October, 2010).

As did Key with these statements:

After the world cup, we want people to leave New Zealand with fantastic memories and share them with their family and friends all over the world... we have an excellent reputation and we want to keep it (John Key, Address to Tourism Auckland, 14 October, 2010).

Negative experiences travel quickly... so the onus is on all of us to act responsibly and make the most of the RWC (John Key, Address to Tourism Auckland, 14 October, 2010).

Both Snedden and Key argued that the need to 'get this right' demonstrated a strong belief in the notion of reputation. Reinforced by brand expert Anholt (2006a), he has pointed out that 'word of mouth' marketing is one of the strongest forms of communication and persuasion. As such Anholt (2006a) has posited that those who visit a country are more likely to promote it, hence the hosting of a major event gives them a reason to go there in the first place. This idea is further reinforced by a well-known historical example. Many of those who traveled to the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 left with a more positive image of Hitler's regime than they arrived with. It is believed this was partly due to the effective and persistent communication of a coherent national identity.

In a further example, Rowe (2012) has discussed the importance of cohesion in relation to the Beijing Olympics. Here the Chinese government sought to encapsulate the sum of China, including its minority groups, particularly during the national celebrations. It can be inferred from both the literature and the examples above that there is considerable attraction and advantage in presenting a unified country with a positive reputation to the rest of the world. Whether this is an accurate representation of a nation or not, Cheney and Christensen (2001) would suggest that the use of unitary voice allows for the expression or

suppression “of multiple voices, identities, cultures, images and interests” (p.233) thus resulting in a clear identity that is defined for both internal and external communication.

The following comments show clearly that the New Zealand government was endeavouring to ensure that New Zealanders realised, and understood the importance of building on the nation’s reputation during the RWC:

We also need to convince visitors that they will get the very best service and that New Zealanders are ready to welcome them with open arms. Visitors who leave with amazing memories of their time in New Zealand are the most important marketing tool we can ever receive (Tourism New Zealand Press Release - Getting match-fit for the game of our lives, 31 March, 2010).

We want visitors to leave New Zealand with the best memories. Why? Quite simply there is no better advertisement for our great country than the word of mouth endorsement of happy visitors (Tourism New Zealand Press Release - Volunteers at the heart of Rugby World Cup, 28 June 2010).

The government recognised that ensuring the tourism industry understood and was committed to the importance of reputation was particularly crucial, as the industry makes up the majority of frontline staff that greet visitors to New Zealand. According to the Tourism Industry of New Zealand Association website (<http://www.tianz.org.nz/main/the-power-of-tourism/>), tourism contributes 9% to NZ’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employs one in ten New Zealanders. The industry is New Zealand’s second largest foreign exchange earner. It was important then, that the Tourism Industry was included in all communications and that the benefits specific to their industry were clearly articulated. As such John Key, the Prime Minister and Minister for Tourism clearly identified the benefits for the tourism industry in a number of statements on various occasions:

It will deliver huge benefits to our tourism and hospitality industries, and have a lasting impact on New Zealand's reputation. A Deloitte report estimates the World Cup will deliver a \$1.25 billion boost to our economy (John Key, Speech to 2010 New Zealand Hotel Industry Conference, 13 May, 2010).

But if we take it too far and overcharge visitors, we'll risk damaging New Zealand's tourism reputation. We need to balance the opportunity to make money on accommodation with how important our reputation is (John Key, Speech to 2010 New Zealand Hotel Industry Conference, 13 May, 2010).

We want to make sure visitors have a truly memorable experience. We want to make sure visitors get a taste of New Zealand and want to come back. You have an important role to play in ensuring their visit is an outstanding one (John Key, Speech to 2010 New Zealand Hotel Industry Conference, 13 May, 2010).

He had also earlier discussed the benefits of making New Zealand a more attractive destination for investment and the subsequent benefits in two different settings:

This is the sort of action that I believe will help bring New Zealand out of this recession faster and in better shape ... this is an unprecedented chance to present the best of New Zealand to the world – and in doing so attract people to visit here and invest here (John Key, Address to TRENZ, 11 June, 2009).

A successful 2011 Rugby World Cup tournament is also a priority for this Government. Ministers have an ambitious programme, not only to ensure that the tournament itself is a success, but to maximise the wider benefits to New Zealand in terms of jobs and growth. The Government wants the positive impact of hosting the tournament to be felt long after the stadiums are empty (John Key, Statement to Parliament, 9 February, 2010).

The statement above sums up what the New Zealand government hoped to achieve, which as Cheney and Christensen (2001) assert is the self-serving aspect of the communication. These authors further that in projecting internal concerns, intentions and strategies into the external environment, the government is able to define the situation in self-serving terms. In the case of the Chinese government, their control over the Beijing Olympics was to not only reinforce what they saw as the positive aspects of communist leadership in the eyes of the world, but also in the eyes of its people. In New Zealand it appears that the government believed that a positive and successful RWC would support and revitalise the New Zealand

economy and contribute in significant ways to the nation's future development through the enhancement of its reputation.

Innovation

The discourse in this section centres on ideas such as increasing international knowledge about New Zealand's known strengths in the field of innovation. The ways that the New Zealand government chose to showcase the nation and how it was envisioned are discussed here. While this discussion does not include all aspects of this showcasing it includes those deemed to be of most significance to the government's focus on identity and branding of the nation. "Intellectual capital abounds at mega-events; capturing that legacy allows all stakeholders to benefit from one another's skills, knowledge, and innovation" (PWC, 2012).

The way that innovation was referred to by McCully indicated that the Cloud¹ and the Giant Rugby Ball² were designed as innovative structures to house world-class innovative ideas. Clark and McCully both emphasised that buildings and structures were not only to be sites for displaying New Zealand's creativity and innovation but would each be signifiers of this. In talking about the Giant Rugby Ball that was erected internationally to promote the RWC, and then in Auckland during the RWC Clark stated:

This is a bold and innovative move; an example of New Zealand's new thinking, and an example of a small country out to make a big impression (Clark, TNZ Press Release – Rugby Ball Venue to Showcase New Zealand, 11 July 2011).

1. The Cloud is a multi-purpose event venue located on Queen's Wharf on the Auckland waterfront. It was built as one of the centrepieces of the hospitality and 'party zone' facilities for the Rugby World Cup 2011, and is able to hold up to 6,000 people.
2. The giant inflatable Rugby Ball was an unique venue and destination experience. It was a New Zealand Government initiative designed to maximise the benefits to New Zealand of hosting the Rugby World Cup in 2011. It was both a audio-visual experience of New Zealand and a venue for trade and industry events in Paris, London, Tokyo, Sydney and Auckland.

McCully claimed:

Today's preview of The Cloud is an important moment for New Zealand's business sectors. Our goal was to ensure New Zealand's innovation story plays a strong role in showcasing New Zealand during the tournament. It is an investment which is a legacy that New Zealand Trade and Enterprise will continue to build on long after the tournament ends (McCully, Rugby New Zealand 2011 Press Release -Kiwi Innovation at The Cloud during RWC 2011, 2 September, 2011).

The idea that New Zealanders are innovative has been consistent throughout the data. As early as 2007 Mallard, the Minister for the RWC of the previous Labour Government asserted:

Just as we did with the America's Cup, the government will be using this major event to profile New Zealand to the rest of the world - our innovation and technology, our fantastic scenery, our cities and our culture (Mallard, TNZ Press Release – Rugby World Cup 2011 – Spotlight on New Zealand, 11 October, 2007).

And then notably from McCully as the RWC got underway:

Our investment in The Cloud to be more than just an entertainment venue is deliberate and important. Countries participating in Rugby World Cup include some of our biggest trading partners – Australia (largest), the USA (third largest), Japan (fourth) and the UK (seventh largest). From Aviation to Agribusiness and Bioscience to Marine – these forward-thinking business sectors are changing international perceptions of New Zealand. The showcase at The Cloud is the first step in broadening the brand story of New Zealand Inc. to encompass world-class innovation that is world-scalable. It is time to confidently market New Zealand as a great destination for ingenuity, knowledge, investment, talent, as well as tourism and culture (McCully, Rugby New Zealand 2011 Press Release -Kiwi Innovation at The Cloud during RWC 2011, 2 September, 2011).

What is noticeable in the text of these two quotes is the clearly increased involvement that McCully had in the management of developing this brand. While there will always be a difference between the start and the end of an event's

management, in his book *A Stadium of 4 Million* Snedden (2012) identified that the National Government had a much more hands on approach than the Labour Government. Whether this difference can be seen because of each government's differing values and beliefs or because of the time that had elapsed since the hosting rights were secured is difficult to ascertain. It is likely that it is a combination of both. What is clear is that while New Zealand was already well known for its beautiful environment, hospitality, Maori culture and overall quality of life, the 2011 RWC presented an opportunity for New Zealand to more overtly demonstrate the aspect of innovation.

The call to action can be clearly seen in this press release from Tourism New Zealand:

Tourism businesses have a critical role in delivering an experience that will exceed visitor expectations and provide a base for showcasing New Zealand's innovative products and services (Tourism New Zealand Press Release- Rugby World Cup 2011 Good for Business, 29 June, 2010).

It is further supported by Snedden:

This is New Zealand's moment in the sun, and businesses in particular have a chance to showcase their products and innovation to a global audience. The immediate economic opportunities in this instance should not be overlooked (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Innovation was consistently referred to throughout the data but appears to have different meanings depending on different contexts. The underlying message however, which is of particular importance to this study, was the way that the term was continually used to reinforce the identity of New Zealand. Certainly this is a notion that New Zealanders have an affinity with - the discourse about innovation does seem to go 'hand in hand' with references to ingenuity and what is often described in New Zealand as 'number 8 wire mentality'. For instance, Sir Richard Branson commented when he visited Auckland during the RWC:

The people I have met here have really reaffirmed what I have always

thought about New Zealand. There is a wealth of talented and unique businesses in Auckland that are thriving both domestically and on the international stage ... For a small country, New Zealanders are certainly pushing the boundaries on the innovation front (Branson, TNZ Press Release - Richard Branson tests Auckland innovation, 21 October, 2011).

While Branson reaffirmed the ideas that had already been articulated and communicated by the government's spokespeople, according to Cheney and Christensen (2001) statements like that also encourage self-reflection. Self-reflection is where the external image is played back to the organisation thus allowing the organisation to view itself in the way it is seen by its audience subsequently creating opportunities for evaluation and adaptation. Therefore rather than simply being the receiver of a message, an external audience also becomes the reference point for the organisation's identity.

Such statements also contribute to the development of a sense of similarity, confidence and efficacy by acknowledging that New Zealand is on par with, if not ahead of the rest of the developed world, while at the same time establishing a point of difference by identifying the relatively small size and population of the nation. It would seem to come back to the notion of New Zealand appearing to always be 'punching above its weight'. As the literature has indicated, finding these similarities and differences is a core part of the establishment of identity (Clancy, 2011). Subsequently it was also believed by the government that an emphasis on showcasing innovation would lead to an increase in the drive to be innovative. Len Brown the Mayor of Auckland, affirmed this view with a comment in which he hoped the visit from Sir Richard Branson would inspire further innovation from New Zealand businesses as he shares the entrepreneurial spirit that New Zealanders are so well known for.

Clearly the RWC provided an opportunity for New Zealand to promote itself for something other than its natural environment. Anholt (2007) and Roper (2009) have both argued that simply resting on the laurels of tourism in such an increasingly sustainable world is no longer enough. With the RWC secured it seemed clear that New Zealand needed to begin to expand its brand to encompass its innovative products.

This leads to the need to pay attention to the concept of auto-communication. Clearly the government wanted to first or simultaneously encourage the population to accept that the nation is innovative. As Anholt (2009) has concluded, with any change it is crucial to help people see themselves in a new way, which results in them behaving in a new way and consequently changes others' perceptions of them. This is a critical aspect of auto communication.

The opening ceremony at the RWC enabled innovation to be displayed with the use of technology that had never been seen before. While the opening ceremony was produced by an Australian company which was a point of contention for some New Zealanders, the organisers' concern with surrounding image and reputation outweighed this. Snedden stated in an interview a year later:

This was a show that was not only for 60,000 people in the stadium, it was for a worldwide audience of 50 million and you get one chance at it. You cannot fail (Snedden, Interview with Mark Cubey, 15 September, 2012).

Cashman (2006) has pointed out that the opening ceremony of an event provides an unequalled opportunity to demonstrate its uniqueness and characteristics. The New Zealand RWC opening ceremony demonstrated creativity and innovation, hence New Zealand culture. Thus the opening ceremony according to Cashman (2006), can help to develop national identity for both international and domestic consumption. The London Olympic Games provides a point of contrast for this – in celebrating all things 'British' - the spectacle provided a point of reference of identity and image - for both the internal and external audience. Snedden also provides several examples of this in respect to New Zealand:

The ceremony will be a powerful tribute to New Zealand's creative skills. Some of our finest talent have been working hard to show the world why we are such a skilled and innovative country so this is their chance to shine on the world stage... an amazing team of New Zealand creative talent have given the ceremony a uniquely Kiwi feel (Snedden, Rugby New Zealand 2011 Press Release - Spectacular Opening Ceremony to kick off RWC Thursday, 1 September, 2011).

Some 200,000 people were in central Auckland and another 60,000 were at Eden Park, plus thousands more watching live in Fanzones across the

country. “I would think that this might represent one of the highest rates of viewership for a major event in the host country anywhere, which underlines that our vision of a stadium of four million, and a nationwide festival, has well and truly come to life (Snedden, Rugby New Zealand Press Release - Huge NZ audience tunes in to opening, Sunday, 11 September, 2011).

The idea of communicating to domestic and international audiences simultaneously is something that organisers of the Beijing, Seoul and Australian Olympic Games all aimed for.

The REAL Festival provided another chance for New Zealand to demonstrate its uniqueness and qualities. The REAL New Zealand Festival was created to celebrate all things New Zealand during Rugby World Cup 2011. The RWC website stated, “We want you to enjoy this country and see us as we are, the things that make us and the things that we’re proud of. So for the six weeks of Rugby World Cup 2011 we’re holding the REAL New Zealand Festival. Throughout the country, wherever you go, there are going to be events and experiences – things that are quintessentially New Zealand – that are there for you to see and do”(http://www.rwc2011.irb.com/destinationnewzealand/festival.html). Hence the communication about the REAL Festival established its capacity and ability to include the entire nation. The key industries identified were those that seemed to be prominent in New Zealand and that many people would work in, thus making the communication relatable and specific. These included Marine, Aviation, IT, Agribusiness, Forestry, Energy, Biotechnology, Food & Beverage, Wine, Equine, Film, Fashion and Textiles, and Music. It further demonstrated what the government was doing to ensure that all of New Zealand benefited from this opportunity.

This is encapsulated in the quotes that follow:

New Zealand’s unique talents will be on show, demonstrating the business innovation, creativity and culture in industries such as: Marine, Aviation, IT, Agribusiness, Forestry, Energy, Biotechnology, Food & Beverage, Wine, Equine, Film, Fashion & Textiles and Music (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – Showcasing New Zealand, 5 May, 2010).

For the last two years, sector leaders and New Zealand corporates have been working on their promotional hosting and networking programmes for RWC 2011 and with five months to go, we are confident that it will be the largest showcase of New Zealand capabilities in our history (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – Showcasing New Zealand, 5 May, 2010).

Growing New Zealand's economy depends on developing new, high-value markets. Industries and businesses can create new connections and deepen existing relationships. We are leaving nothing to chance. Through the REAL New Zealand Showcase, Festival and the online NZ 2011 Business Club, the Government is coordinating industries to enable them to confidently showcase their capabilities (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – Showcasing New Zealand, 5 May, 2010).

And once again these claims were supported by facts. As McCully highlighted:

We are expecting 85,000 fans from just over 100 countries and 2000 media to arrive so we will be showcasing New Zealand internationally at every opportunity, through the REAL New Zealand Festival, the REAL Showcase, and the Business Club (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – 100 days until kick off, 1 June, 2011).

Sporting events are particularly rich sites for media attention and as the previous statements have suggested, makes them ideal for establishing national identity. This view is supported by Snedden, who indicated that the events hosted throughout New Zealand would be reflections of New Zealand's identity and culture:

The REAL New Zealand Festival will be the largest festival of its kind to take place in New Zealand, bringing together all those events and activities that we Kiwis are most proud of and represent what we, as a nation, are all about (Snedden, Tourism New Zealand Press Release- 100 days to go to RWC, 1 June, 2011).

This is endorsed by a Tourism NZ press release:

The festival will engage locals and visitors alike, giving New Zealanders a chance to discover more about their country and enriching the New Zealand experience for visitors. I encourage every region of New Zealand to make the most of this opportunity to showcase ourselves to the world, and to have a great time while we do it (Tourism New Zealand Press Release,- RWC 2011 Ticket sales details announced, 30 March, 2010).

In discussing this theme I have examined and analysed the ways that the government communicated the importance of the RWC to New Zealand's citizens through multiple discourses about opportunity, reputation and innovation. These discourses highlight how the government sought to promote New Zealand to the rest of the world with particular emphases on key areas of business and expertise. Importantly the government ensured that not just businesses and specific groups were included but that all New Zealanders were a part of the discourse. Such an approach not only led to the success of the *stadium of four million* concept, which is discussed in the next section of this chapter, but also in laying a foundation of values. Cheney and Christensen (2001) suggest that in engaging and allowing citizens to identify with some level of the organisation, or nation in this instance, future campaigns and ideas can be grounded in the previously established values.

Being a New Zealander

When you are small country of 4.2 million people you have to work to be noticed, and being noticed is important, because otherwise people may not think of ever buying your wine, visiting your country, buying your high technology gear, thinking your food is a top quality etc. so you have to create a very, very positive brand image to be noticed (Clark, 2011).

If we do it well, I think it will be proof to ourselves of our ability to unite. It is a really challenging thing for a country to pull itself together and stay together around one particular moment in time, but rugby is the thing that unites us as a nation more than anything else I can think of (Snedden, 2011).

The discussion in the first section of this chapter contributes to the discourse about the government's and event organisers' ultimate goal of uniting New Zealand around a common cause – the RWC. In obtaining support for an event such as the RWC, the government was able to build upon an existing identity thus in this theme the development and reinforcement of this identity is examined in light of the data and the literature. In particular the notion of unity is explored in relation to the way it was expressed and communicated around the RWC. Unity has a strong relationship to the Maori concept of *manaakitanga* – one of the underpinning concepts of the RWC.

New Zealand is a nation that is perceived as, and has long considered itself relatively 'laid back' but New Zealand has also shown that when an issue or an event matters to the people, it can unite around a common goal. The camaraderie that New Zealand was known and admired for in times of war for instance, as Snedden alluded to in an earlier quote, is also demonstrated in New Zealand's favourite game of rugby and lies at the core of the nation's psyche. McLauchlan (2012) has pointed this out commenting that throughout history when New Zealanders rally around a goal or an injustice they make a difference. Past events include South Africa's Springbok Rugby Tour in 1981, which was a divisive period within New Zealand but was also a major catalyst for change to the apartheid policies of South Africa. A further example is the Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament and Arms Control Act of 1987. This reflected the continued pressure by New Zealanders to formalise an existing ban even though the Prime Minister David Lange and his Labour Government had banned nuclear powered and armed ships from New Zealand ports in 1984. In 1893 New Zealand was the first country to give women the right to vote and more recently became one of only 15 countries to legalise same-sex marriage. While it is acknowledged that at the time some of these events created controversy in New Zealand society, over time they have contributed to the development of New Zealanders' sense of identity and an image of what New Zealand is, and what New Zealanders can achieve.

The above were crucial events at different times in New Zealand's history, however there have also been smaller events that have been no less significant yet demonstrate what comprises the fabric of New Zealand society hence creates a strong sense of unity. Aside from war, sporting events tend to be the most common examples and most likely for the reasons Mallard suggested:

In New Zealand sport and physical activity are an important part of our national identity and New Zealanders love to watch teams win in major sporting events (Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release - New Zealand launches bid for Rugby World Cup 2011, 11 May, 2005).

So how has this 'unity' evolved? Examples of unity can be seen in the way that people rallied to ensure that discus thrower Valerie Adams received her gold

medal in style after the upset at the London Olympic Games and in the nation's support of Sir Edmund Hillary's family at his funeral and the calls for lasting tributes to his name. The most notable of these was the *Summits for Ed* tribute tour. It started at Bluff and visited more than 39 towns and cities around the country finishing at Cape Reinga. Unity has been evident in the support shown for non New Zealanders, for example when a five year old girl was assaulted in the town of Turangi there was not only an outpouring of national shame but massive support for her and her holidaying European family. As Morton (Feb, 29 2012) reported at the time, they "were overwhelmed with messages of support and more than \$62,000 in donations."

Manaakitanga

Once the government had highlighted the benefits of hosting the RWC their attention turned to engaging and uniting New Zealanders with the concept of the *stadium of 4 million* and creating *four million hosts*. In doing this they focused on the key characteristics of the people of New Zealand, in particular those characteristics that the nation was already renowned for and those comprised New Zealanders' friendly manner and warm hospitality. As a result a key concept developed and promoted for the RWC was *manaakitanga*. Maori words tend to have multiple meanings that can be difficult to define in the English language and *manaakitanga* is one of those. For the purpose of the RWC however, it was broadly translated as hospitality. Expanded upon further, *manaakitanga* is a concept that embodies ideas to do with showing kindness, caring for the environment, treating people with respect, being a responsible host, caring for others, nurturing relationships and making someone feel at home (koreromaori.com, 2013). All of these concepts can be related to the idea of unity. According to Snedden (2012), during the RWC what mattered was how people were to be looked after and that everyone was involved in doing so. He stated:

Manaakitanga is a powerful Maori word – it means the act of hosting or caring. It is the single most important obligation and opportunity Kiwis have when the world comes to our place this year (Snedden, 2012).

While the term *manaakitanga* was closely tied in with the original bid and

concept of the *stadium of four million*, initially it appeared to be used as a way to unite New Zealanders around their passion for the game of rugby as was epitomised in Mallard's statement below. It is likely he coined the phrase even though he would not be at the helm during the RWC due to a change of government in 2006:

New Zealanders are passionate about their rugby - and that passion is one of the key assets of our Bid. While we are a small country, we make up for that in other ways - we are a stadium of four million people! (Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release - New Zealand launches bid for Rugby World Cup 2011, 11 May, 2005).

Helen Clark, a former prime minister of New Zealand who was instrumental in winning the hosting rights for the RWC, also identified that the passion New Zealanders had for rugby would be relatively easy to channel into a united support for the RWC:

I think the passion behind the bid that we were able to go saying if you bring this tournament here there will be a stadium to perform in and people will be cheering from their homes and the streets and neighbourhoods, clubs and bars as well as helping fill the stadium and you'll get the whole country in behind it (Clark, Recorded statement, November, 2010).

The concept of the *stadium of four million* was however sorely tested by the Christchurch earthquakes, as the damage to Stadium Christchurch was vast and resulted in the need for scheduled games to be relocated. While the outcome was a loss of income for the region, nevertheless the concept of the *stadium of 4 million* and the involvement of all New Zealanders remained critical to those responsible for the event's delivery. Snedden discussed this issue with the New Zealand Airports Magazine:

We were certainly reluctant to shift matches from such a proud rugby province which, as we all know, has a rich rugby heritage. It was a hard decision, but in the end we had little choice once we knew Stadium Christchurch was unlikely to be repaired in time. It was pleasing that in the end we could reallocate three of the matches to South Island venues. Our

sympathies certainly remain with the people of the region as they go about the long recovery and rebuilding process. They are still very much part of our Stadium of Four Million and we are looking at ways to ensure they play a part and share in the experience. To that end it's great that the All Blacks will spend some time in the city (Snedden, Interview with NZ Airports Magazine, 10th Ed. April, 2011).

This statement demonstrates that the over-riding identity and image that it was intended would be being portrayed was linked to ensuring that New Zealand united around the RWC. Often this attempt of what a nation 'is' or 'wants to be' "cuts across and unifies many different goals and concerns" (Cheney & Christensen, 2001, p.232). The following statement indicates this seemingly successful attempt at unity:

New Zealand has promised a stadium of four million rugby lovers to animate the RWC tournament which is set to play out in sports stadia the length of breath of the country – making it a truly national event (Tourism New Zealand Press Release - New Zealand is a destination to visit in 2011, 7 January, 2011).

There were several reasons behind the decision to spread the games around New Zealand and it was a carefully planned tactic to ensure that all New Zealanders were included in the event. As both L'Etang (2006) and Anholt (2006b) have pointed out, a lack of national unity impacts upon a nation's identity and therefore its brand image hence if New Zealanders did not feel or get involved the government knew this would be detrimental to the nation's reputation. This was evident for example in the decision that the only money that would be direct revenue for New Zealand would come from ticket sales. Therefore, while it would have been easy to host the games only in the main centres, they and the teams were dispersed around New Zealand's smaller cities and towns. The All Blacks were made accessible to New Zealanders and the Webb Ellis Cup toured the country prior to the start of the event.

In 1995 the Nelson Mandela led government sought to use the RWC to unite the South African nation in a similar way. The 1995 RWC signified the end of the apartheid for many black South Africans as up until 1992 South Africa had been internationally boycotted. It was the first RWC that the International Rugby

Board (IRB) had permitted South Africa to participate in. This was further reinforced by the inclusion of the team's only black player Chester Williams, who on the public relations front embodied the slogan and the ultimate goal of the *rainbow nation* (Grundlingh, 1998). As in New Zealand, the team was made available to the public and the games were spread across the country. Furthermore it was widely publicised that the Springboks supported a community-driven campaign 'let us build together' in the black townships (Grundlingh, 1998). The contrast to New Zealand lay in the fact that Nelson Mandela's focus was on gaining national unity through the support of the Springboks. The Springboks were already loved by the white South African community therefore not disintegrating the team but allowing them to bear the slogan '*one team, one nation*', unity was encouraged.

On the other hand, New Zealanders were encouraged to unite as a nation behind the RWC not just behind the All Blacks, as it would have been so easy to do. As such there were regular reminders that despite New Zealanders' love of rugby and the All Blacks, the RWC belonged to the IRB and the event was much bigger than just focusing on the All Blacks winning the cup. As Snedden indicated:

Most of my time is spent making people understand the philosophy of the event, on shore and off. The biggest opportunity isn't about the All Blacks winning the tournament, but about New Zealand hosting it (Snedden, Interview with The Wellingtonian, January, 2011).

And:

The way the international community judges the success of this event has nothing to do with the All Blacks, but in the way they are welcomed, looked after and are given a good time. That is the only criteria that we are using, and we really need to extend the welcome mat and ensure that people are in a good mood (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Four million hosts

Snedden's previous statements emphasise the importance of being good hosts and allude to the importance of New Zealand's reputation. They can be linked to one

of the most repeated concepts up to and during the RWC, that of a nation of *four million hosts*. This concept is tied in effectively with the idea of New Zealanders not just supporting the All Blacks as has been referred to previously but all of the teams. This was demonstrated through a number of statements:

We are a not just a country of four million fans, we are a country of four million hosts (Key, Address to TRENZ, 11 June, 2009).

We need to be a nation of four million hosts. We hear so often about our unique Kiwi hospitality. Now, more than ever, we will need to prove it is more than just a handy marketing slogan. Part and parcel of that will be a successful volunteer programme (Tourism New Zealand Press Release - Getting match-fit for the game of our lives, 31 March, 2010).

And one of the ways we can all make a difference to this Tournament is getting in behind the teams that visit our regions. We love our rugby and the All Blacks, but they can only play seven matches at most out of the 48 to be played. There are 19 other teams that will visit here and not many will come with an army of fans to cheer them on (Tourism New Zealand Press Release- Volunteers at the heart of Rugby World Cup. 28 June, 2010).

While rugby is at the heart of the event, it is as equally important that New Zealand views it as a chance for the nation to come together and reap the associated benefits, says Snedden. There is a great deal more at stake than who goes home with the prized Webb Ellis Cup (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

The volunteer programme was one of the bases available for New Zealanders to engage with the *stadium of four million* and *four million hosts* concepts. Both were appealing ideas and instilled in New Zealanders a desire to act and unite around the concepts. Snedden suggests:

Our Stadium of Four Million is really coming alive and we see that up and down the country every day. We certainly see it in our volunteer programme. We're right in the middle of finalising the lucky 5000 or so who will play a key welcome role across the country. The response has been fantastic from people from all walks of life who are keen to sacrifice their time to play a part in making the Tournament a success (Snedden,

Interview with NZ Airports Magazine, 10th Ed. April, 2011).

The latter statement indicated that it was not just anyone who could be a volunteer for the RWC. As was seen in the case of China and the Beijing Olympics, volunteering at mega-events in many ways became a top-down initiative developed by the state (Chong, 2011). The process seemed inclusive yet it was quite selective – a volunteer was expected to embody the characteristics of a model citizen and each was provided with clear instructions about how to do so. As such the government hoped that the volunteers would demonstrate self-governance and be able to effectively manage others (Chong, 2011). Although the scope of this study does not extend to the ways volunteers were communicated with or managed, the documents to do with the New Zealand volunteer programme are extensive, informative and indicate the best way to behave and encourage everyone to engage with the RWC for as Snedden suggested:

We want our visitors to leave with very special memories of their time here if we are to make the most of this opportunity, so all of us in our Stadium of Four Million have a part to play (Snedden, Interview with NZ Airports Magazine, 10th Ed. April, 2011).

Celebrity reinforcement was also popular as many sports stars and well-known New Zealanders signed up to be volunteers for the 2011 RWC. Celebrity endorsement is not an unusual public relations tactic – the use of a celebrity deemed to be a model of society can increase trustworthiness and create a positive relationship between the cause and the message (Park & Choi, 2009). It was further used successfully in the internal promotion of the London Olympic Games and in the promotional film that can be located at <http://vimeo.com/28381929>.

New Zealanders' relationship with rugby however, has suggested that performance and good behaviour is valued more highly than appearance, which is contradictory to celebrities who tend to be held in higher esteem overseas. Whannel (2008) reports for example, that David Beckham's image frequently over-rides his poor performances.

Former All Black captain Tana Umaga, who epitomised the New Zealand identity at the time of the RWC was one of the New Zealand celebrities. The statement below reinforced what was being communicated by the government:

This is a great event for New Zealand and much, much more than just a sports tournament so I want to do my bit to help make it a success. It will be an amazing opportunity to get involved and help make this event memorable for New Zealand and the thousands of visitors we welcome next year (TNZ Press Release - Tana Umaga Among Prominent Kiwis Volunteering for RWC, 2011).

While not explicitly stated, this quote indicates the concept of unity and manaakitanga. The REAL Festival was also used to instil these same ideas. Although the REAL festival was a tool to showcase New Zealand to the world and maximise the benefits to the nation, it also provided a discourse of culture, an opportunity to present what was unique about New Zealand, and enabled a difference to be established between the citizens of New Zealand and the rest of the world to reinforce the New Zealand identity. This was further endorsed by the spreading of the games around the regions and towns and cities where each area was able to welcome teams in their own individual ways, and was reinforced by Snedden:

The welcomes will show teams that their arrival here is special both for local communities and our country and will be a great example of the warm hosting we are sure New Zealanders will provide teams and fans throughout the tournament (TNZ Press Release-Unique Kiwi Welcome for RWC Teams, 30 June, 2011).

The event not only allowed tourists to experience New Zealand culture, it also gave New Zealanders the chance to explore it further. Multi-cultural diversity although not specifically acknowledged in the data shown here was also used in the discourse of uniting together under a common New Zealand banner.

The REAL New Zealand Festival will be held around the country throughout the tournament and will offer an incredibly diverse range of experiences for visitors and New Zealanders which will further encourage them to take the long way round to get from match to match. Getting into

the heart of the country and experiencing the festival will give tournament fans a real sense of who we are and what's important to us (TNZ Press Release - Rugby World Cup Ticket Sales on Track, 21 December, 2010).

This statement indicated that by visiting the different sites of the REAL festival, tourists and New Zealanders alike would be able to experience the identity of New Zealand. It also indicated the fact that the event had been spread throughout the country as discussed earlier, which was important in the sense that it provided unity and a chance for the entire nation to reap the benefits of the RWC:

The RWC absolutely fulfilled every expectation; there was wonderful hosting by kiwis up and down and around New Zealand (Helen Clark, Interview with Marcus Lush, 25 October, 2011).

What's also been fantastic has been seeing New Zealand become a nation of four million great hosts. We promised that very thing when we won the bid so to see it come alive has been really satisfying. So many of us got dressed up, painted faces, supported other teams and looked after our visitors. I am sure that has helped our visitors leave with happy memories of their time here and that's will be invaluable in terms of spreading the word about our great country (TNZ Press Release - Rugby World Cup Runneth Over, 26 October 2011).

Much of the communication from the government was personalised. This was in part due to the employment of newer communication methods. Much of the communication for the RWC was completed through social media and the internet. Snedden outlined that he had a limited marketing budget and as such turned to facebook and twitter. They he stated are tools:

To help you do your business and if you use it really well, it also gives you an opportunity to put your own personality into it, so not losing that people feel that is so important to business (Snedden, Interview with Mark Cubey, 15 September, 2012).

This created what people perceived as a more personalised method of communication and seemed to bring the government of the nation closer to the citizens it was communicating with. Social media also enabled citizens to communicate with each other which built something that traditional media cannot

easily do due to the tendency for one way communication (Mangold & Faulds, 2009). Although the data did not indicate this, being able to communicate with others can help to create the unity that the government desired as it contributes to a sense of community (Mangold & Faulds, 2009). Anderson (1991) has claimed that communities can only be "imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p.15). In the age of social media however, this is more likely than it would have been in 1983 hence members of a nation can reinforce their identity by communicating with each other and through their exposure to the media (Jacqueline, 1997).

While the government sought to use the RWC to promote New Zealand externally it also communicated with its citizens about the identity of the nation. Through the personalisation of communication it sought to demonstrate that all of New Zealand were equal, needed to work together and for each other. The concept and slogan, *stadium of 4 million* reinforced this idea and allowed the development of the concept of four million hosts. As such key characteristics attributed to New Zealanders were subsequently indicated as belonging to the identity of New Zealand thus its citizens. It appears then that within the concept of unity, which is a core element of *manaakitanga*, identity can be collectively created, reinforced, reflected and represented.

Growing New Zealand

Some of the key outcomes from the hosting of the RWC were the opportunities for New Zealand to grow as a nation. The concept of legacy in particular was used to articulate this. Four years before the RWC, the New Zealand Government was already considering the potential of the legacy that the RWC could leave. Mallard of the then Labour Government and as Minister for the RWC made a statement in October 2007 in which he outlined the plan for a leveraging and legacy project:

We will be launching a RWC 2011 leveraging and legacy project in the next couple of months – aimed at ensuring that this tournament delivers

lasting and tangible economic, environmental and social benefits to New Zealand (Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release – Rugby World Cup 2011: Spotlight on New Zealand, 21 October, 2007).

Later in 2009 John Key addressed TRENZ:

The RWC will leave us with a legacy that will extend far wider and far longer than the tournament itself (Key, Address to TRENZ, 11 June, 2009).

In March the following year Snedden shared similar thoughts, stating that that the RWC would be able to:

Leave a valuable legacy including world class stadia, transport improvements and a workforce skilled at providing top service at major events (Martin Snedden, TNZ Press Release – RWC 2011 tickets set to roll. 30 March, 2010).

His views were developed further in an interview with Katie McKone a year and a half later:

If we play our cards right ...the event has the potential to create a lasting legacy for New Zealand...Whilst the RWC 2011 lasts for only six weeks, the post-vent benefits for New Zealand will continue well after the tourists have gone home and the festivities have ended (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Finally he concludes:

... the tournament is also being used as a catalyst to upgrade facilities and infrastructure across the country. For example investments on rail to help streamline the transportation of spectators in Auckland and the \$256 million upgrade of Eden Park – all of which will attract new events and opportunities in the future (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Legacy

It is interesting to note that the concept of what legacy in the RWC discourse actually meant was not discussed in any detail, rather it was alluded to via several

discourses, the most common being to do with the ability to develop infrastructure and transport, followed by creating a strength in event management and a skilled work force. In considering what the two central leaders of the RWC, Snedden and Key intended by the term, it seemed they were indicating the main legacy of the event would be to do with infrastructural and transport improvements. One argument of course was whether these improvements would benefit all New Zealanders as they suggested, or just those that could afford to or were in a position to utilise them. As Key outlined:

The RWC presents an opportunity to further transform the Auckland waterfront – not just for the tournament, but as a legacy for all New Zealanders long after the visitors have gone home (Key, Address to TRENZ, 11 June, 2009).

The term legacy was used on numerous occasions to sell the idea of a mega event. In the case of New Zealand and the RWC it appeared to be used to indicate that infrastructural development, economic gain and long lasting benefits were only going to be achieved through the nation hosting a successful RWC. This thinking is in line with Raco and Tunney's (2010) belief that governments cleverly present the concept that this kind of change is only plausible through the hosting of a mega-event. The brilliance of allowing legacy to be the main discourse of these kinds of communications however, is the inherent difficulty in defining and measuring the entirety of what it encompasses. As prominent political science researcher Rowe (2012) has argued, legacy is notoriously elusive and intentionally difficult to measure.

One of the most interesting uses of the concept of legacy is how it was from the first suggested that the RWC would create a world-class infrastructure and that this concept of improved infrastructure would be used as a means for showcasing New Zealand in the future. This was aptly articulated by Key who stated the RWC will leave:

A legacy of infrastructure that will enhance the visitor experience long after the cheers have faded and the scores are forgotten (Key, Address to TRENZ, 11 June, 2009).

Similarly Mallard indicated that improving infrastructure would:

Offer the best opportunity for New Zealand to showcase itself to the world during RWC 2011 and to attract other major sporting, entertainment and spectator events to New Zealand (Trevor Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release – Government prefers waterfront stadium, 10 November, 2006).

Legacy was also drawn on by Snedden to indicate the valuable training and event management expertise that would be left after the RWC. He indicated in a number of statements that the less tangible benefits would perhaps be the most pertinent:

If this event is successful it will prove to ourselves our ability to do certain things, which will be the overriding legacy (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

If we succeed, ... then internally New Zealanders get confidence in their ability to handle events, and externally we gain international confidence (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Look at Australia after they hosted the Sydney Olympics — there was a lot of people who doubted their ability to pull it off, but they did it and then started to attract many more opportunities on the back of that. I think we will see the same thing happen here (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

If we are able to do that then we will start to understand that there are other ways to do the same thing, and new opportunities will arise and become possible (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

One of the most important aspects of the legacy so often referred to, was the training of the people that were to be 'on the front line' - the volunteers, accommodation and travel services staff. EventStarNZ for instance, developed a training programme for the volunteers while First Impressions Training provided frontline organisations and staff with information on how the tournament worked, customer service excellence, visitor expectations, the cultures and languages of the visiting teams and fans, and information on the REAL New Zealand Festival and Showcase which ran alongside the tournament. A number of statements from a variety of sources embodied this approach:

What's great about EventStarNZ© is that the industry has pulled together to find an affordable solution that can deliver a tailor-made training programme, which will serve us well for this event and beyond. I have no doubt that this will be an important legacy for major events in the future (TNZ Press Release - Getting match-fit for the game of our lives, 31 March 2010).

Free online training for Rugby World Cup 2011 is now available for customer-facing organisations such as hotels greeting visitors. First Impressions training gives New Zealand's frontline organisations the chance to upskill for the Tournament and deliver an exceptional welcome to international guests (TNZ Press Release - Free online training for RWC 2011 First Impressions, 9 August, 2011).

These demonstrate an aspect of Cheney and Christensen's (2001) auto communication where the message that is targeted at the external and internal audience, although communicated through different mediums, is essentially the same. As Anholt (2006a) has argued, the internalisation of a message can create consensus, passion and ambition thus a whole nation can be involved in spreading the idea for example, that New Zealand is innovative. What appeared to be happening in relation to legacy were endeavours by the government to increase interest in the New Zealand innovation industry through the event itself and the people. McCully said:

It is time to confidently market New Zealand as a great destination for ingenuity, knowledge, investment, talent, as well as tourism and culture (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release - Kiwi Innovation at the Cloud during the RWC 2011, 2 September 2011).

It was also identified by Snedden, that rugby was to some extent in a volatile state. He furthered that the professionalisation of rugby had created gaps between the higher levels and the grass roots and this was affecting the public's perception of it:

Rugby World Cup presents the best possible opportunity that Rugby in New Zealand will have to close that gap and to get Rugby on to a stronger footing. I think it will work, I think the decisions we're making in terms of spreading the tournament right around New Zealand, spreading the teams,

creating a festival around the tournament, is driving it into the grass roots far more than a bilateral tour can do, and I think if people take advantage of that, then Rugby's gonna come out of this pretty well (Snedden, Interview with Paul Holmes, 28 March, 2011).

Mallard also identified in several statements that rugby is part of the fabric of the New Zealand society therefore it is possible that renewing an interest in rugby could also be beneficial to New Zealand. As has already been seen in New Zealand sport can form an important part of national identity and social structure:

In New Zealand rugby is more than just a sport. It has helped shape the character of our nation. It inspires us at home and on the world stage. But perhaps most importantly, our passion for rugby and sport is part of being kiwi, and being proud to be kiwi (Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release – New Zealand launches bid for RWC 2011, 11 May, 2005).

Rugby is part of our social fabric. In 2011 it will be 24 years since we hosted the very first RWC and it is likely that in the future the size of the event will be far too big for New Zealand to host if we don't bid now. The RWC is the third largest event in the world after the Olympics and Soccer World Cup (by TV audience) and this event is important to New Zealand and New Zealanders. The global television audience for the RWC 2011 is expected to be 3.5 billion viewers. New Zealand contributes to rugby at every level internationally, and we believe it is an opportune time to showcase our game, and this global event, at home for both our supporters and international supporters of rugby (TMallard, NZGOVT Press Release – New Zealand launches bid for RWC 2011, 11 May, 2005).

The legacy that the RWC was intended to leave was one that would change the way the rest of the world viewed New Zealand making it more profitable and attractive across the board. The government's intention according to John Key was to build on the opportunity presented by hosting the RWC thus the final call to action from the government was to businesses to build on what the RWC would make available to them. He indicated in his speech at TRENZ 2011 that the long-term spin offs outweighed the short-term cost:

And I think that you will see the same thing in RWC, I think you will see more economic activity and long term spin offs. So look on the overall

scheme of things you have got to kind of see it as part of the overall marketing budget for New Zealand and it think on the balance its worth it... it's not very often that all of the eyes of the world are on New Zealand but this is one occasion, and so I think in the scheme of things it is pretty good value (Key, Address to TRENZ, 24 May, 2011).

Snedden affirmed these views in his statement:

I think that we have put ourselves into the best possible position we could do during the tournament to actually activate and catalyse opportunities. Now hopefully the people that have been given these opportunities – the business people – will be able to follow this up after the tournaments and turn opportunity into reality (Snedden, Interview with Guyon Espiner, 23 October, 2011).

Although Horne and Whannel (2012) argue the long-term benefits are often underestimated in a mega-event, Anholt (2006c) suggests that branding opportunities as were created during this event are significant. McCully agreed in his concluding a RWC report:

The host nation report concludes New Zealand's commitment to hosting the Rugby World Cup. Feedback shows that RWC 2011 exceeded the expectations of the global rugby community, media, and sponsors. Economically and socially, RWC 2011 has been great for New Zealand, with a marked boost in economic activity. An independent assessment put the short-term (2006-2012) economic impact of the tournament at around \$1.73 billion, with the equivalent of 29,990 jobs sustained for one year. The tournament attracted over 133,000 international visitors – nearly twice initial estimates. The legacies of RWC 2011 include positive visitor experiences, new business connections, improved infrastructure, and greater interest in volunteering. Importantly, an understanding of the planning and operational excellence required to deliver major events is now embedded here, and is already being applied to preparations for the Cricket World Cup, FIFA Under-20 World Cup in 2015, and the World Masters Games in 2017. However it is the intangible elements – the way the nation came together, and the pride we felt as hosts – that will define RWC 2011 for most New Zealanders in the future (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release - Report Underlines Success of RWC, 18 Dec 2012).

Importantly the concept of uniting as a nation was still at the fore at the conclusion of the RWC:

New Zealand lived up to its promise of being a stadium of four million people during RWC 2011...from the way communities embraced visiting teams, through to the nationwide REAL NZ Festival and business engagement events that ran alongside the tournament, this country turned on an unforgettable experience for international visitors, and proved to the world that we can successfully host major global events (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release - Report Underlines Success of RWC, 18 Dec, 2012).

New Zealand's identity makes it unique in the world and as such the RWC provided an opportunity for those from across the globe to get a real sense of who New Zealanders are and what's important to them. At the same time it provided New Zealanders with the chance to experience the same thing. Being able to build further on an existing cohesive identity before and during the RWC not only reinforced New Zealand's image but also gave those in the business sector a chance to market their products in a manner that was consistent and often reflective of this identity. Thus it was reinforced in the minds of those who would buy their products, simultaneously making the New Zealand brand stronger and more valuable.

When we began talking about a "stadium of four million" New Zealanders coming together to deliver the RWC, people everywhere doubted us, some scoffed at and made fun of us. We, you and me and the rest of New Zealand, succeeded. The end result was incredibly powerful and uplifting because it was a collective effort. The success of the RWC event belonged to all New Zealanders. We are too small, too isolated a nation to be fragmented and dysfunctional (Snedden, 2012).

Conclusion

The key purpose of this study was to examine how a major event such as the RWC can be used to unite a nation around a brand image and be a catalyst for the reproduction and refinement of New Zealand's national identity. The data provides strong evidence to support that the RWC did achieve the goals established by the New Zealand Government, the IRB and RNZ.

While the research methodology and method have led to the collection of rich data and the subsequent discussion is sufficiently in-depth, after further reading and discussion I consider there has been an insufficient examination of some of the issues. Whilst the information and discoveries made in this chapter have provided valuable insight and a greater understanding of the many benefits and potential of the RWC, through my observations and analysis of the government's strategies since, it would seem that the RWC was an event used as a precursor for greater change on a wider scale. The discussion chapter that follows, although not initially planned for nor expected, makes a further useful and substantial contribution to the research findings. Importantly, alternative and relevant perspectives on the benefits of mega-events are presented.

Chapter 5

FURTHER FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Chen (2012) claims that a successful mega-event ensures the associated government is viewed more favourably in the eyes of the internal and external audience. Hence a successful RWC would reflect positively upon the New Zealand government and enable them to gain greater support from the citizens of New Zealand.

In the Chapter 4 I discussed the finding that during the initial stages of the RWC New Zealanders were effectively ‘sold’ the concept of the cup in order to gain their support, which enabled the New Zealand Government to communicate the next action it wanted New Zealanders to take. In this instance it was to develop national unity. It could be argued that by drawing on the success of the RWC the New Zealand government sought to sell itself to the people to not only gain, but increase the support and trust of the nation. Such actions would result in the cementing of a leader-follower relationship as the government demonstrated its ability to make good decisions for the nation. This reflects Chen’s (2012) thinking whereby a government believes that by supporting the hosting of a successful event they are viewed more positively by the nation’s people.

Although I am not suggesting that the New Zealand government’s intention was to engage in the kind of rhetoric and abhorrent behaviour that prevailed in Nazi Germany prior to and during World War II during which time Adolf Hitler created a strong leader-follower relationship that the majority of German citizens were persuaded to trust and believe in, the ideology he expounded was perceived as being for the good of the nation in times of severe economic hardship. Many of the changes he wrought were put into place following the highly successful Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 and amid Germany’s growing prosperity.

It is interesting therefore, to examine and comment on the NZ government’s actions following the RWC where it actively pursued a number of controversial changes that included the sale of national assets such as Mighty River Power; the

potential for mining NZ's national parks was explored; and a law was passed which effectively gave the Government Communications and Security Bureau (GCSB) greater powers to spy on NZ citizens. It was argued that these initiatives were for the good of the nation, for example the Government Communications Security Bureau and Related Legislation Amendment Bill was passed under the guise of preventing cyber attacks or on behalf of law enforcement agencies. Moreover, the government did so by using discourses similar to those evident in the lead up to, and during the RWC. These forms of communication could be viewed as the kind of propaganda defined by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992). These authors assert that, "Propaganda is the deliberate systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a desired response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (p. 4).

In a 2013 exhibition at the British Library titled *Propaganda: Power and Persuasion*, David Welch identified eleven basic techniques under the broad umbrella of propaganda. These techniques align with the classic Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) definition but without the negative connotations often associated with the term. Welch (2013) argues that propaganda is neither negative nor positive in itself but can be used in either way. In English propaganda was "originally a neutral term used to describe the dissemination of information in favour of a certain cause." Over time a more negative connotation has developed which is to do with "disseminating *false* or *misleading* information in favour of a certain cause. Strictly speaking, a message does not have to be untrue to qualify as propaganda, but it may omit so many pertinent truths that it becomes highly misleading" (<http://www.shortopedia.com/P/R/Propaganda>). The use of the term during the Nazi era in Germany where social marketing methods to improve health were placed alongside anti-Semitic messages and promotion of the 1936 Berlin Olympics for example, has however given propaganda its overriding negative connotations.

In my further study of Welch's (2013) techniques I have found they augment my approach as I have adopted Maloney's (2001) term "soft propaganda" to distinguish it from its associations with Nazi Germany and other hard-line

authoritarian regimes such as those of Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, Fidel Castro of Cuba and Argentina's Juan Peron. I have therefore sought to redeploy Welch's (2013) techniques as potential and effective structures for studying the RWC mega-event. I suggest that they may have future applications in the research of mega-events. Although these techniques are not developed for application to a mega-event, I aim to illustrate through them how the over-riding legacy of the RWC lies in the creation of national unity and the building of identity and image - the intended results of propaganda - for government and government agency purposes.

In this next section of the discussion I evaluate and discuss each of the eleven basic techniques to determine their relevance for understanding and evaluating the specific case of the RWC. They will be deployed to support the previous discussion and findings in Chapter 4, and to further explore the goals of the New Zealand Government during this period.

1. **Establish Authority** "Link a person or idea with existing symbols of power and authority, which people understand and are comfortable with. Using appropriate symbolism can generate deep psychological resonances" (Welch, 2013).

In the RWC case the key element of this technique was the fusing of the established political, social, cultural, and sporting authority of the New Zealand government, New Zealanders, and the All Blacks. In a number of statements Mallard linked the concept of the RWC to the 'kiwi' nature and the All Blacks:

In New Zealand rugby is more than just a sport. It has helped shape the character of our nation. It inspires us at home and on the world stage. But perhaps most importantly, our passion for rugby and sport is part of being kiwi, and being proud to be kiwi.

New Zealanders are passionate about their rugby - and that passion is one of the key assets of our Bid. While we are a small country, we make up for that in other ways - we are a stadium of four million people!

If we are successful, this tournament is as much about the regions as the cities. Forty-eight games will be played throughout the tournament, with many in provincial New Zealand. The opportunity to showcase not only the All Blacks, but our country and our dedication to the game cannot be underestimated. In New Zealand sport and physical activity are an important part of our national identity and New Zealanders love to watch teams win in major sporting events.

Interestingly Key often spoke as if he were New Zealand itself rather than the Prime Minister of New Zealand. He sought to epitomise himself as an example of all that New Zealand is espoused to be and through that draw all people into the government's focus on the reproduction and refinement of New Zealand's national identity. Furthermore he made himself relatable through speaking and using language of a middle class 'normal' New Zealander. As suggested in the introduction of this research New Zealand is very much a classless society – as such anyone whom appears to think or demonstrates superiority is quickly put in their place. Being able to relate to a leader who is 'one of us' is important in creating understanding and comfort. As Taylor (2003) suggests this kind of propaganda can be deliberately used to persuade people to think and behave in a certain way which mimics that of the leader.

This was particularly noticeable in the way that John Key was careful to show his support of the All Blacks but also demonstrate the importance for New Zealand to support the whole event. He needed to ensure that the familiar, wanting the All Blacks to win, fused with the desired response of New Zealand hosting a successful RWC as a whole. As Welch (2013) asserts, the sense of belonging and shared national identity is most strongly felt when the nation is "pitted against another community, as in war or sport ... on such occasions the political affiliations, diverse ethnic identities, inequalities and other internal differences may be put aside, as individuals come together under this larger umbrella of the nation" (p. 42).

2. **Exploit Existing Beliefs:** "People are much more receptive to messages that build on attitudes and beliefs they already hold dear. Use this technique to play on class, culture, religious and national stereotypes"

(Welch, 2013).

In New Zealand culture rugby players, All Blacks especially, are viewed as people whose characteristics and demeanour are something to aspire to. It is usual for the penalties for national and international rugby players who 'misbehave' to be harsh, prevalent in the media and be imposed by the NZRU rather than the police or courts. As Mallard identified in several statements before the RWC, rugby is part of the fabric of the New Zealand society hence if the rugby player epitomises the New Zealander they are expected to lead by example, and be made an example of. As has already been seen in New Zealand, sport can form an important part of national identity and social structure.

New Zealand as a nation is rugby-saturated therefore it makes sense for the government to align this attachment to rugby with its desired outcomes in other areas of NZ life.

As was discussed in the previous section of this discussion it would appear that in the RWC case, the government was striving to build upon the idea of difference, while simultaneously projected an image of existing unity while seeking to enlist the population into an even more cohesive self-identity as New Zealanders. Whannel (2008) suggests that it is difference which enables stereotypes to be built. Furthermore Desmarais and Bruce (2010) outline the use of stereotypes in their work surrounding commentators within New Zealand, they outline that the on-screen images are worked too "reinforce long-standing beliefs about the New Zealand character as encompassing composure and quiet strength" (p.00) while the commentator plays on the audiences stereotypical understand of what a New Zealand Rugby Player should be like. They further that the "New Zealand sport commentators construct national stereotypes in a context – rugby – which they believe to be highly significant to their national audience" (p.00). In the same way that commentators do this, often to benefit the media produces they work for the following statements show how the New Zealand government attempted to use the RWC to create difference and strive towards national unity and a common identity.

In New Zealand rugby is more than just a sport. It has helped shape the character of our nation. It inspires us at home and on the world stage. But perhaps most importantly, our passion for rugby and sport is part of being kiwi, and being proud to be kiwi (Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release – New Zealand launches bid for RWC 2011, 11 May, 2005).

Rugby is part of our social fabric. In 2011 it will be 24 years since we hosted the very first RWC and it is likely that in the future the size of the event will be far too big for New Zealand to host if we don't bid now. The RWC is the third largest event in the world after the Olympics and Soccer World Cup (by TV audience) and this event is important to New Zealand and New Zealanders. The global television audience for the RWC 2011 is expected to be 3.5 billion viewers. New Zealand contributes to rugby at every level internationally, and we believe it is an opportune time to showcase our game, and this global event, at home for both our supporters and international supporters of rugby (Mallard, NZGOVT Press Release – New Zealand launches bid for RWC 2011, 11 May, 2005).

It is clear that the government's purported ideas were centered around the importance of rugby to the nation, something that is important to many New Zealanders, while building on the diversity of New Zealand society, hence playing on national stereotypes. The REAL New Zealand Festival was an important part of this as it discussed how unique the nation was, as was the discussion that revolved around the ideas of hospitality. It is important to note in the following statements that there is a call to action for New Zealanders to get involved in the events and to also ensure that they are hospitable to the visitors. This is a critical point and will be discussed in more detail later under the technique 'Create Fear'

For many rugby fans their visit to New Zealand will be the holiday of a lifetime. We have a great reputation as a friendly and hospitable destination and first interactions with rugby followers making their own travel arrangements provide a great opportunity to really get them excited about what's in store for them next year (Tourism New Zealand Press Release, (Increase in RWC accommodation inquiries imminent, 18 October, 2010).

This was supported by Snedden, who indicated that the events hosted throughout New Zealand would be reflections of New Zealand's identity and culture:

The REAL New Zealand Festival will be the largest festival of its kind to take place in New Zealand, bringing together all those events and activities that we Kiwis are most proud of and represent what we, as a

nation, are all about (Snedden, Tourism New Zealand Press Release- 100 days to go to RWC, 1 June 2011).

This was further endorsed by a Tourism NZ press release:

The festival will engage locals and visitors alike, giving New Zealanders a chance to discover more about their country and enriching the New Zealand experience for visitors. I encourage every region of New Zealand to make the most of this opportunity to showcase ourselves to the world, and to have a great time while we do it (Tourism New Zealand Press Release,- RWC 2011 Ticket sales details announced, 30 March, 2010).

3. **Appeal to Patriotism:** “Play up nationalist sentiments and emphasise benefits to the nation. People often fail to question ideas linked to the emotive but generalised sense of patriotism” (Welch, 2013).

New Zealand as a nation has consistently and unequivocally supported the All Black rugby team. New Zealand is a nation with a rugby team that is highly valued and one which creates indisputable patriotism. As has been identified previously the All Black encapsulates valued characteristics of the New Zealand society. Hope (2002) explains that the traditional All Black were “hard, uncompromising, self reliant men who played with pride, ingenuity, and passion for their country” (p.235). This is supported by Phillips (1987) who claims that the stereotypical New Zealand men were hard, stoic and unemotional.

Importantly Hope (2002) furthers that around the 1880s the New Zealand identity, mass communication and the game of rugby took shape together resulting in a conceptualised triangulation of social forces. The manipulation and ideological construction of the New Zealand identity was possible due the fact that rugby was a defining feature of regional identity and a strong part of the national conscious (Hope, 2002). Although incidental the game of rugby became popular as New Zealand moved from a colony to a nation, thus making rugby a point of social and community solidarity and in turn the national sport. It seems only prudent therefore for the game of rugby to hold sway in a nation while it has characterised and been itself characterised by the game. Furthermore the All Blacks became a point of commonality for the entire nation. Hope (2002) alludes to this in his idea

that rugby was at the centre of national life making it a cultural resource for local, provincial and national identification.

The interlinked nature of rugby and the nation has created an intensified sense of patriotism and as such rugby and the All Blacks are able to generate an emotive response from the people of New Zealand – making the Rugby World Cup an ideal vehicle for propaganda. As Whannel (2008) suggests international sporting events have the capacity to create a sense of national unity, commonality and cohesion. Thus it appears that the New Zealand Government saw that the RWC was a point in time where it was able to discuss the benefits of the event to the nation, as has been identified in the earlier section of this discussion it used notoriously elusive and, intentionally difficult to measure terms, such as legacy and opportunity, to emphasise the benefits to the nation. In a question and answer, after Key gave the opening address at TRENZ 2011, he was asked why the government thought that it was a good idea to spend tax payers money on the RWC which had a guaranteed loss of 39 million? His response was that,

Let's imagine that the loss is 39 million as split roughly with the Rugby Union picking up some and the government picking up the rest. Then you have got to take a step back and say what's the overall economic benefit to New Zealand? And to you as the taxpayer for meeting that liability? The answer is that would be very significant. And I think that you will see the same thing in RWC, I think you will see more economic activity and long term spin offs. So look on the overall scheme of things you have got to kind of see it as part of the overall marketing budget for New Zealand and it think on the balance its worth it. Because it's not very often that all of the eyes of the world are on New Zealand but this is one occasion, and so I think in the scheme of things it is pretty good value (Key, Address to TRENZ, 24 May, 2011).

There is simply no over-stating how important the World Cup will be for New Zealand. It's the third largest sporting event in the world, and our fantastic country will be in the spotlight for six weeks. We're expecting at least 85,000 international visitors, and billions more will be watching from home (Key, Speech to 2010 New Zealand Hotel Industry Conference, 13 May, 2010).

The Rugby World Cup will leave us with a legacy that will extend far wider

and far longer than the tournament itself (Key, Address to TRENZ, 11 June, 2009).

The language used in these quotes gives a sense of the immense importance of the RWC to New Zealand it is further demonstrated in the following statements which address the idea of legacy. In playing up to sentiment the government delivered ideas of what would be left behind after the RWC, and what the benefits to New Zealand would be. They did this by playing on the patriotism that New Zealanders hold towards the All Blacks and which was transferred to some degree to the RWC. Snedden indicated that the RWC would:

Leave a valuable legacy including world class stadia, transport improvements and a workforce skilled at providing top service at major events (Snedden, TNZ Press Release-RWC tickets set to roll, 30 March, 2010).

If we play our cards right” ... “the event has the potential to create a lasting legacy for New Zealand”... “Whilst the RWC 2011 lasts for only six weeks, the post-vent benefits for New Zealand will continue well after the tourists have gone home and the festivities have ended”. Finally he concludes... “the tournament is also being used as a catalyst to upgrade facilities and infrastructure across the country. For example investments on rail to help streamline the transportation of spectators in Auckland and the \$256 million upgrade of Eden Park – all of which will attract new events and opportunities in the future (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

4. **Create Fear:** “In a state of fear your audience is more likely to believe you. This technique is particularly effective if played on existing anxieties and prejudices against people, groups or behaviours to create scapegoats” (Welch, 2013).

In this instance a sense of fear was not created but there was an immense sense of requirement. The government placed a huge emphasis on the importance of the RWC to NZ. This was discussed in detail with regards to facts and figures and also that the opportunity was not one to be missed. Furthermore there was also a sense that if the RWC was not hosted successfully that the onus was on all New

Zealanders, that the government had provide New Zealand with this opportunity and if it was unsuccessful then New Zealanders in effect became the scapegoat. The statements below articulate this clearly and accentuate the importance of getting it right.

Yeah, but this is the reputation of New Zealand going forward, and we don't want to be seen overseas as opportunists and price gougers. We actually wanna be seen as a good country to come and visit where you can get fair value for money (Snedden (PH)).

I think probably the biggest lesson is just a reminder of the risk that you have to get this right. There's so much at stake. The reputation of your country is internationally on the line (Martin Snedden (PH)).

I think that we have put ourselves into the best possible position we could do during the tournament to actually activate and catalyse opportunities. Now hopefully the people that have been given these opportunities – the business people – will be able to follow this up after the tournaments and turn opportunity into reality (Snedden).

We also need to convince visitors that they will get the very best service and that New Zealanders are ready to welcome them with open arms. Visitors who leave with amazing memories of their time in New Zealand are the most important marketing tool we can ever receive (Snedden).

The failure of the Auckland trains taking fans to a game at Eden Park also provided an example of this technique. The government quickly stepped in when the problem occurred and it was clear they were prepared to make the Auckland City Council and its mayor, Len Brown scapegoats if necessary. A bill introduced in June 2010 allowed the Government to step in and take control of events in special circumstances.

ONE News political editor Guyon Espiner said the government will not be happy about having to seize control, especially so close to an election. If they don't handle this well, it could have a big impact on their credibility. They will have to own any problems from here on out. The takeover is a massive show on no confidence in Len Brown and Auckland Council by the Government (Espiner, TVNZ News, September 14, 2011).

5. **Use Humour:** “Making your audience smile or laugh can make powerful people, countries and ideas seem less threatening and even ridiculous. Humour is particularly useful if you are politically weaker than your opponent” (Welch, 2013).

There was a degree of intensity that surrounded the RWC in New Zealand. First was the government’s heavy investment financially and strong presence in the running of the RWC. The pressure from the government to be successful and ‘get it right’ has been a key theme and is very evident throughout this research. Second was to do with New Zealanders relationship with the All Blacks, although the government insisted that the RWC was much more than the All Blacks winning, for the majority of New Zealanders it was still as very critical factor. Snedden noted in his book “*A Stadium of Four Million*” that when the All Blacks played the New Zealand supporters tended to be very serious and quiet throughout the game, Scherer and Jackson (2007) highlighted how when the All Blacks lost to France in Cardiff in 2007, the “shocking loss triggered an emasculating crisis in national identity” (p. 270).

The above paragraph indicates the importance that was placed on the event which unfortunately overshadowed the event to an extent. In overstressing the ceremonial and importance, the government in particular opened themselves up to be the target of humour from others when events did not go so well (the media in-particular), rather than using this tactic to their advantage. This was evidenced in the following quote from TVNZ’s reporter, Guy Espiner:

ONE News political editor Guyon Espiner said the government will not be happy about having to seize control, especially so close to an election. If they don't handle this well, it could have a big impact on their credibility. They will have to own any problems from here on out. The takeover is a massive show of no confidence in Len Brown and Auckland Council by the Government (Espiner, TVNZ News, September 14, 2013).

Key's comments to the media about development of Queens Wharf as follows then had to be readdressed by McCully during the RWC:

... an opportunity to turn Queens Wharf into an important public space. I can confirm today that as a bare minimum we have secured Queens Wharf for a number of initiatives for the period of the Rugby World Cup. At the very least this meant Queens Wharf would be loaned from its owners the Ports of Auckland for the period of the Cup. The current agreement allows Queens Wharf to be the home of a Rugby World Cup 'Live Site' - a large open air space capable of hosting between 10,000 and 15,000 people. This will be 'party central' - the focus of a mass public opening ceremony and the magnet for fans who can't be at games during the six-week tournament (Key, NZ Herald, June 11, 2009).

McCully said he felt the preparations for outside of the Queen's Wharf area - made by the Auckland City Council's responsible group were:

... thoroughly inadequate in respect of the crowd control and amenities. It would be fair to say there was not adequate provision made for toilets and for other amenities and that was a significant contributing factor to the problems. Neither were there proper arrangements for the flow and management of people which led to difficulties...I am determined to see a more precautionary approach taken than was taken last Friday. We're getting on the front foot here and showing a determination to provide a larger footprint and a wider range of measures to assist with the management of crowds and the delivery of amenities.

6. **Imply Everyone Agrees:** "The desire to fit in is a strong one and many people will go along with the crowd. Combine with apparent plain speaking, an appeal to the 'average' person, and deliver in a style which suits your audience" (Welch, 2013).

There was a strong call from the government for New Zealanders to unite to host the RWC. The implication of this message was that everyone was getting involved (demonstrated in the following quotes). Key is particularly good at framing himself as being a plain speaking, middle class New Zealander. This tends to make him more appealing to a wider audience. In addition Snedden's sporting background makes him appealing as he has attributes which New

Zealanders value and McCully has a down-to-earth nature which older New Zealanders can relate.

With 23 centres hosting either games or teams, the celebrations and economic benefits are already going to be spread around. This funding will help regions and communities play a major part in the festivities around Rugby World Cup 2011 (Murray McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – Lotteries fund to support Rugby World Cup festival, 28 July 2010).

A nationwide road show to recruit volunteers for the 2011 Rugby World Cup has ended with a strong indication that New Zealand's promised "stadium of four million" hosts is on the way to becoming reality (Tourism New Zealand Press Release, Volunteers line up for Rugby World Cup, 15 July 2010).

New Zealand has promised a stadium of four million rugby lovers to animate the RWC tournament which is set to play out in sports stadia the length of breath of the country – making it a truly national event (Tourism New Zealand Press Release, New Zealand is a destination to visit in 2011, 7 Jan, 2011).

I know many people are really embracing the fact that this Tournament is more than just about one rugby team. Of course we will all be yelling loudly for the All Blacks. But there are another 19 teams staying around the country who need to be welcomed and supported. The other day I heard about a small rural school near Invercargill where one class is adopting Argentina, the other Scotland. So the school is not only helping kids learn about our world through the Tournament, but also is hoping tourists pop in and enjoy some good southern hospitality. That really is the spirit that will help us make the most out of this Tournament (Snedden, Interview with NZ Airports Magazine, 10th Ed. April, 2011).

7. **Disguise the Source:** “Carefully plant stories and facts so that they come from an independent source your audience trusts. They will have less reason to question the messages you are spreading” (Welch, 2013).

Tourism New Zealand, in the eyes of many New Zealanders has done well by NZ with the 100% PURE campaigns. Although they are a government body they are

probably viewed as more trust worthy. It was clear that speakers like Snedden were acting as both conscious and unconscious presenters of the key messages.

Anecdotal, I picked up the other day off the French television people that are here that the audience in France watching their matches is somewhere between about eight million and 10 million, and I imagine for tonight's match, it'll be significantly larger than that. Now, you know, for that to be happening week after week, and throw in with that all the colour stories that their media are sending back to France about New Zealand, it's got to have been a fantastic profiling opportunity (Snedden, Interview with Guy Espiner, October 2011).

It will be an amazing opportunity to get involved and help make this event memorable for New Zealand and the thousands of visitors we welcome next year (Tourism New Zealand. Tana Umaga Among Prominent Kiwis Volunteering for RWC).

Reserve Bank Governor Alan Bollard said in January Rugby World Cup 2011 could add around \$700 million to the New Zealand economy, contributing approximately a third of a percentage point to GDP (Snedden, Interview with Guy Espiner, October 2011).

8. **Hammer it Home:** "Decide on your message and stick to it. Saturate your audience, repeating it in as many different media as you can mobilise. Constant repetition will overcome initial scepticism" (Welch, 2013).

Several different messages were repeated throughout the campaign. First was the importance of the RWC to NZ, second was the *Stadium of Four Million* concept, and third was the legacy that was being left behind by the RWC for the benefit of New Zealand.

While rugby is at the heart of the event, it is as equally important that New Zealand views it as a chance for the nation to come together and reap the associated benefits. There is a great deal more at stake than who goes home with the prized Webb Ellis Cup (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

Potential business opportunities, partnerships and the lasting economic value are elements that should not be taken for granted. Our country is

being presented with a chance to build its brand on the international stage (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

The tournament is also being used as a catalyst to upgrade facilities and infrastructure across the country. For example investments in rail to help streamline the transportation of spectators in Auckland and the \$256 million upgrade of Eden Park — all of which will attract new events and opportunities in the future (Snedden, Interview with Katie McKone, July, 2011).

The festival will engage locals and visitors alike, giving New Zealanders a chance to discover more about their country and enriching the New Zealand experience for visitors. I encourage every region of New Zealand to make the most of this opportunity to showcase ourselves to the world, and to have a great time while we do it (Tourism New Zealand Press Release, RWC 2011 Ticket sales details announced, 30 March 2010).

9. **Make False Connections:** “Start with an uncontested statement and link it with something more controversial. Many people will not notice that there is no logical link between the two. Alternatively link a person or idea with a more general truism, either good or bad” (Welch, 2013).

This technique did not appear to be overtly used during the RWC, if it was used at all. This is the one technique for which there appears to be no empirical evidence.

10. **Be Selective About the Truth:** “Control how and when information is released. Ensure only stories that support your position are reported. Where an event is controversial, make sure only facts and testimony that favour your interpretation are heard” (Welch, 2013).

The RWC was controversial in terms of the huge loss that was going to be made and the fact that the short term costs were high. The government was careful to provide facts and figures that were in support of the event and also quick to react to any issues during the cup.

We are expecting 85,000 fans from just over 100 countries and 2000 media to arrive so we will be showcasing New Zealand internationally at every opportunity, through the REAL New Zealand Festival, the REAL Showcase,

and the Business Club (McCully, NZGOVT Press Release – 100 days until kick off, 1 June 2011).

It will deliver huge benefits to our tourism and hospitality industries, and have a lasting impact on New Zealand's reputation. A Deloitte report estimates the World Cup will deliver a \$1.25 billion boost to our economy (Key, Speech to 2010 New Zealand Hotel Industry Conference, 13 May, 2010)

11. **Establish a Leadership Cult:** “Encourage the population to think their leader is solely responsible for all successes. Eventually people may come to believe that their personal fate and that of the nation is inextricably bound up with that of the leader” (Welch, 2013).

Although there would be many ways to attempt fit something under this heading, the fact remains that in doing so, suggesting that New Zealanders would rally around a figure head of government seems highly unlikely. With consideration to the previous research and literature it would be more likely the nation would create a cult leadership around rugby players, hence the use of Tana Umunga, Michel Jones and Jona Lomu, to name a few within the volunteer and RWC campaigns. They were essentially used as celebrity endorsement for the RWC and another tool designed to get the nation onside.

This technique was most effectively encapsulated in the following statement by the Prime Minister of New Zealand who seemed to be aligning himself as the person responsible for the hosting of the event:

A successful 2011 Rugby World Cup tournament is also a priority for this Government. Ministers have an ambitious programme, not only to ensure that the tournament itself is a success, but to maximise the wider benefits to New Zealand in terms of jobs and growth. The Government wants the positive impact of hosting the tournament to be felt long after the stadiums are empty (and the William Webb Ellis trophy is safe and sound in its new home at the New Zealand Rugby Union) (Key, Statement to Parliament, 9 February, 2010).

Key seemed to present himself as an aspirational model who sought to provide New Zealanders with guidelines for their behaviour and at times even fuel their guilt when they failed to live up to expectations which Hollway (2013) suggests occurs when leaders have a somewhat egotistical view of their leadership influence.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have endeavored to develop the study further through a discussion which focuses specifically on the theme of propaganda. According to Welch (2013) propaganda is “a double-edged sword”. With the development of “modern media, global warfare, and the rise of extremist political parties” he claims that “propaganda is more widespread now than ever” and the “explosion in social media is influencing the way the state attempts to persuade and control its citizens” (p.2).

The very nature of a mega-event makes it an ideal area for the study of public relations and propaganda. As this research has suggested the RWC was key in developing changes in identity and image within New Zealand and clearly defined those propagandist activities that may not have been so noticeable otherwise.

It is clear that propaganda was an element of the government’s approach to developing national identity during the RWC whether conscious or unconscious. As Gelders and Ihlen (2010) have suggested it is natural for government communications to be persuasive and attempt to influence knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and ultimately behaviours. While public relations has attempted to distance itself from the term, propaganda, many of the core functions are essentially the same. Welch (2013) has even asserted that in the modern world propaganda is simply known as public relations.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This study has highlighted how the New Zealand Government used the 2011 RWC as a catalyst for the reproduction and refinement of New Zealand's national identity. The government clearly sought to promote New Zealand to the rest of the world through its particular emphases on key areas of business and expertise during the RWC. Notably however, the government ensured that not just businesses and specific interest groups participated and encouraged all New Zealanders to be a part of the discourse. Such an approach led to the success of the *stadium of four million* concept and in laying a foundation of values. Engaging and allowing New Zealanders to identify with the nation effectively ensured that future campaigns and ideas can be grounded in these now established values.

The RWC was used by the government as a means of gaining support and favour from the people of New Zealand to shape national identity. In particular, the RWC aimed to exemplify the culture of New Zealand. Maori culture provided a strong underpinning cultural reference and was perceived as important by the rest of the world but issues such as tensions between Pakeha and Maori and social issues that largely affect Maori were not communicated. In addition, smaller events such as the REAL festival and the Fan Trail were used effectively to shape national identity.

The data overwhelmingly suggests that the RWC was a precursor to creating greater change as is evidenced in the exploration of Welch's propaganda techniques in Chapter 5. By getting New Zealanders onside after a successful RWC, the government was then able to implement changes as people appeared to have developed a greater belief and trust in it. Interestingly, the promised social and economic benefits have yet to be seen and given the nation is now two years on from the RWC, it could be argued that substantial benefits are unlikely. This would seem to be an area for further research given that the commitments to social

benefits were prevalent in the documents surrounding the RWC mega-event.

While it appears that mega-events on the whole appear to be beneficial, they seem to be more so as a marketing tool due to the numbers of people that can be accessed via worldwide media. Mega sporting events have always been a place where nations can pit against each other and in doing so create difference amongst themselves and similarities between the people of the nation. The opportunities that this exposure creates is unprecedented and it is noticeable that many international views of New Zealand have changed as a result of the RWC. Although one of the aims of this research was to consider the way in which the government sought to alter the national identity, whether the identity of New Zealanders has shifted in a way which will effect the national image in the long term is uncertain and outside the scope of this research.

Certainly as Gelders (2009) suggests the democratic relationship between politicians and citizens would seem to have been strengthened by opening up not just policy formulation processes to do with the RWC but for a time at least leading New Zealanders to believe they were being led by a more transparent government. Whether this will be sustained in the long term remains to be seen although many New Zealanders would already argue that the government's use of the RWC to shape national identity was successful in the short term as is evidenced in the diminishing trust citizens currently have in the government as a result of a number of unpopular policies in areas such as education, housing, asset sales and international relations.

This research suggests that the RWC, while economically unsuccessful, was relatively successful in altering the New Zealand brand image and developing national unity. As such the intangible benefits of hosting the RWC were explored and those potentially hidden agendas of the New Zealand government were considered. The effects and impacts that the changes in the current global society may have are unknown and as such the New Zealand government needs to establish a transparency in order to adapt itself and the people of New Zealand to these changes as and when they occur. Public relations is a key profession to be

able to engage with and communicate these changes, it is critical in any attempt to build unity and as Taylor states “a public relations approach that puts control back in the hands of the people will create a more ethical, empowering, and lasting national unity (p.208): “People think we don’t have the venues but I tell them New Zealand is one big rugby stadium and it’s got four million people in it” (Sir Colin Meads).

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