

Politics and Sport don't mix – or do they? National Identity and New Zealand's Participation in the Olympic Games

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Abstract

Sports matter. Today sport is one of the most enduring social events that humans from across the world participate in, no matter their race, religion or gender. Moreover, the biggest of all those sporting events is the Olympic Games, which is held every four years. The modern version of the Games was founded by Frenchman Baron Pierre de Coubertin and first took place in Athens in 1896. New Zealand first competed alongside Australia as Australasia in London 1908 and Stockholm 1912. Following the games of 1916 which were cancelled due to World War I, New Zealand has competed as a sovereign nation since Antwerp 1920. Since 1908, over 1200 New Zealanders have competed at the Olympic Games, winning more than 100 medals. That performance in itself makes New Zealand one of the most successful nations in Olympic history on a per capita basis. That statistic alone underscores the relationship between the Olympics and national identity, as an embodiment of New Zealanders believing they 'punch above their weight' on the world stage.

Benedict Anderson wrote about the *imagined community*, where the nation is imagined because it is impossible for every citizen to know each other.¹ This research has found that sporting teams like the All Blacks and the New Zealand Olympic Team are perfect avenues to help create this imagined community. New Zealand's national identity is not fixed, it has evolved, but the one mainstay of that identity is the sense of being an underdog on the world stage.

The research has found that over the past three decades New Zealand governments have increasingly woken up to the importance of high-performance sport and following the disappointment of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, funding was increased, which has led to better results and more medals. Today New Zealand athletes are funded on a per-capita basis just as well as many other nations we would compare ourselves with. New Zealand politicians have been quick to associate themselves alongside sportsmen and women and often speak about the close link that exists between sport and identity in New Zealand. However, unlike Australia, New Zealand does not have a national sports museum, and also unlike Australia, and the United Kingdom, New Zealand legislation does not allow for free-to-air television coverage of games of national significance. New Zealand does not adequately showcase its sporting history, and this has the potential to negatively affect the importance New Zealanders place on sport and the Olympic Movement as an important part of its national identity.

¹ Benedict Anderson, *'Imagined Communities,'* (London: Verso, 2006), pp.6-7.

Ultimately this research has found that the New Zealand Olympic Team epitomises what it means to be a New Zealander and has found that across multiple levels of analysis, the Olympic Movement has significantly contributed to the development of New Zealand's national identity. More broadly, the Olympic Games have become a key avenue in which that national identity can be projected to the world.

Acknowledgements

The Olympic Games have been an interest for me since a young age. My earliest memory of the Olympic Games was watching the Atlanta Olympics as a nine-year-old in 1996, Danyon Loader winning two gold medals in swimming at the Atlanta Olympic Games. From that moment, my interest in the Olympic Games was sparked. As a nine-year-old, I was astounded by the fact that New Zealand with a country of 3.5 million people at the time could compete on the world stage and win, against the might of other much larger nations.

Firstly, I would like to thank my family for all their support and assistance throughout this project. This has been a big undertaking, and especially I want to thank mum and dad for their support both emotional and financial. I could not have done it without you both. For 31 years you have believed in me and backed me every time to pursue my dreams and interests. Because of you, I was able to travel to Lausanne and Greece to spend time at the IOC research centre and Ancient Olympia, the birthplace of the Olympic Games, to gain valuable insights into the Olympic movement. Also my Nana for her generous support throughout the process has been instrumental.

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Chapter One: Introduction

'The Olympic Games are for the world, and all nations must be admitted to them'

– Baron Pierre De Coubertin²

On Saturday 31 July 1976, nine athletes from eight nations lined up in the 1500m final at the Montreal Olympic Games. This is an event in which New Zealand has a remarkable history. Forty years earlier, at Adolf Hitler's Olympic Games in Berlin, 1936, New Zealander Jack Lovelock won the gold medal in a world record time. Overnight, he became an international superstar and a national hero. Twenty-eight years later, in 1964, in Tokyo, where an Asian nation was hosting the games for the first time and Japan was opening themselves up to the world following World War II, another New Zealand superstar, Peter Snell, conquered the 1500m with a magnificent gold medal, with fellow New Zealander John Davies winning bronze. Snell would also back up his 1960 Rome 800m victory by defending his title in Tokyo. These were heady days in New Zealand athletics, and by the 1976 Olympic Games, another New Zealander, John Walker, was favourite to win gold in the 1500m. A year earlier Walker had become the first man to break the three minutes fifty-second barrier for the mile.

It was Sunday 1 August 1976 in New Zealand when the final was screened live on television. New Zealand came to a standstill that morning with church services pausing for the Olympic final, and New Zealanders got what they wished for, a gold medal.³ As Walker crossed the line, Television New Zealand commentator Keith Quinn said, 'in the best traditions of Jack Lovelock and Peter Snell, John Walker wins the gold medal in the 1500 metres in Montreal.'⁴ This gold medal came just a day after an unknown and unfancied New Zealand men's hockey team upset Australia in the Olympic final, to win the gold medal. Australia would fail to

² Baron Pierre de Coubertin, in Richard O'Davies, *Sports in American Life: A History*, (Hoboken: New Jersey, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), p.321.

³ Author's Interview with Keith Quinn, April 16, 2014.

⁴ Keith Quinn, *A Lucky Man*, (Christchurch: Shoal Bay Press, 2000), p.82.

win a single gold medal in Montreal, and this failure would bring about the advent of the Australian Institute of Sport and a renewed focus on high-performance sport as an important contributor to Australian identity and opportunity to showcase themselves to the world. Nineteen seventy-six was a golden time for New Zealand at the Olympic Games and came just two years after Christchurch hosted a successful Commonwealth Games. The distinctive black singlet with the silver fern was on top of the medal dais and at the centre of the Olympic world.

However, there was something wrong at the 1976 Olympic Games: the noticeable absence of African nations. In the days leading up to the Opening Ceremony, they walked out of Montreal because New Zealand's All Black rugby team were touring apartheid South Africa. South Africa last competed at the Olympic Games in 1960 and had been expelled from the Olympic movement because of their racist political regime. The 1500m final, as well as many other athletic events, were an all-white event with the world record holder, and Walker's major rival in the 1500m, Filbert Bayi of Tanzania, absent from the games. It had been two years earlier at the 1974 Commonwealth Games in Christchurch that Bayi had run competitively to beat Walker and win the 1500m in a world record time. The scene was set for a battle royal in Montreal. However, it was not meant to be. Walker won the gold, and the Africans went home after New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon categorically stated that sport and politics do not mix and that he would not intervene in the All Blacks' tour of South Africa, though this itself was a political decision. However, this story shows that sport and politics do mix and despite New Zealand's storied history in the Olympic Games, the country has, at times, also been the centre of attention for all the wrong reasons. This example shows not only the emotion of sport and how sport is important to New Zealanders but also how politics plays an important and controversial role in sport. Ultimately, this example displays the potency sport has had in contributing to New Zealand's national identity.

Academia has been slow to research the role that sport had and continues to have on political discourses. In researching the links between

politics and sport, only in the last thirty years have political scientists started to give any attention to sport. Despite an increased focus on sport, the politicisation of sport has been occurring for much longer than that. Sport is a part of the fabric, the social order of society, and politics is very much about social order: the way in which we wish to live and organise our affairs. The question, therefore, is not whether or not politics should be involved in sport but rather 'how' politics should be involved.⁵ Tony Collins argues that men and women have always played games: 'the impulse to play is as vital to human culture as the desire to sing, the urge to draw or the need to tell stories. As a form of physical exhilaration, group solidarity or downright shared pleasure, games are common to almost all societies in nearly all periods of history. Few things in everyday life have been taken quite so seriously as play.'⁶

Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young confirm the ancient foundations of sport in society when they say that 'sports events celebrating the body and physical culture have long been driven by political and ideological motives, from the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome to the societies of early modern Europe; in more modern Western societies as well as less developed and non-western ones. The most dramatic and high-profile of such spectacles has been the modern Olympic Games and the men's football world cup.'⁷ John Hargreaves complements Tomlinson and Young with his observation that: 'while specialists in nationalism have paid a good deal of attention to central aspects of culture such as language and religion, they have paid remarkably little attention to that other aspect of culture around which nationalism so often coheres in the modern world, namely sport.'⁸

This thesis will focus on the largest sporting event in the world, the Olympic Games, which has often been at the forefront of political

⁵ Martin Polley, *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society since 1945*, (Routledge: London, 1999), p.15.

⁶ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), p.1.

⁷ Alan Tomlinson and Christopher Young, *National Identity and Global Sports Events*, (Albany: States University of New York Press, 2006), p.1.

⁸ John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia: Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.3.

manipulation. Fékrou Kidane traces the origins to the 9th century BC, with the Ancient Olympic Games: 'when the institution of the truce was established in Ancient Greece by the signing of an "international treaty" by three kings: Iphitos of Elis, Cleosthenes of Pisa and Lycurgus of Sparta. Subsequently, all other Greek cities ratified the agreement, which recognised the permanent immunity of the sanctuary at Olympia. The truce, now known as the Olympic Truce, allowed athletes, artists and their families to travel in safety to compete in or attend the Olympic Games, and return home safely afterwards.'⁹

The Olympic Games offer a platform to all nations, particularly to small nations of the world like New Zealand, which is unrivalled by any other cultural or political body, even the United Nations. The Olympic Games at different times in the twentieth and twenty-first century has allowed small and resurgent nations from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and parts of the former Soviet Union to assert their national autonomy on the world stage.¹⁰ Political manipulation of sport can and often has been used for both good and bad. For instance, government intervention in sports policy around the western world has brought about improved results and has also been used in sports diplomacy. More recently, as this thesis will examine, New Zealand's Olympic participation has ultimately had a positive influence on its national identity.

As the quote that began this chapter attests, Baron de Coubertin's notion of inclusiveness set the path of the Olympic Movement for the next century and would create a platform for nations, not only to compete on the battlefield but also on the sports field. Sport and Nationalism are arguably two of the most emotional issues in the modern world today. Historian Keith Sinclair said it best when he stated that 'war and sport are about the only international contests in which people from one nation can

⁹ Fékrou Kidane, 'Sport and Politics: Diplomacy of an Olympic Truce,' in *Olympic Review*, August-September 1999, p.48.

¹⁰ John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia: Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*, p.3.

measure themselves physically and directly against others.’¹¹ Both inspire intense devotion, and over history we have seen the best and worst of nationalism portrayed during the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games has become one of the most recognisable brands in the modern world over the past century since they were revived in 1896. The first modern Games in Athens in 1896 were attended by 241 competitors from 14 nations who competed in 43 events. Only males competed in the first Olympic Games. Since then the Olympic Games have ballooned into a truly global event. At the London 2012 Olympic Games, 10,568 competitors from 204 nations competed in 302 events. Also, for the first time in 2012, all 204 nations sent female competitors.¹²

Nationalism has been recognised as a political doctrine since the mid-eighteenth century, and in many respects nationalism has developed into the most successful and compelling of political ideologies, helping to shape and reshape history in many parts of the world for over two hundred years. According to Alan Bairner: ‘the nation itself is one of the most discussed concepts in modern social and political thought. Its character has been subjected to a broad range of interpretation, with language, ethnicity, geography, religion and shared experience all having been cited as fundamental determinants.’¹³

As portrayed in the example at the beginning of this chapter, it is widely acknowledged that sport plays a central role in the national identity of New Zealand. New Zealanders like to see their sportsmen and sportswomen competing and winning against the biggest and best on the world stage, and those athletes have often ‘punched above their weight’. Many of these moments have played out at the Olympic Games. New Zealand has a long and proud history in the Olympic movement since Leonard Cuff became a founding member of the International Olympic Committee in

¹¹ Keith Sinclair, *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for National Identity*, (Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1986), p.152.

¹² International Olympic Committee, ‘Olympic Games’, 2015, <http://www.olympic.org/olympic-games>, (Accessed 29 September 2015).

¹³ Alan Bairner, *Sport, nationalism and globalization: European and North American perspectives*, (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), p.2.

1894. New Zealand first competed alongside Australia as Australasia in 1908, and Harry Kerr won New Zealand's first medal, bronze in the 3000m walk. In 1920 New Zealand first competed on its own, and Ted Morgan won New Zealand's first individual gold medal in boxing in 1928. Since then New Zealand has outperformed compared to other similar-sized nations competing in the Olympic movement, with over 1200 Olympians competing at the games, which is a similar number to the number of New Zealanders who have played for the All Blacks. For example, Annelise Coberger won silver in the women's skiing slalom in the Winter Olympics in Albertville in 1992, the first for any nation from the southern hemisphere, and in London 2012, New Zealand won its 100th medal at an Olympic Games. As New Zealand's independence from Great Britain took shape during the 20th century so did its Olympic fortunes improve as governments increasingly saw sport as a way to portray New Zealand's culture and identity to the world. New Zealanders are an independent and proud nation and seeing New Zealand athletes winning medals at the Olympic Games only enhances this perception.

This thesis is divided into three parts:

Part One

Part One will introduce key concepts, theories and ideas related to national identity and nationalism. National identity and nationalism are complex ideas and academics have studied them from many perspectives. Mike Cronin and David Mayall go so far as to claim: 'it is doubtful that there can ever be an academic last word to the origins, nature and meaning of nationalism and national identity, but the existence and contribution of nationalism to the notion of identity is undeniable.'¹⁴ Eleni Psarrou argues that national identity is influenced and signified by the political ideology of nationalism. National identity is politically

¹⁴ Mike Cronin and David Mayall, *Sporting Nationalisms – identity, ethnicity, immigration, and assimilation*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), p.3.

manageable and easily exploited to mobilise people towards certain political ends.¹⁵

Chapter Two will focus on national identity and will identify various components that contribute to a nation's identity. It will also trace the link between sport and national identity by examining some longitudinal research on national identity that occurred in 1995/96 and 2003/4.¹⁶ National identity is defined here as a person's identity and sense of belonging to one state or one nation; a feeling one shares with a group of people. It is not an inborn trait. Studies have shown that a person's national identity results directly from the presence of elements from "common points" in people's daily lives: national symbols, language, history and culture. National identity is not fixed and has multiple strands that evolve over time. Its manifestations are many and varied, including:

- Promotion of images by the state through symbols like flags, coins, tourism promotions and international exhibitions;
- The performance of New Zealanders internationally in war or in sport;
- Major political acts that attract international attention; and
- Artistic portrayals such as in films, books, art or music.¹⁷

This chapter will also examine and analyse international literature on sport and how it has been influenced by and has influenced national identity. This chapter will also analyse Van Bottenburg's *Virtuous Cycle of Sport*, which outlines and describes the rationale for government intervention in sport. Chapter Two will also specifically focus on the development of New Zealand's national identity and analyse the current literature on it. When discussing New Zealand's national identity, it appears that authors dedicate a substantial amount of time to rugby, it being a cornerstone of our identity. Conversely, the same authors give only a cursory mention of

¹⁵ Eleni Psarrou, *National Identity in the Era of Globalisation*, (London: Unpublished Thesis London School of Economics, 2003), p.76.

¹⁶ Research undertaken by the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), www.issp.org.

¹⁷ Fiona Barker, 'New Zealand Identity,' Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, 2012, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/new-zealand-identity, (Accessed 30 June 2014).

New Zealand's involvement in the Olympic movement, hence the purpose of this thesis.

Nationalism is often portrayed through sport, and Chapter Three will analyse the concept of nationalism and its development through history. Nationalism emerged in 18th century Western Europe and spread throughout the continent in the 19th century. In the 20th century, it also penetrated the Middle East, Africa and Asia during the process of colonisation and decolonisation. This chapter will explain how nationalism has evolved and how it's expressed. It will also analyse how the current literature on nationalism is increasingly linked to sporting events. Forms of nationalism differ markedly from each other, and it has been observed that nationalism has a positive and a negative side: 'it can be democratic or authoritarian, backward-looking or forward-looking, socialist or conservative, secular or religious, generous or chauvinist.'¹⁸ From a political or sociological perspective, there are two main perspectives on the origins and basis of nationalism. One is the primordial perspective that describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and perceived evolutionary tendency of humans to organise into distinct groupings based on an affinity of birth. The other is the modernist perspective that describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural conditions of modern society in order to exist. Chapter Three will also examine the link between nationalism and sport, specifically the Olympic Games. Despite claims over time that politics and sport don't mix, it is clear from the first Olympic Games in 1896 that politics and, specifically, nationalism have not been far apart.

Nationalism and sport are frequently intertwined, as sports provide an occasion for symbolic competition between nations, and sports competitions often reflect national conflict. Some see the involvement of political goals in sport as contrary to the fundamental ethos of sport being carried out for its own sake, and for the enjoyment of its participants. However, this involvement has been ubiquitous throughout the history of

¹⁸ Alan Bairner, *Sport, nationalism and globalization: European and North American perspectives*, p.2.

sport. Harvey Frommer argues that Olympic sports have offered many athletes the opportunity to achieve recognition not only for themselves but also for their nation: 'Olympic medallists bring honour to themselves and their nation because to win Olympic gold is to win in the world's largest sporting event, an event watched by an estimated 4.2 billion people.'¹⁹ Frommer also argues that devotion to one's nation through sport and the pride that results from those achievements has helped nations unify their citizens.

There are separate chapters on national identity and nationalism in this study. Anthony Smith said it best when he stated that: 'we cannot understand the power and appeal of nationalism as a political force without grounding our analysis in a wider perspective whose focus is national identity treated as a collective phenomenon.'²⁰

Part Two

Part Two of the thesis will outline and examine New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games, from competing as part of Australasia in 1908 to winning a record 18 medals in Rio in 2016 and two bronze medals at the 2018 Winter Olympic Games in PyeongChang. This study is mainly concerned with New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games and how it has contributed to New Zealand's national identity. Any research into the Olympic Games and national identity should include the Commonwealth Games as well since New Zealand has hosted the Commonwealth Games three times in 1950, 1974 and 1990. Part Two will track New Zealand's development in the Olympic movement alongside the development of New Zealand's wider identity and the path to independence from the British Empire.

Chapter Four will track New Zealand's early experience in the Olympic movement and focus on New Zealand's early dependence on Great Britain and Australia, which included the combined Australasian teams

¹⁹ Harvey Frommer, *Olympic Controversies*, (New York: Franklin Watts, 1987), p.2.

²⁰ Anthony Smith, quoted by Yael Tamir, 'The Enigma of Nationalism,' in *World Politics*, Vol. 47, No.3, April 1995, p. 420.

that competed in 1908 in London and 1912 in Stockholm. In 1932, Los Angeles, John MacDonald and Lawrence Jackson from Ngai Tahu became the first Maori competitors to compete for New Zealand at an Olympic Games, taking part in rowing. MacDonald was also flag bearer at the opening ceremony. This chapter will also analyse the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, the arguments for a boycott and New Zealand's response, with a focus on 1500m champion Jack Lovelock and team manager Lord Arthur Porritt.

Chapter Five will trace New Zealand's role in the Olympic movement from the passing of the Statute of Westminster Adoption Act, which granted full sovereignty to the New Zealand government in 1947, and the 1948 passing of the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act. This chapter will argue that during this time New Zealand did branch out in some ways from the British Empire, but in many respects did not. New Zealand's reliance shifted towards the United States through the ANZUS agreement that was signed following World War II. New Zealand also supported and sent troops to Korea and Vietnam during this time. New Zealand's role in the Olympic Games following World War II was still very much centred on running, with Murray Halberg and Peter Snell winning gold in 1960 and 1964. Yvette Williams was the first New Zealand woman to win a gold medal at the Olympics when she won gold in the long jump in 1952. Despite increased success at the Olympic Games during this period, New Zealand was still very much the younger child on the world stage. For instance, when New Zealand had its golden hour in the Rome 1960 Olympic Games, 'God Save the Queen' was played as the New Zealand Anthem. Government policy in sport during this time was very much at arm's length, and sportsmen and sportswomen had to fundraise to compete overseas.

Chapter Six will analyse New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Movement from the 1972 Munich Olympic Games until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The 1970s and 1980s were a period dominated by political interference through political boycotts, and in 1972 the Munich

Olympic massacre of Israeli athletes brought terrorism to the heart of the games. It was a turbulent time for New Zealand as its sporting contacts with South Africa dominated the period both at home and at the Olympic Games. The period also brought about New Zealand becoming nuclear-free and the breakdown of the ANZUS agreement. Alan Bairner accurately said that 'sport is frequently a vehicle for the expression of nationalist sentiment to the extent that politicians are all too willing to harness it for such disparate, even antithetical, purposes as nation building, promoting the nation-state, or giving cultural power to separatist movements.'²¹

Chapter Six will also analyse the 1976 African boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games. It will examine the diplomatic consequences New Zealand faced by continuing sporting contact with South Africa, and the ensuing Gleneagles agreement that was signed in 1977. In 1976, twenty-five African nations boycotted the Montreal Olympics because of the All Blacks touring apartheid South Africa. South Africa had been expelled from the Olympic Movement following the 1960 Rome Olympics due to their political regime of apartheid. New Zealand continued to compete in those games and was not expelled, despite the walkout of African nations. It raises interesting questions as to why the International Olympic Committee would permit African countries to boycott the games, costing the Montreal Olympic organisers millions of dollars to keep the New Zealand team at the games. The International Olympic Committee argued that rugby was not an Olympic sport, hence New Zealand was not expelled.

Chapter Six will also focus on New Zealand's response to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, and the 1980 and 1984 Olympic boycotts. In 1980, the New Zealand Government called for New Zealand to boycott the Olympic Games in Moscow in response to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The government removed funding for the Olympic team, and huge pressure was placed on sports to

²¹ Alan Bairner, *Sport, nationalism and globalization: European and North American perspectives*, p. xi.

withdraw. Despite this, the New Zealand Government was exporting large quantities of mutton and other products to the Soviet Union and trade between the two countries was expanding.²² Despite the government's call for a boycott, and placing huge pressure on individual sports to withdraw, four New Zealand athletes from two sports defied the government and competed in the 1980 Olympics. They competed under the flag of the New Zealand Olympic Committee rather than the New Zealand flag. Four years later the games were held in Los Angeles, and this time, the Soviet Union and many of the Eastern Bloc countries boycotted the games in retaliation for the 1980 United States-led boycott. New Zealand, however, did compete in those games, winning at the time a record 11 medals, including eight gold medals.

Robert Muldoon held a vice-like grip over New Zealand as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance from 1975-1984. Muldoon almost unilaterally controlled New Zealand for nearly a decade, and his leadership reached all the way onto the sports field by pressuring New Zealand sports to withdraw from the 1980 Olympic Games and almost crippling the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games. Perhaps the most divisive decision of his tenure as Prime Minister was the 1981 Springbok tour which ripped New Zealand apart. What is ironic is that during his term as Prime Minister he announced that politics and sport do not mix and allowed the 1981 Springbok tour to take place, amongst widespread protests across New Zealand, the like of which has not been seen before or since. The 1981 Springbok rugby tour came just after Muldoon demonstrated that politics and sport do mix, forcing many New Zealand sports to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games.

Chapter Seven will begin at a time when the Berlin Wall fell, and the Cold War which dominated post-World War II politics came to an end. The 1980s is the time when New Zealand truly struck out on its own after becoming nuclear-free, separating itself from traditional military alliances. New Zealand won a seat on the UN Security Council in 1993-1994 and

²² A.C. Wilson, *New Zealand and the Soviet Union 1950-1991: A brittle relationship*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004), pp.106-130.

2015-2106 after advocating an independent voice for small states. New Zealand adopted a new electoral system in 1996 and Te Papa the Museum of New Zealand opened in 1998, creating a space for New Zealanders to learn about themselves. In the Olympic sphere, Barcelona in 1992 held the first boycott-free Olympic Games in 20 years, and successive New Zealand governments focused more funding towards Olympic sports following the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, which were disappointing for New Zealand. A rebuilding of New Zealand's prestige on the Olympic stage occurred when in 2012 New Zealand won its 100th medal at an Olympic Games and New Zealand had its most successful games. A focus on New Zealand's cultural identity would also come to the fore during the early years of the 21st century as the New Zealand Olympic Committee and Chef de Mission of the New Zealand Olympic Team, Dave Currie, focussed on a 'One Team, One Spirit' concept. A close partnership with Ngai Tahu would see the introduction of a Maori Cloak that the flag bearer would wear at the opening ceremony.

Part Three

Part Three will analyse whether New Zealanders believe Olympic participation is a cornerstone of national identity compared to other sporting events such as rugby, or other cultural activities. Chapter Eight specifically analyses New Zealanders' views of the Olympic Games, and how they have contributed to New Zealand's national identity. Information collated from the New Zealand Olympic Committee and other surveys will be reviewed against international studies on how engaged the general public in New Zealand are in the Olympic Movement. This chapter will analyse the New Zealand government's intervention in sports and analyse whether that intervention was more for marketing purposes or for creating a sense of identity.

Chapter Nine will specifically analyse how important the Olympic Games are to the world by looking at international perspectives from other nations of a similar size to New Zealand including Ireland and Norway, as well as Australia and Canada, to which New Zealand is often compared.

Chapter ten will conclude the research, outlining the key findings, and outlining the research's contribution to knowledge. The conclusion will also look at emerging issues in relation to the Olympic Games. Those key issues are broadcasting, and the change from free to air coverage to user pays subscriber coverage, and the public memorialisation of the Olympic Games in New Zealand.

Summary of the thesis

Overall, as New Zealand has increasingly stood on its own two feet in the world, so its Olympic fortunes have improved. There were fleeting moments of success before World War II, but following World War II, New Zealand's role in the world, and hence its role in the Olympic movement, became more complicated as New Zealand tried to maintain historical alliances, which made them increasingly out of step with many other countries.

New Zealand's foreign policy following World War II was shaped by the United States until the late 1980s when New Zealand became nuclear free. The New Zealand Government supported the Moscow boycott in 1980 but continued sporting contacts with South Africa, which affected its prestige in the eyes of the world.

New Zealand's performance at the Olympic Games has arguably become more important after New Zealand charted more of an independent foreign policy during the late 1980s. It has also become more important for New Zealanders to see their fellow countrymen and women succeed on the world stage, often against the odds. It would take the disappointing Olympic campaign in Sydney 2000 for the then Labour government to increase sports funding, and restructure and increase government support following the release of the Graham Report which was published in 2001. The National Government has continued to do the same following their ascent to power in 2008. This has led to New Zealand teams 'punching above their weight' at the Olympic Games on a more regular basis than occurred in the first half of the 20th century. With this, polling has shown

that New Zealanders' interest in the Olympic Games has grown continuously since 2004 when polling began.

Overall the Olympic Games' role in the development of New Zealand's national identity has grown over time alongside New Zealand's struggle for independence. It has been argued that rugby is a cornerstone of New Zealand's identity, yet New Zealand being seen as an independent nation with an independent foreign policy is also an important cornerstone. This is so much so that when New Zealand gained a seat on the United Nations Security Council in 2014, the Government was quick to stress that it was New Zealand's independent foreign policy that assisted in this election. This thesis will argue that increasingly New Zealand's role in the Olympic Games has become a cornerstone of what it means to be a New Zealander. It is a way that we can see 'our' independent New Zealand competing on the world stage against the biggest and best nations from around the world. Ultimately, the Olympic Games is the only mechanism where New Zealand competes so publically against the world and hence is an important part of our identity, as it shows to New Zealanders that we are an independent, successful nation that succeeds beyond expectations on the world stage.

Methodological Approach

This research examines the role New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Movement has had on the development and contribution to New Zealand's identity. This thesis has been developed from a political science approach and argues that the Olympic movement has had a substantial effect on the development of New Zealand's identity. Ultimately, this thesis is a study of the relationship between the Olympic Movement and New Zealand.

Relevance of Research

This research fills a gap in the literature on New Zealand's Olympic history and its influence and contribution to identity. There have been three

significant studies completed on New Zealand's Olympic history. Namely Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford's 1983 book *The Games*; Joseph Romanos *Our Olympic Century* which was produced in 2008 to mark the 100th anniversary of New Zealand athletes competing at the Olympic Games; and Geoffery Kohe's 2011 work titled: *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*. None of these studies specifically analysed New Zealand's Olympic story through the field of political science and none focussed on national identity as a prism through which to interpret this history. This research shows that politicians often talk about sport and the Olympic Games as being an essential part of New Zealand's identity, yet no specific study on this topic has occurred. This study not only contributes to the field of New Zealand and the Olympic Movement but enhances it as this research contributes to research but also identifies key emerging issues related to sports policy.

Research Design: Hypotheses and Key Questions

The following questions have been developed to serve as a guide for investigation for this study. Both primary and secondary questions have been developed to test the hypothesis that New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games has greatly contributed to its national identity.

Hypotheses

Overall it is clear that a close link exists between nationalism and sport, as part one will show, most especially at the Olympic Games. I am proposing three inter-related hypotheses that I wish to test in the thesis:

1. Sport contributes to the development of New Zealand's national identity, and this link is particularly strong in New Zealand compared to other countries because of the centrality of sport in the national character.
2. The development of New Zealand's national identity has been influenced in both positive and negative ways by political decisions associated with the Olympic Games and other sports.

3. The Olympic Games has a greater influence on national identity than other sports in New Zealand.

Research Questions:

Primary Questions

This thesis will seek to investigate and to answer several interrelated questions:

1. National Identity:
 - a) What is national identity?
 - b) How has New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games contributed to New Zealand's national identity?
 - c) How has national identity contributed to and shaped New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games?
2. National Identity and the Olympic Games:
 - a) How significant is New Zealand's Olympic experience in the context of its development of a unique national identity, when compared with the experience of Australia and Canada, and several Scandinavian nations with similar populations?
3. Nationalism and the Olympic Games:
 - a) How do theories of nationalism help to understand the evolution of the modern Olympic Games and sport in general?
 - b) How have nations (including New Zealand) used the Olympic Games for political purposes?

Secondary Questions

1. How does taking part in the Olympic Games contribute to New Zealand being seen as an independent nation?
2. Why did the International Olympic Committee permit New Zealand to compete in the 1976 Olympic Games when 25 African nations boycotted because of the All Blacks Tour of South Africa? Was it because rugby was not an Olympic sport or were there other reasons?
3. Why did the New Zealand government pressure sports to pull out of competing in the 1980 Olympic Games when Australia and Great Britain continued to compete? How did this affect our relationship with the Soviet Union and with the United States?
4. How did the political decisions to continue sporting contacts with apartheid South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s affect New Zealand's global prestige?

Sources of Data

In undertaking this research, several archival sources were consulted and information sourced. The archives in the International Olympic Committee Studies Centre located in Lausanne, Switzerland were accessed for information related to New Zealand and the Olympic Movement.²³ Most of the archives were press clippings. However, some relevant documents related to the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games and the African boycott were found too.

Also consulted as part of this research are the archives of the New Zealand Olympic Committee that are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington.²⁴ These archives are extensive and relate to New Zealand's participation at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games. Documents included information pertaining to games planning, team

²³ International Olympic Committee Studies Centre, *New Zealand Files*, Reference: NOC-NZOC, located in Lausanne, Switzerland, (Accessed September 2014).

²⁴ Archives of the New Zealand Olympic Committee 1911-2010, Reference: MS-Group-2301, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. (Accessed from September 2014 to June 2017).

selection, travel, and uniform design. Also included are annual reports and a substantial amount of press clippings which were used for background purposes. The archives included information up to and including the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. However, there is a 30-year rule for access to relevant information. To gain access to these archives, permission must be sought and given from the Secretary-General of the New Zealand Olympic Committee.

Several quantitative data surveys have been used throughout this thesis. These surveys include:

1. GlobeScan International Survey of 20 Nations focussing on Olympic achievement and National Pride.²⁵
2. Insentia Insights Research into Media Coverage at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games.²⁶
3. International Social Survey Programme studies on National Identity and National Pride.²⁷
4. New Zealand Olympic Committee Brand Tracker Report, December 2015. Research undertaken by Gemba Research.²⁸
5. Nielsen Brand Advantage – *2015-2016 New Zealand Sports, Arts, and Entertainment Report*.²⁹
6. Quantitative research conducted by UMR Research on interest in the Olympic Games.³⁰
7. TNS Research into the New Zealand Olympic Committee and its positioning. Research conducted in December 2015.³¹

²⁵ GlobeScan, National Pride Mixed over Olympic Achievements: Global Poll, 1 January 2012, http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc2011_olympics/, (Accessed 1 July 2017).

²⁶ Insentia Insights, Media Coverage Report: 2016 Rio Olympics – New Zealand Olympic Committee, (Auckland: Insentia Insights, 2016).

²⁷ Max Haller, Roger Jowell and Tom Smith (eds), *The International Social Survey Program 1984-2009: Charting the Globe*, (New York: Routledge, 2009).

²⁸ Gemba, *New Zealand Olympic Committee Brand Tracker Report*, December 2015, (Auckland: Gemba, 2015).

²⁹ Nielsen Brand Advantage, *2015-2016 New Zealand, Sports, Arts and Entertainment Report*, (The Nielsen Company: Auckland, 2016).

³⁰ Data provided by UMR Research following the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games. The poll surveyed 750 New Zealanders and took place in the month following the Olympic Games.

³¹ TNS, *Understand the New Zealand Olympic Committee's Positioning*, (Auckland: TNS Research, December 2015).

These sources were chosen as they provide a quantitative element surveying New Zealanders about their views on the Olympic Movement and its contribution to identity in New Zealand.

Other sources used in this research included New Zealand Parliamentary Hansard, and official reports of the New Zealand Government, including annual reports of Sport New Zealand and High-Performance Sport New Zealand, as well as reviews into sport policy in New Zealand. Treasury Budget documents from 1995 to 2015 were also used as part of the preparation of analysing the evolution of sport funding in New Zealand.

Interviews

This research also drew upon interviews with Olympians, members of the broadcast community, Government Ministers, Members of the International Olympic Committee and the Chief Executives of Sport New Zealand and High-Performance Sport New Zealand.

Before undertaking these interviews, approval was obtained from Victoria University of Wellington.³² The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner and notes were taken and interviews were recorded where permission had been granted and took place in a variety of contexts and locations. Where permission was not granted for the interview to be recorded, extensive interview notes were taken. Transcripts and recordings are held by the researcher and have been used solely for the completion of this study and are not available for use outside this study.

Interviewees were selected for a number of reasons. For example, two New Zealand Ministers of Sports were interviewed. One was from the Labour Party, and the other from the National Party. The current Chief Executives of Sport New Zealand and High-Performance Sport New Zealand were chosen as senior New Zealand sport administrators. The two current members of the International Olympic Committee based in New Zealand were also interviewed.

³² Victoria University Ethics Approval Number: 22336

In regards to members of the broadcast media, these were selected based on the number of Olympic Games they had attended and witnessed first-hand. Most of these conversations were used as background material and aided in providing flavour and context of the Olympic Games.

Selecting Olympians to interview was more difficult. Initially, the New Zealand Olympic Committee was contacted, and a request was made for a contact list of Olympians. However, this request was declined due to privacy reasons. The New Zealand Olympic Committee were happy to send a letter to Olympians inviting them to be interviewed. Those Olympians who were ultimately interviewed were self-selected. Despite this limitation, Olympians dating back to those who competed at the Tokyo 1964 Olympics were interviewed, and information collected was useful and ultimately enhanced the overall outcome of this research.

Limits to the Research

This research is focussed on how New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Movement (namely the Summer Olympic Games) has contributed to National Identity. The relationship between New Zealand and the Olympic Movement is the central focus of this research and other sporting events like the Commonwealth Games, and other sports like cricket, football and netball lie outside the scope of this research. These events and sports ultimately warrant their own research focus.

Part One: The Politics of Identity – An Overview

Chapter Two: National Identity – a theoretical analysis of nation-building through sport

'The Imagined Community of millions seems more real as a team of 11 named people' – Eric J. Hobsbawm³³

This quote by Eric J. Hobsbawm in his 1991 book *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* describes the link between national identity and sport better and more concisely than has been done before or since. It reinforces, on the one hand, the powerful connection between sport and people, while on the other hand, it accentuates the symbolic power of sport to represent far more complex and contested concepts around nationalism. This chapter will define national identity as a concept and then outline what contributes to a nation's sense of itself, its identity. Anthony D. Smith stated that there are five fundamental features of national identity. Those features include a historic territory, or homeland; common myths and historical memories; a common, mass public culture; common legal rights and duties for all members; and a common economy with territorial mobility for members.³⁴ Smith goes on to state that national identity is fundamentally multi-dimensional and that it can never be reduced to a single element, nor can it be easily or quickly induced in a population by artificial means.³⁵ A sense of national identity provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world and, as Smith puts it: 'it is through a shared, unique culture that we are enabled to know who we are in the contemporary world. By rediscovering that culture, we rediscover ourselves, the authentic self.'³⁶ This chapter will specifically analyse sport's role in shaping a nation's identity, as well as provide a background to New Zealand's identity.

³³ Eric J Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.143.

³⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin, 1991), p.14.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid, p.17.

Sports Broadcaster Jim McKay summed it up best when he stated that sport can 'capture the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat.'³⁷ As a result of its ability to cross political, cultural, social, gender, religious, racial, ethnic and economic boundaries and provide a common foundation for nations, sport is especially suitable as a vehicle to not only build bridges between governments and people but also to promote one government over another.³⁸

National Identity: Imagined or real?

Perhaps one of the most widely cited perspectives on national identity is by Benedict Anderson, who argues that the nation is an imagined political community.³⁹ Anderson goes on to explain:

It is 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. It is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is the fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.⁴⁰

Anderson correctly asserts that even in New Zealand, with a population of 4.5 million people, we do not know most of our fellow countrymen and women, and this is why sport is a powerful tool for politicians as it is a common link that draws people together.

There are a number of factors that assisted the development of imagined communities. Anderson has identified three factors that have assisted in this evolution. The first is the development of mass printing, especially of newspapers. He argues that: 'while such newspapers had been present

³⁷ Heather L. Dichter and Andrew L. Johns, *Diplomatic Games: Sport, Statecraft, and International Relations Since 1945*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2014), p.3.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), pp.6-7.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

well before the 1850s and had influenced the development of national identification amongst the middle class, it was the development of mass literacy in the latter half of the nineteenth century that extended their reach as vehicles of identity.⁴¹ A second important factor is the growth of the modern nation-state during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Anderson argues that institutions such as regional administration, railways, the post office and mass education both encouraged, and were used as outlets for nationalist messages and for creating a sense of national identity.⁴² The third element is the extension of the franchise: 'as voting rights extended more broadly, political parties needed mechanisms and symbols to communicate with their expanding electorate.'⁴³ An expanding electorate meant that the public had a greater buy-in to the nation that they were living in. Tony Ward takes Anderson's argument a step further and argues that the impetus to create national symbols in the late nineteenth century can be viewed as a brand marketing exercise, of trying to get people to adopt or emphasise a particular image. In this circumstance, it is the nation.⁴⁴ This marketing exercise still exists today and governments have become much more creative in projecting their desired image to the rest of the world. In New Zealand's case and for this thesis we will be focusing on New Zealand's Olympic story.

Angel Castineira argues that nations depend equally on a number of things: 'on continuity (temporal, demographic, territorial, cultural, political), on internal and external recognition in order to give coherence and differentiation to the experiences of its members, and constructing and interpreting the narrative identity of their biographical memory.'⁴⁵ National identity relates to a process by which ideas and values inherited from the past are formed into a collective memory that enables members of a

⁴¹ Tony Ward, 'Sport and National Identity,' in *Soccer and Society*, 2009, Vol 10, Number 5, p.526.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Angel Castineira, 'Imagined Nations: Personal Identity, National Identity, and the Places of Memory,' in Alain Ganon, Andre Lecours and Genevieve Nootens, *Contemporary Majority Nationalism*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011), pp.50-51.

nation to share. Those values include historical memories, myths, values, traditions and symbols.⁴⁶

New Zealand historian Keith Sinclair argues that a national identity is not a permanent and static possession; rather the nation has from time to time been reinvented. Indeed, the idea of the nation is changing all the time.⁴⁷ Jay Coakley agrees with Sinclair and argues that research on national identity indicates that it is a much more dynamic social construct than many people have imagined or believe: 'its intensity, meaning, and the forms through which it is expressed vary widely between nations and even within nations. Additionally, it changes over time with shifts in national experiences such as those that occur in times of peace or in times of war, in the face of positive or negative economic conditions, or when immigration patterns alter a nation's demographic profile.'⁴⁸ It is important to note that a nation's identity is often contested, and that identity will never be settled. Even the use of the Haka which is seen as an important part of New Zealand's cultural identity is not universally accepted as chapter eight of this research will discuss in greater detail.

David Miller has identified four distinct aspects that make up a national identity. The first is that national communities are constituted by belief. Nations exist when their members recognise one another as compatriots and believe that they share characteristics. Secondly, there is a shared identity that embodies what Miller calls historical continuity. A third distinguishing aspect of national identity is that it is an active identity. Nations are communities of people who do things together and take and make decisions to achieve common goals. This in itself shows that a nation's identity is constantly adapting and evolving. The fourth and final aspect is that national identity connects a group of people to a particular geographical place. Miller argues that a nation must have a homeland and that it is the territorial element that has forged the connection between

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.53.

⁴⁷ Keith Sinclair, *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for National Identity*, (Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1986), p.257.

⁴⁸ Jay Coakley, *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2015), p.436.

nations and states.⁴⁹ This is particularly true in New Zealand, with around one million New Zealanders living abroad, according to a 2013 report.⁵⁰ We see the Kiwi identity on display on ANZAC Day and Waitangi Day when expatriate New Zealanders come together in the United Kingdom and around the world to celebrate and commemorate the fact that they are New Zealanders. Perhaps the expat community shares an even closer and stronger conscious bond to New Zealand than people living here.

National identities typically contain a considerable element of myth. All national histories contain elements of myth insofar as they interpret events in a particular way, generally to their advantage. They also amplify the significance of some events and diminish the importance of others.⁵¹ When thinking about myths and their influence on national identity, Eleni Psarrou argues that:

Myths have a particularly strong and mostly unconscious influence on people's national identity, as they contain many of the perceptions a nation has for itself, and for nationhood in particular. A myth is a legendary narrative that represents part of the beliefs of the people or explains natural phenomena. It does not require empirical proof. The original purpose of myth is to provide meaning. A myth is a narrative rich in ideas, images and phantasies, and it is thus attractive to everybody.⁵²

When thinking about myths and New Zealand, there is a common myth around ANZAC day. Ask the general public and most will tell you that the ANZACs won at Gallipoli. In fact, the opposite happened and, after months of being bogged down, they were evacuated off the peninsula after suffering thousands of casualties.

One of the questions that is often discussed when thinking about national identity is how an individual and their identity can be aroused so that they also assume and take on the identity of the nation. Daniel Katz has distinguished several forces where this occurs. Firstly, he discusses the

⁴⁹ David Miller, *On Nationality*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.22-24.

⁵⁰ Matt Philip, 'Flight of the Kiwis,' 13 February 2013, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/business/unlimited/8273786/Flight-of-the-Kiwis>, (Accessed 3 March 2016).

⁵¹ David Miller, *On Nationality*, p.38.

⁵² Eleni Psarrou, *National Identity in the Era of Globalisation*, p.136.

emotional and behavioural conditioning attached to national symbols. He argues that from an early age there is a socialisation process towards an attachment to symbols of the nation, such as the flag, national anthem and head of state. The second argument that Katz makes surrounds those general aspects of socialisation by which an individual comes to perceive themselves as being of a particular nationality. He associates this with education concerning a shared history, fate and culture, and it is established in contrast to other groups that display different histories and cultures. Thirdly, Katz argues that instrumental involvement in the political structure is also necessary. This involves voting in elections and also an understanding of what would result if one rejects the laws of the national structure that could lead to incarceration and exile.⁵³

When discussing national identity as a concept, one must also look at national prestige. National prestige, according to William Bloom, is: 'the influence that can be an exercise of the impression produced by events and images that devalue or enhance national identity. Thus, an increase in prestige is synonymous with any circumstance that enhances national identity. Conversely, any decrease in prestige is any circumstance that devalues national identity.'⁵⁴ National prestige is a matter of perception and communication, and political leaders will seek to associate themselves with anything that increases national prestige, and one arena where national prestige can be enhanced is on the sports field. In New Zealand, we have seen Prime Ministers associating themselves with sportsmen and sportswomen in an attempt to enhance this. Examples include Prime Minister John Key's visits to the All Blacks' changing room following a test match victory, or Helen Clark, no fan of rugby, nevertheless rushing to attend a test match in 2004.⁵⁵ This will be discussed in more detail in Part Two and Three of this study.

⁵³ Daniel Katz in William Bloom, *Personal Identity, national identity and international relations*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.20.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p.84.

⁵⁵ New Zealand Herald, 'PM's motorcade drivers convicted,' August 19, 2005, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10341544, (Accessed 3 March 2016).

Overall, Anthony D. Smith states that: 'national identity, therefore, remains a most important, if contested, criterion and ideal of political stability. Its importance is, if anything, enhanced by the set of debates around the issues of cultural standardisation. The claim is that globalisation is producing a standardised consumerist culture everywhere as a result of mass communications based on electronic media and information technology.'⁵⁶

International Social Survey Programme: National Identity and National Pride

Austrian Sociologist Max Haller argues that the concept of identity had gained widespread attention in not only political science literature but also in the social sciences generally since the 1970s. The *International Social Survey Program* (ISSP) is one such example. It has conducted studies on national identity in 1995/96 and 2003/04. The study in 1995/96 was carried out in 24 countries while the study in 2003/04 was conducted in 33 nations. Both studies included New Zealand.⁵⁷ The national identity studies included questions on national pride. According to Evans and Kelley: 'national pride involves both admiration and stakeholding – the feeling that one has some share in an achievement or an admirable quality.'⁵⁸ One of the author's arguments is that national attachment is not weakening: 'institutional differentiation among nation-states persists; national boundaries continue to function as key demarcations for economic redistribution and national democratic institutions, are still developing in many post-communist and developing nations.'⁵⁹

The first question in the survey consisted of ten domain-specific measures asking about national pride in areas such as politics, economics, culture

⁵⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.260.

⁵⁷ Max Haller, 'Introduction,' in Max Haller, Roger Jowell and Tom Smith (eds), *The International Social Survey Program 1984-2009: Charting the Globe*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.172.

⁵⁸ M D R Evans and Jonathan Kelley, 'National Pride in the Developed World: Survey Data from 24 Nations,' in *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2004, Vol. 14, No.3, p.303.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.304.

and achievements in sports. The second question was about general pride.⁶⁰ The results of the first question are interesting as it focuses on specific measures, including sport. Overall, the United States ranks first on the domain-specific national pride, with Venezuela a close second. Other countries that ranked highly include New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. Germany and other Eastern European countries ranked the lowest.⁶¹

New Zealand ranked ninth overall in pride, but was ranked second in pride in sport and fourth in pride in scientific achievements. New Zealand ranked much lower on economic pride (fourteenth) and even lower on democracy (nineteenth) and history (twenty-second).⁶² This shows that New Zealanders take much more pride in sporting and scientific achievements compared to other countries. It is surprising that New Zealand ranks so low in pride in democracy and history as New Zealand was the first country to give women the vote.⁶³ However, New Zealand's low ranking in history could be explained because New Zealand is a relatively young country without the long history that European countries have. Also, New Zealand has historical issues relating to land confiscation by the Crown of Maori land during the nineteenth century. The Treaty Settlement Process is ongoing, and perhaps we could see an improvement in 'historical pride' once this process has concluded. Another explanation for the low results would be the lack of civic education that children receive while attending Secondary School. Evans and Kelley argue that: 'sporting successes might be especially important to the sense of nationhood in new countries that lack a rich heritage of common memories, implying a negative association of pride in history and pride in sport.'⁶⁴ This conclusion is certainly apt for New Zealand's results.

⁶⁰ Tom W Smith, 'National Pride in comparative perspective' in Max Haller, Roger Jowell and Tom Smith (eds), *The International Social Survey Program 1984-2009: Charting the Globe*, p.197.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.199.

⁶² Ibid, p.213.

⁶³ Ibid, p.216.

⁶⁴ M D R Evans and Jonathan Kelley, 'National Pride in the Developed World: Survey Data from 24 Nations,' in *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2004, Vol. 14, No.3, p.307.

Fostering a National Identity through Sport

Sports matter. They hold a singular position among leisure time activities and have an unparalleled impact on the everyday lives of billions of people.⁶⁵ Sports and other international competitions are organised along national lines, and because of this, sport reinforces national identity.⁶⁶ Eric Hobsbawm has called sport 'one of the most significant of the newer social practices directed toward nation-building in an age of mass politics.'⁶⁷

Joseph Maguire discusses the significance of sport in society. Maguire outlines two distinct theories of sports' contribution to national identity by Barrie Houlihan and Johan Galtung. Houlihan argues that sport is not part of the core of a person's or a nation's identity and describes it as superficial and ephemeral. In contrast, Galtung argues that sport was and remains a carrier of deep culture and structure and that this culture carries a message. He goes on to argue that sport is one of the most powerful transfer mechanisms for culture and structure ever known to humankind.⁶⁸ Houlihan argues that almost without exception over the past thirty years, in both industrialised and in developing states, governments have increased their funding for sport at a pace greater than that for most other services. Part three of this research will analyse the evolution of government intervention in sport in New Zealand and explain that Houlihan's comments about the increase in sport funding across the world certainly includes New Zealand. Houlihan takes a cynical view of sport and argues that sport is rarely valued for its intrinsic qualities but rather for its capacity to camouflage the problems that a society is facing, and that

⁶⁵ Andrei Markovits and Lars Rensmann, *Gaming the World: How Sports are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), p.1.

⁶⁶ Bhiku Parekh, *A New Politics of Identity: Political Principles for an Interdependent World*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.56.

⁶⁷ Eric Hobsbawm in Barbara Keys, *Globalising Sport: National Rivalry and the International Community in the 1930s*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p.26.

⁶⁸ Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport: Identities, Societies and Civilizations*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p.76.

sport can also be at times a powerful signifier of identity.⁶⁹ Sport provides a number of emotionally charged occasions for citizens to be made aware of and to express their common identity within the nation:

The participation in major sports events as spectators has the element of ritual and emotional appeal capable of sustaining the 'imagined community' of the nation. Following the fortunes of individual athletes, clubs or national teams provides a common reference point within a nationalist context for a large proportion of the population in many countries.⁷⁰

Houlihan states that the nation is not only interested and concerned with the development of a national identity to maintain social cohesion; it is also to differentiate the state from its immediate neighbours and within the wider international political system.⁷¹ Overall it is clear that over the last century sport has become an increasingly important part of government strategies around the world to create a unified, distinctive and independent national identity.

Like many other academics, Houlihan agrees that more and more nations have been giving greater 'prominence to the capacity of sport to promote a sense of national identity and then to project that identity abroad.'⁷² Houlihan argues that this is because of two main factors: first, an increasing awareness and suspicion of cultural globalisation, and second, the dramatic shifts in global politics, especially the ending of the Cold War and the fragmentation of the Soviet Union.⁷³ While these might be two factors that explain this proliferation, those factors are not exhaustive. New Zealand, for instance, has a long history of placing sport at the centre of identity and the New Zealand Government certainly has not cited the end of the Cold War as a reason for an increased focus on sport as a driver of its national identity. Moreover, sport is a way for New Zealanders to showcase themselves to the wider world.

⁶⁹ Barrie Houlihan, 'Sport, national identity and public policy', in *Nations and Nationalism*, 1997: Vol.3, No.1, p.113.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.121.

⁷¹ Ibid, p.125.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

French philosopher Robert Redeker spoke to the Hawkes Bay chapter of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs in July 2006 and talked about the importance of sport in the world today:

It is as if life had been locked into sport: wherever you go, say to a forgotten native village deep in the Amazon jungle, it's just impossible to escape from sports news... We are forced to regard the success of sports as a historical event, really one of tremendous importance, and based on its long lastingness alone, a phenomenon that defines an entire epoch. We are not dealing here with a mere epiphenomenon, or with a mass whim of the day, but a profoundly significant historical development. Possibly, historians in the distant future will be calling our epoch 'The Age of Sports,' just like today we speak of the Enlightenment, the Renaissance or Romanticism. The word sports will then be the name of a historical period. In effect, all the traits of our epoch, as well as those of the consciousness of our times, together with ideologies that underlie it, converge in sports. Sports are not marginal; they are central.⁷⁴

Redeker also argued that sport is the opiate of the modern world and, above all, that sport helps create myths:

Why are we calling it opium, why an illusion? Sports are above all a myth, the myth beyond all myths, which replaces others when they have collapsed... Sports are a total myth because it has eliminated all the others, substituting itself for them... Sport is a myth in which all the representations belonging to the imaginary of modernity, are braided together... In sport sports are political opium, a para-diplomatic theatre where states and their international relations fall victim to the sportive illusion.⁷⁵

There is strong scholarly support for the notion that sport is increasingly an integral and even a defining element of the culture of a community. Houlihan cites anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who argued in 1972 that: 'sport, as a collectively sustained symbolic structure, is a powerful metaphor that reveals the most deep-seated values of a culture.'⁷⁶ All nations are faced with the problem of what Houlihan describes as a paradox when it comes to the management of identity. He states:

⁷⁴ Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, (Albany: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.3.

⁷⁵ Robert Redeker, 'Sport as an opiate of international relations: The myth and illusion of sport as a tool of foreign diplomacy,' in *Sport in Society*, 2008, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp.497-500.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.116.

At the heart of the paradox is the pressure to establish and project a sense of national unity on the world stage, but through means of a limited and increasingly uniform set of strategies, including, for example, the adoption of national anthems and flags, the issuing of national currency, the formation of armed forces, the design of tourism products, membership of major international organisations such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the International Olympic Committee, and participation in major international sports events. It is almost as though the more intense the nationalist fervour in the world, the more identical seem the expressions of this nationalism.⁷⁷

When thinking about the similarity in strategy that nations adopt, Houlihan argues that it is an increasingly common aspiration to a model of political identity based on Western European experience. Houlihan summarises the defining characteristics of the Western model as: firstly, territorialism, by which is meant a commitment to a distinct location rather than genealogy. Secondly, the active participation of the people in the nation, commonly through political party organisations; third, citizenship, which is seen as a bond between the individual and the state which is intended to weaken other bonds, such as to the ethnic group; and finally, civic education, which is designed to impart a sense of common cultural inheritance as well as inculcate dominant political values. Sport certainly contributes to this in regard to territorialism as it is national teams, after all, who participate in competitions and are the embodiment of the territorial basis of the nation. People are citizens of that nation and can vote in democratically held elections for political parties who offer policies on sport.⁷⁸

Academics Neil Blain, Raymond Boyle and Hugh O'Donnell discuss the role that the media has on national identity and argue that: 'due in part to the universality of sporting activity, sport has been an important cultural arena through which collective identities have been articulated.'⁷⁹ Like other academics, they go on to argue that organised sport has been viewed by governments of all political persuasions as an important space

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.120.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Neil Blain, Raymond Boyle and Hugh O'Donnell, *Sport and National Identity in the European Media*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), p.12.

in the forging of national character, with the project often serving specific political ends. An interesting example of linkages of political discourse with sport occurred in Brazil with football in 1992 when Brazilian President Fernando Collor commented that: 'the country's economic, social and political problems went hand in hand with the national football team's crisis. If our football is doing well, the country will do well.'⁸⁰

Politicians of all political stripes have at one time, or another talked about sport's place in society. For instance, former British Prime Minister John Major commented in 1995:

Sport is a central part of Britain's national heritage and identity. We invented the majority of the world's great sports. And most of those we did not invent, we codified and helped to popularise throughout the world. It could be argued that nineteenth-century Britain was the cradle of a leisure revolution every bit as significant as the agricultural and industrial revolutions we launched in the century before. Sport is a binding force between generations and across borders. But by a miraculous paradox, it is at the same time one of the defining characteristics of nationhood and of local pride. We should cherish it for both those reasons.⁸¹

Perhaps the best way to sum up sport's importance to fostering a national identity was uttered by James Mangan in 1999:

Sport is now a mirror in which nations, men and women and social classes see themselves. The image is sometimes bright, sometimes dark, sometimes distorted, sometimes magnified. This metaphorical mirror is a source of exhilaration and depression, security and insecurity, pride and humiliation, association and disassociation. As sport has grown to a gargantuan size, progressively replacing religion in its power to excite passion, provide emotional escape, offer fraternal (and increasingly sororital) bonding, it has come to loom larger in the lives of Europeans and others. The force of its appeal surprises only the ignorant, yet its appeal is astounding. Nations are sustained through economic recessions, political disasters and identity crises by triumphant athletes who symbolise national virtues. Sport encompasses so many dimensions of experience involving politics, gender and class, that this is a resonant moment, as sport seduces the modern world, for

⁸⁰ Ibid, p.14.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.199.

cultural historians and other academics they consider the evolution of one of the most significant human experiences of the late 20th century.⁸²

While it is clear that sport is an important contributor to a nation's identity, Jay Coakley argues that sport does not change the political or economic realities people are facing:

National and local identities are political in that they can be constructed around many different ideas about who or what the nation or what the community is. Of course, these ideas can vary widely between particular categories of people. Furthermore, neither the identity nor the emotional unity created by sports changes the social, political, and economic realities of life. When games end, people go their separate ways. Old social distinctions become relevant again. Moreover, the people who were disadvantaged before the game or tournament remain disadvantaged after it.⁸³

This is particularly important when analysing how the Olympic Games has contributed to New Zealand's national identity. The Olympic Games only occur once every four years which makes the challenge even more difficult for the New Zealand Olympic Committee to keep the Olympic Movement in the minds of the general public. This is in contrast to the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) who do not face the same issues. Rugby is the dominant sport in the New Zealand media for at least ten months per year.

Allan Bairner argues that sport and national identity are inextricably linked:

Global forces have affected the nature of their relationship to varying degrees from one place to the next. But through sport, nationalism and nationalities have successfully resisted globalisation. It looks as if national flags will be on show at sports stadia throughout the world for a very long time to come. Sport cannot win territory or destroy an opposing ideology or religion which the nation seeks to demonise. The fact is that throughout the 20th-century sport has been one of the most valuable weapons at the disposal of nationalists, whatever their situation and respective aspirations. Sport will play a part in allowing nations to resist global homogenization."⁸⁴

⁸² J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), Prologue, p. vii.

⁸³ Jay Coakley, *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2015), p.437.

⁸⁴ Allan Bairner, *Sport, nationalism and globalisation: European and North American perspectives*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), p.177.

National identity is the most marketable product in sport, and without it, it is argued, public interest and thus advertising and funding of sports would be endangered. It is not only 'states that have an interest in Olympic sport. Conversely, officials and associations of the latter use national identity and the medal table to raise attention and to legitimise subsidies by the state.'⁸⁵

Tony Collins discusses the role of sport in nation building and argues that it was and is the ideal cultural medium for nation building:

It was binary, simple and universal. Binary, in that it emphasised us versus them. Simple, in that it required no specialised cultural knowledge to grasp the concept of local and national team loyalties. And universal in that it could not only unite all classes behind a team or athletes but also because it offered personal involvement in the national sporting project as a participant or a spectator. In the pyramid of sport, everyone could be a member of the national team. This was not an 'imagined' nation: the eleven footballers wearing the national shirt or the athlete competing in the Olympics were merely the focal point of a national culture and structures that reached down to every member of society, part of conscious attempts to unify the nation in opposition to competing ethnic, religious and, class affiliations.⁸⁶

Amitava Chatterjee argues that national identity can be 'powerfully felt as sport provides a vehicle for the articulation and often public demonstration of national identity and nationalist sentiments. It can also be garnered for political purposes, sport providing a means for the expression of national pride on an integral stage.'⁸⁷

Martin Polley probably encapsulated the idea of sport and identity better than most when he stated:

The idea that representative sport acts as a public location for national identity is one with a long history and a powerful present. The nation has been formally enshrined in sport, through the widespread use of flags and anthems in ceremonial aspects, and through the widespread use of national colours in sports

⁸⁵ Jan Haut, Robert Prohl and Eike Emrich, 'Nothing but medals? Attitudes towards the importance of Olympic success,' in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2014, Vol. 1, No. 17, p.4.

⁸⁶ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), p.24.

⁸⁷ Amitava Chatterjee, *People at Play: Sport, Culture and Nationalism*, (Kolkata: Setu Prakashan, 2013), p.xiv.

clothes. A national team can, in media and popular discourse, take on the guise of the nation itself.⁸⁸

Tony Collins discusses sport in British society and its colonies, arguing that 'the ideological amplification of sport went much further than the exigencies of everyday politics. Its growing identification with the British national identity and character led sport's advocates to claim a deeper and more fundamental relationship between Britain and sport.'⁸⁹ However, it was not just in Britain where the role of sport and national identity was evident. Collins uses Italy and the Giro d'Italia cycle race as an example: 'in Italy, which had been politically but not culturally unified by the Risorgimento, the Giro d'Italia cycle race replicated the commercial origins and national aims, if not the international prestige, of the Tour de France. *Far conoscere l'Italia agli Italiani* (make Italy known to the Italians) was the slogan of the Italian Cycling Touring Club, the nation's mass participation cycling association.'⁹⁰ During the late 19th century sport was also important not only for the thrill and excitement that a sporting contest offered but also it was a respite from the 'incessant drudgery of the factory or the office. The sports ground was an arena largely free from the restrictions of working life.'⁹¹

Mike Cronin and David Mayall argue that, in its mature form, a national identity can permit the blurring of differences and serve to unite multi-ethnic people behind a single national ideal, as is encapsulated in the notion of the American Dream.⁹² They argue that sport has been used historically and today to symbolise the process and success of the nation: 'sport cannot win territory or destroy an opposing ideology or religion which the nation seeks to demonise. It can only support the construction of a nation what has been imagined.'⁹³

⁸⁸ Martin Polley, *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society since 1945*, p.35.

⁸⁹ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), p.24.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.55.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.54.

⁹² Mike Cronin and David Mayall, *Sporting Nationalisms – identity, ethnicity, immigration, and assimilation*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), p.3.

⁹³ Ibid, p.2.

National Identity still exists in a globalising world and, as Tim Edensor argues, the nation remains today the pre-eminent entity around which identity is shaped.⁹⁴ Edensor uses the Olympic Games as an example to discuss globalisation: 'In contemporary times, many of the large-scale commemorations that celebrate national identity are increasingly being performed on a global stage. Large sporting exhibitions such as the Olympic Games provide an opportunity for national staging in the Olympic Games.'⁹⁵ Today participation in the Olympic Games and other major international sporting competitions are a necessary marker of nationhood. The Olympic Games are followed with passion and interest by much of the world's population. Barbara Keys argues that the widespread popularity of sport and the Olympic Games has made it a potent political tool, used by governments domestically to promote national identity, public health and social values and in diplomacy to support foreign policy goals. Keys goes on to state that, 'by indirectly representing national power, sports competitions were intended to demonstrate a nation's value as an ally and mettle as a foe.'⁹⁶

In relation to the Olympic Games, Keys argues that by the late twentieth century, participation in international sports competitions like them had become a necessary marker of nationhood and a standard means of representing national identity to both domestic and foreign audiences. Keys went on to argue: 'Almost everywhere in the twentieth-century sports became an important way to instil a sense of belonging to a nation, to solidify loyalty, to create a bond of attachment to an abstract identity. This occurred at the same time when participation in international sports competitions became a statement of membership in a community of nations.'⁹⁷ Following World War II, it became increasingly important for the superpowers to win more medals at the Olympic Games than their rivals. Sport with its readily quantifiable results and medal tables proved

⁹⁴ Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, (New York: Berg, 2002), p.VI.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p.76.

⁹⁶ Barbara Keys, *Globalising Sport: National Rivalry and the International Community in the 1930s*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p.7.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.17.

especially hospitable for the new currents of competition in the emerging international system based on national representation.⁹⁸

Globalisation is an interesting concept when analysing national identity and there are two schools of thought concerning it. The first argues that the nation-state is not only under threat from the processes of globalisation, but we may indeed be seeing the decline of the modern nation-state.⁹⁹ The other is that globalisation has resulted in the nation increasing in importance as a collective source of identity that is simply being re-shaped and continues to be a powerful entity and will continue to be a powerful entity for decades to come.¹⁰⁰

The virtuous cycle of sport

Jonathan Grix argues that sport is no longer a frivolous pastime and that it is a key resource used by governments throughout the world for a wide variety of reasons, most of them with little to do with sport. Grix goes on to argue that government interest in sports policy has led to growing funding for all levels of sport. Grix makes the observation that, interestingly, government investment often follows poor national performances, usually at the Olympic Games.¹⁰¹ This has certainly been the case for the Canadian, French, Australian and United Kingdom governments in recent years and, as part two and three of this research will explain, the same happened here in New Zealand. When thinking about the government rationale for investing in sport, Van Bottenburg has developed a unique model called *The Virtuous Cycle of Sport*. The cycle as shown below in Figure 1.1 clearly and succinctly articulates and describes the rationale of why governments from across the world choose to invest in sport.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Alastair John and Steve Jackson, 'Call me loyal: Globalization, corporate nationalism and the America's Cup,' in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, December 2010, Vol. 1, No. 19, p.2.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Jonathan Grix, *Sport Politics: An Introduction*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp.17-19.

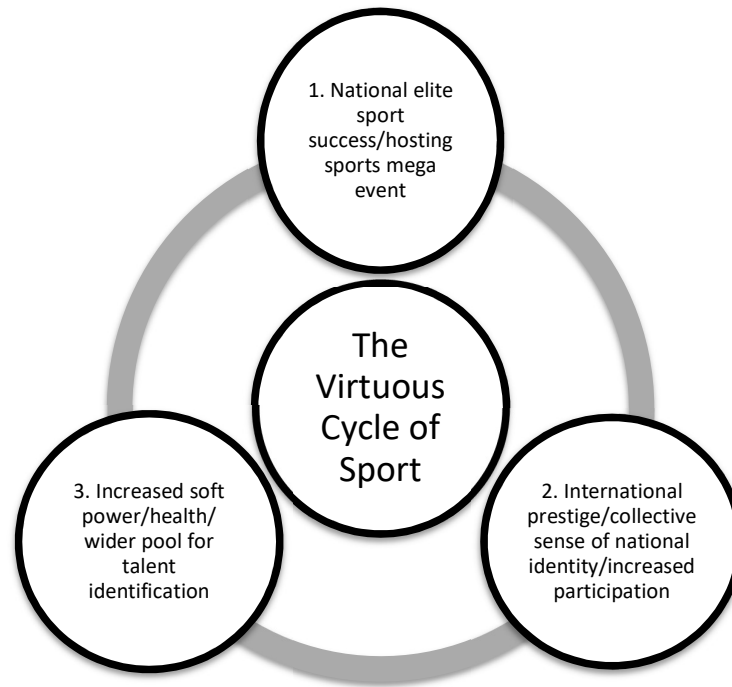


Figure 1.1: The 'virtuous cycle' of sport¹⁰²

As can be seen from the model above, national identity forms an important link in the cycle. The cycle argues that when a nation experiences elite sporting success or hosts a major sporting event, this can and does lead to greater prestige on the international stage which in itself contributes to a collective sense of national identity. This leads to increased participation in sport and (governments argue) leads to a healthier society. Finally, more people involved in sport, Bottenburg argues, creates a wider pool of sportsmen and women who can compete on the international stage. Following this, the cycle begins again as this creates winners on the world stage.¹⁰³ This cycle is accurate when thinking about New Zealand rowing over the past 20 years, after winning a single gold medal at the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. Today New Zealand is arguably the strongest rowing nation in the world. New Zealand hosted the 2010 Rowing World Championships and receives the biggest share of government funding.

¹⁰² Ibid, p.103.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.103.

Sport and identity in New Zealand – rugby, racing and beer

When considering the concept of national identity and what it means to New Zealanders, comments like *punching above our weight*, *Kiwi Ingenuity* and *Independent Foreign Policy* will be uttered. Moreover, when you talk to New Zealanders about what is an important aspect of being a New Zealander, many of those same people will talk about rugby as a cornerstone of our identity. However, they will also talk about other sporting events as being just as important to New Zealanders. For instance, many will mention when Black Magic won the America's Cup off San Diego in 1995 as an important milestone. Sport for over a century has been an important part of New Zealanders' lives. From backyard cricket games during the summer evenings to waking in the middle of the night to watch the All Blacks playing on the other side of the world, New Zealanders have played and watched sport.

Bob Gidlow, Harvey Perkins, Grant Cushman and Clare Simpson argue that the dominance of sport in New Zealand society is easy to understand. This is due in part to the international successes of New Zealand sportsmen and sportswomen who helped give New Zealand a worldwide identity and exposure as a sporting nation. Overall, they argue that New Zealand's sporting prowess 'epitomised by the silver fern on the All Blacks jersey has undoubtedly been a major source of national identity and pride in the young country which has lacked more conventional measures of worldly importance.'¹⁰⁴

Sport plays a key role in being able to disseminate messages to a wide group of people: 'only sports have the nation, and sometimes the world, watching the same thing at the same time, and if you have a message, that's a potent messenger.'¹⁰⁵ Steven Jackson describes New Zealanders' perception of sport as being a great little sporting nation. This is in large

¹⁰⁴ Bob Gidlow, Harvey Perkins, Grant Cushman and Clare Simpson, 'Leisure and Recreation,' in Paul Spoonley, David Pearson and Ian Shirley, *New Zealand Society: A Sociological Introduction*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), p.261.

¹⁰⁵ Steven J. Jackson, 'Reading New Zealand within the New Global Order: Sport and the Visualisation of National Identity, in *International Sports Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Summer 2004, p.16.

part due to its comparatively strong performances on the sporting fields against much larger countries. The media often report the phrase 'not bad for a country of four million people'.¹⁰⁶

Erik Nielsen's 2014 book *Sport and the British World, 1900-1930 – Amateurism and National Identity in Australasia and Beyond* is also important as it focusses on the imperial influence on the development of New Zealand's identity. Nielsen argues:

Australasians questioned their British counterparts, and New Zealand saw itself as different to Australia, and a growing sense of nationalism did not provide an impetus for separation [from Britain]. Instead, these communities remained tied to wider networks that eventually, did produce separate identities.¹⁰⁷

This is also echoed by historian James Belich who made the point that Britain's Dominions (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa) were constituted as neo-Britains, and applied recolonisation as a theory which brought about a "tightening of bonds between New Zealand and the British metropolis in the late 19th and early 20th century."¹⁰⁸

When thinking about New Zealand's relationship with Britain, Greg Ryan makes a pertinent point about imperialism and nationalism when New Zealand hosted the 1950 Empire Games in Auckland following WWII:

But an examination of preparations for and reactions to these Games reveals other turning points. Foremost among them was the shift from Empire to Commonwealth in the wake of rapid decolonisation. As some embraced independence, other, and especially New Zealand as the most conservative and loyal of the white dominions, were reticent about change and took every opportunity to stress traditional links to Mother Country and the imperial 'family' as a counterpoint to what they perceived as aggressive internationalism.¹⁰⁹

While the Games were an important opportunity for New Zealand to showcase 'its confident self-image as a rural paradise of efficient primary

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.17.

¹⁰⁷ James Belich in Erik Nielsen, *Sport and the British World 1900-1930: Amateurism and National Identity in Australia and Beyond*, (London: Palgrave, 2014), pp.20-21.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p.17.

¹⁰⁹ Greg Ryan, 'The Turning Point: The 1950 British Empire Games as an Imperial Spectacle', *Sport In History*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 2014, p.412.

production,' it was still an opportunity to show loyalty to the Mother Country.¹¹⁰ Ryan argues that the 1950 Games 'ended as they had started – drenched in imperial sentiment as New Zealanders reserved their loudest and longest applause at the closing ceremony for the British teams.¹¹¹ Ryan also argues that the wider relationship with Britain from the mid-nineteenth century onwards is best 'seen as overlapping strands of imperialism, assertive colonialism and emergent nationalism.'¹¹² New Zealand was content to remain part of the imperial family through to 1947 when New Zealand became the last of the Dominions to adopt the Statute of Westminster. In August 1930, New Zealand Prime Minister George Forbes stated this connection clearly:

We value very highly our continued association with the Mother Country; and it is our wish to maintain this association as close and as intimate as possible, both politically and economically. We have no complaints and no demands and we shall enter this Conference with the utmost spirit of goodwill to the Mother Country and to our sister dominions.¹¹³

This economic dependence on the Mother Country would continue through to the early 1970's. Historian Charlotte Macdonald argues that the imperial world, from which New Zealand belonged, 'has continued to cast a long shadow on what is often heralded as the defining part of our national culture.'¹¹⁴ Sport is strongly defined within an imperial setting in New Zealand. For example, in sports where New Zealand excels in like cricket, rugby, netball, rowing and sailing, New Zealand's main opponents tend to come from fellow Commonwealth nations.¹¹⁵

Former chairperson of the Government-funded Hillary Commission and organiser of the 1974 Christchurch Commonwealth Games, Sir Ronald Scott commented:

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.426.

¹¹² Ibid, 412.

¹¹³ Ibid, p.413.

¹¹⁴ Charlotte Macdonald, 'Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History,' in Giselle Byrnes (ed), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.296.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

We are an assertive, confident people. We believe we can take on bigger nations and succeed. A lot of that feeling emanates from our sporting successes. Sport isn't everything in the life of a nation, but in New Zealand, it has played a bigger than average part over the years.¹¹⁶

In New Zealand, identity is often derived from sport. Sport impacts and has impacted the social community in New Zealand for generations. Margot Edwards argues that 'we are shaped by social forces and social interactions and, as some sports sociologists suggest, by pride in our own or our nation's sporting achievements.'¹¹⁷ Beliefs about the links between sport and the formation of New Zealand identity have been highlighted by many politicians in New Zealand history. One example of this is by the former Minister of Sport and Recreation, the Hon. Trevor Mallard, in 2006 when he stated that:

Sport plays a big role in our national identity – it brings out team spirit, boosts national pride and unites the entire country in celebration. Through our sporting success on the world stage, we showcase our dedication to excellence, our desire to fulfil our potential, and our ability to triumph against the odds.¹¹⁸

Mallard is not the only government minister to talk about the link between identity and sport, but has perhaps been the most active and vocal.

Scott Crawford from the Eastern Illinois University argues that the search for a New Zealand identity was 'unquestionably given momentum by the opportunities of participating against Australian and English touring sides and, later on, in being able actually to beat the motherland.'¹¹⁹ Moreover, by 1914, New Zealand national sporting sides had played 123 test matches against overseas teams and had only lost seven games.¹²⁰ This is a remarkable record for a small country of around one million people at

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.19.

¹¹⁷ Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand,' in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, (Albany: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.170.

¹¹⁸ Trevor Mallard, 'Raising the Bar – improving sport governance,' 12 October 2006, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/raising-bar-improving-sport-governance>, (Accessed January 1 2016).

¹¹⁹ Scott Crawford, 'Rugby and the Forging of National Identity,' in John Nauright (eds), *Sport, Power and Society in New Zealand: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ASSH Studies in Sports History, January 1999, p.7.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

the time. This is where support for the idea that *New Zealand punches above its weight* emanates from.

When analysing government reports on sports policy, what becomes clear is the focus and interest the government has placed for at least the last thirty years on sport's contribution to New Zealand's identity. For example, in 1984, the then Minister of Recreation and Sport Mike Moore commissioned an Inquiry on Sports Development in New Zealand. The report titled *Sport on the Move* found:

Sporting activities have a special pride of place within the cultural life of modern society. At both local and national levels, sport has the capability to mould a sense of community among sports players, sports enthusiasts and spectators. Over many years New Zealand's sporting successes at international level have been numerous to the point where a glory-sharing public expects them as of right. Historians may one day attribute to sport at least a little of the credit for the emergence of a sense of identity and national self-esteem. Sport certainly has also played an important part in the projection of a national identity of a number of other young nations – Australia, East Germany, Kenya, South Africa, Canada, Cuba, India, Pakistan and Ethiopia.¹²¹

This focus is backed up by a 1969 book edited by John Forster titled *Social Process in New Zealand*. An entire chapter is devoted to the link between sports and politics in New Zealand. The chapter is written by Richard Thompson, and he argues that sport has an honoured place in the New Zealand pattern of living: 'the amount of time and money invested by the community in sport, the amount of money gambled each year in association with sport, and the amount of space in the daily newspapers devoted to sport testifies to its importance both in New Zealand and abroad.'¹²² Thompson also talks about the role of sport in the wider society:

In sport, especially competitive sport, the individual tends to be identified with some groups. The national representative is not merely a swimmer or athlete or rugby player, but an ambassador for his country. The sense of identification is not

¹²¹ Sports Development Inquiry Committee, *Sport on the Move*, (Wellington: Ministry of Recreation and Sport, 1984), p.126.

¹²² Richard Thompson, 'Sport and Politics,' in John Forster, *'Social Process in New Zealand'*, (Auckland, Longman Paul Limited, 1969), p.272

limited simply to the sportsmen; it is shared to some extent by those who are spectators or who share a common membership in some club, race, or nation. At the time of Peter Snell's success at the Tokyo Olympic Games, there were many reported statements to support the editorial assertion that, 'all New Zealanders have shared vicariously in the prestige he has gained.' The capacity of sport to create and foster a sense of identity is extremely significant. Sport has certain characteristics which perhaps impel it more readily than other human activities towards an association with politics. Success in international sport is now widely recognised as politically important. Failure is taken to reflect unfavourably upon the way of life of the participant's country.¹²³

Part Three of this research will discuss the role of government intervention in sport in New Zealand in greater detail. Perhaps one of the definitive publications on the forging of New Zealand's national identity has been written by Ron Palenski. Palenski, who traces the evolution of the country's national identity, argues that New Zealand's identity was established earlier than historians and political scientists have previously thought and that by the turn of the twentieth century the sense of national identity had become well established in the minds of all New Zealanders. There was not one single event that forged this identity, no 'eureka moment' as Palenski states.¹²⁴ Palenski cites several events that contributed to the sense that New Zealand was different and unique. Those events included the Abolition of Provincial Government in 1876 and New Zealand becoming the first country in the world to give women the vote in 1893.¹²⁵ Palenski also cites the Seddon Government that reigned from 1893 to 1906 as being an important catalyst for the advancement of a unique national identity. Seddon enacted a range of social legislation that was seen as 'daring and groundbreaking and eventually imitated in one form or another by other countries. New Zealand was thus moulding its image as a distinct and enlightened nation neither dependent on nor obsequious to the Imperial Government in London.'¹²⁶ The Seddon Government should take credit for instilling in the minds of New Zealanders the notion of being world leaders and being the first in the

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012), pp.2-4.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.7.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

world, which is something that is often cited by politicians and the media today as part of New Zealand's identity.

The decision by the Government led by Richard Seddon not to join the Australian Federation in 1901 was also another important marker in the evolution of New Zealand's identity. New Zealand participated as a member of the Federal Council of Australasia from 1885 and fully involved itself among the other self-governing colonies in the 1890 conference and 1891 Convention leading up to Federation of Australia. Ultimately it declined to accept the invitation to join the Commonwealth of Australia which formed in 1901, remaining as a self-governing colony until becoming the Dominion of New Zealand in 1907. Palenski argues that had New Zealand joined the Australian Federation in 1901; then there would have been no such thing as a New Zealand national identity.¹²⁷

When thinking about New Zealand's projection of its external identity, it was the Boer War and the 1905-06 All Blacks tour of the United Kingdom that are cited as important milestones. Palenski argues that the All Blacks today are held up as a critical contributor to national identity and cites academic Matti Goksoyr:

Sports were a means to call attention and respect to the existence of a small nation, to establish the small nation's place in the consciousness of the big world.¹²⁸

When thinking about sport in New Zealand, one immediately thinks about the silver fern. The silver fern first appeared as a national sporting emblem on a privately organised rugby tour to New South Wales in 1884 and again on the black jersey of the Native Team who toured Australia and the British Isles in 1888 and 1889. New Zealand's tour of the United Kingdom in 1905-06 has become a defining element in New Zealand's identity development. Even in 1905, politics and politicians had an enormous interest in the fortunes of the All Blacks. For instance, Prime Minister Richard Seddon was labelled the Minister of Football after the

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.8.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.10.

press had revealed he had match reports cabled out as government messages.¹²⁹ New Zealand historians tend to agree that the 1905 tour is one of the defining moments in New Zealand rugby and also in New Zealand's wider history.¹³⁰ Palenski stated:

The role of sport in shaping national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has been frequently debated by historians and writers. Sport, as with other facets of life, was layered: there was the suburban bonding as manifested in club competitions; provincial loyalty through national sport; and national identity through the following of the endeavours of New Zealanders testing their skills against competitors from other countries.¹³¹

Palenski argued that Governments in New Zealand have used the growth and popularity of sport for their own purposes, but in New Zealand, at least in the early years, politicians followed sport rather than led it.¹³² As Scott Crawford wrote of the 1860s:

For New Zealanders, the image of themselves as belonging to a country devoted to sport has been an important foundation for the development of national identity.¹³³

Palenski also wrote that, alongside the attachment to sport was the gradual adoption of symbols and colours that have also become significant markers of identity. That included the silver fern and black for New Zealand and the Kangaroo of Australia with the colours green and gold.¹³⁴ Prudence Stone takes a different look at national identity. Her focus is on the colour black that has become a focal point of New Zealand's identity. She argues that rugby contributes significantly in establishing New Zealand's distinction internationally, but black

¹²⁹ John Nauright and David Black, 'New Zealand and International Sport: The Case of All Black – Springbok Rugby, Sanctions and Protest against Apartheid 1959-1992,' in John Nauright (eds), *Sport, Power and Society in New Zealand: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ASSH Studies in Sports History, January 1999, p.8.

¹³⁰ Ron Palenski, 'The Making of New Zealanders,' p.273

¹³¹ Ibid, p.243.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Scott Crawford, 'Rugby and the Forging of National Identity,' in John Nauright (eds), *Sport, Power and Society in New Zealand: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ASSH Studies in Sports History, January 1999, p.8.

¹³⁴ Ron Palenski, 'The Making of New Zealanders,' p.243

accompanies this establishment.¹³⁵ Today the world over, many people associate the colour black with New Zealand and its sporting teams. Just look at any crowd in a stadium where New Zealand is competing and supporters are wearing black and the silver fern.

Jock Phillips's 1987 book *A Man's Country* is one of the first studies of New Zealand's identity. Phillips argues that war and rugby were two of the key elements in defining New Zealand Pakeha males. From the beginning of the All Blacks 1905 tour of Great Britain, Prime Minister Richard Seddon co-operated in transmitting the results of the All Blacks to the rest of New Zealand. Phillips remarked that 'nothing illustrates better both the popularity of the All Blacks nor the extent to which rugby had become a defining element of national consciousness than the New Zealand Government's increasing involvement in the event.'¹³⁶ During the tour, the New Zealand Government began to place advertisements for immigrants in the local herald

paper on the day of the match, and Agent-General Pember Reeves began to follow the tour, sending official cables back to Seddon in Wellington for transmission.¹³⁷

The 1950s and 1960s cemented the idea that New Zealanders punched above their weight on the world stage when beekeeper Edmund Hillary from Auckland became the first person alongside Sherpa Tenzing Norgay to climb Mt Everest, the world's highest peak, on May 29, 1953. Jock Phillips stated that 'when the news broke on the eve of the new Queen's coronation, no finer symbol of New Zealand's contribution to the Commonwealth could have been found. Hillary was the perfect expression of New Zealand's superior Anglo-Saxon manhood.'¹³⁸ This idea continued into the 1960s, as Part Two of this thesis will explain, with the golden hour in Rome, when Murray Halberg and Peter Snell both won gold in the space of an hour in the 5000m and the 800m.

¹³⁵ Prudence Stone, *Black*, (Beijing: Everbest Printing Company China, 2013), p.26.

¹³⁶ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987), p.110.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p.264.

Returning to the All Blacks 1905 tour of the United Kingdom, Scott Crawford makes an interesting assertion:

In nineteenth century New Zealand, cultural forms of expression such as music, art, drama and literature failed to produce an international figure that may have helped in the development of a national feeling of identity. Rugby, as a dramatic form in colonial New Zealand, offered opportunities for people to play a significant part, and to communicate common experiences and shared meanings.¹³⁹

Many academics have argued that, taken on its own and in isolation, sport may just have a fleeting importance that dies away soon after the event concludes. However, in the context of how New Zealanders think about themselves, about what they regard as essential to their collective makeup and their collective culture, sport certainly is a building block of national identity.¹⁴⁰ Overall, Palenski argues that the role of the Boer War, the 1905-06 rugby tour of the United Kingdom, Dominion Status in 1907, and New Zealand's role at Gallipoli 'all affirmed rather than established New Zealand's identity.'¹⁴¹ Palenski takes the view that New Zealand's identity evolved gradually almost from the arrival of the first European colonisers. Those landmark events are commonly credited with forging a national identity and were significant in New Zealand, and their role should not be downplayed. However, Palenski argues that those key events simply gave New Zealand a platform in which for the first time the wider world took notice of New Zealand. Moreover, what the world saw was a country that was both different and distinctive to the mother country.¹⁴²

Trevor Richards argues that victory in war and victory in sport would seem to have at least two things in common; both generate powerful emotions, and both speak with a similar tumultuous voice: 'while for a long time sport was not considered to be a subject worthy of serious academic investigation, over the past ten years increasing attention has been paid

¹³⁹ Scott Crawford, 'Rugby and the Forging of National Identity,' in John Nauright (eds), *Sport, Power and Society in New Zealand: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ASSH Studies in Sports History, January 1999, p.8.

¹⁴⁰ Ron Palenski, *The Making of New Zealanders*, p.11.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p.312.

¹⁴² Ibid.

to the role and significance of sport in society. The surprising thing is not that this is happening, but that it has taken so long.¹⁴³ Richards argues that between 1960 and 1981 two things happened which helped to change the face of New Zealand politics: race became a major issue, both domestically and internationally, and the post-war generation grew up, demanding change and insisting that it had to be involved.¹⁴⁴ Overall, Richards argued:

For more than 100 years, New Zealanders' attitudes towards sport have been shaped by its ability to distract, its perceived purity, its close association with the growth of New Zealand nationalism, and its capacity to act as a vehicle for frontier values. Sport is popular because of its powerful capacity to distract. Personal problems and national difficulties can be set aside and consumed by the game. Marx saw religion as the opiate of the people. In many societies, including New Zealand, sport has become the twentieth-century equivalent. Built up by school, club, provincial and national rivalries, the country's major sporting codes have developed loyal, lifelong adherents with strong passions. Half the country regards themselves as experts, more get involved, most have an opinion.¹⁴⁵

However, during the 1970s New Zealand parliamentarians were still arguing that the Government was powerless to intervene in sports bodies:

In 1970 Mr R L G Talbot, a government member of the Parliamentary Petitions Committee, stated that New Zealand sporting bodies were completely autonomous and that Government was powerless to intervene in the decisions of sporting bodies. Both as a slogan, and as a belief, 'Keep Politics out of Sport' ruled. It was a meaningless phrase, but that did nothing to detract from its appeal. As a slogan, it struck powerful chords. Sports purity had been a major source of its attractiveness. In the New Zealand context, it has been not so much a case of 'motherhood and apple pie' as 'motherhood and sport'.¹⁴⁶

Finally, alongside the notions of New Zealand punching above its weight on the sporting field, New Zealanders hold similar notions of standing up to the world through an independent foreign policy. The concept of an

¹⁴³ Trevor Richards, 'New Zealanders attitudes to sport as illustrated by the debate over rugby contacts with South Africa,' in Brad Patterson (eds), *Sport, Society and Culture in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Dunmore Press, 1999), p.39.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p.40.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p.41.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

independent foreign policy was solidified in the 1980s with the breakdown of the defence relationship with the United States and Australia known as ANZUS. The breakdown occurred over New Zealand becoming nuclear-free under the Fourth Labour Government. This has solidified New Zealand's place in the world as an independent actor and, as Part Two of this thesis will explain, has benefited New Zealand's role in the Olympic Movement. Part Three of this thesis will examine the increasingly interventionist role that the New Zealand government has played in sport policy in New Zealand, especially in the past thirty years.

Chapter Three: Nationalism – A theoretical overview

Sport and Nationalism are arguably two of the most emotive issues in the world today. Nationalism has been widely recognised as a political doctrine since the mid-nineteenth century, and in many respects nationalism has developed into one of the most fruitful and compelling of political creeds, helping to shape and reshape history in many parts of the world for over two hundred years.¹⁴⁷ This chapter will analyse nationalism as a political ideology, look at nationalism today in the western world and provide an overview of sporting nationalism.

Nationalism as a political ideology

Anthony D. Smith, a pre-eminent scholar of nationalism, distinguishes the key differences between national identity and nationalism. He argues that nationalism is a doctrine that makes the nation the object of every political endeavour and national identity is the measure of every human value. Smith argues that, since the French Revolution, the whole idea of a single humanity has been challenged.¹⁴⁸ In a 2013 interview, Smith provided a lengthy outline of the theory of nationalism. In summary, Smith argues that nationalism has many meanings, and it is his belief that nationalism should be confined to an ideology. Nationalists believe that the primary division of the world is centered on nation-states. Smith states: 'According to this view, each nation has its own character, its own history, its own destiny, and loyalty to the nation is the supreme loyalty that overrides all over loyalties.'¹⁴⁹ Smith also focuses on the fact that a nationalist is content and satisfied when belonging to a nation-state and would feel out of place if removed from that same nation-state. Fundamentally, nationalists argue that world peace and justice for all can best be achieved when there is a world of nations.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.155.

¹⁴⁸ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, (London: Penguin, 1991), p.18.

¹⁴⁹ E-International Relations, *Interview – Anthony D. Smith*, September 3 2013, <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/03/interview-anthony-d-smith/>, (Accessed 5 January 2015).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

The nation occupies a single status in modern politics which defines a set territory where a government is able to pass laws and protects the citizens of that nation-state.¹⁵¹ At its basic level, nationalism is understood as a political movement which seeks to achieve and maintain national independence. During the twentieth century nationalism has been a platform on which the colonised peoples of much of Africa, Asia and the Middle East rose up with the goal to push for independence from colonial masters. The idea of political independence motivated the people to plunge themselves into at times mighty struggles for national independence.¹⁵² Moreover, one way of showing this independence to the world has been on the sports field.

Ranjoo Seoudu Herr argues that there is a positive and a negative side to nationalism. On the one hand nationalism can manifest itself with sometimes extreme outcomes which include exclusion, xenophobia, fanaticism, expansionism, aggression, ethnic cleansing and endless bloodshed. On the other hand, there is a more positive side to nationalism: community, national sovereignty, independence, self-determination, pluralism.¹⁵³ Alan Finlayson has a different view and argues that nationalism is in fact not a political ideology. He argues that nationalism is just the clustering of various attitudes. He further argues that, because of this clustering, nationalist movements are often devoid of wider ideological components which might include Marxism and Fascism, as well as Liberal and Conservative strands. Ultimately Finlayson argues that nationalism is just a means that is used by those ideologies that are stated above.¹⁵⁴

When thinking about what constitutes a nation, Anthony D. Smith argues that nations and ethnicities have the following attributes:

1. An identifying name or emblem;

¹⁵¹ Alan Finlayson, 'Ideology, discourse and nationalism,' in *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1998, p.101.

¹⁵² Ranjoo Seoudu Herr, 'In Defense of Nonliberal Nationalism,' in *Political Theory*, Vol. 34, No. 3, June 2006, p.304.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p.307.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

2. A myth of common ancestry;
3. Shared historical memories or traditions;
4. One or more elements of common culture;
5. A link with an historical territory or homeland; and
6. A measure of solidarity, at least among the elites.¹⁵⁵

Anthony D. Smith also argues that the ideal type of nation includes the following:

1. The growth of myths and memories of common ancestry and a history of the cultural unit of population;
2. The formation of a shared public culture based on an indigenous resource (for example language and religion);
3. The delimitation of a compact historical territory or homeland;
4. The unification of local economic units into a single socio-economic unit based on the single culture and homeland;
5. The growth of common codes and institutions of a single legal order, with common rights and duties for all members.¹⁵⁶

Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner argue that the nation is not only recent, but it is also novel, a product of the process of modernisation. They regard the era of the French Revolution as marking the moment when nationalism was introduced into the movement of world history. They argue that nations and nationalism are a purely modern phenomenon, without roots in the past.¹⁵⁷ John Breuilly argues that the term nationalism is used to refer to political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments. A nationalist argument is a political doctrine built upon three basic assertions:

- There exists a nation with an explicit and peculiar character;
- The interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values; and

¹⁵⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, p.13.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p.104.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p.6.

- The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires, at least, the attainment of political sovereignty.¹⁵⁸

Breuilly argues that 'nationalist politics is always mass politics. In many cases, nationalism involves the organisation of mass support for political purposes or the management of large groups that have suddenly intruded into a previously exclusive political arena.'¹⁵⁹ Like other academics, Breuilly agrees that nationalist movements see symbols and ceremonies as an important way to give meaning to their movement. Nationalist movements tend to project images on to the public which gives people a central reason to coalesce together, which ultimately leads to a forging of a national identity. And, because of this, Breuilly argues: 'Nationalist symbolism can do this in particularly effective ways because it has a quality of self-reference that is largely missing from socialist or religious ideology.'¹⁶⁰ Finally, Breuilly argues that nationalism, like all modern political movements, must appeal to a variety of social and economic interests.¹⁶¹

There are two major bodies of thought that address the causes of nationalism:

1. The modernist perspective describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural conditions of modern society in order to exist.
2. The primordial perspective describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient evolutionary tendency of humans to organise into distinct groupings based on an affinity of birth.¹⁶²

Most academics have tended to focus their research on the modernist perspective. Ewa Thompson argues that the nationalism of advanced nations is different to that of other nations. She argues that nationalism in states like New Zealand and other western democracies who are

¹⁵⁸ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p.2.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p.19.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p.64.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p.72.

¹⁶² Alexander Motyl (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism*, (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001), p.251.

politically stable is different from that of emerging nations whose focus is on gaining independence in a geographical area that is contested.¹⁶³ This is an important distinction to make for this study, as New Zealand is not a nation struggling to survive or whose sovereignty is contested. New Zealand is a modern developed nation not suffering from widespread internal division or civil war. The very idea of New Zealand is not contested.

Yael Tamir attributes the power of nationalism to four features. Firstly, he argues that membership in a nation promises individuals redemption from personal oblivion.¹⁶⁴ Tamir states that 'as long as the nation endures, it will show gratitude to all who struggle and sacrifice their lives for its survival.'¹⁶⁵ Secondly, Tamir argues that identification with a nation gives individuals hope of personal renewal through national regeneration. Tamir states that the notion of national identity clearly shows that the personal status and self-esteem of individuals reflect the condition of their nation. Tamir argues that when a nation is in decay, its members' pride suffers with it, and when it flourishes, they prosper too.¹⁶⁶ This is where sport is important. Politicians seek out winners with the goal of creating a sense of pride and optimism within the general public. This is why governments all over the world have placed increasingly more and more resources into high-performance sport. Thirdly, Tamir argues that membership in a nation offers rescue from alienation, solitude, and anonymity: 'by fostering the ideal of fraternity, nationalism grants individuals the feeling that they are not alone, that they are cared for, and, no less significantly, that they have someone to care for.'¹⁶⁷ Fourthly, national membership assures individuals that they enjoy equal status, and nationhood grants individuals a feeling of belonging.¹⁶⁸ Nationalism might, however, only paper over the divisions of class, gender, and status. Nationalism is not the silver bullet to

¹⁶³ Ewa M. Thompson, 'Nationalism, Imperialism, Identity: Second Thoughts,' in *Modern Age*, Vol. 40, No. 3, Summer 1998, p.252.

¹⁶⁴ Yael Tamir, 'The Enigma of Nationalism,' in *World Politics*, Vol. 47, No.3, April 1995, p. 433.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p.434.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p.435.

overcome division but remains a powerful weapon and device for politicians to distract people from other issues that the nation might be experiencing.

Jon Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss project a slightly different explanation. They argue that nationalism's sole focus is to create the nation and harmonise the culture of the people in that nation with the nation:

Nationalism has been examined as a political ideology holding that each state should have its nation and each nation its state; as the historically contingent outcome of modernizing and industrializing economic forces that bring the state into alignment with the nation; as a cultural construct of collective belonging realized and legitimated through institutional and discursive practices; and as a site for material and symbolic struggles over the definition of national inclusion and exclusion.¹⁶⁹

Fox and Miller-Idriss argue that nations are not just the product of structural forces but also that nations are the practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in activities in their everyday lives.¹⁷⁰

Nationalism is a powerful and complex phenomenon and, as we have seen, has no simple singular definition. Throughout history, wars and revolutions have started in the name of nationalism. Hans Kohn commented in the 1960s:

Nationalism is a condition of mind, feeling, or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, being attached to common traditions, and, in some cases, having a common religion.¹⁷¹

Daniel Papp discussed the concept of nationalism in reference to the Olympic Games. He stated:

Nationalism is an immediate deviation of the concept of nation. It refers to the feelings of attachment to each other which members of a nation have and to the sense of pride that a nation has in itself. Nationalism may be expressed in a number of ways, including a desire to obtain high standards in living, to win more

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p.554.

¹⁷¹ Hans Kohn, *Prelude to nation-states*, (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1967), p.2.

gold medals than other nations at an Olympics, or to conquer adjoining territories.¹⁷²

Nationalism is a modern, European phenomenon. The history of Europe since the French Revolution has coincided with the rise and development of nationalism, although Jong-Young Lee argues that nationalism has brought the histories of Asia, Africa and the Pacific into relation with European history, making them part of a universal history.¹⁷³ Decolonisation has seen nationalism become the major unifying force and focus of people from Africa to the Middle East and Asia:

Partially the result of the breakup of colonial empires and increased communications after World War II, the human revolution has taken shape in the mobilisation of ever-increasing populations principally in the Asian, African, and Latin American states of the third world. Nationalism in many of these states was, in the first instance, the political expression of an intense anti-colonialism, which sought to rejuvenate traditional values and cultures long suppressed by colonial powers.¹⁷⁴

When thinking about the media and their role in fostering a sense of nationalism, Eleni Psarrou argues that 'the mass media act mostly as reminders of nationhood, but they also influence individuals and groups further. The mass media are nationally focused, no matter how internationalised their means of transition and organisation are. Not only because they speak a national language, but because through them the world is largely seen through the lens of one's nation-state.'¹⁷⁵ This is an important consideration to remember when thinking about the Olympic broadcasts that we see on our televisions. They have an important role to play and will be discussed in greater detail in part three of this thesis.

Psarrou argues that nationalism is an ideology, a discourse, a movement and a sentiment. The ideology portion of her argument points to the fact that nationalism holds that the world is divided into nations. Nation states,

¹⁷² Daniel Papp, *Contemporary International Relations*, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co, 1988), p.19.

¹⁷³ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.14.

¹⁷⁴ N Paddleford, G Lincoln and L Olvey, *The dynamics of international politics*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1976), p.24.

¹⁷⁵ Eleni Psarrou, *National Identity in the Era of Globalisation*, p.163.

through nationalist symbolism and rhetoric, help unify citizens of the nation, while at the same time expressing differences and independence from other nations. This, in turn, creates a feeling of pride in success, sorrow and anger out of failure, while overall serving to differentiate one nation from another.¹⁷⁶

Anthony Birch argued in 1989 that 'the world is divided between nations and states; if nationalism is the ideology that maintains these nation-states as nation-states, then nationalism is the most successful ideology in human history.'¹⁷⁷ Birch is certainly right about the success of nationalism as an enduring political ideology, and it would be even more so in the twenty-five years or so since he made this statement. The nation-state as we know it has not broken down, a world government has not taken over the world; even more so on the sports field, the nation-state still reigns supreme.

Spencer and Wollman argue that nationalism is of crucial importance in the genesis and reproduction of national identity, a less directly political and more fluid concept than that of nationalism itself.¹⁷⁸ They argue that you 'can't think of nationalism in a vacuum as its thinking has been shaped by the major political ideologies.'¹⁷⁹ And those forms of nationalism have been varied and at times have included religious, conservative, liberal, fascist, communist, cultural, political, protectionist, integrationist, separatist, irredentist, and diaspora dimensions.¹⁸⁰ They also argue that the central issue for theories of nationalism is the question of national identity; that is, the 'extent to which people may be seen or see themselves as members of a given nation.'¹⁸¹

Andrew Heywood argues that nationalism redrew the map of Europe in the nineteenth century as the 'autocratic and multinational empires of Turkey, Austria and Russia started to crumble in the face of liberal and

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p.79-84.

¹⁷⁷ Anthony Birch, *Nationalism and National Integration*, (New York: Routledge, 1989), p.3.

¹⁷⁸ P Spencer and H Wollman, *Nationalism – A Critical Introduction*, (London: Sage Publications, 2006), p.2.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.5.

¹⁸⁰ J Hutchison and A Smith, *Nationalism – Oxford Reader*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.3.

¹⁸¹ P Spencer and H Wollman, *Nationalism – A Critical Introduction*, p.57.

nationalist pressure. The nineteenth century was a period of nation building.¹⁸² Heywood argues that by the end of the nineteenth century, nationalism had become a popular movement that remained popular throughout the twentieth century. The spread of flags, national anthems, patriotic poetry and literature, public ceremonies and national holidays helped nationalism maintain its popularity: 'Nationalism became the language of mass politics, made possible by the growth of primary education, mass literacy and the spread of popular newspapers.'¹⁸³

Overall, Heywood argues that all forms of nationalism address the issue of identity: 'Whatever political causes nationalism may be associated with, it advances these on the basis of a sense of collective identity, usually understood as patriotism. Nationalism, therefore, not only advances political causes but also tells people who they are: it gives people a history, forges social bonds and a collective spirit, and creates a sense of destiny larger than individual existence.'¹⁸⁴

Banal Nationalism – Nationalism in the 21st century

Michal Billig argues that most approaches to nationalism tend to define it in a restricted way, as an extreme or surplus phenomenon: 'Nationalism is equated with the outlook of nationalist movements, and when there are no such movements, nationalism is not seen to be an issue.'¹⁸⁵ These theorists, according to Billig, live in a world of nations: they carry passports and pay their taxes to nation-states. Their theories tend to take this world of nations for granted as the 'natural' environment, in which the dramas of nationalism periodically erupt. Since the nationalism which routinely reproduces the world of nations is theoretically ignored, and nationalism is seen as a condition of others, then such theories can be seen as rhetorical projections. Nationalism as a condition is projected on to others; 'ours' is overlooked, forgotten and even theoretically denied.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.156.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p.167.

¹⁸⁵ Michal Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, (London: Sage Publications, 2013), p.16.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

Banal Nationalism was introduced by Billig to cover the 'ideological habits that enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced.'¹⁸⁷ He states that 'habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have reported. Daily, the nation is indicated, or flagged, in the lives of its citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition.' Flagging occurs through reminders to citizens that they are members of that nation. This can be through the use of the flag, or other symbols of identity, but also through sporting achievements and showcasing the positive aspect of the nations history.¹⁸⁸

Billig's assertion that in the established nations of the world, such as New Zealand, there is a constant 'flagging' or reminding of nationhood is correct. Established nations are those states that have confidence in their continuity, and that, particularly, is part of what is conventionally described as the West. Billig argues that 'nationhood provides a continual background for political discourse, for cultural products, and even for the structuring of newspapers. In so many ways, the citizenry is daily reminded of their national place in the world of nations.'¹⁸⁹ Just observe the television news any night in New Zealand or read a daily newspaper and you will see support for Billig's view; nationhood provides a continual background for political discourse. It is not only in political discourse where it is present; the flagging of nationhood is also present in sport. Just watch any All Blacks game or New Zealander competing at the Olympic Games to witness this phenomenon.

Billig also makes an interesting point when he states that often people from the West tend to find it easier to recognise nationalism in others, rather than in themselves.¹⁹⁰ Alain Ganon, Andre Lecours and Genevieve Nootens have also discussed majority nationalism and argue that in liberal democratic societies like New Zealand, nationalism has long been

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p.6.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p.8.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p.15.

associated with minorities and opposition to the state. Academics have argued that patriotism is the legitimate defence of the state, whereas nationalism has been viewed as an attempt to destroy it.¹⁹¹ They argue and challenge the idea that states' association with nationalism in liberal democratic societies ended at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁹² In regards to nationalism and patriotism, Ganon, Lecours and Nootens state that they both 'refer to feelings of solidarity towards a territorial community seen as the bearer of a distinct political status that allows it to determine its future.'¹⁹³

Nationalism constitutes one of the most significant political phenomena of modernity: 'Far from being the monopoly of reactionary, closed minorities, nationalism is an integral part of state institutions and policies and serves as well to nourish the attitude of the majority.'¹⁹⁴ Ultimately majority nationalism will be associated with policies of nation-building, 'policies put to work by the central state in order to give citizens a language, culture and/or common identity. It is thus articulated through the state.'¹⁹⁵ Those policies include intervention in high-performance sport for the very reason of giving assistance to citizens in their pursuit of a common identity.

Nationalism and sport: the link explained

Sport's role in the global sphere is increasingly important. Former South African President Nelson Mandela stated:

Sport is probably the most effective means of communication in the modern world, bypassing both verbal and written communication and reaching out to billions of

¹⁹¹ Alain Ganon, Andre Lecours and Genevieve Nootens, 'Understanding Majority Nationalism,' in Alain Gagnon, Andre Lecours and Genevieve Nootens (eds), *Contemporary Majority Nationalism*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), p.3.

¹⁹² Ibid, p.4.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.8.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p.15.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p.10.

people worldwide. There is no doubt that sport is a viable and legitimate way of building friendship between nations.¹⁹⁶

Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington have identified two principal ways in which states have used sport on the global stage. They are: to sell themselves and enhance their image, and to penalise international behaviour of which they disapprove.¹⁹⁷ Historian Allen Guttman sees this development as a modern phenomenon:

The intersection of sport and politics has been a major focus of contemporary sports history. This was not the case in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when historians seldom commented on the political implications of sport or on the political controversies it engendered.¹⁹⁸

He then identifies six broad areas of study that have received attention by historians and political scientists over time:

1. Politically-engaged German, Italian and, to a lesser extent, Japanese historians have written extensively about the role of sport under fascist regimes;
2. There have been numerous efforts to analyse the role of sport in communist regimes;
3. Many political scientists and politically-engaged historians have analysed sport and the politics of race and ethnicity, especially in the case of South Africa and the United States;
4. European and American historians have written about the politics of gender and sport and specifically gender discrimination;
5. The Olympic Games, which their founder de Coubertin intended as a political force, has received a lot of attention; and,
6. Finally, a small group of French and German neo-Marxist historians and sociologists have argued that modern sports are a mirror

¹⁹⁶ Joseph Maguire, 'Power and global sport: zones of prestige, emulation and resistance,' in *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, Vol. 14, No. 7-8, 2011, p.1010.

¹⁹⁷ Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington, 'Sport, Prestige and International Relations', in *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 37, Issue 1, January 2002, p.107.

¹⁹⁸ Allen Guttman, 'Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian,' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2003, p.363.

image of capitalist institutions and are, therefore, inherently repressive.¹⁹⁹

The focus of this thesis will be on point number five and is focussed on the Olympic Games, the biggest sporting event in global sport. Guttmann argues that 'although de Coubertin revived the Olympic Games as an instrument of international reconciliation, his successors as president of the International Olympic Committee have been tireless in their insistence that politics should not interfere with sport and unsuccessful in their attempts to insulate the games from political controversy.'²⁰⁰ As part two of this thesis will show, politics has always been at the heart of the Olympic Movement.

Timothy Marjoribanks and Karen Farquharson argue that sport and the nation are very much connected:

There are few sports that have not – either voluntarily or under duress – been aligned with some conception of the nation. Expressions of nation and nationalism are often played out through sports at local, national and global levels. For example, when the national anthem is played at a sporting event, a sense of nation is evoked, solidifying the idea that those in attendance and watching are a national unit.²⁰¹

John Hargreaves and other academics have recently argued that, while specialists in nationalism have 'paid a good deal of attention to central aspects of culture such as language and religion, they have paid remarkably little attention to sport.'²⁰² Hargreaves argues:

Sporting occasions, big and small, provide almost limitless possibilities for deploying the language and symbolism of the nation – flags, anthems, parades, oaths, folk costumes, national recreations, spectator cultural performances incorporating mythology, the arts, much poetry, song, dance, design and so on –

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, pp.363-364.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p.372.

²⁰¹ Timothy Marjoribanks and Karen Farquharson, *Sport and Society in the Global Age*, (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2012), p.76.

²⁰² John Hargreaves, *Freedom for Catalonia: Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.3.

symbols which, in certain circumstances, may be manipulated by a political movement and attributed with a nationalist meaning.²⁰³

Since the independence struggles of the mid to late twentieth century have slowed, academics have often discussed the demise and death of nationalism. Academic Alan Bairner argues that, for at least 100 years now, the death of nationalism has been predicted. Bairner argues that often national identities remain unarticulated but sport cuts through this and helps assist people to consider the nature of their own identity. He argues that sports fans may dress in national costumes and paint their faces in national colours without being remotely attracted to nationalist politics. In such ways, sport does provide us with an important arena in which to celebrate national identities. Bairner goes on to argue that over time we have seen a darker side of nationalism articulated on the sports field. We have seen fans riot and competitors cheat by taking drugs that were managed by state-sponsored coaches to promote the athletic prowess and strength of a nation. Benign or aggressive, the relationship between sport and nationalism is inescapable. The most popular form of nationalist behaviour in many countries is in sport, where masses of people become highly emotional in support of their national team.²⁰⁴

Before the 1930s there is very little evidence that governments were openly seeking prestige on the global stage through sport. The Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 and the prelude to World War II meant governments suddenly became interested in sport. The world's first Minister of Sport was Jean Borotra, appointed by Marshall Petain under the Vichy government in France in 1940.²⁰⁵ Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington argue that the Soviet Union following the Second World War provides the best example of a government devoting resources to achieving prestige through sporting competition. This was followed by East Germany during the 1970s and 1980s. The drive to win international competitions on the sporting field and winning the medal tally at the

²⁰³ Ibid, p.14

²⁰⁴ Alan Bairner, *Sport, nationalism and globalisation: European and North American perspectives*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), p.16.

²⁰⁵ Lincoln Allison and Terry Monnington, 'Sport, Prestige and International Relations', p.114.

Olympic Games became increasingly important for the Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies as a way to win the 'hearts and minds' of the international community and to convince people of the benefits and superiority of the Soviet way of life.²⁰⁶ Following the Second World War, governments all over the world including New Zealand have increasingly funded sports and international sports events to pursue their nationalist agendas. There is little doubt that sport offers a rare opportunity for nations to be embodied through something real, concrete and visible, such as individual athletes and teams.²⁰⁷

Tony Collins believes that the intertwining of nationalism and physical culture and sport was not confined to just the British or the French during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. He argues that in Germany the humiliation of occupation by Napoleon's army led German nationalists to found what would become the *Turnverein*, an overtly nationalist gymnastics movement. This movement spread throughout Germany, and German nationalists were able to take gymnastics and its associations across the world, where today it is an Olympic sport.²⁰⁸ By 1959 even the British Foreign Office, which up until then showed no interest in sport or the Olympic Games, stated that 'the Olympic Games have immense prestige and offer a unique stage for the demonstration of national prowess,' and it shuddered at the prospect of British teams losing to opponents from the East.²⁰⁹ With the British believing that sport had become vital to national prestige, governments everywhere began to make it their business to be involved. As will be seen subsequently, nationalism was at the heart of the Olympic movement throughout the 1960s and through to the 1980s.

In analyses of the rise of nationalism in Europe a century or two ago, sport is rarely mentioned. In more modern national histories, especially in

²⁰⁶ Ibid, pp.114-116.

²⁰⁷ Udo Merkel, 'The Politics of Sport and Identity in North Korea,' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2014, p.378.

²⁰⁸ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*, p.22.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p.105.

studies of Australia or New Zealand, it can scarcely be ignored.²¹⁰ Ultimately it is hard to argue against the clear fact that sport and politics, and nationalism have a close relationship: 'During some international sporting competitions, the feeling of nationalism appears overwhelming. Nationalistic symbolism in international sport, such as the national flag, a national anthem and the representation of the nation by athletes are sufficient to generate a nationalistic climate before, during and after the competition.'²¹¹

However, not all academics believe that the current sports system is viable and will continue in the long term. Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung argued that the current competitive sport structure at the national level will fail:

I think that competitive sports at the national level belong to the 1648 Westphalia system of world order and that its decline and ultimate fall is overdue like so many other aspects of that system.²¹²

Overall, people keep arguing that the idea of nations has now been overtaken in an era of globalisation and that the future is about the construction of groupings of people and the withering away of nation states. They also argue that there will be only one goal – a planet without frontiers. However, there only needs to be a national team to go on to any pitch against another national team, an anthem sung or a goal scored, for millions of people somewhere in the world to be as one, to unite in joy or disappointment.²¹³

Alan Bairner argues that sport is a useful tool in aiding and abetting state-sponsored nationalism. Over the history of the Olympic Games, nations have used the Olympic Games, either through hosting them or just through participation, to attempt to legitimise their existence on the world

²¹⁰ Keith Sinclair, *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for National Identity*, (Wellington: Port Nicholson Press, 1986), p.143.

²¹¹ Jung Woo Lee and Joseph Maguire, 'Global Festivals through a National Prism,' in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 44, No. 1, p7.

²¹² Johan Galtung, *Sport and International Understanding: Sport as carrier of deep culture and structure*, 1982, Berlin: Wallotstrabe, <https://www.transcend.org/galtung/papers.php>, (Accessed 3 December 2015).

²¹³ Philip Dine, *Sport and Identity in France: Practices, Locations, Representations*, (Bern: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, 2012), p.29.

stage. Stephen Wright argues that the most fundamental source of conflict at the Olympic Games concerns nationalism; that the games revolve around nations and that each team is nationally composed, and 'great support is engendered within every country for its own athletes.'²¹⁴ A *Sunday Times* article from July 18, 1976, at the time of the opening ceremony of the Montreal Olympic Games, stated: 'Sport is now the grandest and least harmful form of politics available to the nations of the world. It is the continuation of war by other means...'²¹⁵

Outside of the United Nations, the Olympic Games are the only other time where all nations of the world gather together in one place. In that sense, it is a prime opportunity for global politics to operate in an environment where the world is watching. Many academics and commentators have argued over time that politics and sport should not mix but understand the potency of opportunity to make a stand at the Olympic Games.

Martin Vinokur discusses the subject of sports nationalism:

Traditionally, nationalism has involved a love of fatherland, national identification, national unity, prestige, and other components that have served to distinguish one country from another. This very nature of nationalism makes it incompatible with internationalism. Sport has been a vehicle to induce nationalism or it has represented nationalism. When the public watches athletic accomplishments, it identifies with the national sport heroes. In turn, this identification emphasises patriotism... International sport stirs the national consciousness.²¹⁶

Perhaps the most interesting use of sport nationalism has been in post-colonial Africa. According to Jong-Young Lee, Kenya used sport to bring about national unity among different racial and ethnic groups in the nation through its athletic ability.²¹⁷ After first competing at the Olympic Games in 1956 in Melbourne, Kenya has amassed over 90 medals at the Olympic Games, including three gold medals at the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games. Lee believes that in 'new nations, Olympic sports have had the

²¹⁴ Stephen Wright, 'Are the Olympics games? The Relationship of Politics and Sport,' *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, 1977, Vol. 6, No. 30, p.32.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Martin Vinokur, *More than a Game*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), p.17.

²¹⁷ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.19.

dual function of building national identity and national competence. Olympic success has been considered especially important when a nation has been struggling for independence.²¹⁸ John Akii-Bua's victory in the 400m hurdles at the 1972 Munich Olympics was the first gold medal for Uganda at the Olympic Games and gave credibility and credence to the political regime led by the notorious dictator Idi Amin. Akii-Bua returned to Uganda a hero and was used by Amin as an ambassador for his regime.

New Zealander, former All Black and Race Relations Conciliator Chris Laidlaw, argues that nationalism is a curious phenomenon and speaks about it from a personal perspective:

It can be enormously positive as a force for galvanising a sense of identity. And it can be used with devastating effects. Perhaps the only genuinely all-embracing expression of New Zealand nationalism is through sport – I have felt the great surges of pride in the black jersey as I stood on Cardiff Arms, Twickenham or Ellis Park, knowing that this was something in which the rest of the world stood in awe. Knowing that this was one thing we did better than anybody else in the world. At those moments, I have been a rabid nationalist. New Zealand was all that mattered. When we played, it was for the country first, second and last. The All Blacks are New Zealand, and New Zealand was the All Blacks. One and the same; indivisible.²¹⁹

Lincoln Allison believes that sportive nationalism is not a single generic phenomenon; on the contrary, it is a complicated socio-political response to challenges and events, both sportive and non-sportive, that must be understood in terms of the varying national contexts in which it appears, including:

1. That sport itself is inherently conservative and that it helps to consolidate official nationalism, patriotism and racism;
2. That sport itself has some inherent property that makes it a possible instrument of national unity and integration, for example, in peripheral or emerging nations;

²¹⁸ Ibid, p.26.

²¹⁹ Chris Laidlaw, 'Sport and National Identity: Race Relations, Business, Professionalism,' in Brad Patterson (eds), *Sport, Society and Culture in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Dunmore Press, 1999), p.11.

3. That sport itself provides a safety valve or outlet for the emotional energy for frustrated peoples or nations;
4. That sport itself helps to reinforce national consciousness and cultural nationalism;
5. That sport itself at times has contributed to unique political struggles, some of which have been closely connected to nationalist politics and popular nationalist struggles;
6. That sport itself is often involved in the process of nationalism as a national reaction to dependency and uneven development; and
7. That sport itself, whether it be through nostalgia, mythology, invented or selected traditions, contributes to a quest for identity, be it local, regional, cultural or global. In some cases, it is easier to accept the idea that sporting forms and sporting relations help to reproduce, transform, or construct the image of a community without accepting the notion of it being imagined.²²⁰

One of the earliest British sports historians, Peter McIntosh, pointed out that the Swiss-born philosopher of the eighteenth-century Jean-Jacques Rousseau proposed that sport could and should be used for political and nationalistic ends.²²¹

When thinking about the processes of globalisation and nationalism, they are more interconnected than one might think. Jung Woo Lee and Joseph Maguire argue: 'With regard to global sport in general and the Olympic Games, in particular, the logic of the mediated Olympic Games operates in a nationalistic fashion. Even though the Olympic Games are considered as a global festival, it is hard to deny that the games also act as a field of nationalistic representation because the Olympics inherently involve nationalistic symbols such as national flags and national anthems.'²²² They go on to argue that the media rarely fail to highlight nationalistic aspects of the Olympic Games. And because of that there is a propensity for the media to transform the games into a national ritual.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid, p.244.

²²² Jung Woo Lee and Joseph Maguire, 'Global Festivals through a National Prism,' in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 44, No. 1, p.6.

Adam Gopnik argued in a 2012 *New Yorker* article prior to the London 2012 Olympic Games that:

Nationalism at the heart of the Olympic “ideal” is part of its nature, its DNA. The modern games were born in the nineteenth century, and their guiding ideology was a mixture of amateurism and nationalism – the joint nineteenth-century faith that the nation-state was man’s natural unit, and that the gentleman with time on his hands and a boxing helmet on his head was man’s obvious leader.²²³

Overall, sports nationalism has been supported by many countries as a form of political propaganda to gain prestige and support for the Government in power and its political system. Jong-Young Lee argues that national sport has often been promoted to enhance health and physical fitness, and this rationale has been used to justify emphasis on sport in many countries.²²⁴ The struggle by nations for supremacy in the Olympic Games turned this rationale into one of the main symbols of the political power struggle between nations.

Politicians over history have used sport as a platform to show their superiority over other nations. It can also be argued that when sports teams are winning it helps business confidence and poll ratings for incumbent governments. For example, the All Blacks’ 1999 Rugby World Cup failure against France in the semi-final did not assist the incumbent National Party in the 1999 election campaign and also didn’t help with business sentiment as business confidence waned. Having a positive mood domestically is necessary for governments; sport is one way that can help contribute to this.

Other than the All Blacks, sportsmen and sportswomen in New Zealand need Government funding to survive and exist, and the Government has contributed greatly (after the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games failure to increase funding for sports) which has led to some excellent results on the world stage. Both National and Labour-led governments over the past

²²³ Gopnik, A. (2012, June 25). Team Spirit. Retrieved May 14, 2014, from The New Yorker: www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2012/06/25/120625taco_talk_gopnik

²²⁴ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, (University of Northern Colorado: Unpublished thesis, 1990), p.188.

fifteen years have invested vast amounts of taxpayers' funding and resources into our elite sportsmen and women. We all like to see our sportsmen and women succeed on the world stage, but politicians like it just a little bit more. They want to be associated with winners. It helps with their public prestige. For example, Helen Clark rode with Team New Zealand during the 2007 America's Cup, and John Key regularly attended All Blacks games. It is a way that they can stay connected with 'middle New Zealand,' where sport is a way of life, part of, in other words, their identity.

**Part Two: New Zealand in the world through the
Olympic Games – from small beginnings to the
centre of the Olympic Movement**

Chapter Four: New Zealand as an outpost of the Empire

1894-1947

The modern Olympic Games, which have now existed for well over a century since their revival in 1896, have become a mainstay in modern society. Every four years over 10,000 athletes from every corner of the world come together for 16 days to compete in the world's largest sporting event. Louis Menand in a 2012 *New Yorker* article stated:

If someone described to you an ancient civilization in which, every four years, at great expense, citizens convened to watch a carefully selected group perform a series of meticulously preset routines, and in which the watching was thought of not as a duty but as a hugely anticipated and unambiguously pleasurable experience, you would guess that, socially, this ritual was doing a lot of work. You would assume that it was instilling, or reinforcing, or rebooting attitudes and beliefs that this hypothetical civilisation – regarded maybe correctly, maybe just superstitiously – as vital to its functioning. You would say that the spectacle has content.²²⁵

As Menand puts it, the Olympic Games do have content, and part two of this thesis will examine New Zealand's Olympic story to argue that political issues have surrounded the Olympic Games since its inception and that New Zealand's involvement in the Olympic Movement has increasingly epitomised what it means to be a New Zealander. The modern Olympic Games are a model example for what was explained in part one of this thesis what Eric Hobsbawm labelled as invented traditions. The Olympic Games are a ritualised official or quasi-official event, presented as revivals of ancient practices or in other ways designed to imply continuity with the distant past.²²⁶

Perhaps New Zealand's Olympic story can best be summed up by the following quote from broadcaster Keith Quinn, who argued in the TVNZ

²²⁵ Menand, L. (2012, August 6). Glory Days, *The New Yorker*, www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/atlarge/2012/08/06/120806crat_atlarge_menand (Accessed May 14, 2014)

²²⁶ Ibid.

documentary *Dreams of Gold* (2000) that New Zealand's Olympic story is more than just a sporting story. Quinn stated:

Starting with swimmer Malcolm Champion in 1912, New Zealand has won more Olympic Gold medals per head of population than any other country in the world. It's a record that others can only marvel at. Collectively they are more than just a sporting story. They are a major chapter in the New Zealand story. A story of discovering and promoting national identity. Success at the Olympics offers one of the very few opportunities for New Zealanders to compete against the best from around the world and win.²²⁷

Part one of this thesis argued that from a theoretical basis the global sporting arena is still dominated by nationalism and national identity. These theories are still as powerful today as they were at least a hundred years ago.²²⁸ Part Two will be broken up into four distinct chapters:

- Chapter Four: New Zealand as an outpost of the Empire 1894-1947
- Chapter Five: New Zealand strikes out on its own, or does it? New Zealand and the Olympic movement in the post-war years 1947-1969
- Chapter Six: The World in turmoil – New Zealand grapples with independence in an increasingly complex world 1969-1987
- Chapter Seven: New Zealand comes of age – an independent voice in a new world 1988-present

When comparing the Olympic Games to other events like the Rugby World Cup or the Football World Cup, it is important to discuss the format of the Olympic Games, which is very different as it is a multi-sport event. The Olympic Games are diffuse and discontinuous, involving over 300 separate events (at the Rio 2016 Olympic Games):

The Olympics have no pyramidal structure. They are in fact extremely diffuse and discontinuous, involving almost 260 events, with, generally, a number of events running at the same time, whether in the same place (the stadium) or in

²²⁷ Keith Quinn, *Dreams of Gold Documentary*, (TVNZ, 2000).

²²⁸ Jung Woo Lee and Joseph Maguire, 'Global Festivals through a National Prism,' in *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 44, No. 1, p.8, 2009.

different sub-sites (football, rowing, tennis, etc.). With the exception of a very small number of blue ribband events – most notably the 100 and 1500 metre races – the viewers' attention moves constantly from one competition to another... Moreover, despite the traditional rivalry of the medals table, there is no real winner in the Olympics, no climactic reduction to a final showdown.²²⁹

This is compared to other sporting events like the Football or Rugby World Cup which have a clear structure that inevitably leads to intense media concentration on a diminishing number of participants as the competition continues.²³⁰

The period from 1894 through to 1947 was dominated by war and economic upheaval globally when, in the space of just over twenty years, the world was thrust into World War I and then World War II, where tens of millions of people were killed. In 1929 the world plunged into the Great Depression following the Wall Street Crash. By the end of this period, the United Nations was formed following World War II, an international organisation that would become a mainstay for the next seventy years.

During the period covered in this chapter, New Zealand was very much tied to the motherland, Great Britain; where Britain went, New Zealand went.²³¹ However, New Zealand did make some advances in social policy when, in 1893, New Zealand became the first country in the world to grant women the vote. Another one of the achievements of Liberal Premier Richard Seddon came in 1898 when the Old Age Pensions Bill passed into law. The Old Age Pensions Act was the first of its kind in the British Empire and marked the birth of social security in New Zealand. The Liberal reforms of the 1890s attracted global attention and helped symbolise New Zealand's egalitarian ethos which still exists today and has become part of New Zealand's identity.²³² At the turn of the century, New Zealand's population was still less than a million people and another

²²⁹ Ibid, p.157.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Michael Joseph Savage, *Prime Minister Declares New Zealand's Support for Britain*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/pm-declares-new-zealands-support-for-britain-in-famous-radio-broadcast>, (Accessed 23 May 2017).

²³² Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Old-age Pensions Act becomes law', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/old-age-pensions-act-passes-into-law>, (Accessed 23 May 2017).

key event during this period for the development of New Zealand as an independent nation came in 1907 when it was granted Dominion status. On 26 September 1907, the colony of New Zealand ceased to exist. New Zealand became a Dominion within the British Empire. Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward read the proclamation of Dominion status from the steps of Parliament on 26 September 1907, stating that this marked a significant symbolic shift in New Zealand's perceptions of nationhood. This would, he hoped, remind the world that New Zealand was an important player in its own right.²³³ However, the shift from colony to Dominion was a change of name only. It had no other practical effect, and New Zealand was no more and no less independent from Britain than it had been before.²³⁴ As the twentieth century moved forward, New Zealand troops fought alongside the allies in World War I and World War II, carrying a heavy cost in material and lives for New Zealand.

In 1935, the first Labour Government under Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage was elected, continuing the legacy that Richard Seddon began in the late 19th century with an expansion of the welfare state and a focus on social policy. The landmark legislation from the first Labour Government was the passage of the Social Security Act in 1938 which greatly expanded the scope of the welfare state, introducing universal free health services and extending benefits for the aged, sick and unemployed.²³⁵ Finally, in 1947, New Zealand became the last Dominion to adopt the Statute of Westminster which had been enacted by the British parliament in 1931. The Statute of Westminster removed the British Parliament's power to legislate for a Dominion unless asked by that Dominion to do so. The adoption of the Statute of Westminster also granted the New Zealand Parliament the ability to amend the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. Although New Zealand had moved from being a colony to a Dominion in 1907, few New Zealanders had wanted

²³³ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, August 5 2014, 'Dominion status', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/dominion-day>, (Accessed 9 January 2017).

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Peter Aimer, 'Labour Party - First Labour government, 1935 to 1949', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/labour-party/page-2> (Accessed 11 December 2016).

greater independence from Britain in 1931. Racial affinity, language, culture, defence and trade links bound most New Zealanders to the wider 'Britannic world', which was then at the height of its prestige.²³⁶

The build-up to participation 1894-1908

More than 2,700 years ago, in 776 BC, the first athletes lined up in the foothills of Olympia, Greece for the first ancient Olympic Games. The only event of those games was the stade – a 192-meter foot race. A cook by the name of Coroebus won that event, and while his time is unknown, he would become the first champion of a sporting festival that would last for the next twelve centuries. During those twelve hundred years, the ancient Olympic Games grew in terms of events and competitors and at its height would be the biggest sporting festival in the ancient world. However, in 393 AD, Emperor Theodosius I, a Christian, called for a ban on all "pagan" festivals, thus ending the ancient Olympic Games. The Olympic Games would lie dormant for another 1,500 years until Baron Pierre de Coubertin would awaken them in 1896 in Athens.²³⁷

On April 5, 1896, the first Olympic champion in 1500 years was crowned in Athens. James B. Connolly of the United States hopped, stepped and jumped 13.71 metres to win the triple jump and become the first Olympic champion since Zopyros from Athens, who won the boys' boxing and pankration²³⁸ event at Olympia in 385 AD.²³⁹ No New Zealanders competed at the first Olympiad of the modern era in 1896, but newspapers in New Zealand reported on those games, focussing on the performance of Australia's only competitor, Edwin Flack. Flack would win

²³⁶ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Statute of Westminster passed', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/statute-of-westminster-passed-confirming-nz-autonomy>, (Accessed 9 January 2017).

²³⁷ History Channel, *The Olympic Games*, <http://www.history.com/topics/olympic-games>, (Accessed 9 January 2017).

²³⁸ Pankration was a sporting event introduced into the Greek Olympic Games in 648 BC and was an empty-hand submission sport with scarcely any rules. It has been described as a combination of boxing and wrestling.

²³⁹ Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Olympics in Athens 1896: The invention of the modern Olympic Games*, (London: Profile Books, 2004), p.1.

gold for Australia in the 800 and 1500 metre races in 1896. On April 8, 1896, Wellington's *Evening Post* wrote:

The revival of the Olympic Games and enormous gathering included the success of a colonial athlete. The King of Greece opened the Olympic Games with 70 thousand people present. Edwin Flack of Victoria won the 800m event in a time of 2 min 1.6 seconds.²⁴⁰

The *Evening Post* also reported on Flack's victory in the 1500 metres a day later. The newspaper stated that Flack was from Victoria and a colonial athlete, but failed to mention that his victory was for Australia. It was almost as if the *Evening Post* were claiming his victories as triumphs for the colonies of Great Britain and for the British Empire.

New Zealand did not officially compete at the Olympic Games until the 1908 London Games, doing so as part of a combined Australasian team. However, New Zealanders were involved in the Olympic movement since before the first Olympiad in Athens in 1896. New Zealand's involvement began in 1894 when the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was formed in Paris, and New Zealander Leonard Cuff became a founding member of the IOC. It was in his role as an athlete and honorary secretary of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association that Leonard Cuff first met with Baron Pierre de Coubertin. The meeting took place in 1892 at an athletic festival organised by de Coubertin in France to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Union of French Athletic Clubs.²⁴¹ Cuff continued as the Australasian representative until 1905 when Australian Richard Coombes replaced him. Academic Geoffery Kohe argues that Cuff did little to 'spread the Olympic message in New Zealand or facilitate the participation of New Zealand athletes at the Olympic Games.'²⁴² Richard Coombes was an Australian sports administrator and was supportive of New Zealand during his time on the International Olympic Committee. He assisted the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association in selecting three New

²⁴⁰ *Evening Post*, 8 April 1896, p.2.

²⁴¹ Geoffery Z. Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, (Wellington: New Zealand Olympic Committee, 2011), p.11.

²⁴² *Ibid.*

Zealand athletes to compete in the 1908 London Olympic Games as part of the combined Australasian team.²⁴³

The first New Zealander to take part in an Olympic Games competed for Great Britain in water polo at the 1900 games in Paris. The British team went on to win the gold medal in Paris, beating Belgium in the final, 7-2. Michael Victor Alexander Lindberg was born in Fiji and moved to Whangarei at a young age. Lindberg's participation at the 1900 Olympic Games was not confirmed by the New Zealand Olympic Committee until 2014 because his name was incorrectly spelt. Lindberg was recognised by the New Zealand Olympic Committee at a ceremony in Whangarei in 2014, as the first New Zealander to compete at an Olympic Games.²⁴⁴

New Zealand as part of Australasia – 1908 and 1912

The 1908 Olympic Games were held in London, and for the first time, New Zealand athletes had the opportunity to compete at an Olympic Games. Three New Zealanders lined up alongside their Australian neighbours to form a combined Australasian team. While Australia had competed in every Olympic Games since the rebirth of the modern Olympic Games in 1896, it was the first time Australia had combined with New Zealand to form an Australasian team. In total, 32 athletes would represent Australasia in seven sports. Australasia won five medals in 1908 including one gold, two silver, and two bronze medals. New Zealand's Harry Kerr became the first New Zealander to win an Olympic medal when he finished third to win bronze in the men's 3500 metres walking event. Also of interest in 1908, the Australasian team won the rugby event against Great Britain, after they won the only match, 32-3. While there were no New Zealanders competing in the rugby event, the game and result were reported back in New Zealand,

²⁴³ Ibid, p.12.

²⁴⁴ Northland Age, *Original New Zealand Olympian Celebrated*, October 9 2014, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/northland-age/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503402&objectid=11339747 (Accessed 30 November 2016).

and it was certainly celebrated. At the 1908 games, New Zealand athletes wore the green and gold of Australia as part of the Australasian team. All athletes' uniforms included a kiwi and silver fern underneath an emu and kangaroo, as the symbols representing New Zealand and Australia.²⁴⁵

Rather than a national effort, New Zealand's representation at the 1908 Olympic Games was more of a local one. New Zealand athletes would receive no help from Australia. For example, Harry Kerr from the small Taranaki town of Tariki required £110 to travel to London for the games. Of the £110 needed to travel to the games, the small town of Tariki raised 15 percent of the funds. Tariki local's community considered it:

Right and proper that [the community] should meet together to bid farewell to a Tariki boy who had been chosen to represent the Dominion in a championship meeting where all the greatest athletes of the world would be assembled.²⁴⁶

In 1912, New Zealand again competed alongside Australia, as part of an Australasian team, this time in Stockholm. Three New Zealanders took part in that group which included 26 athletes competing in four sports. Australasia would win seven medals in Stockholm, including two gold, two silver, and three bronze medals. New Zealand athletes were involved in two of those medals, with Malcolm Champion combining with three Australians to win a gold medal in the men's 4x200 metres freestyle relay. Anthony Wilding won a bronze medal in the men's singles tennis event. Champion was also given the honour of carrying the Australasian flag at the opening ceremony in Stockholm.

In New Zealand there was little public reaction to the selection of the first Australasian Olympic Team before the 1908 games. Charles Little and Richard Cashman argue that this is hardly surprising:

The Olympic Games in 1908 had yet to fully establish themselves as a global sporting festival which captured the public imagination. The limited interest in the

²⁴⁵ New Zealand Olympic Committee, (28 April 2016), *The Black Singlet: The Beginning 1908-1924*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-the-beginning-1908-1924/> (Accessed 20 December 2016).

²⁴⁶ Erik Nielsen, 2010. 'The Fall of Australasia and the Demise of the Empire Olympic Team,' Proceedings: International Symposium for Olympic Research, pp.108-109.

Olympic Games appeared to have extended to officials as well. The nominations of Anthony Wilding and L.S. Poidevin for the Olympic Tennis competition were rejected by Games organisers because the Australasian Lawn Tennis Association had failed to forward their nominations on time.²⁴⁷

The Dominion Teams (Australasia, Canada and South Africa) formed a loose confederation at the 1912 Olympic Games and were bracketed together at the Opening Ceremony, marching behind the Great Britain Team. Erik Nielsen argues that imperialism influenced the Australasian Team in its representation in Stockholm.

When the organisers of the Stockholm Games asked for an Australasian flag for decorative and ceremonial purposes, Coombes assured his hosts that an Australian and New Zealand flag would be sent with the team. If a mishap ensued, Coombes added that 'Australasia would be quite satisfied if the Union Jack was hoisted should an Australian or New Zealander prove successful.'²⁴⁸

The imperial relationship between New Zealand and Great Britain was on full display in Stockholm and 'the imperial context reduced the necessity for a distinctly New Zealand identity to be ferociously expressed, at least internationally.'²⁴⁹ Despite this, New Zealand athletes in Stockholm wore the silver fern emblem on their uniforms, while Australian athletes wore their own emblem.²⁵⁰

The first serious opposition to the Australasian Olympic Team came in July 1911 when the Otago Centre of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association declared that the 'time had now arrived when New Zealand should be recognised as a separate country.'²⁵¹ The arguments put forward for separate Olympic representation for New Zealand ranged from the 'economic to the practical, but they were clearly underpinned by a very

²⁴⁷ Charles Little and Richard Cashman, 'Ambiguous and Overlapping Identities: Australasia at the Olympic Games, 1896-1914', in Richard Cashman, John O'Hara and Andrew Honey, *Sport, Federation, Nation*, (Petersham: Walla Walla Press, 2001), p.89.

²⁴⁸ Erik Nielsen, *Sport and the British World, 1900-1930: Amateurism and National Identity in Australasia and beyond*, p.163.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Charles Little and Richard Cashman, 'Ambiguous and Overlapping Identities: Australasia at the Olympic Games, 1896-1914', in Richard Cashman, John O'Hara and Andrew Honey, *Sport, Federation, Nation*, p.90.

evident strain of emerging New Zealand national consciousness.²⁵² Little and Cashman argue that certain elements recognised the powerful promotional value of New Zealand that international sporting contests brought. Some also argued that 'under the present conditions New Zealand assists another country [Australia] to get all the advertisements.'²⁵³ The *Otago Witness* stated on 30 August 1911:

New Zealand is not Australia and the desire to send its athletes abroad as New Zealanders is important and should not be tacked on to the tail of Australia.²⁵⁴

New Zealanders wanted New Zealand to compete on the world stage, just as they witnessed the 1905/06 All Blacks tour of Britain. That tour instilled a sense of pride in the young nation, and the public and New Zealand media wanted more. It was this event that had been an important catalyst in encouraging more of a sporting independence.

New Zealand branches out – The Games of the VII Olympiad – Antwerp 1920

The first Olympic Games following World War I was held in Antwerp, Belgium in 1920, after the 1916 Olympic Games, originally intended to be in Berlin, were cancelled due to World War I. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were excluded by the IOC from participating in Antwerp because of the war. The Olympic Games in Antwerp were also significant as many of the traditions and customs that the games are known for today were used for the first time. For example, it was in Antwerp that the Olympic flag, with its five interlocking, multi-coloured rings, was used for the first time. Also, the Olympic Oath was introduced.²⁵⁵

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, p.91.

²⁵⁵ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.98.

The 1920 games were the first time that New Zealand competed at the Olympic Games as an independent nation after the New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC²⁵⁶) was created in 1911 and officially recognised by the IOC on 1 January 1919.²⁵⁷ Bernard Albert Guise became the first Secretary General of the NZOC and alongside Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies worked hard to promote the NZOC and secure the support of New Zealand amateur sports associations.²⁵⁸ Upon its creation, the NZOC set the following objectives:

To secure representation at the Olympic Games of those members of the affiliated associations who may be deemed eligible; co-operate with the Councils formed in Australia for the purpose of having Australasia adequately represented at such Olympic subscriptions or otherwise for the purpose of sending a representative or representatives to such Olympic Games; to co-operate with Australian Councils to secure the alteration of any rulings deemed prejudicial against Australasian competitors and their associations; and, to generally act in the best interests of the Dominion in all matters pertaining to or in connection with the Olympic Games.²⁵⁹

These objectives show that the focus of the NZOC was tied to that of Australia at its inception. However, those objectives were to change over time, and it was just one year later in 1912 that Secretary-General Guise officially communicated the NZOC's desire to seek recognition by the IOC as an independent National Olympic Committee. Geoffery Kohe points out that the decision by the NZOC to seek formal recognition by the IOC set the NZOC on a path toward formal separation from pragmatic union with the AOC (Australian Olympic Committee), but enabled Dominion athletes to receive recognition as New Zealand competitors at future Olympic Games.²⁶⁰ This was the first awakening of

²⁵⁶ Throughout its history, the NZOC has had many different names. However, the abbreviation of the National Olympic Committee representing New Zealand is the NZOC. This will be used throughout this thesis to describe the New Zealand Olympic Committee.

²⁵⁷ International Olympic Committee, *New Zealand*, <https://www.olympic.org/new-zealand>, (Accessed 23 May 2017).

²⁵⁸ Geoffery Z. Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.14.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p.15.

a desire by the NZOC to push for an independent Olympic team at future Olympic Games.

The events of World War I meant that the 1916 Olympic Games were cancelled and the NZOC was largely dormant during the War. However, Geoffery Kohe argues that war did offer the NZOC legitimacy:

For athletics administrators, the war was fleeting, and sport endured. War, however, did offer NZOC legitimacy that helped consolidate their organisation. War particularly aligned with and embellished sentiments of masculinity, humanitarianism, and nationalism, ideas embraced by the fledgeling Olympic movement. War gave NZOC an altruistic purpose. It gave them a popular cause that had values with which they could identify. It is most pleasing, the NZOC proclaimed, "that so many athletes had volunteered for the front."²⁶¹

Moreover, on January 1, 1919, with the help of IOC Australasian member Richard Coombes, New Zealand officially gained recognition as an independent nation in the Olympic movement when the NZOC received formal recognition as a National Olympic Committee. This allowed New Zealand to send athletes to the games. Not only did New Zealand gain recognition as a National Olympic Committee, but Arthur Marryatt was also appointed as a member of the IOC. Marryatt focused his time on fundraising, which was difficult during the early years of the NZOC. It was an expensive exercise to send an Olympic team away to compete at the games.²⁶² From this point, the NZOC could look towards sending New Zealand's first independent team to an Olympic Games in 1920. The black uniform would be on show in Antwerp, Belgium for the first time at an Olympic Games, when the games returned after an eight-year hiatus.

In June 1920 four New Zealand athletes were farewelled by Prime Minister William Massey and upon departure were presented with a New Zealand flag. Upon presenting the team with the flag, Massey said he

²⁶¹ Ibid, p.17.

²⁶² Ibid.

hoped that the flag 'would be carried to victory on many occasions.'²⁶³ In response, hurdler Harry Wilson replied that he and the entire New Zealand Olympic team 'wanted to bring New Zealand to the notice of other countries.'²⁶⁴ The four athletes who represented New Zealand in Antwerp included 15-year-old Violet Walrond, who became the first woman to represent New Zealand at an Olympic Games. Walrond would compete in swimming, and her best result would be a fifth-place finish in the women's 100 metres freestyle. Upon returning to New Zealand following the games, Walrond was not permitted to attend the welcome home dinner for the Olympic Team. It was a male-only dinner.²⁶⁵ All four of the New Zealanders who competed in Antwerp would finish in the top five in their event, with Darcy Hadfield winning New Zealand's first medal as a nation. Hadfield competed in the men's rowing single sculls event and finished with a bronze medal.

It was at the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp that the New Zealand team first marched into the Olympic stadium under the New Zealand flag. All four athletes competed in the distinctive black uniform. The silver fern was hand-sewn onto the uniform.²⁶⁶ Alongside the All Blacks rugby team, the New Zealand Olympic team uniform began to shape one of the enduring icons of New Zealand, the colour black with the silver fern, a theme that today is a cornerstone of New Zealand's identity.

Paris 1924 – Games of the VIII Olympiad

Following the 1920 Olympic Games, the NZOC focussed on raising funds for the Olympic team that would compete at the 1924 Paris Olympic Games. Initiatives included lobbying the New Zealand government and

²⁶³ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, (Auckland: Moa Publication, 1983), p.20.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ New Zealand Olympic Committee, *Violet Walrond – NZ's First Female Olympian*, 12 November 2015, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/violet-walrond-nzs-first-female-olympian/>, (Accessed 18 January 2017).

²⁶⁶ New Zealand Olympic Committee, *The Black Singlet: The Beginning 1908-1924*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-the-beginning-1908-1924/>

Prime Minister for a government subsidy for the Olympic Team and supporting Olympic Day events throughout New Zealand. The NZOC, despite being independent, still worked with the Australian Olympic Team to share the costs of transporting athletes to the games.²⁶⁷ Kohe argues that Arthur Marryatt and the NZOC essentially wanted to preserve the Australasian Olympic Team that united New Zealand and Australia and that had supported New Zealand Olympic participation in 1908 and 1912.²⁶⁸ In 1923 Arthur Marryatt decided to stand down from the NZOC and the IOC, and Joseph Firth became an IOC member. One important note to make is that since its inception, the IOC has insisted that its individual members represented the IOC in their home nations and were not representatives of their countries to the IOC.²⁶⁹ It was in 1924 that New Zealand would send its second independent team to the games.

The 1924 Olympic Games returned to Paris for the second time, and four New Zealand athletes made the journey. One of those competitors was Arthur Porritt, whose distinguished career in New Zealand included serving as the 11th Governor General (from 1967 to 1972). Porritt was a member of the IOC from 1934 to 1967, serving ten of those years on the IOC Executive Board, and became the first President of the IOC Medical Commission from 1961 to 1967. It was in Paris in 1924, however, where Porritt first stamped his mark. Porritt, in the 100 metres race made famous in the film *Chariots of Fire* (released in 1981), was the bronze medal winner, behind Harold Abrahams of Great Britain and Jackson Scholz of the United States.²⁷⁰ Porritt remains (as of 2016) the only New Zealander who has qualified for an Olympic 100 metres final. The result was widely reported and celebrated in New Zealand.²⁷¹ The other three New Zealanders did not feature with boxer Colin Purdy losing his first-

²⁶⁷ Geoffery Z. Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.20.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p.21.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ *Chariots of Fire* is a 1981 British film. It tells the story of two athletes in the 1924 Olympics: Eric Liddell, a devout Scottish Christian who runs for the glory of God, and Harold Abrahams, an English Jew who runs to overcome prejudice.

²⁷¹ Evening Post, 9 July 1924, p.5.

round bout to a Frenchman, and swimmers Clarrie Heard and Gwitha Shand failing to win medals.²⁷²

In 1927, the New Zealand Olympic Committee officially recognised black and silver as the colours of the New Zealand Olympic team. The black singlet and silver fern had become firmly entrenched as the insignia of New Zealand athletes competing at the Olympic Games and have been used at every Olympic Games since.²⁷³ Today, those colours not only represent New Zealand at the Olympic Games, but are the colours for all representative sporting teams from New Zealand. This is part of what Tony Ward argues is the great marketing exercise adopted by nations in the late nineteenth century to get its citizens to adopt national colours and symbols for a common purpose.²⁷⁴

Amsterdam 1928 – Games of the IX Olympiad

In 1928, Amsterdam hosted the Olympic Games, and for the first time since WWI Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria competed at the games. Also appearing for the first time was the Olympic flame, which was lit at the top of the tower within the Olympic stadium. While the Olympic Torch Relay from Olympia would not occur until 1936, this was another important tradition that the Olympic Games are known for today.²⁷⁵

Ten New Zealanders travelled to Amsterdam to compete in three sports. While the games began in late July 1928, the New Zealand team departed four months earlier on April 28 aboard the Remuera. The games in Amsterdam are remembered as the first time New Zealand won an individual gold medal at the Olympic Games. Boxer Ted Morgan

²⁷² Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.30.

²⁷³ New Zealand Olympic Committee, 12 May 2016, *The Black Singlet: Defining New Zealand athletes 1928-1948*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-defining-new-zealand-athletes-1928-1948/>, (Accessed 20 December 2016).

²⁷⁴ Tony Ward, 'Sport and National Identity,' in *Soccer and Society*, p.526.

²⁷⁵ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.105.

won the Men's Welterweight event on August 11, 1928. In the final, Morgan faced Argentinian Paul Landini. Morgan, a southpaw boxer who had suffered a broken hand on his way to the Olympics, fought through to the final after beating competitors from Sweden, Italy and France. A group of New Zealand supporters were in the crowd for the final. By reaching the final, Morgan had secured New Zealand a silver medal already, with gold on the table. In the final, it was clear from the start of the first round that Morgan was the superior boxer, and so he became the first New Zealander to win a gold medal at the Olympic Games. Broken hand and all, Morgan became Olympic champion, and his result was a huge achievement for the New Zealander, who well and truly placed New Zealand on the Olympic map.²⁷⁶ His victory was extensively reported back in New Zealand. The *Evening Post* ran daily updates from the games, focussing on New Zealand and Australian performances. In the August 13 edition, the *Evening Post* dedicated substantial space to reporting Morgan's final, including photographs. The newspaper focused on the fact that the gold medal was New Zealand's first and the fact that Morgan had fought with a badly damaged hand. Of the final, the *Evening Post* said:

The result was never in doubt after even the first round. Morgan deserves the fullest credit not only for better boxing generalship, but for unusual courage in coming through four hard fights with a dislocated knuckle in his punching hand, which became so bad in the last two days that his whole arm was affected... The New Zealander has done even better than he himself expected. The verdict was the only one possible, Landini throwing his arms around the New Zealander's neck even before the official decision was given.²⁷⁷

Here the *Evening Post* alluded to Morgan being the underdog (with his broken hand), something that New Zealanders like to think of themselves, the underdog winning on the world stage. Also at the 1928 Games, women's athletics made its first appearance at an Olympics, and two women represented New Zealand on the track. Norma Wilson made

²⁷⁶ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.31.

²⁷⁷ *Evening Post, Morgan Wins Final*, Vol. CVI, Issue 34, 13 August 1928, p.10.

the semi-finals in the 100 metres, while the other female representative, Wilf Kalaugher, failed to progress out of the heats in the 110 metres hurdles and the triple jump.²⁷⁸

In 1928, administrator Harry Amos became the first NZOC representative to accompany a team to an Olympic Games, serving as the Chef de Mission and manager of the boxing team. To send a team to the 1928 Olympic Games, Amos and the NZOC had to raise £10,000 to send 20 athletes.²⁷⁹ While the NZOC fell short of their goal and ultimately ten athletes would attend, through advertising, New Zealanders were beginning to awaken to the power of the Olympic Games, and Ted Morgan's gold medal certainly assisted with this. Amos went on to serve as Chairman of the NZOC from 1928 to 1934, and Secretary-General from 1934 to 1950.²⁸⁰

In 1930 the first British Empire Games were held in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. New Zealand sent 22 competitors and took part in five sports. New Zealand won nine medals in Hamilton, including three gold. Kohe argues that at its inception, the NZOC 'recognised that the understandably less formal Empire Games would provide a suitable training ground for potential Olympic athletes.'²⁸¹

Los Angeles 1932 – Games of the X Olympiad

At the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, 21 athletes represented New Zealand in four sports, the largest to represent New Zealand to date. The team included 11 rowers, six athletes, three boxers and a cyclist. The New Zealand team included the first Maori competitors to compete at an Olympic Games. At the time, the 17 days it took to travel

²⁷⁸ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.34.

²⁷⁹ Geoffery Z. Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.27.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid, p.33.

across the Pacific Ocean to Los Angeles was the shortest distance an Olympic team had travelled to get to the games. The team made a short stop in Rarotonga on the way, where they met with Cook Islanders and gave sporting exhibitions and classes for the locals.²⁸² John MacDonald, of Rangitane descent, competed in rowing and was also given the honour of carrying the New Zealand flag at the opening ceremony. MacDonald competed as part of the New Zealand eights rowing team who failed to make the final. MacDonald also played rugby for the New Zealand Maori Team and toured with the team on a long tour of Great Britain, France, and Canada in 1926 and 1927.²⁸³

New Zealand's Jack Lovelock had high hopes before the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles but would be left disappointed. Lovelock was the holder of the British Empire record for the mile but finished only 7th in the final. Lovelock's time would come four years later in Berlin when he would run into history. Distance runner Billy Savidan (who won gold in the six-mile event at the first British Empire Games in 1930) was New Zealand's best performer on the track, finishing fourth in the 5000 metres and the 10000 metres events. New Zealand won a single silver medal in Los Angeles, in rowing, with New Zealand's Bob Stiles and Fred Thompson finishing second in the men's coxless pairs event. The *Evening Post* also picked up on the gloom in Los Angeles after the silver medal was won:

The rowing at Long Beach, at last, brought to New Zealand some measure of success so far as competition in finals is concerned. Contesting the final of the pairs without Cox, the New Zealanders gained second place to Great Britain.²⁸⁴

This was the only mention of success in the *Evening Post*, as the newspaper took on a gloomier view of New Zealand's performance in Los Angeles, tending to focus on negative stories, including selection issues before the games and disappointing results once the games got underway.

²⁸² Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.46.

²⁸³ Ibid, p.48.

²⁸⁴ Evening Post, *Pair-Oar Event New Zealand Second*, Evening Post, Vol. CXIV, Issue 38, 13 August 1932, p.10.

The Los Angeles Olympics in 1932 were held at the height of the Great Depression, and the NZOC had to borrow an additional £500 from its trust fund to help pay for the New Zealand team's expenses in Los Angeles. Team Manager in Los Angeles Mr Rundle told the *Evening Post* that extra funds had to be borrowed due to the high exchange rate. The New Zealand team also had to pay for a chef at the Olympic Village.²⁸⁵

In 1932 the first broadcaster to cover the Olympic Games for New Zealand was in Los Angeles. Nola Luxford had been living in the United States for a decade and convinced KFI, the NBC radio affiliate in Los Angeles, to deliver daily one-hour reports during the games to New Zealanders and Australians. In New Zealand, the reports were picked up by the YA network and relayed around the nation. In 1932, 71,000 households had a radio and was the first time that New Zealanders could hear daily updates of its athletes competing at the Olympic Games.²⁸⁶ The development of the media including mass printing is an important aspect of what Benedict Anderson calls the *imagined community* and from this moment on, New Zealand's interest in the performance of their country's athletes at the Olympic Games would only increase, as media exposure and coverage continued to grow.²⁸⁷

Berlin 1936 – Games of the XI Olympiad

In 1936 the Olympic Games were held in Berlin under the Adolf Hitler-led Nazi regime.²⁸⁸ When the Olympic Games opened on 1 August 1936, few would have predicted that these Olympic Games would be the last to be held for 12 years. In the lead-up to the games, there were calls from around the western world to boycott them due to the Nazi regime's discriminatory policies against Jews. The most significant call came from

²⁸⁵ Evening Post, *N.Z. Athletes Funds Run Short*, Evening Post, Vol. CXIV, Issue 38, 13 August 1932, p.25.

²⁸⁶ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, (Wellington: Trio Books, 2008), p.49

²⁸⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.6.

²⁸⁸ Berlin won the bid to host the Games over Barcelona, Spain, on 26 April 1931, at the 29th IOC Session in Barcelona. The vote occurred during the Weimar Republic, before Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party rose to power in 1933.

the United States. In the end, the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) voted by a narrow margin to participate in the games after President of the USOC Avery Brundage visited Berlin and received assurances from Adolf Hitler that Jewish athletes were being treated fairly and would not be discriminated against by the regime. Of course, those assurances turned out to be hollow, and no Jewish athletes would compete for Germany in Berlin. There were also boycott movements in other Western nations, including Great Britain and Canada. However, there was very little mention of a possible boycott in New Zealand media, with newspapers tending to focus on the American boycott. For example, an *Evening Post* article from 13 January 1936, stated that:

Echoes of the controversy in America and Britain over the coming Olympic Games to be held in Berlin this August have reached New Zealand at times, but to most people, the position has remained somewhat obscure. The most that is generally known is that a minority opinion in some countries, particularly the United States, wishes to transfer the Games to some other country, or, if that is impossible, to cancel them altogether in 1936... So far as Britain is concerned, the German invitation to compete has been accepted on Germany's exhaustive reassurances and undertakings.²⁸⁹

Moreover, once Great Britain decided to compete in Berlin, there was no movement in New Zealand to boycott the games.

Seven New Zealanders competed in three sports in Berlin with the great Jack Lovelock winning gold in the 1500 metres and becoming the first New Zealander to win a gold medal in athletics, winning in a world record time of 3 minutes 47.8 seconds. Again it would not be easy for the New Zealand team to make it to Berlin. The sea journey took several weeks to complete, with stopovers in Australia, Colombo, Bombay, Aden, Port Said, Gibraltar and Marseilles.²⁹⁰ Lovelock carried the New Zealand flag into the Olympic stadium where over 100,000 people watched the Opening Ceremony alongside German Chancellor Adolf Hitler. When the New Zealand Team marched past Hitler, the

²⁸⁹ *Evening Post*, *Olympic Games: Treatment of Jews Points in Recent Dispute*, Vol. CXXI, Issue 10, 13 January 1936, p.5.

²⁹⁰ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.60.

representatives simply turned their eyes right towards Hitler, as was done by most Western nations except for Canada, which gave him the full Nazi salute.²⁹¹ American sprinter Jessie Owens became the star of the Berlin Olympics by winning four gold medals. The African American would shatter the Nazi idea of Aryan superiority. Owen's feats (in winning four gold medals) would not be repeated until Carl Lewis matched him at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games.

The 1500 metres running event was held on August 6, 1936, at 4:15 pm, just 15 minutes after Adolf Hitler entered the Olympic stadium.²⁹² Perhaps the most famous, and indeed the most memorable commentary of a New Zealand athlete at any Olympic Games was by Harold Abrahams of the BBC. Abrahams had won gold at the 1924 Olympic Games, in the 100 metres event (in the same race in which Arthur Porritt had won bronze). At that time, commentators were meant to be calm, and objective, and not get excited while commentating. However, Abrahams abandoned this during the event as he was a close friend of Lovelock:

Lovelock's just running perfectly now. Come on Jack! Three hundred metres to go. Lovelock leads! Three hundred metres to go. Lovelock!... Lovelock leads by three yards. Cunningham's fighting hard, Becali coming up on his shoulder. Lovelock leads! Lovelock! Lovelock! Come on Jack, a hundred yards to go. Come on Jack! My God, he's done it. Jack! Come on! Lovelock wins... five yards... six yards... he wins... he's won... hurrah!^{293 294}

The gold medal by Lovelock was a huge achievement by the New Zealander, and it has become one of the most famous victories by any New Zealander who has competed internationally in any sport.

Lovelock's victory in Berlin in a world record time was dominant. Kohe argues that Lovelock was subsequently revered as one of the nation's

²⁹¹ Ibid, p.62.

²⁹² Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.52.

²⁹³ Ibid, p.53.

²⁹⁴ Youtube has full commentary of the race. The commentary can be found at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nr0ihgPjo3k> (Accessed 8 June 2016).

finest sons, becoming one of the significant cultural icons of the day.²⁹⁵ Lovelock's footage is still played on New Zealand television every four years during the Olympic Games. Following Lovelock's victory in 1936, the NZOC Secretary General Harry Amos wrote about Lovelock's return to New Zealand:

New Zealand will not only fittingly welcome the temporary return of a very distinguished son... A son who has distinguished himself not only by his athletic prowess but by his studies abroad. The growing importance of national physical education makes Mr Lovelock's visit a great moment to us. His athletic achievements have been the result, not only of his natural talent but deep and intelligent study. The government feels that Mr Lovelock will have something to impart of great value, not merely in connection with track athletics but also in connection with physical activity.²⁹⁶

The return of Lovelock following his achievements in Berlin was similar to that of Morgan's return in 1928. On his way home from Berlin, Lovelock attended a function in London, hosted by New Zealand's High Commissioner, Mr W. J. Jordan. Jordan remarked to the crowd that "I wonder whether the day will come when New Zealand will have running shoes incorporated in its coat of arms."²⁹⁷ Lovelock's victory in Berlin was not only a triumph for New Zealand but as Historian Charlotte Macdonald argues, 'his victory was also a reminder that the world to which New Zealanders were connected in this period was still a strongly imperial one. Lovelock, like Porritt and Wilding before him, trained in England, and was seen as much as a representative of the 'British' as the New Zealand tradition.'²⁹⁸

Lovelock was invited by the New Zealand government as a guest of government to tour New Zealand following the Berlin games. On announcing Lovelock's tour of New Zealand, Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage stated:

²⁹⁵ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.32.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, p.33.

²⁹⁷ Evening Post, *Lovelock Honoured at Party in London*, Evening Post, Vol. CXXII, Issue 50, 27 August 1936.

²⁹⁸ Charlotte Macdonald, 'Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History,' in Giselle Byrnes (ed), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.283.

Although New Zealanders have a fine reputation on the world's playing fields, we must admit that we do not produce Lovelocks every day. This is all the more reason why the Government should do everything in its power to make the visit a success... As far as the Government is concerned, we shall do our best to honour both the man and his performance in a fitting manner.²⁹⁹

This example shows that politicians' use of sportsmen and women is not a recent occurrence. Lovelock visited town after town, school after school, speaking about his time in Berlin and his achievements. Lovelock was hosted in Parliament at an official welcome home. Speaking on behalf of the government that day was future Prime Minister Peter Fraser:

When one thinks of the short history of our country, and of this country's contribution, humble as we might try to keep ourselves, we cannot help a thrill of pride running through us that a young country so far away from what is called the centre of civilisation should have been able to contribute so much in the field of sport, in the wider field of life and business, and also in social legislation.³⁰⁰

Following his victory in Berlin, Lovelock (who kept meticulous diary records of his time in the Olympic City), spoke positively about his time in Berlin:

Nowhere could we have been received with greater courtesy and hospitality; and whatever may be thought and said later of the organisation and the spirit, sporting, political, propagandist and otherwise of the whole festival, all must be impressed with the magnificent efforts of our German rivals and by the courtesy with which they treated their guests.³⁰¹

Lovelock also wrote extensively about the future of the Olympic movement and made some predictions that have certainly proven to be true:

At the same time, however, we must consider a few other matters, with some of which we are in such whole-hearted agreement. Again, let us try and be honest with ourselves; and there is much to be said for the view that the whole Olympic

²⁹⁹ Evening Post, *Lovelock's Visit: Government's Arrangements*, Evening Post, Vol. CXXII, Issue 70, 19 September 1936.

³⁰⁰ Peter Fraser, in The Evening Post, *Civic Reception: The Place of Sport*, Evening Post, Vol. CXXII, Issue 113, 9 November 1936.

³⁰¹ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.60.

Movement is becoming too grandiose, too complicated in its inclusions, too over-organised in its executive, until it is approaching the stage when it will shortly miss the true Olympic ideal and may become a stage for the display of ulterior motives other than those of the ancient Greek originals and of the modern founder. No longer for the honour of our countries and the glory of sport, but for the furtherance of national ideals and the glorification of the individual victor.³⁰²

Lovelock is correct. While he may have been naive about the intentions of Hitler in Berlin, he certainly foresaw future issues that the Olympic Movement would grapple with. The glorification of the individual victor is an interesting concept and something that is being grappled with now given the huge sums of money that athletes make by winning, which has led to cheating and drug taking.

The first Labour government elected in 1935 called on the NZOC to “contribute to debates about improving national standards in physical activity and health.”³⁰³ Following the 1938 Commonwealth Games in Sydney, Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage welcomed the New Zealand team home at a Parliamentary function to celebrate winning 25 medals. Harry Amos, the NZOC Secretary General, stated:

It is most gratifying to know that the sporting reputation of New Zealanders has been enhanced through your participation in the games.³⁰⁴

Kohe argues that the First Labour government recognised the NZOC's efforts to facilitate athletic success and the central role sport played as a product and producer of national identity and popular sentiment. Rugby had been the favoured political football among other governments, and likewise, Savage and Fraser possibly saw similar merits in a close affiliation with the NZOC.³⁰⁵

When the 1940 Olympic Games were cancelled due to World War II, the NZOC donated £1000 to the National War Fund. This was a substantial

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.35.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, p.36.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

sum for the organisation as the NZOC's annual income was approximately £596 at the time.³⁰⁶ In 1941 the Greek National Olympic Committee sent an urgent cable appealing to the NZOC's Olympic loyalties. The NZOC responded with a firm response of support:

New Zealand's athletes and people are filled with admiration at Greece's magnificent efforts. New Zealand's athletes are playing their part in the fight against aggression and tyranny. New Zealand athletes and people fully realise the sacrifice being made and the courage exhibited by the people of the Motherland and are proud of the spirit animating all classes to fight on and to suffer every hardship until victory is achieved.³⁰⁷

When the Olympic Games returned to Athens, in 2004, the NZOC recognised New Zealand's involvement in World War II. Four New Zealand Olympians died in service during the First and Second World Wars: the 1912 bronze medallist Anthony Wilding (tennis) died on May 9, 1915, in the second battle of Ypres; and Albert Rowland (athletics), who competed in 1908 in London, died on July 23, 1918. The third New Zealand Olympian to die in service was George Cooke, who competed in the rowing eight in Los Angeles in 1932. Cooke was killed on May 23, 1941, during the Battle of Crete. The fourth New Zealand Olympian to die in service was Henry Murray, who carried the Australasian flag into the Olympic stadium in 1908 and would die on April 12, 1943, after his Jeep crashed.³⁰⁸

Conclusion

In conclusion, in its first 25 years, the NZOC evolved into one of the strongest national sporting bodies in New Zealand. The NZOC had sent teams to every Olympic Games since World War I and had also sent teams to the first three British Empire Games. New Zealand sent teams to the Games despite the high costs of travel. From 1894 to 1936 six New Zealanders had served as members of the International Olympic Committee. New Zealand had won five medals, including two gold medals in the first five Olympic Games in which New Zealand participated as an

³⁰⁶ Ibid, p.38.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.24.

independent nation. For a nation that had not yet reached a population of three million people, New Zealand was well and truly 'punching above its weight on the world stage.' However, while New Zealand was 'punching above its weight', it was still very much known as part of the British Empire. New Zealand in the early years competed alongside its neighbour Australia, as a combined Australasian team, and for the two gold medals won under the New Zealand banner, 'God Save the King' was played. Whether it was on the battlefield or reported overseas, New Zealand was tied to the mother country. However, the sports field did give New Zealand some opportunities to display an independent identity. Most prominent was the black uniform with the silver fern. As the twentieth century progressed, New Zealand would find its voice on the world stage and the Olympic Games would become an important part of this.

Chapter Five: New Zealand strikes out on its own or does it? New Zealand and the Olympic movement in the post-war years 1947-1968

The 1948 Olympic Games took place in post-war London, and during the twelve years between Olympic Games, the world had changed. The period following World War II through to 1968 was also a turbulent time, as many new nations were created following World War II. The atomic bomb had been developed (and deployed) and the Cold War between the East and West had began. Wars were also fought in Korea and Vietnam, with New Zealand sending troops to Korea in 1950 and to Vietnam in 1965. The world was changing as new alliances were formed.

In New Zealand changes were noticeable as well. David Capie argues that the second World War marked an important point of transition in New Zealand's international relations. 'the war had forced the country to be more active in dealing with states outside the British Empire.'³⁰⁹ A new Department of External Affairs was established in 1943 and as Capie argues, 'New Zealand gradually embraced another great power protector, the USA.'³¹⁰ New Zealand began to awaken to the fact that it could not rely on Great Britain as it once could and it looked to expand its relationships with other parts of the world, including the United States. On 6 September 1948, the British Nationality and New Zealand Citizenship Act was passed. Until this Act came into force, people born in New Zealand were British subjects but not New Zealand citizens. From 1 January 1949, New Zealand citizenship could be acquired by birth in New Zealand, or by descent, registration, or naturalisation.³¹¹ This was just another step towards full New Zealand independence. On 29 April 1952, the ANZUS agreement, signed by Australia, New Zealand, and the United

³⁰⁹ David Capie, 'New Zealand and the World, Imperial, International and Global Relations,' in Giselle Byrnes (eds), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.586.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, June 2015 'New Zealand citizenship established', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/the-british-nationality-and-new-zealand-citizenship-act-makes-new-zealand-citizenship-possible>, (Accessed 12 December 2016)

States in 1951, came into force. The ANZUS treaty recognised that an armed attack in the Pacific area on one member would endanger the peace and safety of the others, and the signatories pledged to 'act to meet the common danger'. During the 1940s New Zealand's confidence that Great Britain would be able to defend New Zealand if an attack occurred eroded, prompted by the British surrender to the Japanese at Singapore in February 1942. From that point, New Zealand began to look elsewhere for support.³¹²

In 1952 New Zealand's population reached two million. New Zealand remained a small nation, and it was a year later when Edmund Hillary, a beekeeper from Auckland, became the first person to climb Mt Everest, thus putting New Zealand more conspicuously on the world map. New Zealand was elected to a seat on the United Nations Security Council in 1954 and 1966. As a member of the Security Council in 1954–55, New Zealand asserted the council's primary responsibility for deliberating post-coup developments in Guatemala. Enlargement of the Security Council's non-permanent membership allowed New Zealand to serve a one-year term on the council in 1966. This was at the height of the Vietnam War, and it was also a time of increasing African and Asian assertion on the global stage through independence movements. New Zealand supported the white minority in Rhodesia and opposed the use of force by the British following Rhodesia's 1965 unilateral declaration of independence.³¹³

In 1967, Olympic medallist and member of the International Olympic Committee Arthur Porritt returned to New Zealand as the country's 11th Governor General. Porritt became the first Governor General born in New Zealand and his term marked a turning-point in the country's constitutional history: his successors have all been New Zealand citizens and

³¹² Ministry for Culture and Heritage, February 2016, 'ANZUS treaty comes into force', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/anzus-comes-into-force>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³¹³ Rod Alley, 'Multilateral organisations - War and conflict', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/multilateral-organisations/page-2>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

residents.³¹⁴ It was also in 1967, from 10 July, that New Zealand decided to adopt decimal currency, another break with Britain, coming about a year after Australia made the same decision.³¹⁵ Despite these changes, however, New Zealand was still heavily reliant on Britain for its exports, and by 1960 New Zealand still exported over 60 percent of its produce to Britain. In 1961 Britain announced its intention to join the European Economic Community (EEC). The British government acknowledged that New Zealand was the most vulnerable of its Commonwealth trading partners. Because of this, New Zealand was given what was effectively a veto over British membership of the EEC if it found the terms negotiated unacceptable. New Zealand was 'an English farm in the Pacific,' said Harold Macmillan, the British prime minister who began negotiations to join the EEC in the 1960s. New Zealand politicians agreed, and Prime Minister Keith Holyoake had warned Macmillan that 'New Zealand would be ruined' when Britain joined the EEC if safeguards were not provided for its exports.³¹⁶ Despite new realities and new alliances, New Zealand was still heavily dependent on Great Britain for trade, and in many ways emotionally as well.

London 1948: Games of the XIV Olympiad

The first Olympic Games held after World War II were in London. The losers of WWII, Germany and Japan did not receive an invitation to compete.³¹⁷ The Olympic Games in 1948 occurred eight months after New Zealand adopted the Statute of Westminster in November 1947, taking a further important step towards becoming fully independent. Despite this

³¹⁴ Diana Beaglehole. 'Porritt, Arthur Espie', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p34/porritt-arthur-espie> (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³¹⁵ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, June 2016, 'NZ adopts decimal currency', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/nz-adopts-decimal-currency>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³¹⁶ Martin Holland and Serena Kelly, 'Britain, Europe and New Zealand - Trade', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/britain-europe-and-new-zealand/page-3> (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³¹⁷ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.105.

move newspapers in New Zealand still referred to the New Zealand team as representing the Dominion.³¹⁸

Only seven athletes made the trip from New Zealand to London to compete, taking part in five sports, and no New Zealanders would reach the podium in London, the first time that New Zealand did not win a medal at an Olympic Games. New Zealand's best result came in weightlifting when Maurice Crow finished eighth in the bantamweight competition.

The New Zealand uniform was criticised during the Opening Ceremony of the 1948 games. An American reporter called the New Zealand team a 'scruffy lot.'³¹⁹ The New Zealand team was led into the stadium by flag bearer Harold Nelson (athletics: men's 10,000 metres and 5,000 metres). The New Zealand uniform consisted of a black blazer with white trim and a silver fern, with grey trousers. One New Zealand journalist in London admitted to being embarrassed when New Zealand marched in and said:

The New Zealanders walked past King George at the saluting base – the King in the immaculate uniform of Admiral of the Fleet and the New Zealanders parading before him looking like scarecrows in a magpie's colours.³²⁰

The New Zealand team was disappointing in London with athletes failing to feature. Games Manager David Woodfield in his official report on the Games said that a second official should be sent with the New Zealand contingent to Helsinki in 1952, to act as coach, trainer, and masseur. The report also recommended that the uniform, which had been donated by the Wool Board, should be 'smarter' at future games.³²¹

In 1950, New Zealand hosted the Empire Games for the first time in Auckland. A record 175 athletes represented New Zealand (out of a total

³¹⁸ Manawatu Standard, *Kiwis proud to be nation of underdogs*, 21 July 2012, p.14.

³¹⁹ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.77.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid, p.80.

of 590 athletes), winning 53 medals, including ten gold medals.³²² Hosting the fourth Empire Games was certainly a shot in the arm for morale in New Zealand post-World War II. Prime Minister Sidney Holland wrote following the games:

The British Empire Games of 1950 will long be remembered in this and other Commonwealth countries, not only for the superb displays by the foremost athletes of the Empire, but also for the grand spirit of sportsmanship that was so evident, for the unstinted hospitality of the people of Auckland and for the ideal conditions which usually prevailed.³²³

Yvette Williams won gold and bronze at the 1950 Empire Games and started as one of the favourites in Helsinki in the long jump to win New Zealand's first gold medal for a woman.

Helsinki 1952: Games of the XV Olympiad

In 1952 the Olympic Games travelled to Helsinki, where the Soviet Union participated in the Olympic Games for the first time after being recognised by the IOC in May 1951. The participation by the Soviet Union meant athletes from the Eastern Bloc nations (Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia) were housed in a separate Olympic Village to other athletes. Post-war politics were starting to play a bigger role in the Olympic movement as the question of German participation was debated. Because of the post-war split in Germany, two National Olympic Committees were formed. According to the Olympic Charter, only one NOC could be recognised per nation. The IOC rejected the application for membership from East Germany and continued to recognise only West Germany. As a result, no East German athletes participated in the Helsinki Games.³²⁴

³²² Ibid, p.81.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.105.

Yvette Williams became the first woman to win a gold medal for New Zealand when she won the long jump, also breaking the Olympic record in the process. Fifteen athletes in five sports represented New Zealand at the 1952 Olympic Games. The team was New Zealand's biggest since Los Angeles in 1932. New Zealand athletes also won two bronze medals with Jean Stewart finishing third in the women's 100 metres backstroke, and John Holland winning bronze in the 400 metres hurdles.

The 1952 Olympic team was the first New Zealand team to travel to an Olympics by air. The team departed Wellington on 13 June on the Solent flying boat, *Aranui*, with stops in Sydney, Darwin, Singapore, Calcutta, Rome and London.³²⁵ Suddenly, travelling to the Olympic Games was much easier, levelling the playing field for those athletes who had to travel long distances to compete.

In the long jump competition, Yvette Williams in her fourth jump of the final leapt 6.24 metres to win the event. Following her victory, New Zealanders inside the Olympic stadium broke into an impromptu haka. Williams's roommate Jean Stewart was on hand to witness the gold medal and raced onto the track and threw her arms around Williams. Williams was presented with her medal by Arthur Porritt, and the New Zealand flag was raised to the highest spot on the podium for only the third time at an Olympic Games. The Finnish military band played 'God Save the Queen,' and then followed it up with an unofficial rendition of 'God Defend New Zealand.'³²⁶ This was the first time that 'God Defend New Zealand' was played at an Olympic Games and the final time for the next twenty years. While it was played unofficially, it certainly resonated with New Zealanders in Helsinki that day and according to those present inside the Olympic stadium there was 'not a dry eye in the house.'³²⁷ No explanation was ever given as to why 'God Defend New Zealand' was played alongside 'God Save the Queen.'³²⁸ University of Auckland Associate

³²⁵ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.93.

³²⁶ Ibid, p.99.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

Professor Caroline Daley states that the Government acquired the rights to use 'God Defend New Zealand' in 1940, and made it the 'national hymn.' It did not become the official anthem until 1977, and to this day, it shares that status with 'God Save the Queen'.³²⁹ However, when it comes to why 'God Defend New Zealand', was used at the medal ceremony for Yvette Williams in 1952, Associate Professor Daley states that: 'no one really knows how come, because it wasn't the official national anthem at that time.'³³⁰ Back in New Zealand, thousands of people sat up through the night listening to updates of the long jump competition on their radios. Williams started with two no jumps (fouls for overstepping) in the final. When the news of two no jumps reached New Zealand, the levels of anxiety increased. The next update had better news. Williams had registered a jump in fourth place, hence qualifying for the final three jumps. It was the fourth jump that Williams made count, and with that she was an Olympic champion.³³¹

Williams became an overnight hero in New Zealand, and on arrival back to New Zealand she embarked on a nationwide tour, from Auckland to her hometown of Dunedin. Williams was met by 20,000 people at Western Springs Stadium in Auckland.³³² She was greeted by thousands of people in each town on her way to Dunedin. In a 2016 interview with the NZOC, Williams said that the tour had been overwhelming: "At every town, school kids would wave flags and hand me bouquets," she said. "It was all a bit overwhelming for me."³³³ Williams's final stop on her victory tour was Dunedin. She was overcome:

When I got to Dunedin, I was transferred to an open car and driven through the main street to the town hall for a civic reception. The city was decked out in

³²⁹ Dan Satherly, *God Defend New Zealand' - how it became one of New Zealand's national anthems*, NewsHub, 10 July 2017, <http://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2017/07/god-defend-new-zealand-how-it-became-one-of-new-zealand-s-national-anthems.html>, (Accessed 10 July 2017).

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.64.

³³² Ibid, p.73.

³³³ New Zealand Olympic Committee, *The Black Singlet: The Golden Era 1952-64*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-the-golden-era-1952-64/>.

bunting and flags, and there were 'welcome home' signs everywhere. It was amazing.³³⁴

In 1952 New Zealand also sent its first athletes to the Winter Olympic Games, which were held in Oslo. The first Winter Olympic Games had taken place 28 years earlier in Chamonix, France. Five New Zealand skiers went to Oslo for the 1952 games, but it would not be until 1992 that a New Zealander was able to win a medal at a Winter Olympics.

Melbourne 1956: Games of the XVI Olympiad

In 1956 the Olympic Games went "down under" for the first time with Melbourne acting as the host city. Because of Australia's strict biosecurity laws, the equestrian events were held in Stockholm, the only time that events have taken place in a country other than the host city. In Melbourne, global politics took centre stage. This time incidents in the Middle East came to the fore over the Suez Canal issue. Israel, Great Britain and France united to keep the Suez Canal open when Egypt tried to regain control of it. The Soviet Union and the United States backed a UN cease-fire order. Egypt demanded that the IOC ban Israel, Great Britain, and France from the Melbourne Games. The IOC rejected this and Egypt, alongside Lebanon and Iraq, boycotted the Olympics. Also withdrawing from the 1956 Games were Spain, Switzerland, and the Netherlands due to the Hungarian uprising, which was caused by the Soviet Union.³³⁵ Taiwan also withdrew from the games after China was admitted to compete. However, China also withdrew after Taiwan's flag was inadvertently flown over the Olympic village. China would not compete at an Olympic Games until Los Angeles in 1984. These boycott activities moved the Olympic Games firmly into the political arena, setting a precedent that would be repeated in future Olympics.³³⁶

³³⁴ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.73.

³³⁵ The three countries had already competed in the equestrian events at Stockholm earlier in 1956.

³³⁶ Jong-Youngl Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.110.

Fifty-three athletes in nine sports represented New Zealand in Melbourne. It was the biggest team to represent New Zealand at the Olympic Games up till then. For the first time, many New Zealanders decided to cross the Tasman Sea, to enjoy the spectacle of the games, and to support New Zealand athletes competing. This was something that supporters had previously only been able to read about in the newspaper or listen to on the radio. New Zealand athletes won two gold medals in Melbourne, with Norman Read winning the 50-kilometre walk, and Jack Cropp and Peter Mander winning the sailing Sharpie event.³³⁷ New Zealand beat Australia for gold in the Sharpie event after the Australians were disqualified from the final race. For two and a half hours New Zealand thought they had won silver when the news came through that they had, in fact, won gold. The Australians were livid and claimed that New Zealand had won by default.³³⁸ The gold was New Zealand's first medal in sailing at its first attempt competing in sailing events at an Olympic Games.

Norman Read stood on top of the medal dais in Melbourne when he took gold in the 50-kilometre walk. Reid had immigrated from England to Wellington in 1953 and in Melbourne was wearing the black singlet with a large no. 10, and a white handkerchief knotted around his neck to ward off the hot Melbourne sun; there was no doubt which nation Read was representing: "And there's the black uniform – and listen to that crowd!"³³⁹ radio commentator Lance Cross told New Zealanders crowded around their wirelasses back at home. After winning his gold medal, British journalists questioned Reid about his right to represent New Zealand. "Look, I'm a Pommy Kiwi and proud of it," Reid declared.³⁴⁰ Read's comments about being a Pommy Kiwi represent the widespread thoughts by many New Zealanders in the 1950's, that New Zealand was very much

³³⁷ The Sharpie sailing class was one of five classes in Melbourne. The class is a two person single hull 12 metre boat.

³³⁸ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.114.

³³⁹ New Zealand Olympic Committee, *The Black Singlet: The Golden Era 1952-64*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-the-golden-era-1952-64/>.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

an outpost of Britain and labelled a 'Little Britain of the South Seas, which was still seen as a source of national pride.'³⁴¹

Rome 1960: Games of the XVII Olympiad

When Rome hosted the Olympic Games in 1960, political involvement in the games continued to increase. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the post-war sporting competition between nations became increasingly significant in the wider ideological struggle between capitalism and communism. In 1960 China withdrew its membership of the IOC and, as in 1956, East and West Germany competed together as a united Germany, doing so for the last time. The Cold War was raging in 1960 and superiority on the sporting field was becoming a big part of it. The 1960 Olympic Games were the last in which South Africa was permitted to compete until Barcelona hosted the games in 1992.³⁴² However, as history shows the South African question was far from being settled at the 1960 Olympic Games.

The Rome Games would be remembered by New Zealanders as the Olympic Games that brought New Zealand the *Golden Hour*. The New Zealand team comprised 38 athletes, taking part in nine sports in Rome and winning three medals. Friday, 2 September 1960, has been remembered as perhaps New Zealand's greatest day at an Olympic Games when in the space of just one hour New Zealand won two gold medals in athletics. Peter Snell, at the time ranked 26th in the world, beat favourite Roger Moens of Belgium to win the 800 metres. The final was run at a scorching pace. World record-holder Moens took the lead 100 metres from the finish and looked to be heading for victory. However, Snell surged past him on the inside, crossing the line with his eyes shut.

³⁴¹ Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow, *Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), p.49

³⁴² Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, p.114.

When he discovered that he had won gold, the New Zealander was so stunned that he did not even take a victory lap.³⁴³

Forty minutes later Murray Halberg won the 5,000 metres event. Halberg, who finished a disappointing 11th in the 1500 metres at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, truly capped off a stunning result. Drawing inspiration from Snell's triumph, Halberg completed the golden day for New Zealand by winning in 13 minutes 43.4 seconds. Running to a plan set by coach Arthur Lydiard, Halberg burst ahead of the field with three laps to go and hung on bravely to the finish. First to greet Halberg after his race was Peter Snell. A couple of strides after reaching the tape, he collapsed on the infield, completely spent. Australian distance champion Ron Clarke described it as 'probably the most courageous run in Olympic history'.³⁴⁴ At the time, the *New Zealand Herald* wrote after the victory:

A fashionable air of detachment toward the Olympic Games among a section of New Zealanders has been jolted. Two victories in an hour in major track events have suffused the country with a golden glow of pride.³⁴⁵

The pride for New Zealand would not finish there. While Snell and Halberg were competing in Rome, another New Zealander, Valerie Young, would finish fourth in the women's shot put event. She was agonisingly close to a bronze medal. Again, it would be Arthur Porritt who would present the gold medals to Snell and Halberg.³⁴⁶ New Zealanders in the stadium that day also performed a haka for Halberg following his medal ceremony and victory lap.³⁴⁷ Friday, September 2 was New Zealand's day at the Olympic Games. New Zealanders could not believe the achievements of Snell and Halberg: neighbour called neighbour, the morning commuters had but one topic of conversation and a feeling of immense pride swept the country. It was the same

³⁴³ New Zealand History, 5 July 2015, *Golden Day for Kiwi Runners in Rome*, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/peter-snell-and-murray-halberg-win-olympic-gold>, (Accessed 31 October 2016).

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ New Zealand Herald, October 17, 1960, *1960, Peter Snell and Murray Halberg: Olympic Golden Hour*, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/new-zealand-herald-150-years/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503278&objectid=11141747, (Accessed – 31 October 2016).

³⁴⁶ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.130.

³⁴⁷ Vern Walker, *Peter Snell and the Kiwis who Flew*, (Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 2014), p.115.

feeling that had been apparent when Hillary got to the top of Mt Everest, and when Yvette Williams beat the world in 1952.³⁴⁸ The rest of the world could not believe the results by New Zealand, and the British Team Manager, Sandy Duncan, gifted a magnum of champagne to the New Zealand Team following the feats of Halberg and Snell.³⁴⁹

New Zealand's third medal, a bronze, came in the marathon on the final day of the games when Barry Magee finished third behind the great Abebe Bikila of Ethiopia, who became the first black African athlete to win an Olympic gold medal. He ran barefoot to earn a remarkable gold medal and become an international hero. Bikila would back up his 1960 victory with a second win in the marathon in 1964, in Tokyo. Barry Magee, 1960 bronze medallist, was interviewed in 2016 about his Olympic experience and what it meant to wear the black singlet and the silver fern: "In all the international events, I competed in, it always felt extra special to wear the black singlet with the silver fern; and extra, extra good to succeed with that singlet on. Apart from the Olympic medal, I have no more valued memento of all my games adventures than that singlet".³⁵⁰

Tokyo 1964: Games of the XVIII Olympiad

Japan's international re-emergence following World War II came in 1964 when Tokyo became the first Asian city to host an Olympic Games. The Japanese highlighted their success in reconstruction by choosing as the last torchbearer Yashinori Sakai, who was born in Hiroshima on the same day that the city was destroyed by an atomic bomb.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.130-132.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, p.132.

³⁵⁰ New Zealand Olympic Committee, *The Black Singlet: The Golden Era 1952-64*, (9 June 2016), <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-the-golden-era-1952-64/>, (Accessed 20 December 2016).

³⁵¹ Daniel D Snyder, *Olympic Cauldron Lighters: A Complete Timeline*, (June 20 2013), <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2012/06/olympic-cauldron-lighters-a-complete-timeline/258707/>, (Accessed 8 June 2017).

New Zealand enjoyed its most successful Olympic Games to date, winning five medals, including three gold medals. The Olympic Games were held in mid-October 1964, a time when Nikita Khrushchev retired as the leader of the Soviet Union, Harold Wilson became Prime Minister in Great Britain, and China tested its first atomic bomb. In New Zealand, one story dominated the month of October: the feats of Peter Snell.³⁵² For example, in the lead-up to the games, the *Auckland Star* newspaper dedicated a substantial amount of column inches to Snell. Before the games, the newspaper printed a full-page article depicting a day in the life of Peter Snell. The article included nine photographs.³⁵³ Many New Zealanders were on hand in Tokyo to watch the feats of the New Zealand team. The P & O liner *Oriana* travelled from New Zealand via Australia to Japan for the games. There were so many New Zealanders on board that Thomas Cook Travel (based out of Auckland) sent staff on the liner to assist with New Zealanders travelling to the Olympic Games. The feats of Snell and Halberg in Rome 1960 and the possibility of a repeat in Tokyo were too irresistible for people to ignore.³⁵⁴

The great Peter Snell did not disappoint, winning the men's 800 metres and 1500 metres athletics events, becoming the first New Zealander to win multiple medals at a single Olympic Games. New Zealand would also claim a bronze medal in the men's 1500 metres with John Davies finishing third. This would be the first time that New Zealand won two medals in a single event, a feat repeated only twice since, in 1996 in equestrian and in 2004 in the men's triathlon. Marise Chamberlain finished third in the women's 800m event to win bronze. New Zealand's final medal was another gold, won by Helmer Pedersen and Earle Wells in the Flying Dutchman sailing event. New Zealand finished 12th on the medal table at Tokyo, ahead of nations such as Canada, France, the Netherlands and Turkey.

³⁵² Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.145.

³⁵³ Vern Walker, *Peter Snell and the Kiwis Who Flew*, p.198.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p.189.

The New Zealand Olympic Team arrived in Tokyo with a flurry of interest by the Japanese press who were interested in talking with Snell, but also with the three marathon runners Jeff Julian, Ray Puckett and Ivan Keats. While none of them would win a medal in the Tokyo Olympic Marathon, all three were global running superstars in 1964. For Snell, first up was the 800-metre race in which he was the defending champion. Snell breezed through the heats and semi-finals and lined up in the Olympic final on October 16. In the final, Snell set a new Olympic record, winning a dominant gold.³⁵⁵ The following day the heats of the 1500 metres began. Snell and fellow New Zealander John Davies both qualified through the heats and the semi-final and into the final, which was held on 21 October. Upon the running of the 1500-metre final, New Zealanders stopped what they were doing:

Industry in New Zealand had ground almost to a halt, drivers pulled off to the side of the road, office workers had huddled around transistor radios, and even hallowed halls of justice and parliament were disrupted as a nation paused to listen to their hero in action.³⁵⁶

Again, in the 1500-metres, Snell would not be beaten. Snell won by almost 1.5 seconds, which at the time was the second biggest margin in Olympic history. Snell would become the first man since Albert Hill of Great Britain in 1920 to win both the 800 and 1500-metres. Even Parliament was distracted by the 1500-metres final.³⁵⁷ Attendance in the House of Representatives in Wellington fell to 18 (out of 80 members) during the final, two less than the required number for a quorum. While there was no live television coverage during those days (the first live broadcast of an Olympic event in New Zealand would be for the 1976 Olympic Games Opening Ceremony in Montreal), Prime Minister Keith Holyoake listened to the race crouched over a transistor radio with Attorney-General Ralph Hanan. At the time of the race, Labour MP Martyn Finlay was addressing the House on the 'complexities of own-your-own flat registration'. Finlay said:

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p.149.

³⁵⁶ Don Cameron, *Memorable Moments in New Zealand Sport*, (Auckland: Moa Publications, 1979), p.172

³⁵⁷ Vern Walker, *Peter Snell and the Kiwis Who Flew*, p.203.

It's grand to be listened to in absolute silence, apart from a small murmuring from an identifiable source.³⁵⁸

Once the race was concluded Prime Minister Holyoake sprung to his feet to announce to Parliament that Snell had won the 1500-metres:

Point of order, Mr Speaker. Peter Snell has won the 1500 metres by seven or eight yards.³⁵⁹

Politicians' focus on the results of New Zealand's Olympians was not new, and this is just another example of the importance to identity and Anderson's *Imagined Community* that the Olympic Movement can play.³⁶⁰ Within an hour of Snell's 1500 metre victory, New Zealand would capture another gold, this time in sailing when the Flying Dutchman pair of Helmer Pederson and Earle Wells finished fourth in their last race at Enoshima to take the gold.³⁶¹

New Zealand's participation in Tokyo was not without problems. At the closing ceremony, several New Zealanders, including the track team, decided to take it upon themselves to inject some humour into the closing ceremony. They decided to stop in front of the Japanese Emperor's official box and undertake a series of elaborate and exaggerated bows. The bows drew cheers from some of the crowd, but others made gasps of embarrassment. The issue soon intensified, and Prime Minister Keith Holyoake decided to seek a report by the New Zealand Ambassador to Tokyo, and Hugh Weir, a member of the IOC from Australia, stated that the antics were 'utterly disgraceful and an insult to the Emperor of Japan.' Despite the issue, the Japanese Organising Committee stated that they thought the bows were in good Kiwi humour and were not offended by them.³⁶²

³⁵⁸ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.107.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p.6.

³⁶¹ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.151-153.

³⁶² Ibid, p.152.

Mexico City 1968: Games of the XIX Olympiad

The high altitude of Mexico City and student demonstrations overshadowed the first games to be held in Latin America. Because of the high altitude, the New Zealand team arrived in Mexico City nearly a month before the games to acclimatise. Inside the village, New Zealand was housed with the team from South Vietnam, because in 1968 New Zealand and South Vietnamese troops were fighting together in the Vietnam War.³⁶³ New Zealand was represented by 58 athletes, competing in eight sports, and the team won three medals, including the Men's Coxed Four, New Zealand's first ever rowing gold medal. Mike Ryan won a bronze medal in the Marathon, and Ian Ballinger won New Zealand's first ever medal in shooting, earning a bronze medal in the Mixed 50-metre rifle prone event.

The 1968 Olympic Games were marred by two highly political events. The first occurred before the opening ceremony when Mexican police opened fire on demonstrators, protesting the high cost of the games and the high levels of poverty. The final death toll from the shooting is unclear, but estimates put the number of dead in the hundreds, with around 1200 injured.³⁶⁴

The second event occurred after the 200 metres final. The final took place on 16 October 1968 and was won by Tommie Smith of the United States, with Peter Norman of Australia winning silver and John Carlos of the United States winning bronze. Smith set a new world record in taking the gold, but the real controversy came in the medal ceremony. During the playing of the American national anthem, Smith and Carlos stood and gave the Black Power salute. Each athlete raised a black-gloved fist and kept them raised until the anthem had finished. Smith, Carlos, and Australian silver medallist Peter Norman all wore human rights badges on their jackets. IOC president Avery Brundage deemed it to be a domestic

³⁶³ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.166.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

political statement unfit for the “apolitical” international forum the Olympic Games were intended to be. In response to their actions, he ordered Smith and Carlos suspended from the United States Olympic Team and banned from the Olympic Village. When the US Olympic Committee refused, Brundage threatened to ban the entire US track team. This threat led to the expulsion of the two athletes from the Games. A spokesman for the IOC said Smith and Carlos's actions were "a deliberate and violent breach of the fundamental principles of the Olympic spirit."³⁶⁵

Before the 1968 Olympic Games, New Zealand became embroiled in the controversial decision to provisionally invite South Africa to compete, on the understanding that all segregation and discrimination in sport would be eliminated by the 1972 Games. However, African countries and black American athletes promised to boycott the Games if South Africa was present, and Eastern Bloc countries threatened to do likewise.³⁶⁶ While the decision would ultimately be overturned and South Africa would not compete in Mexico City, IOC members from New Zealand, Lance Cross and Sir Arthur Porritt were at the centre of events. At the time of the decision to allow South Africa to compete, Cross said that he believed that ‘South Africa had complied with all the conditions laid down for competing in the games.’³⁶⁷ Porritt, who had just become Governor-General of New Zealand, said:

That it would be better that the Olympic Movement should perish rather than be pushed about because the IOC was allowing thousands of people in Africa to compete, who previously could not do so. The only objection to South Africa participating is political, and I trust that the IOC will stick to its guns.³⁶⁸

In the end, the IOC backed down to African pressure and South Africa did not compete. Cross made no secret of his views when he said that:

³⁶⁵ BBC, *On This Day – 17 October*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/17/newsid_3535000/3535348.stm, (Accessed 5 January 2017).

³⁶⁶ Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 125-128.

³⁶⁷ Richard Thompson, *Retreat from Apartheid: New Zealand's Sporting Contacts with South Africa*, (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 48.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

South Africa should be readmitted to the Olympic Games; the IOC erred when it excluded South Africa from the Tokyo Olympics, and its exclusion from the Mexico Olympics was the worst decision the IOC ever made.³⁶⁹

For New Zealand, eyes were focussed on rowing which was held at Xochimilco, outside Mexico City. New Zealand was expected to do well in rowing, and its team would not disappoint. The rowing eight were favourite to win a medal, if not a gold medal. The other crew were the coxed four, who were made up of the 'leftovers'. Both crews would make the final, and on finals day the coxed four raced first. They flew out of the start, taking an early lead over the rest of the field. By the halfway mark, they led comfortably as the chant 'black, black, black' sounded out across the lake by New Zealand supporters. They would maintain the lead to win New Zealand's first ever rowing gold medal, in a sport that would become one of the most profitable for New Zealand at future Olympic Games. Next up was the eights who were favourite after beating East Germany, the Soviet Union and the United States in 1967. The crew started well and looked likely to win a medal after they led through the halfway mark. However, the high altitude of Mexico City would affect them, and in the end, they crossed the line in an agonising fourth place. Several of the crew members were almost unconscious as they crossed the line and required medical treatment following the final.³⁷⁰

In May 1968, prior to the games, Bille Fitzsimmons from the New Zealand Gymnastics Federation became the first woman to join the NZOC Executive Board, taking the opportunity to advance women's participation in sport. In 1972 Fitzsimmons was joined by Valerie Addison. However, it would take until 2010 for the NZOC to appoint a female Secretary General when Kereyn Smith took over the role.³⁷¹ It has been over the past decade (from 2007-2017) that the NZOC has focused on women in sport, and has been increasingly successful with the number of women participating in

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.168-170.

³⁷¹ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.66.

the Olympic Games, with the number of medals increasing. This focus was recognised by the IOC when the NZOC won the 2015 Women in Sport award. The NZOC became the first National Olympic Committee to win that award. The NZOC has taken active steps to increase the number of women in decision-making and leadership positions both within the organisation and throughout the wider sporting sector. Smith said upon receiving the award that: 'We believe gender balance leads to better decision-making, better organisations and ultimately a better society.'³⁷² NZOC programmes for promoting women in sport include the Aspiring Women's Olympic Leaders programme, which supports female athletes like Sarah Cowley (heptathlon London 2012) and Cath Cheatley (cycling Beijing 2008) transition from the field of play to leadership positions within the workplace. Constitutional changes and appointment policies have also been effective in ensuring gender balance on athlete, education and other commissions and the NZOC Board. The NZOC also supports Sport NZ in monitoring gender balance on National Sporting Organisation boards and promoting the Women in Governance programme. In 2008 50 percent of New Zealand sport boards met or exceeded the IOC target of 20 percent. In 2016 that figure climbed to 90 percent. On average there are 31 percent females on sport boards, with a 2020 target of 40 percent.³⁷³ While New Zealanders are proud of the fact that New Zealand was the first country in the world to grant women the vote in 1893, it has taken much longer for female sportswomen to receive as much recognition as their male counterparts. Arguably they still don't receive due recognition, although this is changing. For example, in 2016, for the first time more women were selected to represent New Zealand than men. Women have also recently been more successful at the Olympic Games compared to their male counterparts.

Conclusion

³⁷² NZOC, *New Zealand Olympic Committee Receive World Women in Sport Trophy*, 11 November 2015, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/new-zealand-olympic-committee-receive-world-women-in-sport-trophy/>, (Accessed 21 January 2017).

³⁷³ Ibid.

Ultimately the interaction between politics and sport became more complicated during the 1960s and 1970s. During the first part of the 1960s, the South African issue gained prominence, and New Zealand and the NZOC's silence on the issue spoke volumes. This in itself was political. This was from the organisation who wished to keep politics and sport separate. Sporting relations with South Africa from the 1960s through the 1980s is perhaps one of the biggest stains on New Zealand's history during the 20th century. Moreover, it was at the Olympics where this was publicly on display.³⁷⁴ New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Movement expanded post-World War II. Transporting athletes to the games became easier, which meant larger teams were able to participate. Media exposure of the games also increased, and New Zealanders' awareness increased. Heroes were created that New Zealanders today still hold up in the highest regard. The 'Golden Hour' in Rome in 1960 was perhaps New Zealand's greatest day at an Olympic Games. The two black uniform-wearing underdogs winning in the space of an hour well and truly put New Zealand on the Olympic map.

³⁷⁴ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.67.

**Chapter Six: The World in turmoil – New Zealand grapples
with independence in an increasingly complex world –
1969-1987**

The period from the late 1960s through to the 1980s was a tumultuous time not only for New Zealand but the entire world. New Zealand troops were fighting alongside their ANZUS allies in Vietnam, and New Zealand's view of the world was shifting from a British view to a more American perspective. The 1970s would be dominated by the Watergate scandal in the United States, which led to President Richard Nixon resigning from office; the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan; the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979; and economic instability after twin oil shocks during the 1970s. The 1980s brought about the rise of neo-liberalism in the United States and Great Britain, with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in charge. In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev took over the Soviet Union and attempted reforms which ultimately led to the country's subsequent breakup. The year 1986 was dominated by the Challenger space shuttle disaster and the Chernobyl nuclear plant meltdown.

New Zealand was not insulated from the tumult of this period. In 1972 the third Labour government was elected, and Norman Kirk became Prime Minister. After twelve years of National Party rule, New Zealand was in for change. In December – a month after Kirk took office – New Zealand troops were withdrawn from Vietnam, and in the following year the government dispatched a naval frigate to Mururoa Atoll to protest French nuclear testing. The year 1973 also brought economic turmoil when Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC). When Britain entered the EEC, all bilateral agreements between New Zealand and Britain had to be terminated, and preferential treatment of British imports into New Zealand were ended in 1977. From 43 percent of total imports in 1960, imports from Britain fell to 14.5 percent by 1980. In 1973 the Kirk government cancelled a proposed Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand, citing South Africa's racist political regime and the police warnings about

the dangers of violent demonstrations were the tour to proceed.³⁷⁵ New Zealand was shocked in August 1974 when Prime Minister Norman Kirk suddenly died in office, and in 1975 Robert Muldoon and the National Party were elected to office. Muldoon's government was much more aligned to traditional allies Great Britain and the United States. For example, Muldoon's first international trip as Prime Minister was to Great Britain.³⁷⁶

The 1980s were a decade of profound change in New Zealand, a time when New Zealand emerged on the world stage. The 1981 Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand, permitted by the Muldoon government, divided the nation. The violence that accompanied the 1981 tour was such that some argued New Zealand had 'lost its innocence'.³⁷⁷ In 1984 David Lange and the fourth Labour government was elected in a landslide, throwing out of power Robert Muldoon. However, it was not just a change of government that New Zealand voted for in 1984, but a fundamental shift of direction, not only of the economy but of its foreign policy as well. The Labour government pursued policies that would establish New Zealand as a nuclear-free country, including banning visits by ships that were nuclear-powered or potentially nuclear-armed. In February 1985, the government refused entry to the warship *USS Buchanan*. A few months later the anti-nuclear issue took a more sinister turn when French Secret Service agents blew up the Greenpeace flagship *Rainbow Warrior* while it was moored in Auckland. In 1987 the enactment of nuclear-free legislation saw the United States formally suspend its security guarantee to New Zealand, effectively isolating the country from the ANZUS alliance.³⁷⁸ David Capie argues that the anti-nuclear policy was, 'transformed into a symbol of 'independence and nationhood, even as the

³⁷⁵ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, December 2012, '1973 - key events', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-1970s/1973>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³⁷⁶ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, January 2012, 'Overview', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-1970s/overview>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³⁷⁷ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, November 2013, 'Overview', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-1980s/overview>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

public told pollsters they still supported ANZUS.³⁷⁹ Despite the anti-nuclear policy, New Zealand remained a close supporter of its traditional allies. It continued to be part of the global intelligence five eyes network and Capie argues that ‘the independence the country attained was always somewhat illusory.’³⁸⁰ In 1986 the New Zealand Parliament passed the Constitution Act (effective from 1 January 1987), which revoked all residual British legislative power. As of 1 January 1987, New Zealand became a free-standing constitutional monarchy whose parliament had unlimited sovereign power.³⁸¹ Within the space of a decade, New Zealand had removed any remaining legislative control by Britain and had fundamentally branched out as an independent nation after distancing itself from the United States. In this context, sport, and the Olympic Games were to become an even more important part of that independent New Zealand.

Munich 1972: Games of the XX Olympiad

At the beginning of the 1970s New Zealand had two Members of the IOC, Lance Cross and Arthur Porritt. Both were well respected by fellow IOC members, and both were often outspoken. During this time the NZOC often found it difficult to remain out of the issues of the day, including, as Geoff Kohe calls them, “racial emancipation and human rights advocacy.”³⁸² The politics of apartheid dominated the period as well.

If the world still believed that politics and sport didn’t mix, they were to receive a shock near the conclusion of the 1972 Olympic Games, which were held in Munich, West Germany. The Munich Massacre threw the future of the Olympic Games into uncertainty and chaos. It was in the

³⁷⁹ David Capie, ‘New Zealand and the World, Imperial, International and Global Relations,’ in Giselle Byrnes (eds), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.593.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ John Wilson, ‘New Zealand Sovereignty: 1857, 1907, 1947, or 1987?’ *New Zealand Parliament*, <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLLawRP07041/new-zealand-sovereignty-1857-1907-1947-or-1987>, (Accessed 15 December 2016).

³⁸² Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.69.

early hours of Tuesday, 5 September 1972, that a group of Palestinian guerrillas sneaked into the Olympic Village and killed two Israeli athletes, holding a further nine as hostages. After a day of negotiating between the terrorists and German officials, the hostages and terrorists were taken to Fustenfeldbruck airfield where they were to board a plane to fly them to the Middle East. However, a gunfight ensued after authorities tried to shoot the terrorists and free the hostages. It was ABC Olympic anchor Jim McKay who would announce to the world that they were all gone:

We just got the final word ... you know, when I was a kid, my father used to say "Our greatest hopes and our worst fears are seldom realised." Our worst fears have been realised tonight. They've now said that there were eleven hostages. Two were killed in their rooms yesterday morning; nine were killed at the airport tonight. They're all gone.³⁸³

Following the events of that tragic night, many wondered whether the Olympic Games would be cancelled. However, IOC President Avery Brundage held firm. Brundage addressed a memorial service at the Olympic stadium in front of 80,000 people and hundreds of millions watching on television. Brundage concluded that the games must go on:

Every civilised person recoils in horror at the barbarous criminal intrusion of terrorists into the peaceful Olympic precincts. We mourn our Israeli friends, victims of this brutal assault. The Olympic flag and the flags of all the world fly at half-mast. Sadly, in this imperfect world, the greater and more important the Olympic Games become, the more they are open to commercial, political and now criminal pressure. The Games of the 20th Olympiad have been subjected to two savage attacks. We lost the Rhodesian battle against naked political blackmail. We have only the strength of a great ideal. I am sure the public will agree that we cannot allow a handful of terrorists to destroy this nucleus of international cooperation and goodwill we have in the Olympic movement. The Games must go on, and we must continue our efforts to keep them clear, pure and honest and try to extend sportsmanship of the athletic field to other areas. We declare today a day of mourning and will continue all the events one day later than scheduled.³⁸⁴

³⁸³ Jim McKay, in Michael Sokolove, *The Unexpected Anchor*, New York Times <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/28/magazine/28mckay-t.html>, December 24, 2008, (Accessed 3 January 2017)

³⁸⁴ Avery Brundage in Allen Guttman, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p.250-252.

While New Zealand athletes were not directly affected by the massacre, they certainly had an up-close view of the situation. Rod Dixon, 1500 metres bronze medallist in Munich, remembers the event well:

On the evening of the hostage drama, the New Zealanders heard shots. We joked that maybe their small-bore shooters were practising against a wall, and then we went to sleep. We did not hear any more until there was banging on our door. The police asked us to evacuate and told us about the terrorists. We went to our balcony and could see the hooded terrorists standing watch only 50 metres away... The Olympics went on, as they had to, but for the rest of the games, we felt incredible sadness every time we walked past the Israeli headquarters.³⁸⁵

Following the Munich massacre in 1972 the NZOC was shocked and made the following statement:

The world was shocked when the news of the Israeli massacre became known; it was inconceivable that differences between nations should erupt in this uncivilised manner. Following the shock, a pool of sadness hung over the games. All join in sympathy for the families of the bereaved.³⁸⁶

A former Palestinian terrorist suggests that the Olympic Games were ultimately chosen not only because they were a major international media event, but also precisely because they were a sporting event.

We recognise that sport is the religion of the western world... So, we decided to use the Olympics, the most sacred ceremony of this religion, to make the world pay attention to us.³⁸⁷

A record 96 athletes from New Zealand had travelled to Munich to compete in 14 sports. While the Munich massacre overshadowed the sporting events, one event stands out in terms of New Zealand history. The Men's Rowing Eight won gold, beating the might of East Germany and the Eastern bloc countries in the process. At the medal ceremony, shortly after the race, *God Defend New Zealand* was played for the first time as New Zealand's national anthem, replacing *God Save the Queen*.

³⁸⁵ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.134.

³⁸⁶ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.71.

³⁸⁷ Barrie Houlihan, *Sport and International Politics*, (Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), p.2.

Athlete and silver medallist in 1976, Dick Quax, was delighted with the playing of *God Defend New Zealand*:

When the rowers stood up to get their medals, I got a big charge out of hearing God Defend [New Zealand] ... it was the first time I'd ever heard it at a major international event.³⁸⁸

In 1972, Australian gold medallists still had to listen to *God Save the Queen*, rather than *Advance Australia Fair*. In fact, *Advance Australia Fair* would not be played at the Olympics as Australia's national anthem until 1984. Australia failed to win a gold medal in Montreal in 1976, and the Australian government denied the use of the anthem and flag at the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games, due to the boycott.³⁸⁹ This signifies another moment that New Zealand asserted its independence on the world stage, with sport contributing to crystallising a more distinctive national identity. The pictures of the men's rowing eight were flashed around the globe with the sound of 'God Defend New Zealand' playing as the flag was raised.

Perhaps one of the most dominant teams to represent New Zealand overseas not only at an Olympic Games, but in sport in general, was the 1972 Rowing Eights Team. The team was all black: black oars, black boat, black singlet, black shorts. From the moment they lowered the boat off the rack and it slipped into the waters of Oberschleissheim, all eyes were on the New Zealanders. "The boat was almost hissing, it was so fast," Simon Dickie (New Zealand coxswain) recalls. He added: "we were a mean-looking machine. There's absolutely no question we were intimidating, all in black."³⁹⁰ The eight flew off the start line in the final: "After half a dozen strokes we already held a canvas lead," Dickie says. At the 1000 metre halfway mark, the New Zealand boat led by two lengths and with 500 metres to go, they were still a length ahead. However, it was not until the final 200 metres that Dickie urged them to

³⁸⁸ Max Cryer, *Hear Our Voices, We Entreat: The Extraordinary Story of New Zealand's National Anthems*, (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2004), p.68.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, pp.68-70.

³⁹⁰ New Zealand Olympic Committee, 14 July 2016, *The Black Singlet: Shaping our Brand 1968-1980*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-shaping-our-brand-1968-1980/>, (Accessed 20 December 2016).

give all they had left for a final sprint. "As we closed in on the grandstand, I would be silent for two or three strokes so that the guys could hear the chant from the shore 'Black, black, black'," says Dickie; "it was so clear that we weren't doing it for ourselves. We were doing it for our country."³⁹¹ The New Zealand eight won gold by nearly three seconds from the powerful American and East German crews, who won silver and bronze. It was an unforgettable moment in New Zealand's sporting history – the first and only time New Zealand won gold in rowing's blue riband event. The medals were presented to the team by President of the IOC Avery Brundage who later said that the New Zealand Rowing stood for all that is right about the Olympic Movement.³⁹² New Zealand won two other medals in Munich with the men's rowing four winning silver, and Rod Dixon winning bronze in the high-profile 1500 metres event.

While the New Zealand Rugby Football Union continued sporting contact with South Africa during the 1970s, the NZOC were dragged into the debate of continuing sporting ties with that country. In 1974 Christchurch hosted the Commonwealth Games. Any boycott by African nations of the Christchurch Games was avoided after the Kirk-led government cancelled the proposed 1973 Springbok tour of New Zealand. During the 1970s the NZOC stated that they had little or no control over how other sporting bodies – i.e. those not connected to the Olympic Movement in New Zealand – acted. Other members of the Commonwealth were not convinced of their stance, as demonstrated two years later at the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal.³⁹³ At the Commonwealth Games in 1974 in Christchurch, 145 New Zealanders competed, winning 35 medals, including nine gold. The games were known as the 'Friendly Games', following on from the events in Munich just two years earlier. The 1974 Games would be remembered for one indelible event which set the games alight on the first day. Dick Tayler ran away from his competitors to

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Paul Verdon, *Olympic Legends: The book of New Zealand Olympic Medalists*, (Auckland: Hill-Verdon Publishing), p.122.

³⁹³ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.70.

win the 10,000 metres event in front of a capacity crowd in Christchurch.³⁹⁴ This moment is still replayed on New Zealand television today. Following the 1974 Commonwealth Games in Christchurch, the third National government was elected in 1975. The new Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, stated that 'sport and politics don't mix' and that the government would not intervene in any future rugby tours to New Zealand by the Springboks or in any All Blacks tour to South Africa.³⁹⁵ The 1975 election in New Zealand not only brought about a new government but the following year, in 1976, that election would affect the sporting world as no other political event in New Zealand had done before.

Montreal 1976: Games of the XXI Olympiad

Robert Muldoon, regarded as one of New Zealand's most divisive Prime Ministers, served from 1975-1984. By the end of his tenure as Prime Minister the New Zealand economy was on the brink of collapse. The world had moved on from the post-World War II orthodoxy, but Muldoon refused to adapt to changing times. Perhaps the most prophetic quote that Muldoon ever uttered was when he stated that his goal was to leave New Zealand no worse off than how he found it. Unfortunately, he failed in achieving this modest goal. Because of Muldoon's inability to adapt to changing times, when Labour came to power in 1984 New Zealanders were in for an economic revolution that would rock New Zealand to its core.

Boycotts as well as a budget blowout that would take 30 years for the city of Montreal to repay became the legacy of the Montreal 1976 Olympic Games. Also the host country Canada became the first and only host country not to win a gold medal on home soil. The other major event in Montreal surrounded the boycott by African nations carried out because of

³⁹⁴ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.199.

³⁹⁵ Jamie Wall, *All Blacks and Springboks: A Long History*, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/sport/287842/when-it's-about-more-than-just-rugby>, (Accessed 23 May 2017).

the New Zealand All Blacks who were at the same time touring apartheid South Africa. South Africa had not competed at the Olympic Games since Rome in 1960, and despite attempts to have them reinstated for the 1968 Mexico City Olympics they were the pariah of the international sporting world. Abraham Ordia, President of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, became one of the major instigators of the African-led boycott. Prior to the games, Ordia stated:

New Zealand can have South Africa, or it can have the black African countries – it cannot have both.³⁹⁶

Ordia's warning was ignored in New Zealand, and the newly elected Muldoon government refused to stop the All Blacks tour of South Africa. Ordia visited New Zealand in June 1976, just before the games, and sought a meeting with Prime Minister Muldoon, who refused to meet him. Muldoon said:

He is not a diplomat or a member of a government. He is some sort of sports administrator.³⁹⁷

Muldoon's refusal to even meet with Ordia showed the arrogance of a bombastic leader. Ordia left New Zealand seething and felt he had not been heard.³⁹⁸ From this point, it was almost inevitable that a boycott in Montreal would take place.

The NZOC tried to stay out of the debate surrounding the situation. However, their attempts at this were futile, and the NZOC was thrust into the middle of the debate when African nations sought to have New Zealand expelled from the games. Thirteen African nations sent a letter to the IOC president, Lord Killanin, demanding that either New Zealand withdraw its rugby team from South Africa or New Zealand be excluded from the games. Ultimately the IOC voted not to expel New Zealand from the Olympic Games. The major reason for this was that rugby was not an

³⁹⁶ Ibid, p.211.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

Olympic sport, and the NZOC had no jurisdiction over the New Zealand Rugby Football Union.³⁹⁹

New Zealand runner John Walker in TVNZ's 2000 documentary *Dreams of Gold* raises an alternative theory as to why the IOC did not simply expel New Zealand to keep the Africans in the 1976 Olympic Games.⁴⁰⁰ Walker believes it came down to money:

Dixon, Quax and myself were Adidas athletes, in other words, we were employed by the shoe company, Adidas to run in their gear at the time of the Olympic Games. Bayi and the African athletes were Puma athletes... So if we had not been Adidas athletes, I don't believe we would have survived in the Olympic Games, because Horst Dassler [the founder of Adidas] who was very powerful at the time and controlled the whole Eastern Bloc with his vote in the IOC came to us about ten days prior to the Olympic Games and said "just get on with the job, focus on what you are doing, and go out and win a gold medal, and enjoy it, because you won't be boycotted." I said how can you be so sure of that, and he replied, "because I have the vote."⁴⁰¹

Horst Dassler was the founder of Adidas and was hugely influential in the Olympic Movement. Dassler wanted the millions of television viewers to see Adidas athletes such as Walker winning gold, and Walker said that if the New Zealanders were expelled from the Olympic Games, then Dassler and Adidas threatened to withdraw his sponsorship money from the Eastern European teams. Walker said:

If we had been Puma athletes, we would have been boycotted, and we would have been out of the Olympics as well... I'm absolutely convinced of it. The only reason we were saved was because us three [Walker, Dixon and Quax] were chances of winning gold medals and that we were Adidas athletes.⁴⁰²

The New Zealanders stayed, and as a result, 28 African nations withdrew their teams from Montreal or simply did not arrive in the Olympic city in 1976. The NZOC said at the time:

³⁹⁹ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.72.

⁴⁰⁰ John Walker in TVNZ, *Dreams of Gold*, 2000.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

The unanimous vote by the completely independent IOC against the motion of exclusion is the most convincing answer to the eligibility of New Zealand to compete. New Zealand alone should not have been singled out of a large number of countries, which had had, or were having, sports relations with South Africa.⁴⁰³

New Zealand also had support from others, including Philip Krumm, President of the United States Olympic Committee, who stated:

It was my contention that the international exchange between New Zealand and South African had no connection between the rugby team and the Olympics that could justify such a walkout. The people who got hurt were the athletes from these countries.⁴⁰⁴

Krumm is correct that ultimately when it comes to boycotts, it is the athletes who suffer the most. It was a shame that, four years on from Montreal, the United States President Jimmy Carter decided to push for a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. The NZOC, following the Montreal Games, also commented about the effect the boycott had on the athletes:

New Zealand joins in expressing its sympathy to such unfortunate athletes, the saddest thing during the games was to see them packing up without having had a chance to compete. New Zealand does not wish to see the Olympics become an outdoors United Nations in which sport becomes subservient to politics.⁴⁰⁵

Athletes also felt uncomfortable about the situation in Montreal. The New Zealand team was placed under heavy guard the moment they arrived in Montreal. Silver medallist Dick Quax summed up the tight security:

We were taken from the airport, into a bus which had armed guards on the bus, two police escorts in front of the bus, two police escorts behind the bus, and a helicopter overhead the whole way from the airport to the village... We felt this was because of the problem with New Zealand, and the Africans.⁴⁰⁶

Because of the African boycott and the outrage against New Zealand from the Canadian public, the three high-profile New Zealand runners in

⁴⁰³ NZOCGA, *1976 Annual Report and Statement of Accounts*, (Wellington: NZOCGA, 1977).

⁴⁰⁴ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.73.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Dick Quax in TVNZ Documentary, *Dreams of Gold*, 2000.

Montreal (John Walker, Rod Dixon and Dick Quax) decided not to march in the opening ceremony. Dixon remarked:

It was indicated to us that if we were to walk in the opening ceremony, that we could be assaulted or there may be even attacks made on us. This was all part of this big stew that was boiling away, and so we decided that we won't walk.⁴⁰⁷

Not all New Zealanders who competed in Montreal thought that New Zealand should have stayed and competed. New Zealand hockey captain Tony Ineson had a different view:

New Zealand should have gone home – not the African countries.⁴⁰⁸

While Ineson was rebuked by NZOC officials, he was backed by other members of the New Zealand hockey team. Dick Quax also expressed similar views. Rod Dixon also had some harsh words to say about Muldoon when he spoke with journalists following the Montreal Games:

In Montreal, I said I thought Muldoon was a bloody ass. Upon reflection, I think that was too good for him.⁴⁰⁹

Even members of the media who travelled to Montreal from New Zealand felt embarrassed by the African walkout at Montreal. In interviews with Keith Quinn, Peter Montgomery and Brendan Telfer, who all commentated at the games, all three mentioned the fact that the exodus of the African nations devastated the event.⁴¹⁰ Brendan Telfer tells of one such story:

The feeling towards us at times became quite hostile. I recall Keith Quinn returning to our apartment one night after work saying he'd decided to pass himself off as an Australian for the rest of his time in Montreal just to stop being hassled by the locals over the All Black tour to South Africa... Occasionally, if I sensed some anger or hostility towards me for being a New Zealander, I did the same. Some Canadians felt New Zealand should have been expelled from the Olympics, which may have prevented the African exit.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ Rod Dixon in TVNZ Documentary, *Dreams of Gold*, 2000.

⁴⁰⁸ Trevor Richards, *Dancing on Our Bones: New Zealand, South Africa, Rugby and Racism*, (Auckland: Bridget Williams Books, 1999), p.165.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Author's interviews with Keith Quinn, Peter Montgomery, and Brendan Telfer (August 2014).

⁴¹¹ Brendan Telfer, *A Life in Sport*, (Wellington: Trio Books, 2009), p.187.

The boycott severely hurt the Olympic Games in 1976 and Canadians were 'bewildered about why the New Zealand government stood by and did nothing.'⁴¹² Brendan Telfer goes on to make a related point:

Robert Muldoon, the Prime Minister, claimed that New Zealand, unlike most of the African countries protesting against the tour, was a democracy and therefore the rugby union and not the government made the decision about whether the tour would take place. Muldoon's trumpeting of democracy, however, had a noticeably hollow ring to it when less than four years later he stepped in and prevented New Zealand athletes from competing at the Moscow Olympics.⁴¹³

Keith Quinn also had vivid memories of his treatment while in Montreal:

As I walked around the Olympic Village (the media were allowed to then) both John Davies and I repeatedly met resentment or indifference towards us being New Zealanders. This came especially from those countries of what we were allowed to call then 'black Africa.' We would go into an office and ask our regular opening ceremony questions; "How many athletes in your team please? What are you wearing for the march past? Who is carrying your flag?" When we identified ourselves as being New Zealanders, there was often no information suddenly available.

In the end, we realised that the antipathy towards New Zealanders was as the result of the All Black rugby team having just commenced its 24-match tour of South Africa.

As a protest against any sports contact with South Africa, the country of Tanzania did not even travel to Montreal. They simply pulled out of all competition. That was going to deny the Games a repeat of the classic 1500 metre clash we had enjoyed at Christchurch at the Commonwealth Games between our John Walker and Tanzania's world record holder Filbert Bayi.

"So you New Zealanders are the guys who are causing the trouble?" said a Canadian in a shop that day to me when he asked what country I was from. It had got to the point where I had earlier called myself an Australian reporter when I rang to some countries offices seeking information. Those were difficult days I can tell you.

Back home that race was on a Saturday morning. Twenty-four hours later many churches held back on their morning worship as John Walker lined up in the 1500

⁴¹² Ibid, p.34.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

metres final. The pace of the race crawled, and we wondered if the big New Zealander would have the speed finish to hold off his rivals.

Thank goodness in the end he did. I was as proud as punch to call Walker up the straight live to millions watching back home. I felt really good to be a kiwi that day. People came up to John and I afterwards and shook us by the hands as though we had run and won the race. I loved it! (Mind you, in the Games from Munich 1972 until before Beijing in 2008 that Walker win was still the only Olympic gold medal I had called for my country. Valerie Adams changed that in 2008).⁴¹⁴

Muldoon and the National Party's stance during this time was completely hypocritical. Never before or since has New Zealand's international prestige been so undermined and put under so much pressure than when Robert Muldoon was in power from 1975 to 1984. It is almost inconceivable today that New Zealanders would pretend to be Australian.

However, 87 athletes in 13 sports represented New Zealand at the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal. New Zealand athletes won four medals in Montreal including two gold: John Walker in the 1500 metres and the Men's Hockey Team. Dick Quax won silver in the men's 5000 metres, and the Men's Rowing Eight followed up their 1972 gold medal to win bronze.

This thesis has already mentioned the 1976 1500 metres final in the introduction of this thesis, but the black singlet once again came in handy as John Walker sprinted away to win gold. In the holding pen before the 1500m final, Walker stripped off his New Zealand tracksuit and strode around, sizing up each of his rivals. "I walked around in my black singlet and looked at every other runner. I didn't say a word, but mentally I told them 'I'm the one you've gotta beat'," Walker said after winning. He is sure they were intimidated before they even got to their marks. In the most mentally demanding race he ever ran, Walker surged into the lead in the final bend and strode out for gold.⁴¹⁵ Walker's 1500 metres final began at 9:50 am Sunday morning New Zealand time. Because of the start time, the start of church services was delayed to allow patrons to follow the

⁴¹⁴ Author's interview with Keith Quinn, August 2014.

⁴¹⁵ New Zealand Olympic Committee, *The Black Singlet: Shaping our Brand 1968-1980*, <http://www.olympic.org.nz/news/the-black-singlet-shaping-our-brand-1968-1980/>, (Accessed 20 December 2016).

race live on television.⁴¹⁶ Following the contest, bronze medalist Paul-Heinz Wellmann stated that “no-one could have beaten Walker, not even Bayi.”⁴¹⁷

The performance of the New Zealand men’s hockey team in Montreal is perhaps one of the most remarkable and surprising results in New Zealand Olympic and sporting history. The men’s hockey team were true underdogs, with few rating them a medal chance before the games. New Zealand first sent a hockey team to the Olympic Games in 1956, and by 1976 their best result at the Olympics was a fifth place in Rome 1960. However, all that was to change in 1976. New Zealand started with draws against West Germany and Spain before beating Belgium. New Zealand’s last pool game was against Pakistan, which they lost 5-2. New Zealand faced a play-off match against Spain to qualify for the semi-finals. New Zealand prevailed 1-0, and then beat the Netherlands 1-0 in extra-time to qualify for the final. The final took place at the same time as the 5000 metres final in Montreal where Dick Quax won silver. TV One covered both events live on television. New Zealand was transfixed. The final was a close affair with New Zealand, and Trans-Tasman rival Australia tied 0-0 at halftime. Just after halftime, Tony Ineson scored a field goal to put New Zealand ahead. In the final minutes of the game, New Zealand absorbed an enormous amount of pressure from Australia, with New Zealand’s goalie shattering a kneecap in the process. However, New Zealand prevailed to win gold – a huge achievement from the underdogs. Moreover, for New Zealanders what was even more satisfying was that Australia was denied even a single gold medal in Montreal.⁴¹⁸

Despite the four medals, including two gold and Walker’s memorable 1500 metres triumph near the close of the games, it was ultimately politics that overshadowed New Zealand’s performance in Montreal. The actions of the Muldoon-led National government tarnished New Zealand’s global

⁴¹⁶ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.147.

⁴¹⁷ Tony Smith, *The Champions: New Zealand’s Olympic Gold Medalists*, p.32.

⁴¹⁸ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.217-218.

prestige. Around the Olympic venues, there was much resentment of the New Zealanders, whom many blamed for the boycott.⁴¹⁹ New Zealand was perceived to be on the side of South Africa, and Muldoon's position was ultimately blinded by populism rather than by doing what was right. However, this was just the beginning. The next Olympic Games were scheduled to be held in Moscow, and at the height of the Cold War, politics would once again dominate.

Moscow 1980: Games of the XXII Olympiad

By the time the 1980 Olympic Games were held in Moscow, the Cold War dominated the Olympic Movement. On Christmas Eve 1979, Soviet tanks rolled into Afghanistan. The West was outraged, and United States President Jimmy Carter and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher saw it as an invasion. They decided that a boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games should take place.

Before the Soviet Union's invasion, there were already questions about New Zealand's participation in Moscow. Once again it was due to sporting contacts with South Africa. A *Sunday Star-Times* article from August 21, 2016, revealed new diplomatic records that showed that the Soviet Union was concerned that New Zealand's presence at the Moscow Games would diminish the Games' prestige. New Zealand diplomats based in Moscow reported back to New Zealand in classified cables in August 1979 that:

A big question mark hangs over New Zealand's attendance at the 1980 Olympics.⁴²⁰

New Zealand's prestige on the international stage was damaged by the African boycott of Montreal. Former New Zealand Diplomat Brian Lynch, posted overseas at the time, said it was a tough time for New Zealand diplomats:

⁴¹⁹ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.137

⁴²⁰ Eugene Bingham, *On your marks, set, go home NZ*, Sunday Star Times, August 21 2016, p. A9.

For New Zealand diplomats posted abroad, it was an uncomfortable time and a rare experience, unaccustomed as we were having our beloved country targeted as the bad guy.⁴²¹

The then Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Frank Corner sent a memo to Foreign Affairs Minister Brian Talboys warning about New Zealand's participation in the Moscow Games after visas were denied, and delayed to the New Zealand sailing team, who were due to compete in Tallinn in the pre-Olympic yachting regatta:

We have had a foretaste of how the Russians could react on one pretext of another in the dilatoriness with which they approached New Zealand's participation, last year and this year, in the pre-Olympic yachting regatta. Our own feeling is that, if faced with such a choice, the Soviet authorities would probably have little compunction in making New Zealand attendance (if New Zealand were the target of a boycott threat) difficult indeed.⁴²²

Concern was also raised by New Zealand after the Soviet Union hosted an Olympic test event in late 1979 called *Spartakaid*. Ninety nations were invited to participate, including Australia and Great Britain. New Zealand was not invited and when organisers were questioned, they cited accommodation issues as the reason why New Zealand was not invited. However, the New Zealand Embassy in Moscow felt the non-invitation was a snub. In a cable back to New Zealand, Ambassador Jim Weir wrote:

The Russians are making their underlying message to us as clear as they ever make anything clear: if, before the Olympics, you go firm on that vaguely proposed Springbok tour of New Zealand (which neither they nor we have, in fact, ever mentioned specifically) or have – or go firm on – any other such team contact in that time, the black Africans are going to howl – and you've had it, for the Moscow Olympics.⁴²³

However, as history shows, New Zealand was never thrown out of the Olympic Games in Moscow, and the events of the Jimmy Carter-led boycott superseded every other issue in 1980. However, what was clear is that New Zealand's international reputation had been affected.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid.

Concerning Afghanistan, the New Zealand government followed the lead of the United States and on 28 January 1980, Brian Talboys, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Harold Austad, the President of the NZOC. Talboys' letter stated that there was international 'revulsion' at the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and said that the New Zealand government had already announced a series of measures to make it clear to the Soviet Union that their action in Afghanistan was unacceptable.⁴²⁴ It was on 8 May 1980 that the NZOC formally accepted the invitation to participate at the Moscow Games. Four days later the New Zealand government formalised its stance:

No official Government presence at the Games (beyond the normal role played by the Embassy in Moscow); no Olympic Games booklet to be funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as had been done previously; no special leave with or without pay for members of the Public Service to attend the Games; no special consular guidance.⁴²⁵

The New Zealand public generally supported the stance of the government but was completely unaware of some of the tactics undertaken by the government and those opposed to the Soviet Union. The athletes often bore the brunt of these tactics, especially those athletes who were public servants. While they could take annual leave for the duration of the games, they would be away longer than their normal leave entitlement. They were advised that their jobs might not be waiting for them when they arrived back. Athletes who worked in the public service were summoned by their respective Ministry Chief Executives, and even by government Ministers, to be personally informed of the government's view. Other tactics ensued. These included police visiting athletes' houses and warning them of potential letter bombs; athletes received abusive phone calls, and sponsors threatened to remove funding to sports if they continued to compete in Moscow.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games*, p.236.

⁴²⁵ Ibid, p.237.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

In April 1980, 100 athletes were selected for New Zealand to compete at the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. By June some executive members of the NZOC wanted to reconsider New Zealand's participation in Moscow. For instance, Hal Wagstaff from Yachting New Zealand wanted the NZOC to rescind their decision to participate in Moscow and withdraw from the games. Wagstaff's motion to pull out of Moscow was supported by other executive members. The motion by Wagstaff was defeated narrowly (8-7) at the last minute, but the damage was done, and the domino effect began when sailing withdrew from competing at the games. Even before the vote some athletes had already made the decision not to compete in Moscow. Rod Dixon (1972 1500 metres bronze medallist) was one such athlete. Dixon stated:

I would hate anyone to think I withdrew because I supported the boycott. I was opposed to it. What could we athletes do about the situation in Afghanistan? We were being used as pawns. What really made me bitter was the way the people in charge – Muldoon and the Government, Lance Cross and the Olympic Association, and our own athletics association – played around with us. They knew we were going to withdraw the team, but they wouldn't tell us. It was cruel. I spoke to American officials who said they already knew we were going to boycott. It was incredibly callous and dishonest.⁴²⁷

Following the lead of sailing, sport after sport withdrew from the games, and the original team of 100 that was selected shrunk to just four athletes that took the field in Moscow. All in all, 61 of the athletes who were selected for the Moscow Games were able to attend and participate at a subsequent Olympic Games. However, 33 were unable to take part in an Olympic Games.⁴²⁸

It was New Zealand's smallest team since the 1920s, and it would be the first games since 1948 at which New Zealand would fail to win a single medal.⁴²⁹ Three of the athletes were canoeists, including Ian Fergusson and Alan Thompson, who won gold in 1984; the fourth, Brian Newth,

⁴²⁷ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.151.

⁴²⁸ Geoff Z. Kohe, 'Reflexivity in the Apologetic Aeon: NZOC's Return to Moscow', *Museum and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 2, July 2012, p.126.

⁴²⁹ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.75.

competed in Modern Pentathlon and finished in 40th position. The best result would come from Ian Fergusson when he finished in seventh place in the K1 500 metres. For the second successive games, New Zealand's Olympic participation was marred by scandal undermining New Zealand's prestige on the world stage. Also in 1980, rather than marching behind the New Zealand flag at the Opening Ceremony, the small New Zealand team walked behind a black flag with a silver fern and the Olympic rings.⁴³⁰

An interview with Moscow Olympian Brian Newth in 2017 reinforced the tactics by the Muldoon Government. Newth told investigative journalist Phil Taylor that "the campaign waged by the New Zealand Government of the time was extremely nasty and more in keeping with the actions of a totalitarian state than a democracy."⁴³¹ Newth argues that New Zealanders were known internationally then as "rugged individuals." However, he said that the events surrounding the 1980 games meant that "those rugged individuals were few and far between in our country then, and heavily outnumbered by spineless and fawning sycophants."⁴³² Since 1980 Newth has lived in Australia on and off and states that the situation in Australia was very different. Despite the Australian Government supporting the boycott, the Australian Olympic Team did compete in greater number in Moscow. Newth states that he was treated very differently in Australia and has been treated more like an Olympian there than he ever was in New Zealand. "No one got behind us. It was like everyone was scared. All Muldoon had to do was say you were some sort of communist sympathiser."⁴³³

Alan Thompson, who also competed in Moscow, was scathing of the Muldoon Government. Thompson said that Lance Cross, who was a member of the IOC in 1980, did nothing to help New Zealand athletes get to the games. "I thought he was two-faced, the hypocrisy of it all is what

⁴³⁰ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 11 November 2013, *1980 Moscow Olympics Boycott*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/moscow-olympics-boycott>, (Accessed 18 January 2017).

⁴³¹ Brian Newth, interview with Phil Taylor, 'Unfair Games,' in *Weekend Herald*, Saturday February 11 2017, A18.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid.

got to me.”⁴³⁴ Thompson also said that “many New Zealanders seemed happy to mix politics and sport for Moscow but were against it the next year when the Springbok rugby team toured.”⁴³⁵

The Gleneagles Agreement had been approved by the Commonwealth in 1977 following the Montreal Olympic Games. New Zealand’s international reputation had been damaged following the Montreal Olympics. Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, however, maintained that a free and democratic country could not restrict the rights of its citizens to travel overseas. He reiterated his belief that sports and politics should be kept separate. With the Gleneagles Agreement, however, Commonwealth leaders (including Muldoon) agreed, as part of their support for the international campaign against apartheid, to discourage contact and competition between ‘their sportsmen and sporting organisations, and teams or individuals from South Africa.’⁴³⁶ Despite signing the agreement, Muldoon made it clear that his government would not allow political interference in sport in any form. The New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) took this as a green light, and in September 1980 it invited the South Africans to tour the following year. Deputy Prime Minister Brian Talboys wrote to Ces Blazey, the NZRFU chairman, expressing concern that a tour was even being considered. He was concerned that such contact would be seen as condoning apartheid and would affect ‘how New Zealand is judged in the international arena’. Robert Muldoon said that he could see ‘nothing but trouble coming from this’, but when confronted with the choice of cancelling the tour, he spoke of ‘our kith and kin’ in South Africa and the fact that New Zealanders and South Africans had served side by side in the Second World War. He reiterated his mantra that New Zealand was a free and democratic country and that ‘politics should stay out of sport’. Brian Talboys stressed that the government had done everything in its

⁴³⁴ Alan Thompson, interview with Phil Taylor, ‘Unfair Games,’ in *Weekend Herald*, Saturday February 11 2017, A18.

⁴³⁵ Ibid

⁴³⁶ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, January 13 2016, ‘Gleneagles Agreement’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/gleneagles-agreement>, (Accessed January 18 2017).

power, short of coercion, to halt the tour.⁴³⁷ Ultimately the tour went ahead, and in 1981, civil war-like conditions ensued in New Zealand.

In March 1981, the NZOC agreed to ratify the principles of the Gleneagles agreement. In effect, and for the benefit of ensuring the involvement of New Zealand's athletes in the Olympic and Commonwealth Games, the NZOC officially distanced itself from policies and actions of individual sports bodies in New Zealand.⁴³⁸ The announcement came four years after the agreement was signed. The NZOC stated that it:

Urges the people of New Zealand to comply with the spirit of the Gleneagles agreement by ensuring that no action by New Zealand sports organisation would prejudice full participation by New Zealand and other Commonwealth countries in the 1982 Commonwealth Games and future Commonwealth, Olympic, and world games.⁴³⁹

Kohe argues that the announcement was laudable, but was a clear attempt by the NZOC to salvage New Zealand's global reputation following the 1981 Springbok Rugby tour of New Zealand and earlier African-led boycotts of the Olympic Games.⁴⁴⁰ The NZOC also took the step of officially condemning the 1981 Springbok tour. While it might have been laudable, arguably it came too late. The NZOC should have been much more proactive in supporting the Gleneagles agreement and ratifying it immediately after it was signed in 1977.

In 2010, the NZOC held a reunion for the 100 athletes selected to represent New Zealand at the 1980 Olympic Games. Events celebrating anniversary milestones of Olympic Teams in New Zealand are rare, and the reunion received a lot of media coverage.⁴⁴¹ The reunion also included a letter from Murray McCully, Minister of Sport and Recreation. The letter was read out at the reunion. The letter stated:

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.78.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Geoff Z. Kohe, 'Reflexivity in the Apologetic Aeon: NZOC's Return to Moscow', p.121.

The opportunity to represent your country at an Olympic Games is the pinnacle of any athlete's career. To have had this denied to you due to circumstances beyond your control will have had a hugely damaging impact on your sporting careers. Sadly, that has been compounded by the failure to formally acknowledge the significant achievement of having been selected as a member of the New Zealand Olympic team and all that that entails. As Minister of Sport and Recreation, and on behalf of the Government, I wish to acknowledge your selection in the Moscow Olympic Team. For too long your achievement in being selected for the team has not been formally celebrated, nor has there been appropriate recognition of this personal impact of not being able to attend the Moscow Games. I hope tonight goes some way to addressing this for you all.⁴⁴²

The reunion of the 1980 Olympic team was a step forward for those athletes who never got to wear the silver fern and compete at the Olympic Games. Master of Ceremonies at the event, John McBeth, stated that the reunion brought together the 1980 Olympic Team for the first time.

Los Angeles 1984: Games of the XXIII Olympiad

Following the 1980 Olympic boycott by the United States, no one was surprised when the Soviet Union and much of the Eastern Bloc countries boycotted the 1984 games in Los Angeles. Following the disappointment of only four competitors attending the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games, a record 135 New Zealand athletes competed four years later. Records continued to be broken as New Zealand ended 16 days in Los Angeles with a record medal tally. New Zealand won 11 medals including eight golds, finishing eighth on the medals table, its highest place ever. New Zealand finished ahead of diverse countries such as Great Britain, Australia, France, and the Netherlands.

The biggest gold rush for New Zealand came in canoeing. Before 1984, New Zealand had never won a canoeing medal. However, that changed in 1984 when New Zealand won four gold medals. In 1984 there were only about 50 competitive canoeists in New Zealand, and New Zealanders

⁴⁴² Murray McCully, in Geoff Z. Kohe, 'Reflexivity in the Apologetic Aeon: NZOC's Return to Moscow', pp.134-135.

knew very little about the sport. Ian Ferguson departed Los Angeles with three gold medals, a record for a New Zealander at a single Olympic Games. Alan Thompson and Paul MacDonald each won two gold medals and Grant Bramwell one gold. Overall in canoeing, New Zealand won the K1 500, K1 1000, K2 500, and the K4 100 metre events. For Ferguson, winning the K4 1000m event was perhaps the sweetest of all:

I really wanted to win the K1 to prove myself, but when I paddled the four I paddled twice as hard. When I finished that K4 race I could not even lift up my paddles. I was absolutely finished. When I got out of the boat, I almost fell over because I put more effort into it. I was doing it not just for me, but for them as well. The team spirit was there. We all kicked in, and we really did a brilliant race.⁴⁴³

While the medals were perhaps 'soft medals' as many of the Eastern Bloc countries failed to turn up, ultimately athletes can only compete against whoever turns up. The New Zealand team manager in Los Angeles described the feats of the canoeing team: "It will probably be one of the greatest performances in New Zealand sport. I doubt we will see the like again."⁴⁴⁴

Another New Zealander created history in Los Angeles. Neroli Fairhall might not have won gold or even a medal, finishing 35th out of 47 in the women's archery competition. However, what was history-making is that Fairhall (the 1982 Commonwealth Games gold medallist) was the first paraplegic athlete to compete at an Olympic Games. Her participation signalled the beginning of greater acceptance for paraplegic athletes not only in New Zealand but around the world. Once again New Zealand were trailblazers across the field of sport, in this case for disabled athletes.⁴⁴⁵

To win eight gold medals was a remarkable effort from a nation with approximately 3.2 million people at the time. Four gold medals came in canoeing alone, and Mark Todd won New Zealand's first ever equestrian medal when he teamed up with his horse Charisma to win the individual eventing competition. Two other gold medals came in sailing, with Russell

⁴⁴³ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p. 158.

⁴⁴⁴ Tony Smith, *The Champions: New Zealand's Olympic Gold Medallists*, p.42.

⁴⁴⁵ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p. 166-167.

Coutts (Sailing, Finn Class), and Chris Timms and Rex Sellers (Sailing, Tornado Class) becoming Olympic champions. The final gold medal would come in rowing, with the Men's Coxless Fours winning a gold over the United States and Denmark. Kevin Barry (Men's light heavyweight) won New Zealand's only silver medal in boxing, and New Zealand athletes won two bronze medals: in rowing (men's coxed four), and Bruce Kendall (Sailing, Men's Windglider).

Conclusion

New Zealand grappled with its place in the world during the 1970s and 1980s as New Zealand moved away from Great Britain and towards the United States. The New Zealand government followed President Jimmy Carter's lead in calling for a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games. Despite the appeal for a boycott, the NZOC voted to attend, and four athletes took part. Prime Minister Robert Muldoon loomed large during the 1970s and early 1980s as he systematically and cynically used sport as a tool. Despite this, during the 1970s and 1980s the size of the New Zealand Olympic team continued to grow, with record size teams winning a record number of medals. During this period, through the men's eights in Munich, John Walker in Montreal, and Ian Fergusson in Los Angeles, New Zealand had world beaters.

Chapter Seven: New Zealand comes of age – an independent voice in a new world 1988 - present

By 1988, the world was about to embark on a brand-new phase. In 1989 the Berlin Wall fell, symbolising the end of the Cold War and leading to the fall of communist regimes in central and eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany, the break-up of the Soviet Union, and Boris Yeltsin becoming President of the Russian Federation. In 1990 the first Gulf War took place after Iraq invaded neighbouring Kuwait, and in 1994 the apartheid regime that divided South Africa and created worldwide tension on the sporting field came to an end with Nelson Mandela being elected president following the country's first democratic elections.

In 2001 the world was shocked when nearly 3,000 people were killed in multiple terror attacks in New York and Washington, DC. The September 11 terrorist attacks led to the United States' invasion of Afghanistan and the overthrow of the Taliban regime. Terrorism has become one of the dominant global themes since then. In 2002 the Bali Bombings brought terrorism to New Zealand's back door. The Boxing Day Tsunami in Asia in 2004, which killed approximately 280,000 people, brought terror. In March 2003, the United States invaded Iraq, removing Saddam Hussein from power. The New Zealand government at the time was led by Helen Clark and the Labour Party and refused to support the invasion, an expression of New Zealand's independent foreign policy. Traditional allies of New Zealand (Great Britain and Australia) supported the United States invasion of Iraq and sent troops to assist. The year 2008 would also become an important year in history when Barack Obama became the first African-American to win the Presidency after promising 'Hope and Change'. Also in 2008, the Global Financial Recession led to the biggest downturn of the world economy since the Great Depression. The year 2014 was another important year globally with the rise of the Islamic State (ISIS) in the Middle East, leading to the biggest migration of refugees since World War II. Also in 2014, Russia began several military incursions

into Ukraine, leading to Russia's annexation of the Crimea. In 2016, Britain voted to leave the European Union, and Donald Trump was elected 45th President of the United States. Trump ran on an anti-free trade platform, promising to return jobs to the United States and 'Make America Great Again'. Trump focussed his campaign on stopping illegal immigration, and his victory was perhaps one of the biggest upsets in modern American political history. The unorthodox campaign and election of Trump added yet another layer of uncertainty in an already uncertain world where more nations are looking to flex their muscles on the international stage.

Throughout the past 30 years, New Zealand has become more multicultural and more independent, increasingly comfortable operating independently on the world stage. In 1990 the National Party led by Jim Bolger was elected in a landslide, and in 1993 New Zealand voted to change its electoral system to Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) after nine years of economic and social reform led to a growing distrust in politicians. This was the most dramatic change to the country's electoral system since the introduction of women's suffrage exactly 100 years before.⁴⁴⁶ The year before, in 1992, New Zealand won a seat on the UN Security Council for 1993 and 1994. New Zealand's position as a small state and with a reputation for foreign policy independence helped it win election. New Zealand was at times a lonely voice on the council in supporting international action and a UN presence to halt the 1994 Rwandan genocide. New Zealand also used its Security Council membership to assist in the establishment of a war-crimes tribunal for Rwanda. During the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, New Zealand supported Macedonia's admission to UN membership and setting up a war-crimes tribunal. Verbal support from New Zealand was matched by a military commitment to the UN Protection Force for Bosnia.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, August 2014, 'The road to MMP', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/fpp-to-mmp/>, (Accessed 12 December 2016).

⁴⁴⁷ Rod Alley, 'Multilateral organisations - War and conflict', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/multilateral-organisations/page-2> (Accessed 16 December 2016).

On the 3rd of May 1995, in a David vs. Goliath battle in San Diego, the underdog of New Zealand defeated the might of Dennis Conner and the United States to win the America's Cup – sport's oldest prize. Few New Zealanders in 1995 could have avoided television commentator Peter Montgomery's famous line, 'the America's Cup is now New Zealand's Cup!' The phrase was repeated over and over as New Zealand enjoyed one of the most significant moments in its history. Five years later, in Auckland, Team New Zealand became the first team from a country outside the United States to successfully defend the America's Cup.⁴⁴⁸

In 1997, Jenny Shipley replaced Jim Bolger as Prime Minister to become New Zealand's first female Prime Minister, and in 1999, Helen Clark became the first woman to lead a party to victory at a general election. In 2001, following the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, New Zealand committed troops to Afghanistan in what would become New Zealand's longest troop commitment since World War II. As noted, New Zealand refused to support United States military intervention in Iraq, despite allies supporting the initiative. In 2008 the National Party was returned to government, and Prime Minister John Key decided to reinstate Titular Honours, seen by some as a step backwards towards Britain.⁴⁴⁹ The years 2010 and 2011 were a destabilising time in New Zealand, with two serious earthquakes in the South Island, the second hitting Christchurch in February 2011, killing 184 people. Also in 2011, New Zealand hosted the Rugby World Cup for the first time since 1987, New Zealand winning the event. New Zealand became the first nation to successfully defend the Rugby World Cup in 2015. In 2014 New Zealand again won a seat on the UN Security Council, and in 2016 a United States naval ship visited New Zealand without incident, the first such visit in over 30 years (since 1983) following the 1980s nuclear standoff. By 2016 New Zealand had become a nation that was more self-assured and

⁴⁴⁸ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, June 2014, 'NZ wins the America's Cup for the first time', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/nz-wins-americas-cup-first-time>, (Accessed 16 December 2016).

⁴⁴⁹ In 2009, Prime Minister John Key restored the honours to their pre-April 2000 state. Principal Companions and Distinguished Companions (85 people in total) were given the option to convert their awards into Knighthoods or Damehoods.

increasingly geared towards Asia (with China becoming New Zealand's largest trading partner after it became the first developed nation to negotiate a free trade agreement with China). New Zealand was perceived by many as being a stable and growing country at a time when nationalistic and protectionist tendencies were gaining strength in parts of Europe and the United States.

Malcolm McKinnon in his book *Independence and Foreign Policy, New Zealand in the World Since 1935*, argues that 'the idea of independence is a favoured theme in discussion of New Zealand's foreign relations and the country's place in the world over the last half-century and more.'⁴⁵⁰ McKinnon argues that the notion of independence has occurred throughout the 20th century as a process rather than a goal.⁴⁵¹ It has been made up through events, as this study has highlighted, rather than an overarching goal. While it is clear that New Zealand's relationship with the world changed throughout the 20th century and New Zealand moved towards a more independent voice on the world stage, it's also important to note that the 'independent foreign policy' that New Zealand likes to think it has does not operate in isolation. No nation is genuinely independent. Nations trade and nations work together on common issues. However, politicians and New Zealanders often like to quote that New Zealand has an independent foreign policy.⁴⁵²

Seoul 1988: Games of the XXIV Olympiad

After the boycotts of 1976, 1980 and 1984 another boycott could have been expected in 1988, when Seoul, South Korea was granted the right to host the Olympic Games. However, much to the relief of the IOC only three nations boycotted the Seoul Games – Cuba, Ethiopia and, not surprisingly, North Korea.

⁴⁵⁰ Malcolm McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy, New Zealand in the World Since 1935*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993), p.1.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid, p.10.

⁴⁵² Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Briefing to the Incoming Minister*, (Wellington: New Zealand Government, October 2017), p.12.

For New Zealand, 88 athletes competed in 16 sports at Seoul. Despite a smaller team than the 135 that competed in 1984 in Los Angeles, New Zealand athletes won a record number of medals, 13 medals in total eclipsing the 11 won in 1984. Three of those medals were gold, won by Bruce Kendall (Men's Sailboard), Ian Ferguson and Paul MacDonald (Men's K2 500 metres), and Mark Todd on Charisma (equestrian individual three-day event). Two silver medals were won by Ian Ferguson and Paul MacDonald (K2 1000 metres), and Rex Sellers and Chris Timms (Men's Tornado Sailing class). The eight bronze medals in Seoul were Paul MacDonald (Men's K1 500 metres), the equestrian eventing team, Paul Kingsman (Swimming – Men's 200 meters Backstroke), Anthony Moss (Swimming – Men's 200 metres Butterfly), John Cutler (Sailing – Men's Finn class), Eric Verdonk (Rowing – Men's Single Sculls), Men's Rowing Coxed Four, and Lynley Hannen and Nikki Payne (Rowing – Women's Coxless Pair).

The most remarkable victory for New Zealand in 1988 came when Mark Todd, riding his horse Charisma, retained the Olympic title won in 1984. Todd's victory on Charisma was even more impressive as they became the first horse and rider since Charles Pahud de Mortanges from the Netherlands did the same in 1932. When the gold was Todd's, television commentator Brian O'Flaherty famously commented:

And he's clear over that; he can do what he likes with these last two, it really doesn't matter, it's Todd for two, and two for Todd. Mark Todd and Charisma, the first time since 1932 that one horse and rider have won the Olympic gold medal for the three-day event in two successive Olympic Games, and it was a Kiwi who does it.⁴⁵³

Todd's victory in Seoul was completely dominant. Todd finished ten penalty points clear of Great Britain's Ian Stark. The performance of Todd during the 1980s and 1990s would be recognised when in 2000 he was named by the International Equestrian Federation as the eventing rider of the 20th century. Todd has competed for New Zealand at seven Olympic Games, the most by any New Zealander, and he has won five Olympic

⁴⁵³ Tony Smith, *The Champions: New Zealand's Olympic Gold Medallists*, p.52.

Medals. His bronze medal won in 2012 in London equalled the Olympic record for the longest gap between an individual's first and last Olympic medals.⁴⁵⁴

Also in 1988, Madonna Harris became the first New Zealander to compete at both the summer and winter Olympic Games. In 1988 Harris competed in the 20-kilometre cross-country skiing event in Calgary, finishing in 40th place. That same year in Seoul, Harris lined up in the cycling road race, but did not finish. However, it was not because of a lack of trying. Harris was in the mix right until late in the race when a punctured tyre forced her to retire. Harris would go on to win gold at the 1990 Commonwealth Games in Auckland in the individual cycling pursuit. The only other New Zealander to compete in both the summer and winter Olympic Games was Chris Nicholson, who finished 10th in the 100 kilometre team time trial at the Barcelona Olympic Games and also competed in both the Albertville Winter Olympics in 1992 and the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, where his best result was fourth place.⁴⁵⁵

In 1990 over 2,000 athletes from 55 nations descended on Auckland for the 14th Commonwealth Games, the most significant sporting event ever to take place in New Zealand. The event would form part of New Zealand's 1990 150th anniversary celebrations. Auckland won the right to host the 1990 Commonwealth Games in 1984, narrowly beating out New Delhi. The vote could not have been closer, with Auckland edging New Delhi 20 votes to 19. New Zealand was represented by 224 competitors and won a record 58 medals, including 17 gold. Cyclist Gary Anderson became the star of the games with four medals, including three gold. Two years later Anderson went on to win New Zealand's first cycling medal when he won bronze in the individual pursuit competition.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ Fred Woodcock, *NZ three-day eventers win bronze*, 1 August 2012, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/olympics/other-sports/7385685/New-Zealand-three-day-eventers-win-bronze>, (Accessed 11 January 2017).

⁴⁵⁵ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.184-185.

⁴⁵⁶ Commonwealth Games Federation, *1990 Commonwealth Games*, <http://www.thecgf.com/games/intro.asp?yr=1990>, (Accessed 13 January 2017).

Barcelona 1992: Games of the XXV Olympiad

The year 1992 started brightly for New Zealand as Annelise Coberger won New Zealand's first and only medal to date at the Winter Olympic Games. In Albertville, France, Coberger won silver in the women's slalom competition. The medal would be the first by any athlete from the Southern hemisphere. The silver medal was a complete surprise for the New Zealander, who was ranked in only eighth place after the first run in the slalom. No one expected her to win a medal, and this was a case where the underdog came through.⁴⁵⁷

The 1992 Olympic Games were held in Barcelona, Spain. South Africa, with Nelson Mandela freed from prison and apartheid coming to an end, was allowed to compete for the first time since 1960 and one of the lasting memories of the 1992 Olympic Games came in the women's 10,000 metres event, watched by Mandela. Black Ethiopian runner Derartu Tulu outpaced Elana Meyer, a white South African runner, to win gold and silver respectively. Following the race, both ran a victory lap together, hand-in-hand. After the Soviet Union had been dissolved in 1991, the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania sent their first teams to the games since 1936. The other former Soviet republics competed under the Unified Team banner. Following reunification in 1990, Germany sent a single Olympic Team for the first time since 1964. The dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia led to the Olympic debuts of Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the 1992 games, 138 New Zealanders competed in 17 sports. New Zealand won ten medals in Barcelona, including one gold to Barbara Kendall in the women's windglider event. Kendall became just the second New Zealand woman to win an Olympic Gold Medal following Yvette Williams' gold medal in the long jump in Helsinki in 1952. New Zealand won four silver medals in Barcelona: Danyon Loader (Swimming – men's 200 metres butterfly), the three-day equestrian eventing team, Leslie

⁴⁵⁷ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.188-189.

Egnot and Jan Shearer (Sailing – Women's 470 competition), and Don Cowie and Rod Davis (Sailing Men's Star competition). Five bronze medals were also won: Lorraine Moller won New Zealand's first athletics medal since 1976 in the women's marathon. Gary Anderson (Men's 4000 metres Individual Pursuit – Cycling) would win New Zealand's first cycling medal, David Tua (boxing – men's heavyweight), Blyth Tait (three-day equestrian individual) and Craig Monk (Men's Finn Class Sailing).

Atlanta 1996: Games of the XXVI Olympiad

In 1996 the Olympic Games went to the American South when Atlanta hosted the games. Terrorism returned to the Olympic Games at what was billed as the Centennial Olympics – the modern games had begun 100 years earlier – with a bomb at Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park on July 27. One person was killed, and 111 people were injured in the attack. A total of 197 nations competed at the 1996 Olympic Games, with 24 making their Olympic debut. Russia competed independently for the first time since 1912, and the Games were set alight by Muhammad Ali (who had won gold in boxing at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome), as Ali, suffering from Parkinson's disease, dramatically lit the torch. The African-American (who changed his name from Cassius Clay and became a Muslim) was a sentimental favourite to light the torch in what had once been the segregated south.

New Zealand sent 97 athletes to the games in Atlanta and competed in seven sports. Swimmer Danyon Loader was the star of the New Zealand team, winning two gold medals. Blyth Tait and Sally Clarke won gold and silver in equestrian eventing, and Barbara Kendall won silver in boardsailing, following her gold medal win in Barcelona. The equestrian eventing team also won a bronze medal. However, New Zealand's overall medal tally fell to six from the ten won in 1992. The three gold medals in Atlanta, compared to only one in Barcelona, masked the overall decline in performance.

Loader's double gold in Atlanta was one of New Zealand's greatest moments at an Olympic Games. Loader chose what many New Zealanders tend to do when competing on the world stage, adopting the status of the underdog:

I was this wee fellow from Dunedin in New Zealand. There hadn't been a lot of kudos for New Zealand swimmers, and I had a "don't count me out" attitude throughout the event. I used that to keep going.⁴⁵⁸

Loader won his first gold medal in the 200 metres freestyle event on day one of the Olympic Games, winning by half a second ahead of Gustavo Borges of Brazil and Daniel Kowalski of Australia. Three days later Loader lined up in the final of the 400 metres freestyle event, again prevailing and winning gold by over a second from Paul Palmer of Great Britain in second and Daniel Kowalski of Australia in third. Dave Gerrard, New Zealand's Chef de Mission in Atlanta and former Commonwealth Games swimming gold medallist, eloquently put Loader's achievement into perspective:

I was in Tokyo when Snell won his two gold medals. He did it like Danyon, finishing with a withering final sprint. And he imposed himself on the field, just like Danyon. At first, you might think it's stretching things to put him in the same breath as Snell, but that's where Danyon belongs.⁴⁵⁹

Loader's double gold in Atlanta can also be appreciated by considering that no New Zealander has won a swimming medal since, and few have even reached the final of an event. Loader for once beat the Australians, the Americans and everyone else, putting New Zealand swimming on the world map.

Sydney 2000: Games of the XXVII Olympiad

The Sydney Olympic Games, held in New Zealand's backyard were meant to bring a swag of medals for New Zealand. Ultimately it would end

⁴⁵⁸ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.208.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.209.

in disappointment. On 15 September 2000, the world's biggest show rolled into Sydney with the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games. The Games got off to a spectacular start with Cathy Freeman lighting the cauldron on the 100 year anniversary of women's participation at the Olympic Games. Freeman, of aboriginal descent, became the face of the games in Sydney. On September 25, 2000, in front of 110,000 screaming Australians, Freeman ran to victory in the women's 400 metres. Her victory symbolised the coming together of Aborigines and white Australians and was the first time that an Aborigine won an individual gold medal at an Olympic Games. For just a moment when Freeman won, Australia was one. When Freeman undertook her victory lap carrying the Australian and Aboriginal flags, Australians forgot about their racist past, and white Australians alongside Aborigines came together as one to salute an Olympic champion. This moment symbolised the true power of sport and the Olympic movement.

Hopes were high within the New Zealand Olympic Team, the media and the general public that the proximity of the games would lead to a record medal tally. New Zealand sent a record 151 athletes to the games in Sydney, competing in 12 sports. However, New Zealand athletes were able to win only a single gold medal (to Rob Waddell in the men's rowing single sculls) and three bronze medals (to Barbara Kendall and Aaron McIntosh in boardsailing and Mark Todd in the individual equestrian three-day event). It was New Zealand's worst performance in decades – for a proud sporting nation, New Zealanders took the result hard.

During the first week of the games in Sydney, New Zealand experienced a medal drought as medal chances slipped away. However, on the morning of 23 September 2000, New Zealand won its only gold medal. Rob Waddell had won gold at the world championships in 1998 and 1999, and in 2000 he was favourite to win the gold. However, it would take until the last 200 metres of the race for Waddell to move ahead over eventual silver medallist and 1996 Olympic champion Xeno Mueller of Switzerland. Waddell was diagnosed with an irregular heartbeat earlier in his rowing career, which led him to focus on the single sculls. Waddell went on to

become a member of Team New Zealand and raced in the America's Cup in 2007 and 2013.⁴⁶⁰ Waddell also competed at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, finishing fourth in the Double Sculls. Waddell was the Chef de Mission to the New Zealand Olympic team at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games.

There was widespread disappointment with the New Zealand performance in Sydney. Minister of Sport Trevor Mallard spoke at the official welcome home to the New Zealand team:

On behalf of the Government and the people of New Zealand, it is my pleasure to welcome you home. Sydney 2000 was an event that we looked forward to as a nation. It was the closest the Olympic Games will be to New Zealand in our lifetimes.

The New Zealand 2000 Olympic squad had some magical moments which we rejoiced in; you had some bad luck which we bemoaned, and you had some bitter disappointments – and on those occasions, we shared some of your grief.

People are disappointed with the medal count. Remember, nearly half the countries that compete have never won a medal. That we did really well on a per capita basis. That it has taken Australia 24 years and \$25 million for each gold to get where they are now.

If we want that sort of success, then some things must happen. Taxpayers must decide they are prepared to put cash in. New Zealand corporates will have to back potential winners. But most important of all, every New Zealander must examine what we can do as individuals to make our contribution. Whether it is coaching some kids at school or running a junior club – we all have to do our bit.

It will take an extraordinary effort, but we are an extraordinary country.⁴⁶¹

While part three of this thesis will focus more on high-performance sport policy in New Zealand, it is important to note that the disappointment of Sydney certainly brought about a rethink of New Zealand's sporting structure. Changes ensued, which have led to an upswing of Olympic results for New Zealand.

⁴⁶⁰ Tony Smith, *The Champions: New Zealand's Olympic Gold Medallists*, p.62.

⁴⁶¹ Trevor Mallard, *Welcome Home for the New Zealand Olympic Team*, 2 October 2000, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0010/S00030/welcome-home-for-the-new-zealand-olympic-team.htm>, (Accessed 18 January 2017).

As the new millennium dawned in New Zealand, President of the NZOC John Davies outlined the work that the NZOC does:

When we change into our sports gear and run onto the field of play we are equal. When we play sport it gives us one of the greatest opportunities available to us – the ability to conquer ourselves. To play well, we must demonstrate courage, patience, perseverance and our ability to achieve. In essence, it provides everyone with the opportunity to excel.⁴⁶²

Following the disappointment of the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, the NZOC worked hard to change the culture inside the New Zealand Olympic Team. While New Zealand athletes had been attending the Olympic Games since 1908, and had donned the black uniform and wore the silver fern, some felt that there was not always a sense of 'collective team identity.'⁴⁶³ For example, Kohe states that there was no real requirement for athletes to stay at Games villages or to support fellow athletes at their respective events; many athletes and officials simply came and went as they wanted and expressed little interest in establishing athletic collegiality.⁴⁶⁴

Following the 2000 Games, Dave Currie was appointed as Chef de Mission of the Olympic Games Team. Currie was instrumental in giving the New Zealand Olympic Team a sense of identity and collective team spirit. The 'One Team – One Spirit' ethos became the approach of the Olympic Team. The original goals of the 'One Team – One Spirit' approach were to:

Foster values and ideals shared by the whole team and create a unified team culture focused on the athletes. The underlying intention was to improve the overall performance of the team and to enhance a unique cultural identity among games teams. The One Team approach was a concerted effort to create a distinct team unity and identity; an identity that undoubtedly reflected and represented

⁴⁶² John Davies, *Presidents Report*, (NZOC: Wellington, 2002), p.2.

⁴⁶³ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.96.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.97.

New Zealanders adoration for sport and sporting values, but also, appropriately honoured its deeply significant cultural history.⁴⁶⁵

A major part of the approach was the relationship that has developed with Ngai Tahu. Before the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens, the NZOC adopted the use of a Kakahu (Maori cloak), named Mahutonga, after the Southern Cross, which is worn by the flag bearer at the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of both the Summer and Winter Olympic Games. The Kakahu was first worn at the Opening Ceremony of the 2004 Olympics by flag bearer Beatrice Faumuina. The Kakahu is presented to the flag bearer at the official team function which takes place on the eve of the games. In 2004 every flag bearer from the 1988 Olympic Games was part of the New Zealand team, either as an athlete or coach. This included 1988 flag bearer Ian Fergusson, 1992 flag bearer Mark Todd, 1996 flag bearer Barbara Kendall and 2000 flag bearer Blyth Tait.⁴⁶⁶ Every team member is given a pounamu (greenstone) pendant as a symbol of unity binding the team together. The Games team also travels with a large piece of pounamu that is used to bring the team together. The initiatives that were developed before the 2004 Olympic Games have been used at each subsequent games, attracting worldwide attention.⁴⁶⁷ Kohe stated:

The Kakahu, pounamu, and haka have continued to be used at subsequent games. As taonga (treasures), they were distinct cultural emblems that have become part of the shared and continued Olympic legacy. They are thus an apt way in which NZOC can help athletes link the mana (pride), prestige, and heritage of previous games teams to the potential, hopes, and expectation of current and future teams.⁴⁶⁸

Athletes have responded well to the changes, and feel part of the wider New Zealand Team. Currie stated that 'providing meaning was an essential ingredient in motivating people to achieve the 'One Team – One Spirit' culture. We wanted everyone to live the Olympic experience.'⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, pp.97-98.

⁴⁶⁶ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.224.

⁴⁶⁷ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.97.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Dave Currie, *Chef de Mission Statement – 2005 Annual Report*, (Wellington: NZOC, 2005), p.12.

While it is difficult to ascertain whether the concept has led to greater performances on the field, what it has done is provide the athletes with a sense of shared identity, a sense of what it means to be a New Zealander. Moreover, because of the feeling of identity athletes have, the sense of what it means to be a New Zealander is transmitted to the entire world.

Athens 2004: Games of the XXVIII Olympiad

Prior to the Athens 2004 Olympic Games the media was full of stories of construction delays and security issues, and there was real concern that Athens would not be ready to host the opening ceremony on 13 August 2004. New Zealand sent 148 athletes to Athens, just shy of the 151 that went to Sydney. The New Zealand team competed in a record 18 sports. In the lead-up to the 2004 Olympic Games, expectations were not high for the New Zealand team. The changes made to the sporting landscape in New Zealand (discussed in part three of this thesis) were still taking effect, although there was some hope that things would be different in Athens when the games returned home to their spiritual birthplace.

In the end, New Zealand was able to win just one more medal than four years earlier in Sydney. However, the total included three gold medals compared to only one in Sydney. The gold medals won in rowing to the Evers-Swindell twins in the women's double sculls, and to Sarah Ulmer (in a world record time) in the women's individual pursuit, were expected. However, the gold and silver in the men's triathlon to Hamish Carter and Bevan Docherty would go down among the greatest moments in New Zealand Olympic and sporting history. It was only the third time that New Zealand would win two medals in a single event. The other two times were in 1964 when Peter Snell and John Davies won gold and bronze in the men's 1500 metres, and in 1996 when Blyth Tait and Sally Clarke won gold and silver in the individual equestrian three-day event competition. Hamish Carter's road to Athens was rocky; after being favourite for the inaugural triathlon event in Sydney 2000, he finished in a disappointing

26th position. The media had widely criticised Carter in 2000, but he came back to win a gold medal in Athens.

One of the more moving events at the 2004 Olympic Games was a visit by the New Zealand Olympic Team to Phaleron War Cemetery. Chef de Mission Dave Currie organised a commemoration function for George Cooke, who was killed during the Battle of Crete in 1941. Corporal Cooke was part of the New Zealand Infantry. Cooke is buried at Phaleron, and the function was attended by New Zealand Olympic Team Members, members of the Greek government, and by two of Cooke's nephews.⁴⁷⁰ Chef de Mission Dave Currie thought it was important to commemorate those who have given the ultimate sacrifice:

We as a team only had the opportunity to compete at those games because of the sacrifices that all those New Zealanders that had been there and fought and died. I found it an emotionally extraordinarily moving time for me and probably one of the most powerful things I have ever been involved in.⁴⁷¹

This was a moving moment for the New Zealand athletes who attended the function. Swimmer Dean Kent remarked:

I felt I owed it to my grandfathers to attend. One of the only honours that I can do to pay tribute to those guys who went over there, my age and younger, and gave it all up for freedom, their country, and the flag was to attend. It was incredibly moving.⁴⁷²

In 2005, the NZOC won an International Olympic Award for their 'One Team – One Spirit' documentary about the 2004 Olympic Games. The documentary outlined the ethos that the NZOC developed after Sydney. Gordon Irving (NZOC Communication Manager) created a documentary on the 2004 Olympic Team's return to the birthplace of the Olympic Games in Athens.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ Joseph Romanos, *Our Olympic Century*, p.24.

⁴⁷¹ Dave Currie, *New Zealand Olympic Team: One Team One Spirit Athens 2004*, (NZOC Documentary, 2005).

⁴⁷² Dean Kent, *New Zealand Olympic Team: One Team One Spirit Athens 2004*, (NZOC Documentary, 2005).

⁴⁷³ Geoffery Kohe, *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011*, p.98.

Beijing 2008: Games of the XXIX Olympiad

Beijing's air quality and human rights were discussed before the city hosted the Olympic Games in 2008; some even talked about boycotting the games. However, the threat of boycotts never eventuated in an event that the Chinese government used to showcase themselves and their country to the world. A total of 205 nations competed at the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, in what would prove to be the most expensive Olympic Games thus far.

New Zealand would have their most successful Olympic Games in 16 years in Beijing, to celebrate 100 years since New Zealand athletes first participated in the Olympic Games as part of Australasia in 1908. The Beijing Olympic Games began on the eighth day of the eighth month at 8:08 pm. A record 184 New Zealanders competed at the 2008 Olympic Games, winning nine medals, including three gold, New Zealand's best performance since 1992. New Zealand athletes competed in 17 sports, with five sports winning medals, including athletics, where Valerie Adams won a first gold medal in the women's shot put, New Zealand's first athletics gold since John Walker won the 1500 metres in Montreal in 1976. Nick Willis won the silver medal in the 1500 metres event. The Evers-Swindell twins became the first New Zealand women to successfully defend an Olympic title when they won the women's double sculls, and Tom Ashley won gold in the men's boardsailing event, New Zealand's first gold in sailing since 1992. Other medals came in cycling, with a silver medal to Hayden Roulston in the individual pursuit, while the men's team pursuit won bronze. Bevan Docherty followed up his Athens silver with bronze in Beijing, and Mahe Drysdale and the men's pairs took bronze in rowing, capping off a successful Olympic Games for New Zealand.

Journalists dubbed 16 August 2008 "Super Saturday" by journalists, when New Zealand had its greatest single day at any Olympics, winning five medals in the space of four hours: two gold, one silver and two bronze.

Georgina and Caroline Evers-Swindell defended their double sculls title, winning gold by 0.01 seconds. Single sculler Mahe Drysdale, battling a virus, won bronze, while Nathan Twaddle and George Bridgewater won bronze in the coxless pair. Cyclist Hayden Roulston won silver in the individual pursuit, and Valerie Adams won gold in the shot put with a throw of 20.56 metres.⁴⁷⁴ Perhaps the most exciting of all was the win by the Evers-Swindell twins, written off before Beijing after failing to make the final of the Rowing World Cup prior to Beijing. In the final, the twins trailed Germany by almost two seconds with just 500 metres to go. However, they fought right to the finish, and as they crossed the line, the result was too close to call. Actually the computer originally awarded the gold to Germany. However, the photo finish revealed they were back-to-back Olympic champions.⁴⁷⁵

London 2012: Games of the XXX Olympiad

London won the right to host the 2012 Olympic Games in 2005 by beating Paris and hence became the first city to host the Olympic Games three times, after previously hosting in 1908 and 1948. For the first time at an Olympic Games, every competing nation included at least one female competitor.

Following the perceived success of the Olympic Team in Beijing 2008, expectations for the 2012 team increased, and they were not disappointed. New Zealand sent 184 athletes to the Olympic Games in London, competing in 16 sports. During the Games, New Zealand achieved its 100th overall Olympic medal. The medal was won by kayaker Lisa Carrington in the women's K-1 200 metres, winning New Zealand's first canoeing gold medal since 1988. However, if the three

⁴⁷⁴ Joseph Romanos, 'Olympic and Commonwealth games - The early 21st century at the Olympics', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/olympic-and-commonwealth-games/page-7> (Accessed 6 January 2017).

⁴⁷⁵ Kevin Norquay, *Is it the greatest day in NZ Olympic history?*, Sunday August 17 2007, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/sport/news/article.cfm?c_id=4&objectid=10527482, (Accessed 9 January 2017).

medals won by New Zealand athletes in 1908 and 1912 as part of Australasia were included, the 100th medal would be the silver taken by sailors Peter Burling and Blair Tuke from 49er sailing class.

New Zealand won a record-equalling 13 medals in London, including six gold. Shot putter Valerie Adams defended her Olympic title at London but was up against outstanding throwing from her rival Nadzeya Ostapchuk from Belarus. Adams's best throw of 20.70 metres could not match Ostapchuk, who made four throws over 21 metres with a best of 21.36 metres. While saying she was proud to win a silver medal for New Zealand, Adams admitted disappointment at not retaining her title. However, within hours of the Olympic closing ceremony, Ostapchuk tested positive for the performance-enhancing steroid metenolone. The Belarusian was disqualified, and Adams was awarded her second Olympic shot-put gold.⁴⁷⁶ Following the disqualification of Ostapchuk, Adams received her gold medal six weeks later in Auckland, on September 19. It was an emotional ceremony for Adams, who was presented her medal by Governor General Sir Jerry Mateparae in front of 2,500 guests at the Cloud, on the Auckland waterfront. Upon receiving her gold, Adams was emotional when she told media:

Thank you so much to the public of New Zealand for your love and support and your continued confidence in myself as an athlete; I do this for you and I do this for our country.⁴⁷⁷

The medal ceremony included the Southern Cross Campus Choir (Valerie Adams' former school), who sang the national anthem, and the ceremony concluded with a fireworks display. The ceremony would be the first and only time that an Olympic gold medal was presented to an athlete on New Zealand soil. The event was televised live on New Zealand television,

⁴⁷⁶ Joseph Romanos, 'Olympic and Commonwealth games - The early 21st century at the Olympics', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/olympic-and-commonwealth-games/page-7> (accessed 6 January 2017).

⁴⁷⁷ New Zealand Herald, *Valerie Adams: 'I do this for you'*, 19 September 2012, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10835156, (Accessed 26 January 2017).

further symbolising the importance placed on the Olympic Movement in New Zealand as a contributor to building the *imagined community*.⁴⁷⁸

Three gold medals came in rowing, with Mahe Drysdale following up his bronze in Beijing with gold. The rowing men's pairs and men's double sculls also took gold. Lisa Carrington won gold in the canoeing K1 200 metres event, and the women's 470 team won gold in sailing. Silver medals were won by the 49er sailing class and by Sarah Walker in the women's BMX event. Five bronze medals were also won: by the equestrian three-day event team, men's cycling team pursuit, Simon van Velthooven in the cycling keirin event, and, in rowing, in the men's lightweight double sculls and women's pairs. The result in London equalled the 13 medals won in Seoul in 1988, and the six gold medals were second only to the eight won in Los Angeles in 1984.

Rio de Janeiro 2016: Games of the XXXI Olympiad

The 2016 Olympic Games were hosted in the New World, South America, when Rio de Janeiro, Brazil lined up to host the world's largest sporting event. The Zika virus, political instability, and an economy in recession threatened to derail the games before they even started.

Following on from a successful Olympic performance in London 2012 and at the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow,⁴⁷⁹ the pressure was on athletes and the NZOC to build on this. And build on it they did. New Zealand sent a record 199 athletes to the Olympic Games in Rio, competing in 20 sports and winning an unprecedented number of medals that far exceeded expectations. For the first time, more women than men would be selected to represent New Zealand at an Olympic Games (100 to 99). The team was also the most ethnically diverse that New Zealand had sent to the games, with 43 competitors (20.5 percent) being of Maori

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ New Zealand had its most successful overseas Commonwealth Games ever in 2014 winning 45 medals in total, including 14 gold medals.

descent.⁴⁸⁰ New Zealand's Olympic Team now represented the face of modern New Zealand as the team also included athletes of Pacific Island and Asian origin.

Prior to the 2016 Olympic Games, High-Performance Sport New Zealand (HPSNZ) set a target of 14 medals, one more than in London four years earlier. Once again New Zealand would not disappoint, winning a total of 18 medals. Four gold medals were won: Mahe Drysdale (rowing single sculls), the men's rowing pairs and Lisa Carrington in the K1 200 metres defending their titles won in London, and the fourth being achieved by flag bearers Blair Tuke and Peter Burling in the 49er sailing class. Nine silver medals were won in Rio, including Valerie Adams in the women's shot put and Luuka Jones in the women's kayak slalom. Natalie Rooney won New Zealand's first shooting medal since 1968, in the women's trap, and the women's rugby sevens team won silver after losing to Australia in the final. World number one golfer Lydia Ko won silver, the men's cycling team sprint won silver after losing to Great Britain in the ride-off for gold, and the women's pairs rowing team won silver. The final two silver medals went to sailing, to the women's 470 and the women's 49er FX team. New Zealand athletes also won five bronze medals, including three in athletics. Nick Willis won bronze in the 1500 metres, nineteen-year-old Eliza McCartney in the women's pole vault, and Tom Walsh with New Zealand's first-ever field event medal for a male when he won bronze in the shot put. The two other bronze medals went to Lisa Carrington in the K1 500 metres canoeing event and to Sam Meech in the laser class (sailing).

Following the Olympic Games in Rio, the New Zealand Parliament held a special debate to honour and congratulate the Olympic Team. Prime Minister John Key remarked:

I move that this House congratulate the members of our record-breaking Olympic team on their outstanding performance in Rio. These inspiring New Zealanders did their country and themselves incredibly proud. They showed that there is no limit to what Kiwis can achieve when they set goals and work hard to attain them.

⁴⁸⁰ Te Karere, 43 Maori athletes to hear to Rio Olympics, August 5 2016, <http://tvnz.co.nz/te-karere-news/43-m-ori-athletes-head-rio-olympics-6485449>, (Accessed 9 January 2017).

Seeing New Zealanders not only excel but also carry themselves with such dignity and poise on the world stage reflects incredibly well on New Zealand, and is an inspiration to Kiwis young and old.

This Government believes that if you give New Zealanders an equal crack on the world stage, they are capable of anything. These athletes have shown just that—that you can grow up in a town of several hundred, in a country of 4.7 million at the bottom of the South Pacific, and you can be a world beater; that it is possible to outrun, out-throw, out-leap, out-shoot, out-paddle, out-row, and out-sail the best that the world has to offer, if you are prepared to put in the hard work to make it so; and that there are opportunities for young New Zealand athletes outside of rugby fields and cricket grounds, because Rio saw our Olympians top the podium of nine different sports, and the 18 medals won represent our best ever medal haul, far surpassing the 13 won at Seoul and London in 1988 and 2012 respectively. It also saw us ranked 14th among 205 competing nations in terms of total medals won.

*We often say—because it is true—that New Zealand punches above its weight on the international stage, and it is something that Kiwis can, and do, take great pride in.*⁴⁸¹

In February 2018, Pyeongchang, South Korea played host to the XXIII Winter Olympic Games. New Zealand sent its largest-ever delegation to a Winter Olympic Games, with 21 athletes competing in five sports. New Zealand won two bronze medals, the first at a Winter Olympic Games in 26 years since the silver medal at the 1992 Albertville Games. The two bronze medals made it the most successful Winter Olympics for New Zealand. The medals were won by Zoi Sadowski-Synnott in the women's snowboarding big air, and by Nico Porteous in the men's ski halfpipe. Porteous at 16 years and 91 days became New Zealand's youngest ever Olympic medallist.⁴⁸² Both medals were won on February 22, and the results led the news with both the front pages of the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Dominion Post* dedicating an entire front page to the result.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹ John Key, *Motions – 2016 Olympic Games – Success of New Zealand Team*, Tuesday 23 August 2016, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/combined/HansDeb_20160823_20160823_04, (Accessed 18 January 2017).

⁴⁸² Pyeongchang 2018, *NOC Entries – New Zealand*, <https://www.pyeongchang2018.com/en/game-time/results/OWG2018/en/general/noc-entries-new-zealand.htm>, (Assessed 15 May 2018).

⁴⁸³ New Zealand Herald and Dominion Post, 23 February 2018, page 1.

Conclusion

Part Two of this thesis has shown the rich and evolving history of New Zealand at the Olympic Games. New Zealand has had many successes and triumphs since Harry Kerr walked his way to bronze as part of Australasia in 1908. New Zealand is known as a nation that ‘punches above its weight’ on the world stage and New Zealand’s participation in the Olympic Movement truly epitomises what it means to be a New Zealander. Table 1 below summarises New Zealand’s performance at the Olympic Games since the first New Zealand competitors lined up to compete in the 1908 Olympic Games.

Table 7.1: New Zealand at the Olympic Games 1908-2016									
Year	Athletes	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total Number of Medals	Number of Fourth to Eighth place	Total Top Eight Results	Medal Table Ranking	Medals per Capita Ranking
1908	3	0	0	1	1	-	-	11*	7*
1912	3	1	0	1	2	-	-	12*	5*
1920	4	0	0	1	1	3	4	22	15
1924	4	0	0	1	1	0	1	23	15
1928	10	1	0	0	1	1	2	24	12
1932	21	0	1	0	1	3	4	22	12
1936	7	1	0	0	1	1	2	20	13
1948	7	0	0	0	0	1	1	-	-
1952	15	1	0	2	3	2	5	24	9
1956	53	2	0	0	2	9	11	16	9
1960	38	2	0	1	3	7	10	14	4
1964	69	3	0	2	5	8	13	12	4
1968	58	1	0	2	3	6	9	27	7
1972	96	1	1	1	3	5	8	23	7
1976	87	2	1	1	4	5	9	18	6
1980	4	0	0	0	0	3	3	-	-
1984	135	8	1	2	11	17	28	8	2
1988	88	3	2	8	13	10	23	18	5
1992	138	1	4	5	10	18	28	28	4
1996	97	3	2	1	6	12	18	26	10
2000	150	1	0	3	4	14	18	46	23
2004	149	3	2	0	5	20	25	24	15
2008	184	3	2	4	9	17	26	25	7
2012	184	6	2	5	13	21	34	14	4
2016	199	4	9	5	18	22	40	19	4

Table 7.1: Provides an outline of New Zealand results at the Olympic Games from 1908-2016, describing the number of competitors, the number of medals, and Olympic Diplomas won (those ranked within the top eight), and New Zealand's respective ranking on the medal table. Note: * Indicates Olympiads where New Zealand and Australia competed under the combined team of Australasia.

As table 7.1 shows, New Zealand has always ranked highly when it comes to the number of medals per capita, generally sitting inside the top ten nations.⁴⁸⁴

Journalist Tony Smith argues that the weight of expectation of athletes from New Zealand is much greater than elsewhere:

The weight of expectation in New Zealand is much greater than in most nations of comparable size. We were weaned on the deeds of Jack Lovelock, Peter Snell,

⁴⁸⁴ Medals Per Capita, *Medals Per Capita: Olympic Glory in Proportion*, <http://www.medalspercapita.com/>, (Accessed 7 February 2017).

John Walker and Ian Ferguson. It is our birthright, we believe, to punch above our weight on the world sporting stage.⁴⁸⁵

Despite New Zealand's evolving identity throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century one central idea has remained constant: that New Zealand is the "small guy taking on the rest of the world." The *Manawatu Standard* said in a 2012 editorial that, given a choice, New Zealanders will always assert their status as the underdog.⁴⁸⁶

Despite these successes, however, there is also a darker, more sinister political cloud that overshadows these successes. New Zealand's sporting relationship with South Africa throughout the 1960s to the 1980s affected the Olympic movement and clouded New Zealand's prestige on the world stage.

While Part Two has outlined New Zealand's Olympic odyssey and has shown that the Olympic movement is an important avenue to portray New Zealand to the world, the question that remains is how it has affected New Zealand's national identity. This is something that Part Three of this thesis will seek to answer.

⁴⁸⁵ Tony Smith, *The Champions: New Zealand's Olympic Gold Medalists*, (Christchurch: The Press, 2008), p.5.

⁴⁸⁶ *Manawatu Standard, Kiwis proud to be nation of underdogs*, 21 July 2012, p.14.

Part Three - New Zealand Identity and the Olympic Games

Chapter Eight: The Olympic Games and New Zealand – A cornerstone of national identity?

Part one of this research outlined national identity and sporting nationalism as political concepts. At its most basic level, it is important to remember that national identity is not fixed and has multiple strands that evolve over time. New Zealand's identity and what it means to be a New Zealander has changed and is different today, compared to 50 years ago. New Zealand is more ethnically diverse, is more urbanised and is operating within a globalised world. New Zealand's position and role in the world has also evolved and changed throughout the 20th century as New Zealand moved away from the 'motherland' Britain, into a more self-assured independent nation, which was outlined in Part Two of this research. The ways in which national identity manifests itself are many and varied, including:

- Promotion of images by the state through symbols like flags, coins, tourism promotions and international exhibitions;
- The performance of New Zealanders internationally in war or in sport;
- Major political acts that attract international attention; and
- Artistic portrayals such as in films, books, art or music.⁴⁸⁷

Part one of this thesis explained in detail that nationalism and sport are frequently intertwined, as sport provides an occasion for symbolic competition between nations, and sports competitions often reflect national conflict. It was George Orwell who said that 'sport is like war minus the shooting.'⁴⁸⁸

Part Two of this research analysed New Zealand's Olympic history from its early beginnings of competing with Australia as a combined Australasian team in 1908, and 1912, to winning a record 18 medals in

⁴⁸⁷ Fiona Barker, *New Zealand Identity*, Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, 2012, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/new-zealand-identity, (Accessed 30 June 2014).

⁴⁸⁸ George Orwell: *The Sporting Spirit*, www.orwell.ru/library/articles/spirit/english/e_spirit (Accessed May 13, 2014).

2016. Part Three will analyse New Zealand's Olympic odyssey and examine its influence on national identity. Part Three will also analyse the development of government intervention in sport policy in New Zealand since the 1930s and argue that over the past 20 to 30 years the government has increasingly focussed on high-performance sport. Part Three will also compare New Zealand's Olympic performance and influence on national identity to other nations, to ascertain whether or not New Zealand is unique in the emphasis it places on sport and the Olympic Games as a key part of identity. Before we focus on Part Three, it is important to return to the hypotheses that were identified in the introduction to this research. The three inter-related hypotheses are:

1. Sport contributes to the development of national identity, and this link is particularly strong in New Zealand compared to other countries because of the centrality of sport in the national character.
2. The development of New Zealand's national identity has been influenced in both positive and negative ways by political decisions associated with the Olympic Games and other sports.
3. The Olympic Games has a greater influence on national identity than other sports in New Zealand.

It is widely acknowledged that rugby holds a special place in New Zealand, but the question remains as to where the Olympic Games fit in the wider context of New Zealand's identity.

Sport and Identity in New Zealand: A place for the Olympic Games?

The origin of New Zealand's identity is based partly on the shared experience of New Zealand competing against the 'motherland' in the 1905 All Blacks Tour of Great Britain. Sport was at the heart of what bound New Zealanders together during its evolution and throughout the twentieth century, and the major mainstay was rugby, as well as the

Olympic Games. Many academics and researchers have outlined the link between sport and a nation's identity, and Otmar Weiss argues that 'there is no other social subsystem that gives so many people, regardless of their religion, gender, age or social or education level, access to a system of special validation and acknowledgement by others.'⁴⁸⁹

A survey conducted in 2000 showed that 95 percent of New Zealanders would 'derive greater satisfaction from world-class performance by New Zealand sport teams or individuals than from parallel achievements by artists, scientists, or business executives.'⁴⁹⁰ A further study in 2002 found that 78 percent of New Zealanders are most likely to name sport stars as their heroes/heroines. This study reinforces the International Social Science Survey on National Identity that was discussed in Part One of this research, and which found that New Zealand ranks highly in terms of sports' influence on national pride. Scholars Merrill Melnick and Steve Jackson believe that New Zealanders' preference for sporting heroes is more important in New Zealand due to the sporting history, its small population and geographic location, and 'the fact that sporting success simply overpowers success in other realms of society, in terms of media coverage.'⁴⁹¹ Sporting achievements in New Zealand have reinforced a sense of nationalism and identity.

When considering New Zealand's identity, it is important to note the role of rugby and the All Blacks. In a 2015 editorial by the *New Zealand Herald* in the lead-up to the Rugby World Cup semi-final, Professor Paul Spoonley stated:

The All Blacks may just be the most obvious element of our national identity, but we should never take their contribution for granted. We will always see the All Blacks as a key part of who we are. The All Blacks are an example of the sort of

⁴⁸⁹ Otmar Weiss, 'Identity reinforcement in sport: Revisiting the symbolic interactionist legacy,' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2001, p.393.

⁴⁹⁰ Chris Collins, 'Politics, Government and Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.212.

⁴⁹¹ Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.183.

powerful focus of national identity that tends to be quickly embraced by immigrant groups.⁴⁹²

It is hard to argue with this statement by Professor Spoonley, and one of the more interesting comparisons between the Olympic Games and Rugby is the number of internet searches on Google from New Zealand on these sports. In Figure 8.1 below rugby (red) consistently received more internet searches than the Olympic Games (blue) from 2004 to 2017. However, the only difference occurs every four years during the Olympic Games when it receives more internet searches than rugby. This is a useful data point as it shows that New Zealanders are interested in the Olympic Games when the games are underway.

Figure 8.1: New Zealand Interest in the Olympic Games and Rugby – 2004-2017

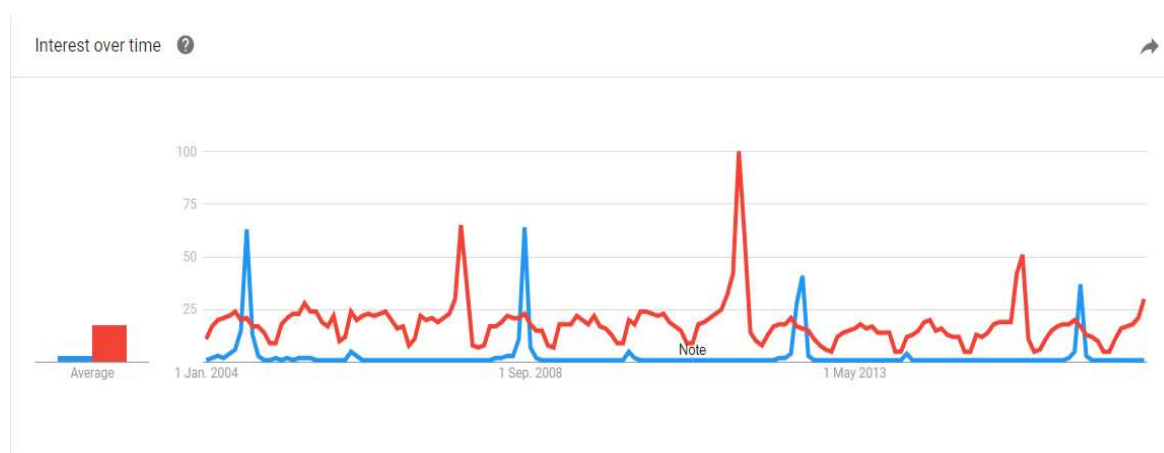


Figure 8.1: Number of internet searches by New Zealanders of Rugby and the Olympic Games - 2004 – present.⁴⁹³

Ultimately rugby has an advantage over the Olympic Games as the Olympic Games are only held every four years, while the All Blacks will play an average of 10 to 15 test matches per year.

⁴⁹² The New Zealand Herald, 'Editorial: All Blacks can unite NZ's diverse population,' October 23, 2015, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/sport/news/article.cfm?c_id=4&objectid=11533596, (Accessed 26 November 2015).

⁴⁹³ Google Analytics, *Olympic Games and Rugby*, <https://trends.google.co.nz/trends/explore?date=all&geo=NZ&q=olympic,rugby>, (Accessed 5 July 2017).

A Nielsen-Brand Advantage survey conducted in 2015-16 into the New Zealand Sports, Arts and Entertainment sector found that the Olympic Games ranked alongside rugby as having the highest percentage of fans. The report focused on the changing New Zealand sports landscape and New Zealand sports fans.⁴⁹⁴ It found that 87 percent of New Zealanders have an interest in sport, which is down slightly from 88 per cent in the 2010 Nielsen-Brand Advantage Report.⁴⁹⁵ Despite this slight fall, it is clear that New Zealanders maintain a widespread and deep interest in sport. One of the interesting findings of the report was that the summer Olympic Games has the biggest fan base in New Zealand, more than rugby with 2.4 million 'fans'; however, this is limited to every four years. Rugby has 2.3 million fans, with cricket, rugby league and football attracting approximately 1.9 million fans.⁴⁹⁶ The report also broke down the level of interest by fans and found that rugby is ranked number one with 1.385 million 'avid or superfans.' This was just ahead of the Summer Olympics (1.293 million), and cricket (1.084 million).⁴⁹⁷

With such a large number of sporting fans in New Zealand it is not surprising that New Zealand tops an international study of people calling in sick following a major sporting event. The study found that 87 percent of Human Resources managers say that it is likely that at least one of their employees will call in sick or make an excuse for skipping work the day after a major sporting event. New Zealand ranks alongside Australia at the top of the survey. This compares to Brazil (84 percent), Chile (80 percent), Austria (78 percent), Germany (76 percent) and Switzerland (75 percent). The Netherlands was the lowest ranked with 61 percent.⁴⁹⁸

Another example of the importance of the Olympic Games compared to other sports is at the annual Halberg Awards. The Halberg Awards started

⁴⁹⁴ Nielsen Brand Advantage, *2015-2016 New Zealand, Sports, Arts and Entertainment Report*, (The Nielsen Company: Auckland, 2016), p.3.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, p.18.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, p.36.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, p.41.

⁴⁹⁸ Robert Half, *Kiwis top list for calling in sick after big sporting events*, Scoop, 8 August 2017, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/CU1608/S00103/kiwis-top-list-for-calling-in-sick-after-big-sporting-events.htm>, (Accessed 23 July 2017).

in 1949 when New Zealand Sportsman Magazine founder Jack Fairbairn created the 'Sportsman of the Year Awards'.⁴⁹⁹ This was awarded on an annual basis until 1960 when the award was discontinued. In 1963, 1960 Olympic champion Murray Halberg established the Halberg Disability Sport Foundation which took over the awards.⁵⁰⁰ Since 1963 the Halberg Award has been awarded on an annual basis. In analysing the winner of the Halberg awards, 38 out of the 63 times the award has been given, it has been awarded to sportsmen and women who competed in Olympic sports, with athletics and rowing winning the award 16 and 12 times respectively. This compares to rugby, whose players have received the award six times.⁵⁰¹ The award is decided by a 26-person independent Voting Academy consisting of media representatives, athletes and coaches. When voting, the judges are required to consider the following:

1. Regarding the achievement, was it in that sport's 'pinnacle event' (e.g. Olympics, Paralympics, Rugby World Cup);
2. Regarding the achievement, was it a world record, or world ranking or recognition (e.g. 'World Player of the Year');
3. Regarding the achievement, the quality of the field/competition; and
4. The global nature of the sport.⁵⁰²

The former Minister for Sport and Recreation Jonathan Coleman believes that sport is an important part of how New Zealand affirms itself as a global player:

New Zealand is a nation that counts on the world stage. There are three broad areas where this occurs. Firstly in defence and security, New Zealand has always stood up and contributed when it counts. For example New Zealand's involvement in the first and second world war. Secondly through sport and competing at the pinnacle events like the Olympic Games is where New Zealand affirms itself as a

⁴⁹⁹ The Halberg Awards, *Halberg Awards History*, <http://www.halbergawards.co.nz/about/history/>, (Accessed 1 August 2017).

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

⁵⁰² The Halberg Awards, *Judging Criteria*, <http://www.halbergawards.co.nz/about/judging-criteria/>, (Accessed 1 August 2017).

global player. And finally, New Zealand affirms itself as a global player through trade and science.⁵⁰³

Coleman's comments affirm what has been written by scholars and commentators about New Zealand's identity. Avril Bell agrees with Jonathan Coleman that it is sport and war that are critical in constructing national unity:

Sport worldwide is a hugely influential means by which national identities are routinely produced and reproduced. As we watch 'our' national teams, or catch up with the sports news in the papers or on our smartphone apps, we take up the position of national subjects... This routine leisure mechanism builds and rebuilds the sense of connection to the nation as a lived and felt community of commonality and shared allegiances.⁵⁰⁴

Sport and war are two issues that have bound New Zealanders together to create the illusion of what Benedict Anderson calls 'the imagined community'.⁵⁰⁵

Government intervention in Sport Policy in New Zealand – progression and change

New Zealand journalist Ivan Agnew wrote in his 1976 book, *Kiwis Can Fly*, that:

In a country where rugby is the national sport, and every true-blooded lad aspires to be an All Black, minor sports must battle for survival. Unlike the situation in most other developed countries, there is little government assistance for sport. Incredibly, though, the proud tradition of the New Zealand athlete, inspired by feats of Olympic immortals like Lovelock, Halberg, and Snell, lives on and blazes afresh whenever a new champion emerges.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ Avril Bell, 'Imagining Aotearoa New Zealand: The Politics of National Imaginings,' in Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey McIntosh and Matt Wynyard, *A land of milk and honey? Making sense of Aotearoa New Zealand*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017), p.63.

⁵⁰⁵ Benedict Anderson, 'Imagined Communities,' p.6.

⁵⁰⁶ Ivan Agnew, *'Kiwis Can Fly,'* (Auckland: Dai Nippon Printing, 1976), p.11.

Much has changed since these comments by Agnew in the 1970s, and today Olympic sports athletes are given much more support by government. Successive New Zealand governments have protected and expanded funding of high-performance sport. As this research has shown, New Zealanders have had a long-standing interest in sport, and politicians have had a long-standing relationship with sportsmen and women, dating back to Prime Minister Richard Seddon during the early years of the twentieth century. In regards to sports policy, the first discussions of government intervention in sports and leisure came about during the 1930s.

In 1937 the First Labour Government led by Michael Joseph Savage passed the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act. This piece of legislation created a Physical Welfare Branch in the Department of Internal Affairs. The role of the Physical Welfare Branch was to coordinate adult fitness programmes around New Zealand, and an example of this came in February 1939 as the Physical Welfare Branch organised a national fitness week that featured daily radio exercise broadcasts and free sport training. The Physical Welfare Branch grew in size, and by 1948 the Branch had 60 staff operating around New Zealand.⁵⁰⁷ However, a change of government in 1949 to the conservative National Party led by Sidney Holland meant the branch would be wound down during the 1950s, and by the 1960s, public-sector involvement in sport was limited and often non-existent.⁵⁰⁸ By 1960 the Physical Welfare Branch had only two staff, and the National Government discontinued grants to clubs for equipment and facilities.⁵⁰⁹

It was not until the Third Labour Government under Prime Minister Norman Kirk came to power in 1972 that the government became more active in sport policy. The Ministry of Recreation and Sport was created in 1973 with the passing of the Recreation and Sport Act, and Joe Walding

⁵⁰⁷ David Green, *Government and Sport in New Zealand*, 5 September 2013, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/government-and-sport> (Accessed 10 June 2017).

⁵⁰⁸ Chris Collins, 'Politics, Government and Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.216.

⁵⁰⁹ David Green, *Government and Sport in New Zealand*.

was appointed the first Minister of Sport.⁵¹⁰ One of the biggest milestones with the passing of the Recreation and Sport Act was that for the first time the government had the power to direct taxpayer funds towards the development of a recreation and sport organisation. This was a change from the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act 1937.⁵¹¹ During the parliamentary debates to create the Ministry of Recreation and Sport, National Member of Parliament and former Minister of Internal Affairs, Alan Highet, said that 'at first glance, it confirms my personal worst fears that the Government intends interfering in the administration of sport.'⁵¹² It was during this time that Hugh Lawrence points out that the 1970s and early 1980s was when the biggest ideological difference between Labour and National existed with regard to government intervention in sport policy.⁵¹³ Perhaps the biggest and most public divisions surrounded sporting contacts with South Africa, which was discussed in Part Two of this thesis.

The 1973 Recreation and Sport Act also created a statutory body called the New Zealand Council for Recreation and Sport.⁵¹⁴ One of the Council's first activities was the *Come Alive* campaign of 1975, which 'urged Kiwis to forsake their couches and TVs, and head outdoors.'⁵¹⁵ The Council also provided limited government grants, primarily to local authorities, to encourage youth recreation and physical activity.⁵¹⁶ The 11-member Council for Recreation and Sport position was outlined in section 19 of the Recreation and Sport Act 1973, and it had three key functions, which were to:

- Foster and promote the total well-being of and fullest use of leisure by the residents of New Zealand;

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Hugh David Lawrence, *Government Involvement in New Zealand Sport – Sport Policy*, (Hamilton: Waikato University, 2008), p.51.

⁵¹² Alan Highet, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, (Wellington: Government Printer, 1973), p.799.

⁵¹³ Hugh David Lawrence, *Government Involvement in New Zealand Sport – Sport Policy*, p.45.

⁵¹⁴ Chris Collins, 'Politics, Government and Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, p.216.

⁵¹⁵ David Green, *Government and Sport in New Zealand*.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

- Advise the Minister of Recreation and Sport on any matters relating to recreation and sport; and
- Investigate developments in recreation and sport, and disseminate knowledge and information about such developments.⁵¹⁷

Following the election of the National Government led by Robert Muldoon in 1975, sport administrators were concerned that National would discontinue the Ministry of Recreation and Sport and the Council for Recreation and Sport, due to its 1975 election promise that the government would not allow political interference in sport in any form. However, both were retained by the National Government, albeit with reduced funding. The *Come Alive* programme which began in 1975 was discontinued, as were other regional funding schemes.⁵¹⁸ By 1978 both major political parties were beginning to awaken to the importance of sport policy following the 1976 Olympic Games African boycott in Montreal and both parties developed specific sport policies that were included in respective election manifestos.⁵¹⁹

The Fourth Labour Government under David Lange was elected in 1984, and New Zealand was in for some turbulent times, with economic reforms the government's number one priority. Following the election, the Minister for Recreation and Sport, Mike Moore, announced a wide-ranging review of the direction of sport policy in New Zealand, leading to the advent of the Hillary Commission with the passing of the Recreation and Sport Act in 1987. Funding was increased to sporting bodies, and the Government adopted the recommendation of the *Sport on the Move* Report (1985) to introduce Lotto with the intention of funding recreation and sport.⁵²⁰ The Hillary Commission was established following the passing of the Recreation and Sport Act 1987 and was given the role of distributing

⁵¹⁷ New Zealand Government, *Recreation and Sport Act 1973*, s.19, retrieved from

http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/rasa19731973n36245/, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

⁵¹⁸ Chris Collins, 'Politics, Government and Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, p.216.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid, p.217.

funding and making strategic decisions about government's involvement in New Zealand sport.⁵²¹

In 1990 there was a change of Government with the National Party replacing Labour and Jim Bolger becoming Prime Minister. The Government instituted a review of the Hillary Commission, and in 1992 the Sport, Fitness and Leisure Act was passed. This Act altered the priorities of the Hillary Commission and renamed it the Hillary Commission for Sport, Fitness, and Leisure.⁵²² In 1991 the government announced that 20 percent of all profits from the Lotteries Commission would be paid directly to the Hillary Commission to be spent on sport.⁵²³

The Hillary Commission's 1993-1998 strategic plan *Moving a Nation* noted that, with Sydney hosting the Olympic Games in 2000, New Zealand was in a unique position to capitalise on this opportunity. The Hillary Commission set the target that the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games would be the most successful Olympic Games for New Zealand ever.⁵²⁴ However, as Part Two revealed, it was not meant to be. In 1995 the NZOC, in their report *Pathway to Gold*, had a stark warning about high-performance sport in New Zealand. The report stated:

The information provided to the Secretary-General by various NOCs (National Olympic Committees) and interviews with 12 federations clearly points to the need for more funding to support elite athletes' preparation if New Zealand aims to win gold medals at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games.⁵²⁵

The year 1995 would become a seminal year in New Zealand for the funding of High-Performance Sport. In 1995 the Government instituted a review of High-Performance Sport in New Zealand called *Winning Ways*.

⁵²¹ New Zealand Government, *Recreation and Sport Act 1987*, s.17, retrieved from http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/rasa19871987n13245/, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

⁵²² Chris Collins, 'Politics, Government and Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, p.217.

⁵²³ Hugh David Lawrence, *Government Involvement in New Zealand Sport – Sport Policy*, p.80.

⁵²⁴ Hillary Commission, *Moving a Nation: Strategic Plan 1993-1998*, (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 1993), p.19.

⁵²⁵ New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association, *Pathway to Gold*, (Wellington: NZOCGA, 1995), P.4.

The outcome of the report was the first direct funding of High-Performance Sport when \$4.6 million dollars was appropriated to the New Zealand Sports Foundation, set up in 1978 by a group of business people. The funding was provided to assist athletes in preparation for the 2000 Olympic Games.⁵²⁶

In 1999, the Fifth Labour Government under Helen Clark was elected and it wasted no time in shaking up the sporting landscape. Prior to the Sydney Olympics, Minister of Sport and Recreation Trevor Mallard created a Ministerial Taskforce made up of former sportsmen and women and sports administrators. The Taskforce was initiated due to the decline of the performance of New Zealand sportsmen and women after the All Blacks failed to win the Rugby World Cup and the Silver Ferns failed to win the Netball World Cup in New Zealand, both in the same year, 1999. The goal of the Taskforce was to define the vision for sport, fitness, and leisure in New Zealand for the next 25 years, and to identify strategies to encourage interest, participation, and achievement of New Zealanders in sport, fitness, and leisure. The Taskforce was also asked to complete a review of long-term structural arrangements for the sport, fitness and leisure sector.⁵²⁷ Trevor Mallard, in a speech to Lincoln University in June 2000, discussed the sport and leisure policy framework that his government inherited:

I think it would be fair to say that Government is not perceived to have a clear and widely understood policy framework for the sport, fitness, and leisure sector. While Government does not 'own' sport in New Zealand, we do have a responsibility for encouraging vision and leadership – and that has sadly been lacking in recent years.⁵²⁸

This speech signalled that the Government was preparing to be more interventionist in sport policy. The Taskforce released its report in January 2001 and found that sport and recreation are hugely important to New

⁵²⁶ David Green, *Government and Sport in New Zealand*.

⁵²⁷ Sport, Fitness and Leisure Ministerial Taskforce, *Getting Set for an Active Nation*, (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 2001), p. 1.

⁵²⁸ Trevor Mallard, *Speech to Lincoln University Regional Education Degree Students Function*, 28 June 2000, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-lincoln-university-regional-education-degree-students039-function>, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

Zealanders and their sense of themselves. The interest of New Zealanders in sport is high, with 94% saying they are interested and/or involved in sport. More than 60% believe that New Zealanders' international sporting success is significant, with only 17% of the population finding it to be unimportant.⁵²⁹ Ultimately the Taskforce found that there was no shared vision for New Zealand recreation and sport; the current recreation and sport structures were fragmented and lacked integration, coordination, and leadership; government provided insufficient direction and resources; there was a clear need to change the organisation of recreation and sport and its delivery at national and regional levels; and that coaching was in urgent need of support and development.⁵³⁰ In an interview with the former Minister of Sport and Recreation, Trevor Mallard remarked:

When we came to government in 1999, the sporting landscape in New Zealand was dysfunctional. There was the Hillary Commission and the Sport Foundation which was run by the private sector. The Sport Foundation had been ineffectual and living month to month and needed constant funding from the Hillary Commission. There was non-existent support of high-performance sport in New Zealand. The outcome of the Graham Report was structural reform.⁵³¹

The Taskforce received 365 submissions and held over 170 individual meetings and workshops across New Zealand. The New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (NZIER) was one of the organisations to make a submission to the Ministerial Taskforce in 2001. In its submission, the NZIER stated that 'our sporting prowess strengthens our sense of national identity and allows our small country to leave a large footprint on the world stage.'⁵³² Their submission outlined national identity and cited a study from 1990 that found that New Zealanders are generally nationalistic and that sporting success on the global stage makes the average New Zealander

⁵²⁹ Sport, Fitness and Leisure Ministerial Taskforce, *Getting Set for an Active Nation*, p. 9.

⁵³⁰ Ibid, 10.

⁵³¹ Author's Interview with Hon Trevor Mallard, 1 June 2017.

⁵³² New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, *The Government's Role in Sport, Fitness and Leisure: Report to the Ministerial Taskforce of Sport, Fitness and Leisure*, (Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2000), p.1.

proud of being a New Zealander.⁵³³ The NZIER stated that the despair over 'the relatively poor performance of our athletes at the Sydney Olympic Games also illustrated the importance New Zealanders place on physical prowess.'⁵³⁴ The NZIER identified funding of elite athletes as one of the possible government interventions to improve sport, fitness and leisure in New Zealand, arguing that there is evidence that the success of elite athletes can increase participation in that respective sport. For example, following the All Blacks victory in the 1987 Rugby World Cup, there was a 20,000 increase in the number of people playing rugby; and, following the 1992 Cricket World Cup, there was a 40 percent increase in the number of people playing cricket.⁵³⁵

Mallard further stated that the outcome and changes to the sporting landscape following the Graham Report instituted by his government had led to a constant improvement of results of New Zealand sportsmen and women at the Olympic Games.

There is now more funding certainty for sports. Although the focus has arguably become too focused on elite sport and this might affect the sustainability of those results in the long run, especially in team sports. Ultimately there is a danger of a downturn in results at the Olympic level for New Zealand because of the lack of support from government in increasing sport participation.⁵³⁶

Following the report, the Government introduced into Parliament the Sport and Recreation Act 2002 which disestablished the Hilary Commission and created a new Crown agency, SPARC (Sport and Recreation New Zealand). SPARC was designed to integrate the activities of the Hillary Commission, the New Zealand Sport Foundation and the sports policy arm of the Office of Tourism and Sport. SPARC officially came into force on 1 January 2003.⁵³⁷ Government also decided to increase funding to the sporting sector by \$20 million per year for five years in order to implement

⁵³³ Ibid, p.11.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Ibid, p.19.

⁵³⁶ Author's Interview with Hon Trevor Mallard, 1 June 2017.

⁵³⁷ Chris Collins, 'Politics, Government and Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, p.219.

the taskforce's recommendations.⁵³⁸ SPARC became much more targeted in its investment and the decision was made to abolish community level grants and named seven priority sports that they would focus on. In 2003 SPARC also announced that funding would come with specific tags and conditions.⁵³⁹ In 2004, prior to the Athens Olympic Games, SPARC announced:

SPARC will focus on investing, rather than funding entitlement and allocation decisions will be made on the likelihood of achieving a return on investment and the ability to contribute to positive outcomes.⁵⁴⁰

The change of focus represented 'a significant departure from the government's previous role as an arm's length facilitator for the sport sector.'⁵⁴¹

The period following the Sydney Olympics and the lead-up to the 2004 Games was full of new government-initiated interventions. Also created in 2000 was the Prime Minister's Scholarship programme, with the Athlete Scholarship programme's stated purpose set forth as follows:

To invest in educational opportunities that enable world-leading performance from New Zealand's top athletic talent, by assisting athletes to develop holistically outside sport in ways that contribute towards their post-athletic career and enable the sustainability of our athlete talent pool.⁵⁴²

Scholarships are awarded annually with a value of up to \$10,000. In April 2016, 346 scholarships were provided to athletes. The government invests around \$4.25 million annually in the Prime Minister's Scholarship

⁵³⁸ Michael Sam, 'Sport Policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.232.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Sport and Recreation New Zealand, *Statement of Intent 2004/05*, (Wellington: Sport and Recreation New Zealand, 2004), p.8.

⁵⁴¹ Michael Sam, 'Sport Policy in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, p.232.

⁵⁴² High Performance Sport New Zealand, *Prime Minister's Scholarship Programme: Programme Guide*, October 2015, <http://www.hpsnz.org.nz/investments-and-scholarships/prime-ministers-scholarships>, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

Programme, currently managed by High-Performance Sport New Zealand.⁵⁴³

Just before the 2004 Games, Sport and Recreation Minister Trevor Mallard announced a new grant system, the Performance Enhancement Grants, designed to help elite athletes support themselves while concentrating on their chosen sport. Mallard stated that:

There is a strong link between direct financial support for elite athletes and medal-winning performance in world-class events. The government wants to give our athletes the best chance possible to make us proud on the world stage. These new performance enhancement grants are part of this strategy and build on our significant investment in sport and recreation.⁵⁴⁴

The Performance Enhancement Grants programme announced in 2004 continues to exist and remains an important part of the support provided to high-performance athletes. According to High Performance Sport New Zealand, the Performance Enhancement Grants scheme has the following aim:

The aim of the PEGs [Performance Enhancement Grants] programme is to provide athletes and teams with direct financial support to enable them to commit to longer periods of training and competition, which are necessary if they are to progress and achieve podium placings in international pinnacle sports events.⁵⁴⁵

The Performance Enhancement Grant ranges from \$25,000 per annum (for a medalist in a non-Olympic event), to \$60,000 per annum for a gold medallist in an Olympic event.⁵⁴⁶ The Performance Enhancement Grants also show a bias towards the Olympic Games, with athletes receiving more government support if they compete in an Olympic event. This is further evidence of the priority government places on the Olympic Games. Following the Rio 2016 Olympic Games, several high-profile Olympians

⁵⁴³ Jonathan Coleman, *Prime Minister's Scholarships Recipients Announced*, April 21 2016, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/pm%E2%80%99s-sport-scholarship-recipients-announced>, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

⁵⁴⁴ Trevor Mallard, *Government Funds New Grants for Elite Athletes*, 31 May 2004, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/government-funds-new-grants-elite-athletes>, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

⁵⁴⁵ High-Performance Sport New Zealand, *Performance Enhancement Grants*, 2016, <http://www.hpsnz.org.nz/funding/who-we-invest/athlete-investment/performance-enhancement-grants>, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

raised concerns that they were being treated like “second-class” citizens compared to sports administrators. A *New Zealand Herald* investigation found that 85 employees of Sport New Zealand and High-Performance Sport New Zealand were on salaries of more than \$100,000 per annum in 2015.⁵⁴⁷ Olympic medallists Mahe Drysdale, Valerie Adams and Jo Aleh, had asked for dialogue with Sport New Zealand and High-Performance Sport New Zealand to talk about a way forward for sports funding. Mahe Drysdale said:

More funding needs to go to the athlete and coach. Every dollar spent should come with the questions: Does this help the athlete win? Will it help improve results? Those are the areas money should be going to.⁵⁴⁸

The Performance Enhancement Grant appropriated amount has not changed since 2004, and it is unlikely that sports administrators and the government will change what they perceive as a winning formula (based on results at the Olympic Games). More likely is that the government will announce an increase in the amount of grant provided to athletes, if the government policy trajectory is continued into the future.

However, 2008 was a year of change in New Zealand as the National Party was elected to power after nine years in opposition. Following the election, the new Minister of Sport and Recreation, Murray McCully, instituted a review into SPARC, leading to changes which came into force in 2010, creating Sport New Zealand and HPSNZ (High-Performance Sport New Zealand). According to its website:

HPSNZ leads the high-performance sport system in New Zealand, working in partnership with national sport organisations and others so that more New Zealanders can win on the world stage at Olympic and Paralympic Games and world championships in targeted sports.⁵⁴⁹

The government also announced an increase of funding into the establishment and expansion of high-performance facilities, including a

⁵⁴⁷ Dylan Cleaver, *Olympians Treated Like Second Class Citizens*, 1 October 2016, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/sport/news/article.cfm?c_id=4&objectid=11720243, (Accessed 10 January 2017).

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ High-Performance Sport New Zealand, *What We Do*, 2016, <http://www.hpsnz.org.nz/about-us/what-we-do>, (Accessed 10 June 2017).

\$15 million contribution to the expansion of the Millennium Institute, which has become the National Training Centre for HPSNZ. A further \$40 million was provided for developing satellite high-performance centres in Christchurch, at Lake Karapiro, for water sports at Takapuna and for a cycling centre in Cambridge.⁵⁵⁰ Under the Fifth National Government, HPSNZ became the major sporting focus of the government, with millions of dollars going to it since its inception. Figure 8.2 below shows the funding of HPSNZ since its inception.

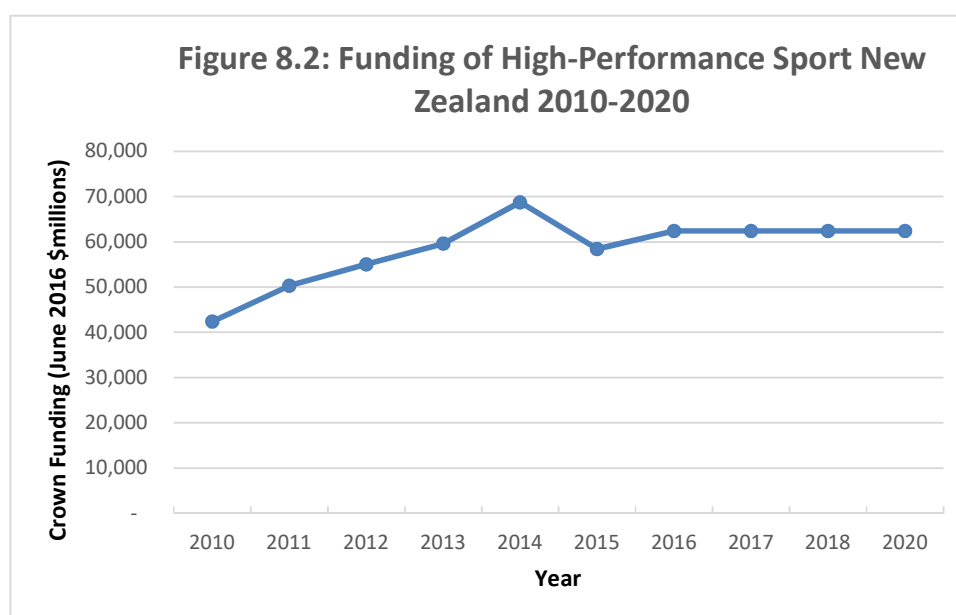


Figure 8.2: Funding of High-Performance Sport New Zealand 2010-2019. This figure includes a Budget 2016 appropriation of an extra \$4 million annually in the lead-up to the 2020 Olympic Games in Tokyo.⁵⁵¹

As Figure 8.3 indicates, funding for HPSNZ has steadily increased since 2010. In Budget 2016 the government announced a further \$4 million annual appropriation in the lead-up to the 2020 Olympic Games in

⁵⁵⁰ Murray McCully, *Government Aims for Top Spot in Sport for New Zealand*, 11 June 2010, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/government-aims-top-spot-sport-nz>, (Accessed 10 January 2017).

⁵⁵¹ Data and information provided by Treasury New Zealand Budget Documents, www.treasury.govt.nz, (Accessed 10 November 2016).

Tokyo.⁵⁵² Further appropriations can be expected in subsequent government budgets.

The Chief Executive of High-Performance Sport New Zealand, Alex Baumann, lauded the performance of New Zealand in London, describing it as testament to a successful investment:

We had medals in four of the six targeted Olympic disciplines and in two of the key sports which receive project-based investment. We have improved our overall performance from Sydney to Athens to Beijing, so the trend is going in the right direction. Investment in canoe and equestrian, which have both produced medals in London, had increased in recent years as a result of confidence in their high-performance programmes. There is no doubt that the Government's increased investment in high-performance sport has contributed to more Kiwi winners on the world stage, as there is a direct correlation between investment and results.⁵⁵³

As Figures 8.3 and 8.4 indicate (see below), Baumann's assertion of a direct correlation between investment in high-performance sport and results is accurate.

⁵⁵² Jonathan Coleman, *Budget 2016: \$20m for High Performance Sport and Anti-Doping*, 13 May 2016, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/budget-2016-20m-high-performance-sport-anti-doping>, (Accessed 10 January 2017).

⁵⁵³ Alex Baumann, *Best Olympic Performance Since Seoul 1988*, 13 August 2012, <http://www.hpsnz.org.nz/news-events/best-olympic-performance-seoul-1988>, (Accessed 10 January 2017)

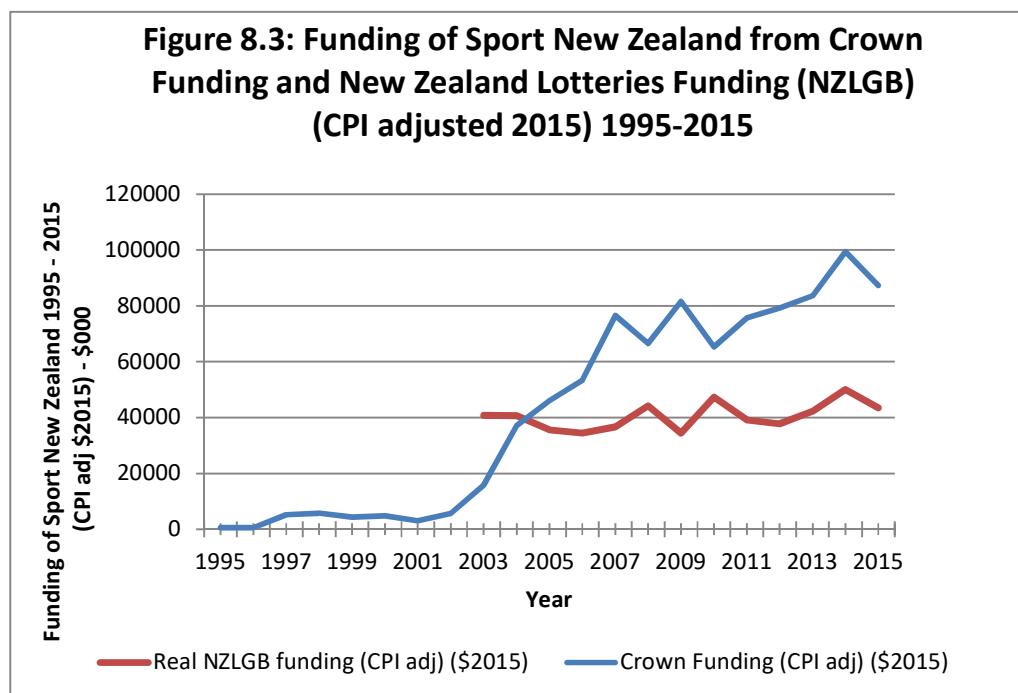


Figure 8.3: Crown Funding and New Zealand Lottery Grants Board Funding of Sport New Zealand 1995-2015⁵⁵⁴

Figure 8.4 clearly shows the expansion of direct Crown funding of Sport New Zealand since 1995. Also what is shown in Figure 8.4 is that Lotteries funding, which is set at 20 percent of the profits of New Zealand Lotteries, has remained largely stagnant since 2002 when the current legislative framework was established. Figure 8.4 also illustrates the increased government intervention and funding of Sport New Zealand. This increased direct government funding has led to an increase in Olympic medals, as outlined in Figure 8.4, and a greater number of top eight Olympic Diploma results, as outlined in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. Figure 8.4 below shows the direct correlation between funding and Olympic medals.

⁵⁵⁴ Data and information provided by Treasury New Zealand Budget Documents, www.treasury.govt.nz, (Accessed 10 November 2016).

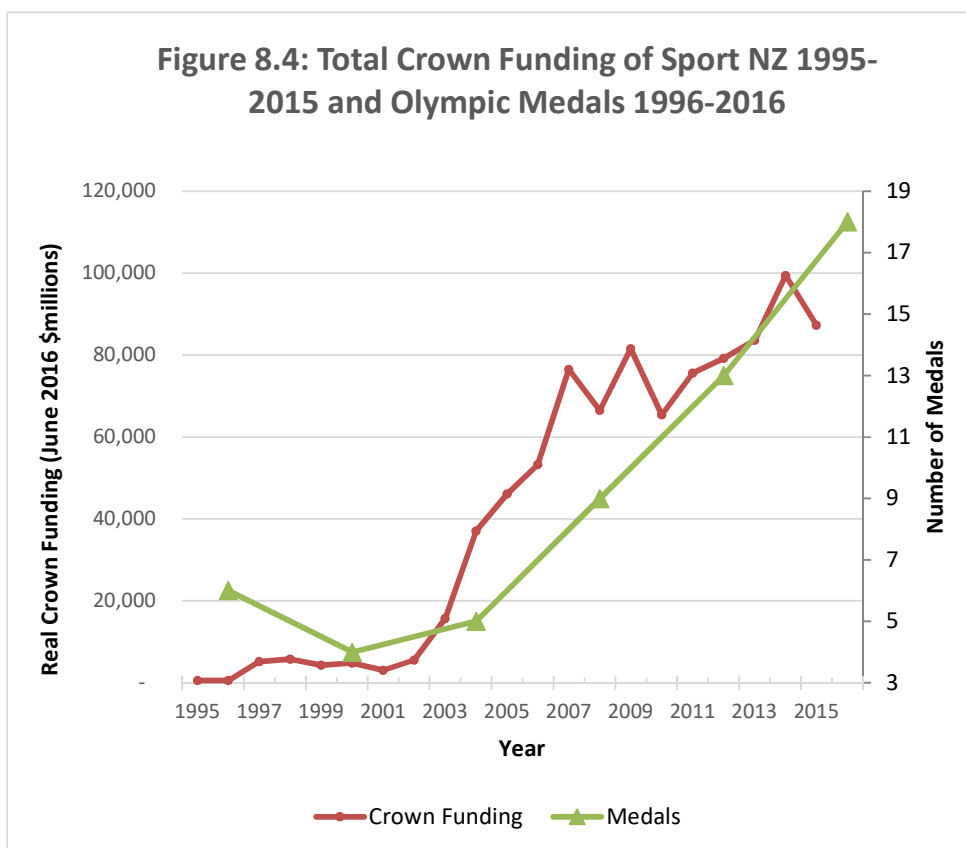


Figure 8.4: Total Crown Funding of Sport NZ 1995-2015 and number of Olympic Medals 1996-2016.⁵⁵⁵

Date	Gold	Silver	Bronze	Total Medals	Fourth – Eighth place finish	Total Top eight results	Number of athletes
2016	4	9	5	18	22	40	199
2012	6	2	5	13	21	34	184
2008	3	2	4	9	17	26	184
2004	3	2	0	5	20	25	149
2000	1	0	3	4	14	18	150
1996	3	2	1	6	12	18	97
Total	20	17	18	55	111	166	

Note: The results from 1996 show not only a rise in the number of medals for New Zealand but also an increase in the total number of top eight results – i.e., those athletes winning an Olympic Diploma.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Information and data provided by the International Olympic Committee Official Results.

Table 8.2: Sports where New Zealand has won an Olympic Games medal 1996-2016		
Year	Number of Sports Medals won	Sport
2016	8	Rowing, Sailing, Canoeing, Athletics, Cycling, Golf, Rugby Sevens, Shooting
2012	6	Rowing, Athletics, Sailing, Cycling, Equestrian, Canoeing
2008	5	Rowing, Sailing, Athletics, Triathlon, Cycling
2004	4	Triathlon, Rowing, Cycling, Canoeing
2000	3	Rowing, Equestrian, Sailing
1996	3	Swimming, Equestrian, Sailing
Note: Table 8.2 shows that the number of sports in which New Zealand has won medals has also been expanding, from three in Atlanta 1996 and Sydney 2000 to a record eight sports in Rio de Janeiro 2016. ⁵⁵⁷		

As can be seen from the Tables 8.1 and 8.2, the increase in government funding and infrastructure has had a positive effect on New Zealand's performance at the Olympic Games. In 1996 and 2000, New Zealand finished in the top eight in 18 events. This number has increased at each Olympics from 2000 through to 2016, when New Zealand finished in the top eight in 40 events. The increase in performance is not narrowly focussed. New Zealand won medals in eight sports in 2016, a significant improvement from only three sports in 1996 and 2000.⁵⁵⁸ The improvement of the New Zealand Olympic Team over the five Olympiads that have been held since 2000 has been impressive. The dark days of Sydney, where New Zealand won just four medals, seem a lifetime ago compared to the 18 medals secured at Rio de Janeiro.

The Chief Executive of High-Performance Sport New Zealand Alex Baumann believes that the changes made to the sporting landscape in

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ High-Performance Sport New Zealand, *New Zealand Athletes Achieve Best Ever Performance at an Olympic Games*, 1 September 2016, <http://www.hpsnz.org.nz/new-zealand-athletes-achieve-best-ever-performance-olympic-games>, (Accessed 2 September 2016).

New Zealand following the Sydney 2000 games were important and were due to a number of factors:

The improvement of New Zealand's performance at the Olympic Games is down to a number of things. The increased investment has been important and there is a strong correlation between investment and performance. In 2011 High-Performance Sport New Zealand was created. The current sporting system in New Zealand is the most streamlined and efficient in the world. This has led to international interest. For example over the past two weeks [December 1-14 2015] four nations have visited High-Performance Sport New Zealand to analyse our structure. This interest in New Zealand started following the London 2012 Olympic Games.⁵⁵⁹

However, the increase in funding of high-performance sport has not been replicated across all sporting levels. Barrie Houlihan and Jinming Zheng have found that from 2009 to 2013 the allocation for community sport in New Zealand increased only marginally by 5.5 per cent, while at the same time the investment in high-performance sports increased by 57 percent.⁵⁶⁰ This shows that this is a deliberate choice by the New Zealand government having opted to focus on high-performance sport, reaping the results as demonstrated in Rio. However, Houlihan and Zheng have shown in their research that the government's relative neglect of community sport compared to high-performance sport reflects the relative absence of media attention (and political reward) given to community sport activities. While there is much for New Zealanders to be proud of about its sporting heritage, Sport New Zealand Chief Executive Peter Miskimmin also stated that New Zealand's sporting heritage and reputation are at risk:

New Zealand's sporting heritage and reputation are at risk due to things like social change. This is happening in urban areas and participation in society is at risk of breaking down. Achievement on the world stage is also a cyclical thing. Participation in sport by children helps create more adults who play sport and this

⁵⁵⁹ Author's Interview with Alex Baumann, 14 December 2015.

⁵⁶⁰ Barrie Houlihan and Jinming Zheng, 'The Olympic and Elite Sport Policy: Where Will It All End?', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2013, p.341.

also creates more winners on the world stage which helps reinforce and create that sense of identity.⁵⁶¹

The cycle that Miskimmin discussed was raised in Part One of this thesis and is outlined below.



Figure 8.5: Sport New Zealand Strategic Plan Systems Overview.⁵⁶²

Like the Virtuous Cycle of Sport, Sport New Zealand's plan relies on elite sporting success creating more interest and participation in sport at the

⁵⁶¹ Author's Interview with Peter Miskimmin, 19 January 2016.

⁵⁶² Sport New Zealand, *Sport New Zealand Strategic Plan 2015-2020*, (Sport New Zealand: Wellington, 2015), p.5.

grass-roots level. Sport New Zealand's Strategic Plan for 2015-2020 states that:

We believe that if New Zealanders are to continue to participate and win in sport all young people must develop the skills and confidence needed for lifelong involvement. We need strong clubs and strong competition pathways, and we need to reduce barriers to participation. And we need Kiwis to continue to win on the world stage, so future generations are inspired to do the same.⁵⁶³

Sport New Zealand's Strategic Plan and model developed a more sophisticated version of the Van Bottenburg model and includes more operational devices as part of the sports system.

A different view comes from Dr Grant Davidson, the Chief Executive of Skills Active Aotearoa. Dr Davidson argues that the belief that New Zealand is a sporting nation is not based on reality:

This whole concept that New Zealand is a sporting nation is a romantic myth quite frankly. Our participation rate is dropping off, and we are actually becoming a nation of sports-watchers rather than a nation of sporting participants.⁵⁶⁴

New Zealand is similar to many other Western nations where participation rates in sport are falling, and obesity levels are on the rise. Sport New Zealand is aware of this, but has only somewhat supported initiatives to turn around this decline. Dr Davidson argues that questions need to be asked about how effective it is to spend the money on High-Performance Sport to get New Zealanders involved in sport.

People are not taking up shot put, simply because of the success of Valerie Adams at the Olympics. It's just not happening. That trickle-down effect works for some people at the top of the pyramid, but the rest of us aren't picking up a cannonball and throwing it.⁵⁶⁵

Whether public expectations can be met in Tokyo in 2020 remains to be seen. What is certain is that the New Zealand government remains willing to increase public funding and support for the nation's top sportsmen and

⁵⁶³Ibid, p.7.

⁵⁶⁴ Stephen Hewson, 'Is New Zealand really a sporting nation?' RNZ, 3 January 2017, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/sport/321689/is-new-zealand-really-a-sporting-nation>, (Accessed 4 January 2017).

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

women in an effort to maintain and expand on the 2016 results. According to Houlihan and Zheng:

It is arguable that once the governments identify elite sport success as a policy objective, they are locked onto a path from which it is increasingly difficult to deviate. It would indeed be a courageous government, which, having seen its national squad significantly improve its medals total and/or its position in the medals ranking, announced to its public that funding was being cut or frozen and that a decline in success was highly probable.⁵⁶⁶

New Zealanders competing and succeeding on the world stage is seen as a way of contributing to New Zealand's prestige and influence in the international arena. In the absence of a severe budgetary crisis, funding for high-performance sport in New Zealand can be expected to continue, and to increase. It would indeed be a courageous or reckless government, given the nation's outlook towards sport, that would reduce funding of high-performance sport and willfully sabotage the nation's quest for further Olympic glory, and the boosting and showcasing of New Zealand's identity on the world stage.

The role of the NZOC – 'One Team One Spirit Ethos' – spreading the Olympic message to New Zealanders

New Zealand's only sprint medallist, Arthur Porritt, who also became a member of the International Olympic Committee and New Zealand's Governor-General, wrote in 1983:

It certainly is rather remarkable that a little country like New Zealand with such a small population and about as far away as one can get, should over the years have made such a very definite impression at the Olympic Games.⁵⁶⁷

While Part Two of this thesis focussed on New Zealand's Olympic story, the question remains, are New Zealanders interested in New Zealand's performance at the Olympic Games and do New Zealanders think New

⁵⁶⁶ Barrie Houlihan and Jinming Zheng, 'The Olympic and Elite Sport Policy: Where Will It All End?', p.341.

⁵⁶⁷ Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games*, Auckland: Moa Publications, 1983), p.XI.

Zealand's participation at the Olympic Games has contributed to national identity? There are numerous quantitative studies that have been conducted that point to the fact that New Zealanders are interested in the Olympic Movement and believe that it contributes to New Zealand's identity.

UMR Research, a market research and evaluation company in New Zealand, has been tracking New Zealand's interest in the Olympic Games since 2004. Following the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games, UMR Research polled New Zealanders and asked how closely they followed the Olympic Games. The results showed that there has been an increasing interest in the Olympic Games during this time. In 2004, 56 percent of New Zealanders followed the Olympic Games in Athens closely, and this increased to 57 percent in 2008 for the Beijing Olympic Games. In 2012 this number jumped again to 62 percent who followed the Olympic Games in London closely.⁵⁶⁸

One of the major changes from the NZOC came following the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games where New Zealand's Chef de Mission to the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games, Dave Currie was instrumental in creating a 'One Team, One Spirit' ethos. For the first time the New Zealand Olympic Team had a dedicated structure to showcase New Zealand identity to the world. Currie created a Maori advisory group to advise the NZOC on cultural identity. The group consisted of Waana Davis, Amster Reedy, Howie Tamati, Trevor Sailor, and Dallas Seymour.⁵⁶⁹ The advisory group had three basic priorities: adding value to the New Zealand Olympic team; inspiring the New Zealand athletes; and enhancing the team environment when competing at the games.⁵⁷⁰ Following Sydney, the NZOC became interested and focussed on tapping into Maori culture and utilising this unique point of difference from other

⁵⁶⁸ Data provided by UM Research following the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games. The poll surveyed 750 New Zealanders and took place in the month following the Olympic Games.

⁵⁶⁹ This group was made up of Iwi representatives and former Maori Sportsmen.

⁵⁷⁰ Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, pp.171-173.

nations on the world stage.⁵⁷¹ Academic Margot Edwards stated that the NZOC 'aimed to envelop the athletes in Maori culture and New Zealand culture and establish this as an ongoing commitment. The group created a unique and powerful New Zealand identity with the use of carefully selected symbols.'⁵⁷² As stated in Part Two of this thesis, those symbols included the Kakahu (cloak), worn by the flag bearer at the Opening Ceremony; the pounamu (jade) presented to each member of the Olympic team; the haka; and the wearing of the silver fern.⁵⁷³ Currie argues that the 'One Team, One Spirit' ethos just evolved:

The plan originally was to do what was right for the athletes and what was right with culture. It fits New Zealand's identity well, and the uniform had meaning and the pounamu and Kakahu gave strength to the team.⁵⁷⁴

The New Zealand Olympic team Chef de Mission from 2004 to 2012 believes the development of the 'One Team One Spirit' ethos following the 2000 Olympics has been important in the development of the New Zealand Olympic team. In an interview Currie stated:

Being part of the New Zealand Olympic Games team is a commitment by everyone to create an environment that inspires, empowers, supports and recognises achievements, an environment that is enjoyable, where everyone wears the silver fern with pride. An environment where athletes can excel. The partnership with Maori tribal groups to weave a Kakahu (cloak) worn by the flag bearer to highlight the uniqueness of New Zealand, and Maori culture today sits at the heart of the Olympic Games team.⁵⁷⁵

Currie also discussed the New Zealand team quarters inside the Olympic village and stated:

New Zealand is unique in incorporating history, culture and New Zealand's identity into the Olympic team. New Zealand's attention to detail of culture and history separates it from the rest of the world. For example, in 2012, New Zealand shared accommodation with Canada where there were no cultural connections between the Canadian team and their first nations. This is the opposite to the New Zealand

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid, p.172.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Author's Interview with Dave Currie, 29 December 2015.

accommodation. Black is also powerful for New Zealand – we do it with style compared to the rest of the world.⁵⁷⁶

It's important to note that a nation's identity adapts and changes over time and it is not fixed. It's also just as important to note that a nation's identity is often contested and not always accepted by all members of that nation. One example of this in New Zealand has been through the use of the Haka. While many see that the haka as important part of what it means to be a New Zealander, the use of the haka and more importantly its overuse has been criticised by athletes from time to time. For example, Valerie Adams talked about this in her book following her victory at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games:

When we got back to the village, I went to the dining hall and had something to eat with the people I was with. Then we were wandering very quietly back because it was two in the morning. I kid you not, I walked around the corner, and there was the whole management team doing the Haka. I was standing there feeling, 'oh my God, are you kidding me? Dig me a hole right now.' I was so embarrassed to be a Kiwi right there... They'd already done it at the stadium. So why would they need to do it again? I'd seen it in 2004 when Dave Currie was also the chef de mission. I felt like saying, 'look I really admire our culture, I admire and appreciate the Maori culture, but we're not all Maori.' We respect it but don't try to ram it down our throats.⁵⁷⁷

While the development of the One Team One Spirit initiative has largely been successful and supported by athletes, it is not universal as this example has shown. Bevan Erueti has examined this and found that in the context of the Olympic Games:

Management are happy to use or appropriate decontextualised elements of Maori culture (such as haka) to mark their national identity so long as it fits within the stringent time frame that has been allocated. In this sense matauranga Maori was perceived by some support staff, coaches and managers as an "add-on" rather than an "inclusive" aspect as philosophically intended.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Valerie Adams with Phil Gifford, *Valerie The Autobiography*, (Auckland: Hodder Moa, 2012), pp.77-78.

⁵⁷⁸ Bevan Erueti, 'Matauranga Maori at the Olympic and Commonwealth Games,' in *Mai Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2014, p.67.

This shows that national identity as a concept is constantly tested, adapting and changing. While there has been a revival of the Maori culture in New Zealand over the past 35 years, and the New Zealand Olympic Committee has responded to this, it is not necessarily universally accepted.⁵⁷⁹ Tahu Potiki argues that ‘over the past 30 years, primarily as a product of the burgeoning cultural awareness of all New Zealanders, the haka has been treated with a growing sense of reverence. It has progressed from a caricature of Maori culture performed satirically, even cynically, to something demanding a degree of reverence.’⁵⁸⁰ The haka today is performed everywhere and is today a unifying symbol that represents New Zealand. Avril Bell echoes this sentiment and states:

When facing outwards to the other nations of the world, Pakeha New Zealand has also always pointed to Maori culture to signify the society's unique national identity... The first international rugby team to leave New Zealand's shores was the Natives, a team made up almost entirely of players of Maori descent... Natives player Tamati (or Tom) Ellison went on to be the first captain for the game; and introduced the haka, the black jersey and the silver fern as identifiers of the national team. This early Maori involvement has been crucial in shaping the style of New Zealand rugby.⁵⁸¹

Bell is correct in the use of Maori culture to signify New Zealand's identity on the global stage. These are examples of how the New Zealand Olympic Committee have co-opted symbols of New Zealand's national identity. This shows that the national identity is a two-way, reciprocal process.

The NZOC has also been active in spreading the Olympic message to younger New Zealanders. The NZOC run an Olympic Ambassador programme aimed at showcasing Olympic values to New Zealand

⁵⁷⁹ Jeanette King, *Reo tu, reo ora: 35 years of Maori language revival*, July 12 2016, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/82011902/reo-tu-reo-ora-35-years-of-maori-language-revival>, (Accessed 24 May 2018).

⁵⁸⁰ Tahu Potiki, ‘Haka now integral part of New Zealand Culture,’ February 9 2015, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/opinion/65977563/haka-now-integral-part-of-new-zealand-culture>, (Accessed 30 June 2018).

⁵⁸¹ Avril Bell, ‘Imagining Aotearoa New Zealand: The Politics of National Imaginings,’ in Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey McIntosh and Matt Wynyard, *A land of milk and honey? Making sense of Aotearoa New Zealand*, p.62.

schoolchildren. Olympians have always visited schools, but in 2008 the NZOC formalised the programme when they appointed Danyon Loader as the first ambassador. In 2010 the NZOC linked up with the ASB bank, and the number of ambassadors was increased to six. Between 2010 and 2012 the number of schools visited by Ambassadors ranged from 100-200 schools, but this figure has continued to grow since then, due to greater awareness and a greater number of Olympians wishing to be Ambassadors. In 2012, 227 Ambassador visits were made to schools. This number has continued to grow, and in 2016 the Olympian Ambassadors made a record 307 visits to schools. Those visits are spread across New Zealand with approximately one-third of visits being made to Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch; one-third of visits to other provincial centres; and the final one-third of visits being made to rural New Zealand.⁵⁸² As of 2017, there are 37 Olympic Ambassadors, located from Northland to Invercargill. Alongside the Ambassador visit programme, the NZOC also runs an Olympic Values Education Programme. By the end of 2016 more than 2,000 schools and 7,000 teachers had registered with the NZOC to use NZOC Olympic education resources.⁵⁸³ The NZOC has been highly active in getting Olympians into schools and inspiring young New Zealanders and teaching them about the Olympic movement. This activity will certainly assist in keeping the Olympic story in the minds of New Zealanders between Olympiads.

Social media is increasingly becoming a useful indication of interest in any event, especially amongst young people. The NZOC has been active on social media (Facebook and Twitter especially) during the 2012 and 2016 Olympic Games. Perhaps one of the ways the NZOC can counter the decline of interest in the Olympic Games between Olympiads is through the use of social media. For example, the NZOC launched its *Be the Inspiration* campaign for the Rio 2016 Olympic Games on 5 August 2015, on the one-year countdown to the opening ceremony. This attracted much interest from the media and New Zealanders, and the campaign was

⁵⁸² Information obtained by the NZOC, *Olympic Ambassador Programme*, 2017.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

ranked the number one National Olympic Committee for Facebook engagement during the Rio Olympic Games.⁵⁸⁴ During the Rio 2016 Olympic Games, the NZ Olympic Team page had a total of 3.06 million unique engagements from over 300,000 Facebook followers. According to Facebook, the NZOC compared favourably to other National Olympic Committees and had the highest content interaction rate on Facebook for the month of August (2016) and the third highest video views, an amazing result given the number of fans of the page in New Zealand.⁵⁸⁵ When thinking about this result, this is further evidence that comparatively, New Zealanders are interested in the Olympic Games and the performance of New Zealand athletes at games time.

Another initiative from the NZOC is the Inspiration Hub, which is an online resource which showcased, through video, New Zealand athletes on the road to the Rio 2016 Olympic Games. The website also included archival video and footage of New Zealand Olympic medal winners.⁵⁸⁶ This is the first time that such a resource has existed and was extensively used in the lead-up to the Rio 2016 Olympic Games. The resource is still active and showcases New Zealand Olympic history, providing a useful resource for New Zealanders interested in the Olympic Games from a New Zealand point of view.⁵⁸⁷

The Power of the Olympic Games: The Olympians Speak

In undertaking this research, fifteen Olympians who have competed at the Olympic Games from 1964 to 2016 were interviewed on the contribution of the Olympic Games to New Zealand's identity.⁵⁸⁸ One of the most interesting outcomes that emerged from these author's interviews involved views about the changes that Chef de Mission Dave Currie

⁵⁸⁴ NZOC, *Rio 2016 Digital Review*, (Auckland: NZOC, 2017), p.1.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.21.

⁵⁸⁶ NZOC, *Be The Inspiration Hub*, <http://betheinspiration.nz/>, (Accessed 20 July 2017).

⁵⁸⁷ NZOC, *Rio 2016 Digital Review*, (Auckland: NZOC, 2017), p.9.

⁵⁸⁸ For a full list of those interviewed for this research, see Appendix One.

initiated following the 2000 Sydney Olympics. For example, in an interview with Thomas Just, who finished fourth in the men's rowing eight at the 1968 Mexico City Olympic Games, he spoke about the New Zealand team culture in Mexico:

Even in retrospect, it is difficult for me to identify any culture (Kiwi or other) in the New Zealand team. Certainly, we mingled with other team members across sports and formed good friendships in some cases. However, the ethos of the various sports were so different that there was little common ground from which a New Zealand team culture could grow. Trying to create a culture in this environment was difficult. That said, I was not aware that the team management [NZOC] even considered culture.⁵⁸⁹

This is compared to double Olympian Mike Dawson, who competed for New Zealand at the London 2012 and Rio 2016 Olympic Games in canoe slalom. Dawson believed there was a very strong New Zealand culture at the Olympic Games:

The New Zealand team culture is strong during the Olympic Games, and that comes mostly from the work that the NZOC does behind the scenes to ensure a team environment is created. We were greeted with a pounamu carved for each athlete, and that bonded all of us. We also performed a haka to welcome people into the village (and perhaps a little bit too often during the games). The New Zealand public is really interested in the games, and I felt a great deal of support from New Zealand. There was a lot of public interest in what we were doing and I didn't realise how much until I returned home and found out the number of people who had watched us compete.⁵⁹⁰

Dawson would go on to discuss the contribution that New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games has on national identity:

The Olympic Games has a global exposure that is incomparable. I feel that the way our team operates, the team spirit, the culture (both sporting and traditional Maori culture), the personalities, humility, values and the way the majority of the team conducts themselves separates us from the rest of the teams at the games. Competing at the Olympic Games is a showcase or an illustration of what New Zealand culture is all about on the world stage.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁹ Author's Interview with Thomas Just, 29 November 2015.

⁵⁹⁰ Author's Interview with Mike Dawson, 22 November 2015.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

Credit must be given to the NZOC for the efforts post-Sydney to create and reflect New Zealand's identity to the rest of the world. This shared identity certainly helped foster team spirit.

Four-time Olympian and four-time medallist, equestrian Blyth Tait, spoke about what it means being part of the New Zealand team and how the Olympic Games compares to other events like rugby:

There was a brilliant team atmosphere and sense of inclusion. This was all driven by similar goals... The Olympic Games are very important, especially for the youth. It is a positive experience for everyone to be part of, so success is important. If we can punch above our weight there is a feeling of wellbeing generated... The Olympic Games is definitely more important than rugby. Rugby, in my opinion, is overexposed and blown out of proportion by the media. Having spent so much time living overseas, you realise that the rest of the world is less obsessed than us. It is actually regarded by most countries as a minor sport. If you mentioned the World Cup, they would presume football and don't actually even know there is a rugby one. Having said that, I think a national sport is great and is necessary for identity, but I feel the Olympic Games has wider appeal and support.⁵⁹²

Mexico City rower Thomas Just believes the New Zealand Olympic team is very important to New Zealanders, and it is just as important that New Zealand competes successfully at the Olympic Games as the All Blacks secure victories:

It is very important to New Zealanders that New Zealand competes successfully at the Olympic Games. New Zealand's small population means that internationally, we could be overwhelmed by more populous nations. This has produced a people more likely to be 'low key' when acting internationally. In addition to rugby, the Olympics provides us the perfect stage on which to say – we are bigger than you think. That statement resonates larger internally than externally – where at times our stance may be seen as a little immature. Simply, the Olympic Games is just as important as rugby to New Zealanders. I believe it all comes down to success. If a sport is winning, the New Zealand public will embrace it, even minor sports. We are currently on top of the rugby world. Alongside the All Blacks winning the Rugby World Cup, the feats of Jack Lovelock, Peter Snell, Murray Halberg, John Walker,

⁵⁹² Author's Interview with Blyth Tait, 3 March 2017.

Rob Waddell, Mahe Drysdale each gave similar widespread satisfaction to the country. Each win also provided inspiration for young people.⁵⁹³

Double Olympic gold medallist in rowing Richard (Dick) Joyce believes that New Zealand competing successfully at the Olympic Games has been important to the development of New Zealand's identity:

It is very important that New Zealand competes successfully at the Olympic Games. It is vital to the New Zealand mindset to do better than Australia at the Olympic Games. New Zealanders see themselves as always punching above their weight and results from a successful Olympic campaign against the best in the world, reinforces this self-image and makes us feel good about ourselves. Rugby is limited to a relatively small number of participating countries. The Olympic Games are open to all comers.⁵⁹⁴

Three-time Olympic sailor and Barcelona sailing silver medallist Don Cowie believes that New Zealand's participation in the Olympic Games sits alongside rugby as a cornerstone of New Zealand's identity. In an interview, Cowie stated that:

New Zealand's Olympic participation is more important than rugby. The Olympic Games is about every country in the world, the best from every one of those countries in many sports. Countries that spend large amounts of money of winning medals and little old New Zealand competes with them and often beats them. Rugby is a great sport but it is not a world sport, it is not played around the world. But again, it is about a small country in the corner of the South Pacific taking on the world. New Zealanders are well known as people who give it their best shot. Willing to try and fix anything and using anything to win. This this part of our history whether it was steaming on a ship for three or four months to get to the Olympics or a rugby game, we don't use these things as excuses. We just get on with it. Alongside the All Blacks, many Olympians are household names and in fact many of our Olympic athletes are more famous overseas than they are at home. Sport in general is a very important part of New Zealand's identity.⁵⁹⁵

Barry Maister, a member of the IOC and 1976 Montreal hockey gold medallist, competed at a different time, during the amateur era. In an interview, he spoke about the support from New Zealanders:

⁵⁹³ Author's Interview with Thomas Just, 29 November 2015.

⁵⁹⁴ Author's Interview with Richard (Dick) Joyce, 3 November 2015.

⁵⁹⁵ Author's Interview with Don Cowie, 22 April 2015.

There was a lot of support for us from New Zealanders. The Olympic Games have always held universal appeal. We sold bumper stickers to send the team to the Olympics, and New Zealanders widely supported fundraising appeals to send the team to the Olympics. People expected you to raise money.⁵⁹⁶

Maister raises an interesting point. During the early years of New Zealanders competing at the games, they were amateur. They held day jobs, and had to raise money to get to the Olympic Games. Today there is much more support for athletes competing at the elite level. There is the potential here for these athletes today to be less accessible to New Zealanders than athletes of yesterday and that makes the NZOC Ambassador programme discussed earlier in this chapter more important.

David Owen, who writes for *Insidethegames.com*, an Olympic Games news website, argues that the Olympic Movement has ‘become remote from the real world.’⁵⁹⁷ Owen asserts that ‘the athletes of fifty years ago were generally ordinary people of extraordinary ability but far from extraordinary means.’⁵⁹⁸ Olympians were amateurs who often had to fundraise to make it to the Olympic Games. They worked and lived in the communities where they trained. They visited the corner dairy, had their car serviced at the same garage, and they trained at the same gyms and running tracks that everyone used. High-performance athletes today are somewhat disconnected from ordinary life. For example, many athletes aren’t even based in New Zealand. Owen argues that this is perhaps one of the biggest issues facing the Olympic Movement today:

The Olympic Movement needs to find some way of re-establishing the strength of the connection we used to feel all those years ago... Perhaps the increasingly strident nationalism that seems to accompany the Games nowadays is an attempt to reconnect, by emphasising something we hold in common with competitors who happen to be our compatriots... Little by little, the Olympics seems to have

⁵⁹⁶ Author’s Interview with Barry Maister, 24 February 2016.

⁵⁹⁷ David Owen, ‘Mind the gap – the Olympic Movement has become remote from the real world,’ *Inside the Games*, 29 March 2017, <http://www.insidethegames.biz/articles/1048663/david-owen-mind-the-gap-the-olympic-movement-has-become-remote-from-the-real-world>, (Accessed 30 March 2017).

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

transmogrified into a parallel universe almost independent of the real world that most of us inhabit. It somehow needs to achieve a measure of reintegration.⁵⁹⁹

Academic Tamas Doczi agrees with Owens and argues that 'in the past three decades, the social distance between professional athletes and the general public has continued to increase... Elite sport in Hungary finds it more and more difficult to meet expectations created by the media and by the professionals working in sport.'⁶⁰⁰ Doczi also makes a relevant point and argues that 'although the identity-building function of sport is not exclusively related to top sport performances, in the public and media discourse of Hungarian sport, grassroots, community-based activities associated with sport such as 'Sport for All' and popular old games are much less prominent.'⁶⁰¹ This is a useful point. As this thesis has shown, the New Zealand Government has been quick to promote high-performance or elite sport over grassroots sport. Barry Maister also believes that it is important for New Zealanders that the Olympic team competes successfully:

Having New Zealand and New Zealanders competing successfully on the world stage is very important. Young athletes today talk about competing at the Olympic Games much more than competing at other events like the world champs. This has always happened. The Olympic Games is always a success as it is absorbing to follow for the spectator and it is something that is special for the athlete. The Olympic Games hold huge appeal. However, it is hard to compare rugby to the Olympic Games – rugby is New Zealand's national game and is on our screens all year round. It is in front of us at all times. The Olympic Games are different; they are special as they only come around every four years. There is a build-up to the Olympics that is different to rugby. The Olympics will always be special. New Zealanders get a lot of pride out of winning medals and seeing their athletes competing on the world stage. Against all nations of the world.⁶⁰²

Chief Executive of High-Performance Sport New Zealand Alex Baumann has echoed other interviews and believes that the Olympic Games are

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Tamas Doczi, 'Gold fever(?): Sport and national identity – the Hungarian case,' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2011, p.177.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² Author's Interview with Barry Maister, 24 February 2016.

very important to New Zealanders and have been influential in the development of New Zealand's identity:

It is very important to New Zealanders that the New Zealand Olympic team competes successfully at the Olympic Games. There is huge interest by New Zealanders and the media in Olympic sports. For example, when funding decisions are made by High-Performance Sport New Zealand annually, these are accompanied by a press conference which is completely different to other nations who will just upload the decision on their website.

The New Zealand media and public are very hard on sportspeople because of the importance and interest that is placed on sport in New Zealand. New Zealand's cultural heritage is also important to New Zealanders and fits nicely alongside New Zealand's sporting identity.

We are very lucky in New Zealand that we have had excellent support of high-performance sport by both National and Labour.⁶⁰³

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that throughout the 20th century the New Zealand Government has become more interested in supporting high-performance sport in New Zealand. New Zealanders are interested in the Olympic Games, and that interest is similar to that of rugby and the Rugby World Cup. Benedict Anderson's work on national identity and nationalism is seminal to this research. Anderson's central thesis refers to the nation as an *imagined community* because members of a nation won't know most of their fellow citizens but believe they are all part of the same tribe, and one of the ways they feel they are part of the same tribe is through a shared history and memory.⁶⁰⁴ Sport plays an extensive role in this imagined community because sport represents an entire nation on the international stage and, when thinking about sport, it is the Olympic Games that first comes to mind. The Olympic Games is truly global. Ultimately, as stated at the beginning of this research, the argument by Eric J. Hobsbawm that

⁶⁰³ Author's Interview with Alex Baumann, 14 December 2015.

⁶⁰⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (London: Verso, 2006), p.7.

an imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people⁶⁰⁵ is certainly apt for the New Zealand context. New Zealanders like sporting heroes and believe they represent the best of them. The All Blacks and Olympians epitomise the best of New Zealanders and is something that draws New Zealanders together to create that imaginary community.

⁶⁰⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.143.

Chapter Nine: The importance of the Olympic Games on national identity in New Zealand – international perspectives

This research has shown that New Zealand's national identity has been both enhanced and portrayed by participation at the Olympic Games. However, the question remains, is New Zealand unique in the effect Olympic participation has had on national identity? This chapter will analyse international studies and surveys taken on the effect Olympic performance has had on national pride, and compare New Zealand Olympic performance to other nations with a similar size population (Ireland and Norway) as well as other nations with which New Zealand is often compared (Australia and Canada).

Pride and Olympic Performance – International studies

There have been numerous international studies conducted regarding pride and performance at the Olympic Games and how it relates to national identity. A 2012 international survey conducted by the BBC World Service polled the importance 21 nations placed on Olympic achievements for national pride. The poll was carried out by GlobeScan and found that a majority of people in all but three nations surveyed felt that the way their nation performed at the Olympic Games was important to national pride and identity. Kenya (91 percent), the Philippines (86 percent), Turkey (84 percent) and Indonesia (83 percent) were the highest ranked nations surveyed in terms of performance and national pride in competing at the Olympic Games.⁶⁰⁶

This compares to Germany (39 percent), Brazil (48 percent), Great Britain (50 percent), France (51 percent), and the United States (52 percent),

⁶⁰⁶ GlobeScan, *National Pride Mixed over Olympic Achievements: Global Poll*, 1 January 2012, http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc2011_olympics/, (Accessed 1 July 2017).

which had the lowest proportions linking Olympic performance to national pride. Overall, the survey found that across the 21 nations surveyed 67 percent of respondents felt that Olympic performance had a lot or some effect on national pride and 29 percent thought it did not affect national pride at all or only had some effect.⁶⁰⁷ The same poll was not conducted in New Zealand for the 2012 GlobeScan survey. However, UMR Research asked the identical question to 1000 New Zealanders in the lead-up to the 2016 Rio Olympic Games and found that 59 percent of New Zealanders felt that Olympic performance affected national pride a lot or somewhat.⁶⁰⁸ This is lower than the average of the 2012 poll results across 21 nations, but at a similar level to Spain (58 percent), Russia (60 percent) and Mexico (61 percent).⁶⁰⁹ When drilling down into the UMR Research survey, there was a distinct difference between younger New Zealanders and older New Zealanders. Those aged 18-29 years (59 percent), and those aged 30-44 years (49 percent) found that Olympic performance affected national pride a lot or some, compared to those aged over 60 years, where 70 percent of respondents concluded that Olympic performance affected national pride.⁶¹⁰ This shows that older New Zealanders place a higher importance on Olympic performance compared to younger New Zealanders. This difference in interest in the Olympic Games is interesting and explains the focus from the NZOC in instituting an active social media programme and also focussing on the Olympic Ambassador programme, as outlined in Chapter Eight.

The NZOC initiated a survey in 2015 which found that one-third of New Zealanders are interested in an Olympic event and more than a quarter were aware of the Rio 2016 Olympic Games. The same research found that 77 percent of New Zealanders were aware of the NZOC and the role

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ UMR Research, *Performance Affecting Pride: Online Omnibus Quantitative Survey*, (Wellington: UMR Research, August 2016), p.3.

⁶⁰⁹ GlobeScan, *National Pride Mixed over Olympic Achievements: Global Poll*, 1 January 2012, http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc2011_olympics/, (Accessed 1 July 2017).

⁶¹⁰ UMR Research, *Performance Affecting Pride: Online Omnibus Quantitative Survey*, (Wellington: UMR Research, August 2016), p.4.

it plays.⁶¹¹ This shows that New Zealanders are interested in and aware of the Olympic movement, but not at the same levels as when the games are on. A 2015 TNS Research report into the role of the NZOC and the Olympic Movement in New Zealand has raised some interesting comparisons with the Rugby World Cup. The report found that there is very wide awareness and interest in New Zealand in the Olympic Games, with the summer version of the games having strong interest across all demographic and regional groups. The Rugby World Cup as a sporting event is the only individual event that rivals the interest and awareness of the Olympic Games.⁶¹² The report found that 52 percent of New Zealanders have an interest in the Summer Olympic Games, and 77 percent of New Zealanders are aware of the Summer Olympics. This number increased in similar research conducted by PWC in 2017 which found that 95 percent of New Zealanders are aware of the Olympic Games and 73 percent are interested.⁶¹³ This compares to 59 percent who are interested in the Rugby World Cup and 94 percent who are aware of the event. The PWC report from 2017 found that 95 percent were aware of the Rugby World Cup and 65 percent were interested.⁶¹⁴ This data shows that the Olympic Games are just as important to New Zealanders as the Rugby World Cup. The Summer Olympic Games ranks higher than other sporting events tested, including the Football World Cup, Netball World Cup and Cricket World Cup.⁶¹⁵

The TNS research also tested when people became interested in the Olympic Games and how long that interest continued once the games finished. It found that 56 percent didn't become interested in the Olympic Games until the events started and 51 percent lost interest in the games as soon as it finished. A further 20 percent became interested six months before the games started and 23 percent held that interest up to six

⁶¹¹ Gemba, *New Zealand Olympic Committee Brand Tracker Report*, December 2015, (Auckland: Gemba, 2015), pp.11-12.

⁶¹² TNS, *Understand the New Zealand Olympic Committee's Positioning*, (Auckland: TNS Research, December 2015), p.8.

⁶¹³ PWC, *The Value of the Olympics and the New Zealand Olympic Committee*, (Auckland: PWC, 2017), p.10.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid, p.22.

⁶¹⁵ TNS, *Understand the New Zealand Olympic Committee's Positioning*, p.14.

months following the games.⁶¹⁶ During the London 2012 Olympic Games 36 percent of New Zealanders watched the Olympic Games as much as possible, while just 11 percent actively avoided watching any of the games.⁶¹⁷ The 2017 PWC report also found that 90 percent of New Zealanders associate the Olympic brand with pride and 75 percent feel New Zealand Olympians inspire them to be the best they can.⁶¹⁸ Broadcaster John McBeth highlighted the challenge of keeping the Olympic Games current outside of the window when they are actually on:

The public don't tend to get interested in the Olympic Games until the event actually starts. They are extremely interested during the games and winning medals gets profile for the respective sport and athletes. It is hard for sports to take full advantage of Olympic participation and get people involved outside of the Olympic Games. The Olympic Games are special because there is such a diverse attendance of athletes and nations from all around the world. New Zealanders do get behind the Olympic Games.⁶¹⁹

Part one of this research outlined the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) on national pride that was conducted in 1995/96 and 2003/04. The survey found that New Zealand ranked second in the world out of the 34 nations surveyed in the importance placed on sport as contributing to national pride. New Zealand (60.3 percent of New Zealanders rating sport as a significant contributor to national pride) ranked behind Venezuela (68.8 percent), with Australia (56.9 percent) ranked third. Ireland was ranked in fourth place (55 percent). When looking at Canada and the Scandinavian nations, sport is not as important in contributing to national pride. Sweden (32.8 percent) ranked in 16th place, Canada (32 percent) in 18th place, Norway (26.7 percent) in 22nd place, and Finland (13.9 percent) in 31st place.⁶²⁰ This clearly shows that New Zealanders, Australians and the Irish value sport more highly as a

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, p.37.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ PWC, *The Value of the Olympics and the New Zealand Olympic Committee*, p.13.

⁶¹⁹ Author's Interview with John McBeth, 23 April 2014.

⁶²⁰ Tom W. Smith, *National Pride in Specific Domains*, University of Chicago, June 27 2006, www.news.uchicago.edu/releases/06/060627.pride.pdf, (Accessed 27 July 2017).

contributor to national pride and identity than Canadians and those living in Scandinavian nations.

The small state perspective – Ireland and Norway and the Olympic Games

The nations of Ireland and Norway have similar populations to that of New Zealand. As of 1 July 2017, Ireland had an estimated population of 4.7 million people, and Norway had an estimated population of 5.3 million. This compared to New Zealand with 4.7 million people.⁶²¹ A common characteristic of Scandinavian countries' sport policies is a focus on sport for all, public health and voluntariness. As Carlsson, Norberg and Persson say: 'from a government point of view, state support has always, above all, aimed to support citizens – especially young people's ability to do sport and to exercise within the framework of voluntary clubs and federations.'⁶²²

David Hassan and Philip O'Kane argue that 'there are few other countries where sport plays such an integral part in the cultural life of a nation or is as closely linked to questions of identity.'⁶²³ Because of this, and Ireland's population (which is similar to New Zealand), this makes it the perfect nation to compare the importance of the Olympic Games to New Zealand. Ireland's relative performance to New Zealand at the Olympic Games is not as strong. Ireland's focus on sport is similar to New Zealand, with specific funding for high-performance sport.⁶²⁴ From 1896 to 1920, Irish athletes competed as part of the Great Britain team. Ireland first competed as an independent nation at the Olympic Games in Paris in 1924 when 49 athletes competed. Overall, Ireland has won just 31 medals at the

⁶²¹ United Nations Population Division, 2017, *World Population Prospects*, https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Publications/Files/WPP2017_KeyFindings.pdf, (Accessed 1 July 2017).

⁶²² Bo Carlsson, Johan R. Norberg and Thomas R. Persson, 'The governance of sport from a Scandinavian Perspective,' *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 3, November 2011, p.307.

⁶²³ David Hassan and Philip O'Kane, 'Ireland,' in S.W. Pope and John Nauright, *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.461.

⁶²⁴ Sport Ireland, *Sport Investment 2017*, (Dublin: Government of Ireland, 2017).

Olympic Games, compared to well over 100 for New Zealand. Half of Ireland's medals have been won in the sport of boxing. Ireland's best Olympic Games came in Atlanta 1996 when they won five medals, including three gold medals. In London 2016 Ireland won six medals, its most ever. However, at the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, Ireland won just two silver medals, sending 77 athletes to the games. This was Ireland's largest team ever to represent the nation at the Olympic Games. However, the two silver medals was Ireland's worst result since Athens in 2004 where they failed to win a single medal. As Part Two showed, New Zealand had its most successful games in Rio and sent its largest team.

Ireland's current high-performance structure was established on 1 July 1999, with the establishment of the Irish Sports Council (now known as Sport Ireland) after the passage of the Irish Sports Council Act 1999. Like High-Performance Sport New Zealand, Sport Ireland has a similar vision which includes assisting 'Irish sportsmen and women achieve consistent world-class performance.'⁶²⁵ New Zealand's high-performance model is very similar to that of Ireland, with funding provided from Sport Ireland for national governing bodies. For 2017 Sport Ireland has dedicated \$11.734 million⁶²⁶ to high-performance sport.⁶²⁷ which compares to \$34.965 million allocated by High-Performance Sport New Zealand to high-performance sport.⁶²⁸ Despite a similar population and sporting system, New Zealand appropriates three times more towards high-performance sport than Ireland.

Norway first competed at the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris and officially boycotted the 1980 games in Moscow. Norway has never hosted the summer edition of the Olympic Games but has hosted the Winter Olympic Games twice: 1952 in Oslo and 1994 in Lillehammer. Norway's focus has tended to be at the Winter Olympic Games where it has won the most

⁶²⁵ Sport Ireland, *About Us*, www.sportireland.ie/About_Us/, (Assessed 21 September 2017).

⁶²⁶ Note: This figure has been converted to New Zealand dollars.

⁶²⁷ Sport Ireland, *Sport Investment 2017*, (Dublin: Sport Ireland, 2016), p.8.

⁶²⁸ High Performance Sport New Zealand, *2017 Core Investment*, (Auckland: High Performance Sport New Zealand, 2016), p.4.

medals of any nation (329 medals), compared to the summer Olympic Games where it has won 152 medals. Norway's best Olympic performance came in 1920 in Antwerp when it sent 194 athletes to the games and won 31 medals, including 13 gold. Norway's most profitable sports have been sailing and shooting, winning 32 and 31 medals respectively. Norway is just one of three nations alongside Austria and Liechtenstein to have won more medals at the Winter Olympic Games than at the Summer Olympic Games.

Nils Asle Bergsgard et al. argue that since the beginning of the nineteenth century in Norway there has been a close association between sport and nationalism.⁶²⁹ Much of Norway's sporting heritage is based around the winter sports of skiing and ice skating. From the early Olympic Games, the Norwegian government provided funding to send a team to the Olympic Games. For example in 1912, for the Olympiad in Stockholm, the government provided enough financial resources for Norway to send the third largest team to the Games. Like New Zealand, direct government intervention in sport began in the 1930s when in 1935 a Norwegian Sport Commission was formed. This led in 1946 to the establishment of a State Office for Sport.⁶³⁰ While sport in New Zealand has increasingly focused on high-performance sport, in Norway Bergsgard et al. argue that 'sport was seen as part of the welfare culture, as a contributor to the development of both body and mind in a modern welfare regime.'⁶³¹ However, Norway has also followed other nations in developing programmes for elite athletes. In 1988-1989 *Olympiatoppen* was introduced, a venture between the Norwegian National Olympic Committee and the Norwegian Confederation of Sport. This venture provides facilities for elite training and is funded partly by sponsors and partly by lottery money.⁶³²

⁶²⁹ Nils Asle Bergsgard, Barrie Houlihan, Per Mangset, Svein Ingve Nodland and Hilmar Rommetvedt, *Sport Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Stability and Change*, (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, 2007), p.58.

⁶³⁰ Ibid, p.59.

⁶³¹ Ibid, p.61.

⁶³² Ibid, p. 62.

Bergsgard et al. argue that Norwegian sport policy has been oriented towards sport for all compared to high-performance sport. While this is accurate, Sam and Ronglan found several similarities between sporting structures in New Zealand and Norway: 'In both cases, the central agencies have a quasi-monopoly on state-directed sport and in both countries, vote contributions towards sport (i.e. direct tax dollars within the Government budgetary process) were negligible until 2000.'⁶³³ But it is also important to note that Norway has been hugely successful at the Winter Olympic Games.⁶³⁴ In 2002, in Salt Lake City, Norway finished top of the medal table, and it finished second on the medal table at the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi. Unlike New Zealand, Norway's performance at the summer Olympic Games has declined somewhat. In 2016 Norway sent 62 athletes to the Rio Olympics and failed to win a gold medal for the first time since 1984, winning just four bronze medals.

⁶³³ Michael P. Sam and Lars Tore Ronglan, 'Building sport policy's legitimacy in Norway and New Zealand,' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2016, p.7.

⁶³⁴ Ibid, p.153.

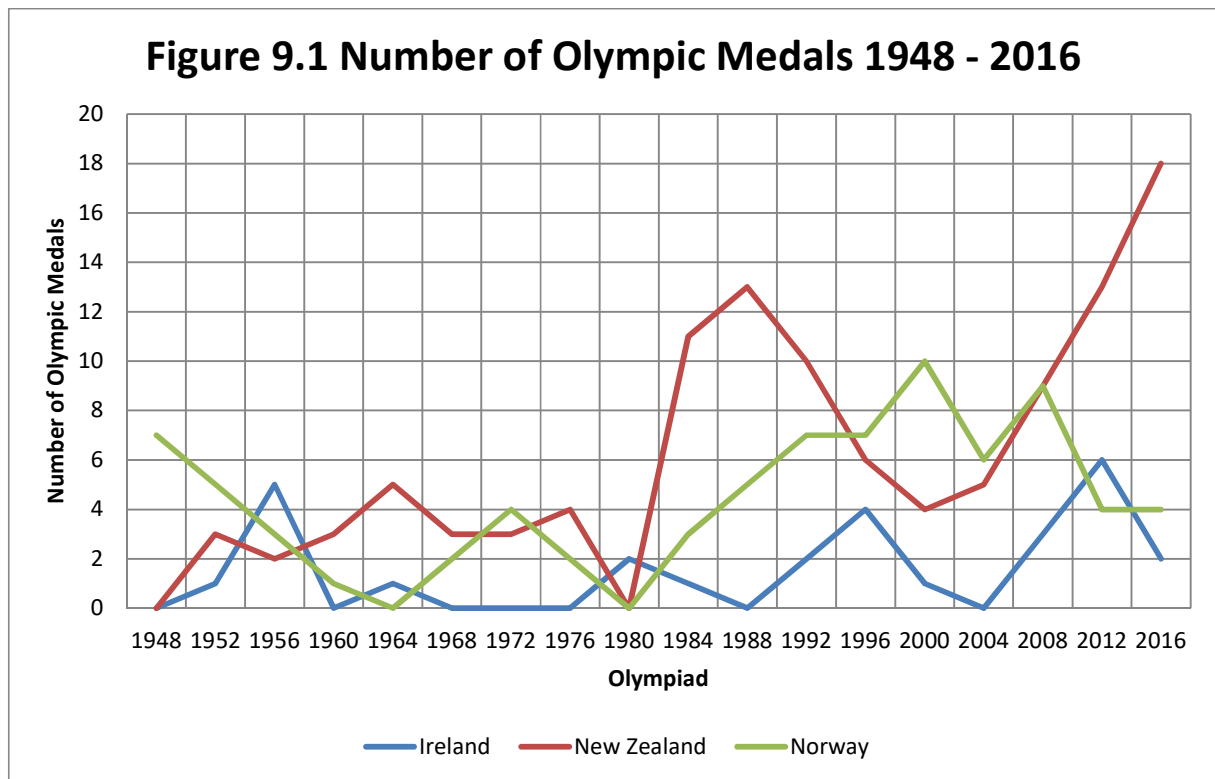


Figure 9.1 – Number of Olympic Medals at the Summer Olympic Games from 1948 to 2016 for Ireland, New Zealand and Norway.

Figure 9.1 shows the number of medals won by Ireland, Norway and New Zealand at each version of the Summer Olympic Games since 1948 when the Olympics resumed following WWII. In the 18 Olympiads held since 1948, comparing the three nations, New Zealand has won the most medals at nine of the games, Ireland the most at two of those games, and Norway the most at six games. New Zealand and Norway tied for the most medals (nine) in Beijing 2008. Overall, New Zealand's relative Olympic performance compared to other similar-sized nations at the Summer Olympic Games is very good. When looking at other similar-sized nations Ireland and Norway, New Zealand compares well. While this thesis is focussed on the summer Olympic Games only, it is important to note that Scandinavia has a much richer history in the winter Olympic Games, and at these games, these nations frequently rise to the top of the medal table.

*Australia and the Olympic Games – the pinnacle of sport and a
cornerstone of national identity*

When it comes to New Zealand sporting achievement and success, New Zealand is constantly compared to our closest neighbour, Australia. Australia is just one of five nations (alongside France, Great Britain, Greece and Switzerland) who have competed at every edition of the Summer Olympic Games. The Australian Olympic Committee was founded and recognised in 1895, and in 1896 Edwin Flack became the first athlete to represent Australia at the Olympic Games, winning a gold medal in both the 800m and the 1500m running events. Australia has hosted the Summer Olympic Games twice: in 1956 in Melbourne and 2000 in Sydney. Like New Zealand, Australia has ‘punched well above its weight’ in the Olympic Movement, winning more than 500 medals thus far.

Sebastian Coe, the President of the International Athletics Federation and CEO of London 2012 Olympic Games Organising Committee, argues that sport means more to Australians than it does in many other nations:

Along with events on the battlefield, events on the sporting field have been pivotal in shaping and defining modern Australia and its attitude and approach to life and world affairs, and its desire to contribute to the wider world and to have an identity on the international stage... Sport means more to Australia than to most countries.⁶³⁵

A poll in Australia in the lead-up to the Rio 2016 Olympic Games asked how interested Australians were about the upcoming games; and 52 percent said they have some or a lot of interest in the Olympic Games, while 47 percent had little or no interest. This was down from the same poll taken before the London 2012 Olympic Games, when 60 percent said they had a lot or some interest in the games. The same poll also asked how important it is that Australia wins gold medals at the Olympic Games. A total of 51 percent said it was very or quite important, compared to 43

⁶³⁵ Harry Gordon, *From Athens With Pride: The Official History of the Australian Olympic Movement 1894 to 2014*, (St Lucia Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2014), pp.13-14.

percent who said it was not important that Australia wins gold medals. This was considerably higher than the 2012 Olympic Games, when 44 percent said it was very or quite important.⁶³⁶ This is an interesting finding and shows that the support for the Olympic Games is not quite as high in Australia as in New Zealand.

Australian academic Waleed Aly probably best summed up the Olympic Games and their meaning to Australians in a piece published in *The Monthly* in 2012:

The Olympics play a significant, unique role. If Bradman helped to define our relationship with the mother country, the Olympics are about our position in the world. Our mythology does not have us topping the medal tally. But it does have us doing better than we should, which is why silver is fine, but gold is, at some point, necessary. The thought that an Aboriginal girl from Mackay could go on to be the best in the world (note how often we mention the small-town origins of our champions) is irresistibly intoxicating. It feeds our mythology that we are the little nation that could, vanquishing bigger, older, more powerful foes against the odds. It's deeply symbolic: no event is more truly international than the Olympics, and to succeed on that stage declares that we can succeed on others. It tells us we matter.

A sign of insecurity, sure. Maybe a national identity built more squarely on education or health care or scientific achievement would be nobler. But as national mythologies go, we could do much, much worse. Most nations do. We could build our collective sense of self on conquest, empire, civil war, race, ethnicity or religious exclusion. Such totems are magnetic, and even a nation as young as ours flirts with them in its darker moments.

But their very power lies in the fact that they are exclusionary, closed. Sport is broadly open. It is innately, if imperfectly, a meritocracy. Yes, there are barriers – working-class Olympic rowers are probably unusual, and we still underrate our disabled athletes – but the borders are remarkably permeable. Few other spheres of public life present so much diversity in such a compelling way. Politics doesn't. Theatre isn't even close.⁶³⁷

Aly's piece encapsulates many theories that are not only relevant to Australia, but also to New Zealand. Like Australia, New Zealand does not

⁶³⁶ Essential Media, *The Essential Report: 16 August 2016*, (Australia: Essential Media, 2016), pp. 5-6.

⁶³⁷ Waleed Aly, 'Gold is Good: The Olympics, Sport and National Pride,' in *The Monthly*, September 2012

have a long history, and because of that, New Zealanders place much focus on our sportsmen and women. The Olympic Games helps define New Zealand's place in the world, and like Australia, the Olympic Games have enabled New Zealand to showcase itself as a country that "punches above its weight". As Aly notes, the media often mention the hometowns of Olympians. For instance, when Lorraine Moller won her marathon bronze medal in Barcelona 1992, commentator Brendon Telfer mentioned her hometown of Putaruru and the support she received there.⁶³⁸ This is an example of how Olympians not only contribute to national identity but also to regional identity, helping to build that imagined community.

The failure of Australia to win a single gold medal at the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games 'represented a nadir in the Australian Olympic movement and helped to transform federal and state government attitude towards the promotion of sport.'⁶³⁹ In 1981 the Australian Institute of Sport opened, and substantial grants to sport were allocated in the lead-up to the 1982 Brisbane Commonwealth Games. Houlihan argues that the establishment of the Australian Institute of Sport 'was seen by the government as a crucial policy innovation designed to enhance Australian prospects in international competition.'⁶⁴⁰ Funding of sport in Australia continued with great success. The number of medals Australia won at the Olympic Games continued to grow since the opening of the Institute. Australia won 27 medals at the 1992 Barcelona Olympics and 41 at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics. Greater funding and the hosting of the Olympic Games in Sydney in 2000 helped Australia break into the top five nations at the Olympic Games in 2000 (58 medals) and in 2004 (50 medals). Despite this, Australian performance declined at the two most recent Olympic Games. Australia won 35 medals at the 2012 Olympic Games, and only 29 medals at the 2016 Olympic Games, its worst result since Seoul in 1988.

⁶³⁸ Brendan Telfer – TVNZ Commentary of the 1992 women's Olympic Marathon in Barcelona, 1 August 1992.

⁶³⁹ Barrie Houlihan, *Sport, Policy and Politics – A Comparative Analysis*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p.70.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Maarten Van Bottenburg states that New Zealand and Australia share similar sporting patterns, and that both are totally dominated by English sports, with nine out of their top eleven sports originating in Britain.⁶⁴¹ Ultimately New Zealand is no different to Australia in the Olympic Games' contribution to identity. Perhaps the argument could be made that the Olympic Games' contribution to identity in Australia is more potent and strong than that of New Zealand. Australia has twice hosted the Olympic Games, with the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games arguably the most successful version of the Olympic Games to date. Unlike New Zealand, Australia does not have the stain of the 1970s and the sporting relationship with South Africa which disrupted the Montreal Olympic Games, severely affecting New Zealand's prestige on the global stage.

Canada and the Olympic Games – From Failure in Montreal to Success in Vancouver

Alongside Australia, Canada is a member of the Commonwealth and is often compared to New Zealand. Canada has a population of 36.2 million people, making it much bigger than New Zealand.⁶⁴² Canada has competed at every Summer Olympic Games (except the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games, which they boycotted) and has won 301 medals at the Olympic Games. Canada hosted the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal and has also hosted the Winter Olympic Games twice: in 1988 in Calgary and in 2010 in Vancouver. Following the failure of Canada as the first host nation in Olympic history not to win an Olympic gold medal (in 1976, in Montreal) the Federal Government boosted annual funding for sport to C\$60 million, designed to fund sport in 'keeping with its contribution to our culture, national heritage and economy.'⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ Maarten Van Bottenburg, *Global Games*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), p.168.

⁶⁴² United Nations Population Division, 2017, *World Population Prospects*, https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Publications/Files/WPP2017_KeyFindings.pdf, (Accessed 1 July 2017).

⁶⁴³ Barrie Houlihan, 'Sport, national identity and public policy', in *Nations and Nationalism*, 1997, Vol. 3, No. 1, p.116.

Canada, like New Zealand, had minimal government involvement in sport until the late 1930s, and in 1943 the Canadian Parliament passed the National Physical Fitness Act. In 1981 the Canadian Government released a White Paper on sport – similar to the Graham Report in New Zealand and, like New Zealand, initiated due to poor Olympic results. In 1976, as noted, Canada became the first host nation to fail to win an Olympic gold medal. Barrie Houlihan argues that the White Paper ‘also accelerated the emphasis on elite sport and the government’s intention to ensure that the momentum generated by the 1976 Olympics and the 1978 Commonwealth Games, was carried on to the 1990s and taken to new heights.’⁶⁴⁴ Following the 11 medals (i.e. silver and bronze) won in 1976, Canada’s Olympic performance has improved. Canada’s best performance at the Olympic Games came in 1984 in Los Angeles. Canada won 44 medals, including 10 gold, to finish sixth on the medal table. The number of medals won was probably inflated due to the Soviet Union’s boycott of the 1984 games. At the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, Canada won 22 medals, its best performance since the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games. At the 2016 Rio Olympic Games, Canadian athletes were paid for medals earned by the Canadian Olympic Committee. Gold medallists received C\$20,000; silver medallists were paid C\$15,000; and bronze medallists earned \$10,000, with the funds coming from the Athlete Excellence Fund.⁶⁴⁵ This is different from the NZOC which does not currently offer financial rewards for New Zealanders who win Olympic medals.

New Zealand Identity and the Olympic Games – unique or part of the gang?

New Zealand does not have natural resources that the world wants and it is very much a small player on the world stage in terms of population and geographic location. New Zealand needs to make itself heard on the world

⁶⁴⁴ Barrie Houlihan, *Sport, Policy and Politics – A Comparative Analysis*, p.80.

⁶⁴⁵ Canadian Olympic Committee, *Canadian Olympic Committee Athlete Excellence Fund*, <http://olympic.ca/programs/athlete-excellence-fund/>, (Accessed 18 September 2017).

stage for the world to take notice. As former Prime Minister John Key said, 'the world doesn't owe New Zealand a living and it must work hard to create relationships with other nations.'⁶⁴⁶ There is a parallel with New Zealand at the Olympic Games. New Zealand is a small player and must work hard to showcase itself and compete with the world's best. New Zealand is known as a nation that advances open relationships with the world in order to trade and is a small player that works hard on the world stage. This is just like the New Zealand Olympic Team.

Figure 9.2 below shows a comparison of Olympic medal performance by Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand and Norway from 1984 to 2016. The graph looks at per capita adjusted ranking of these respective nations from the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games through to the 2016 Rio Olympic Games. Figure 9.2 shows that in these nine Olympiads, New Zealand was the most successful of the five nations at six of those Olympics. Australia was the most successful at the other three games, including the 2000 games which they hosted. Ireland's relative performance has been exceedingly patchy after failing to win a single medal at the 1988 or 2004 Olympic Games. New Zealand's relative position, after declining to a low of 23rd in 2000, has consistently improved following the reforms outlined in Chapter Eight of this research. This figure provides further evidence of the success of those reforms compared to other nations, reinforcing the idea that New Zealand "punches above its weight on the world stage" of Olympic sport.

⁶⁴⁶ Rt. Hon. John Key, New Zealand's place in the World, Speech to the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 3 May 2016, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/speech-nz-institute-international-affairs-1>, (Accessed 31 July 2017).

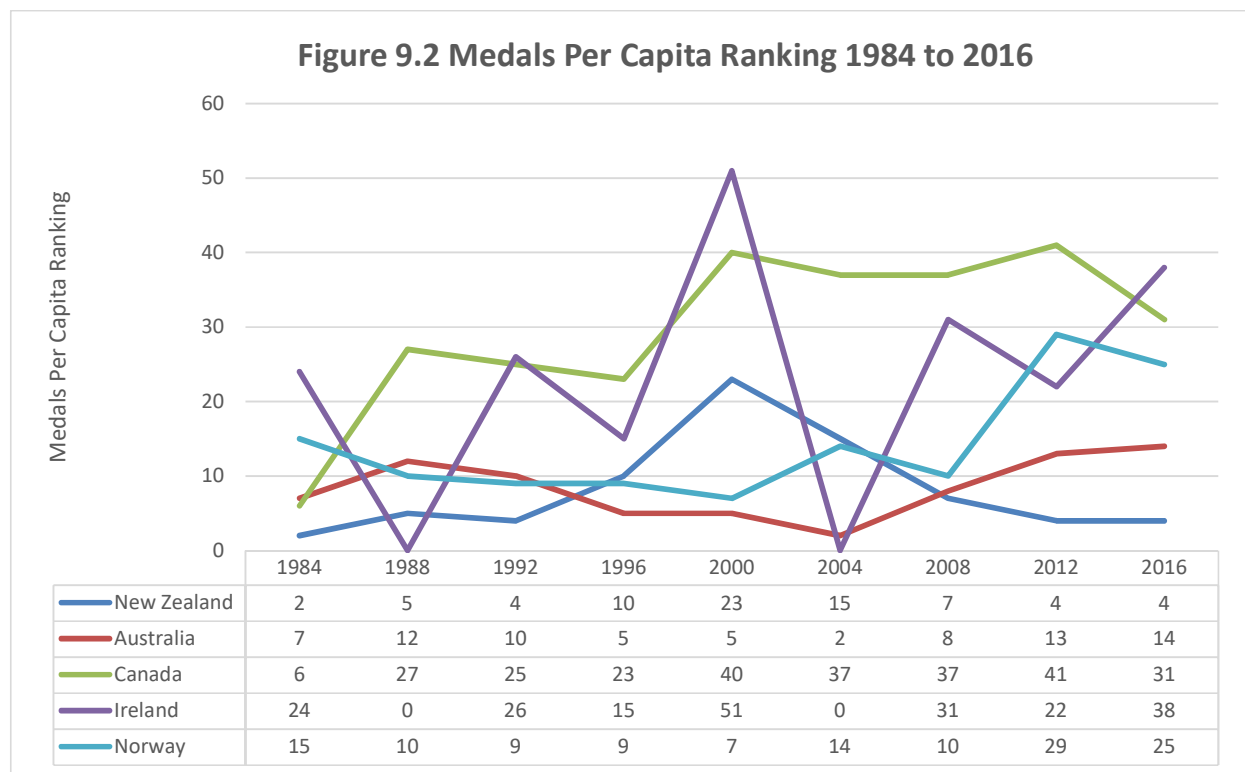


Figure 9.2: Outlines the medals per capita ranking of Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand and Norway at the 1984 to 2016 Olympic Games.⁶⁴⁷

Table 9.1 below shows the direct comparison of results and coverage at the Opening Ceremony of the 2008 (Beijing), 2012 (London) and 2016 (Rio) Olympic Games. The data shows that Olympic performance has declined in Australia, Ireland and Norway, while New Zealand, and Canadian, performance has improved. New Zealand made some extensive reforms to the sporting landscape after Sydney, as Chapter Eight of this research outlined, and comparatively the evidence below shows that those reforms have made a difference when comparing New Zealand to other like-minded and similar sized nations.

⁶⁴⁷ Medals Per Capita, *Medals Per Capita: Olympic Glory in Proportion*, <http://www.medalspercapita.com/>, (Accessed 7 February 2017).

Table 9.1: Comparative Olympic Results and Coverage – Beijing 2008, London 2012 and Rio 2016												
Nation	Team Size			Total Number of Medals			Number of Top Eight Results			Coverage at Opening Ceremony (seconds)		
	2008	2012	2016	2008	2012	2016	2008	2012	2016	2008	2012	2016
Australia	433	410	422	46	35	29	106	93	93	86	73	52
Canada	332	281	314	19	18	22	58	54	66	79	42	47
Ireland	54	66	77	3	6	2	7	8	9	33	27	28
New Zealand	182	184	199	9	13	18	26	34	40	34	28	34
Norway	85	66	62	9	4	4	15	10	8	24	23	34

Table 9.1: Comparative Olympic Results and Coverage from the Olympic Games in Beijing 2008, London 2012 and Rio 2016.⁶⁴⁸

In terms of international exposure, it doesn't get much bigger than the billions of citizens from every nation who tune in to watch the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games every four years. New Zealand sends bigger teams than Ireland and Norway, and also receives a good amount of television exposure at the Opening Ceremony compared to other nations.

In an interview, Trevor Mallard was asked whether the Olympic Games had been an important part of the development of New Zealand's identity and whether it was more important in New Zealand than in other nations. Mallard remarked:

My earliest memory of the Olympic Games was as a ten-year-old listening with other kids to Peter Snell winning gold in the 1500m in Tokyo with John Davies winning bronze. Every New Zealander has a memory of their first Olympic memory. Arguably New Zealanders have a greater interest in our national sporting teams than other nations. The major reason for this is that if you look at other nations like Great Britain (Premier League Football), Canada (Ice Hockey), the United States (NBA, Baseball, and American Football) and Australia (AFL and Rugby League) have internal competitions that are extremely important to sport fans. New Zealand does not have the population to sustain these types of major sporting competitions. Hence our international teams have become very important.

⁶⁴⁸ Results and Information sourced from Official Olympic Reports and from the International Olympic Committee. Coverage sourced from Opening Ceremony footage from the respective Olympic Games Opening Ceremonies in Beijing, London, and Rio.

International sport is ultimately very important to New Zealanders, and the Olympic Games is very important.⁶⁴⁹

Mallard raises a pertinent point; New Zealanders tend to focus much more on national teams such as the All Blacks and the Olympic team as part of the development of identity compared to other nations due to its small population and geographic isolation. In the United States and Australia, for example, their largely domestic sporting competitions (the NBA or MLB in the United States, or the NRL or AFL in Australia) have been important in the development of their respective nations' identity. But these are generally for domestic audiences and, while they have global appeal, the focus is on the domestic audience. In further commenting on the importance of the Olympic Games and other sporting events, Mallard commented that the committee in the New Zealand Parliament tasked with setting its annual calendar of sitting days considers the timing of sporting events like the Olympic Games before finalising it.⁶⁵⁰

While sport is an important component of New Zealand's identity, it is important to state that New Zealand is not unique in this respect. For many nations, 'sports are a major component of national identity. Often, these countries are defined as much by their sporting pursuits as they are by their politics, economy, and geography.'⁶⁵¹ Like Australia, and Canada in the 1970s, it took the failure of the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney for New Zealand to reform the sporting landscape to focus on high-performance sport.

Ivo van Hilvoorde et al. argue that sport offers a 'rich source of stories that can in many ways function as a direct mirror of national identity.'⁶⁵² Hilvoorde et al. raise a pertinent point in regard to journalistic sportswriters who often attribute the success of sportsmen and women as a 'direct mirror of national identity. Another discourse on sport and pride, however,

⁶⁴⁹ Author's Interview with Hon Trevor Mallard, 1 June 2017.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Kari L. Jaksa, 'Sports and Collective Identity: The Effects of Athletics on National Unity,' *SAIS Review*, Vol. XXXI, No.1, Winter-Spring 2011, p.39.

⁶⁵² Ivo van Hilvoorde, Agnes Elling and Rudd Stokvis, 'How to influence national pride? The Olympic medal index as a unifying narrative,' *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Voll. 45, No. 1, 2010, p.90.

suggests that national pride is not so much a mirror, but instead, something that can be 'filled' or 'fueled,' for example, by winning more medals.⁶⁵³ Just read a daily newspaper or watch the sports news, and this logic becomes abundantly clear. Hilvoorde et al. argue that sport is regarded as one of the major vehicles for nationalistic sentiments compared to art, music and writing. They believe the major reason is due to the standardisation of sport rules on a 'global scale and the ability to arouse a wide variety of emotions. Sport is a spectacle that serves the primary social function that theatre once did in antiquity, collecting a city or nation within the shared experience.'⁶⁵⁴ With the Olympic Games being conducted on a global scale once every four years, it is a huge platform for not only the media but for governments to exploit to link national identity to sport.

Lisa Gowthorp et al. argue that there are a growing number of nations implementing a similar approach to high-performance sport. 'Therefore, creating a competitive advantage in the elite sport arena is becoming increasingly more challenging and expensive. Simply copying and adopting policies and practices from other nations which are successful will not guarantee success.'⁶⁵⁵ Elite or high-performance sport funding in Australia is administered by the Australian Sports Commission. In the Rio 2016 Olympic cycle from 2012 to 2016 the Australian Sports Commission spent \$401 million dollars on high-performance sport.⁶⁵⁶ This was a \$43.22 million dollar or 12 percent increase over the previous Olympic cycle from 2008 to 2012.⁶⁵⁷ Like New Zealand, Canada has a targeted funding system, which favours athletes with medal potential. Canadian Olympians get money from a variety of sources, including federal carding,⁶⁵⁸ provincial excellence programmes, personal fundraising and

⁶⁵³ Ibid, p.91.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid, p.91-92.

⁶⁵⁵ Lisa Gowthorp, Kristine Toohey and James Skinner, 'Government involvement in high performance sport: an Australian national sport organisation perspective,' *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, Vol. 9, Issue 1, 2017, p.156.

⁶⁵⁶ Australian Institute of Sport, *AIS High-Performance Funding of Sport*, http://www.ausport.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/650850/AIS_funding.pdf, (Accessed 31 July 2017).

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Carding is a way of identifying which athletes are eligible for performance support.

corporate support.⁶⁵⁹ The current government funding system labelled *Own the Podium* was established in 2005 with the goal of Canada topping the medal table at the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympic Games. In the four-year cycle leading up to the Rio Olympic Games Canada spent \$147.01 million dollars on high-performance sport.⁶⁶⁰ Canada spent \$4.28 per capita on high-performance funding during this period, compared to Australia, which spent \$14.99 per capita and New Zealand, which spent \$23.55 per capita. Ireland spent \$13.17 per capita and Norway \$18.71 per capita (based on most recent figures available in 2011 for the London cycle).⁶⁶¹ Figure 9.3 shows that the New Zealand Government spends more per capita on high-performance sport than Australia, Canada, Ireland and Norway, further evidence of the importance the New Zealand Government places on success on the sporting field.⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ Vicki Hall, 'How Canada Funds Olympic Athletes on the Road to Rio,' *National Post*, 22 July 2016, <http://nationalpost.com/sports/olympics/how-canada-funds-olympic-athletes-on-the-road-to-rio/wcm/527ffe5a-2212-46a4-8445-cef79d1d5d61>, (Accessed 31 July 2017).

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Ministry of Cultural Affairs, *SStortingsmelding 26. Den Norske Idrettmodellen* [White Paper Number 26. The Norwegian Sport Model], (Oslo: Norwegian Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 2012), <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/meld-st-26-20112012/id684356/sec6> (accessed 14 September 2017).

⁶⁶² Note: All figures are converted into New Zealand dollars and are accurate as of 31 July 2017.

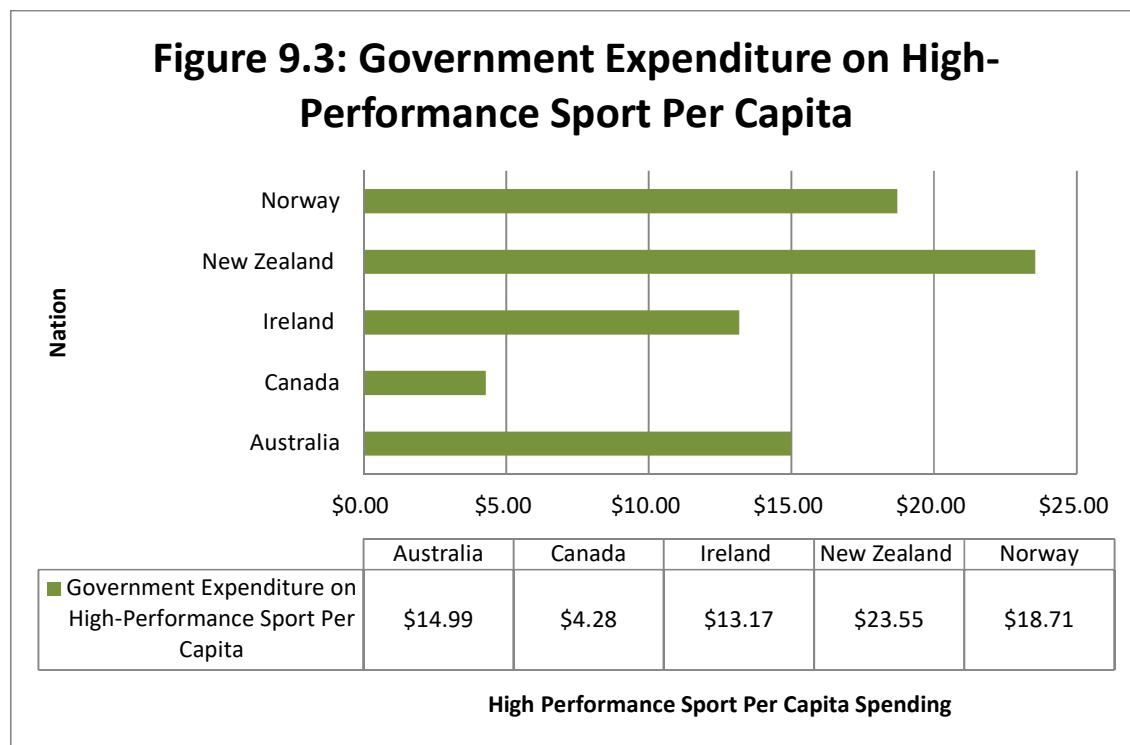


Figure 9.3: Government Expenditure on High-Performance Sport Per Capita. All figures for the Rio Olympic cycle (2013-2016) except for Norway. The most recent data for Norway are from the London Olympic Cycle in 2011.

Daniel Bloyce and Andy Smith argue that over the past twenty to thirty years, mass participation in sport has largely been pushed to the margins, to be replaced by a greater focus on high-performance.⁶⁶³ This is exactly what has occurred not only in New Zealand but in Canada, Australia and (to a lesser extent) Scandinavian nations. Bloyce and Smith argue that the development of elite sport systems has had several driving forces: 'a perceived desire to demonstrate an internally cohesive nation-state; the forthcoming hosting of major international sports events; and a perception of poor sports on the international stage.'⁶⁶⁴ In Australia, Canada, and New Zealand it took a poor Olympic result to spur the government to increase support for high-performance sport.

⁶⁶³ Daniel Bloyce and Andy Smith, *Sport Policy and Development: An Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.139.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid, p.147.

Academic Danyel Reiche argues that Olympic success has become increasingly important and has led to increased government involvement in many nations, 'with considerable resources from state budgets being channelled into policies that promote national success at the greatest international sporting event ever.'⁶⁶⁵ Reiche also argues that small nations such as 'Norway and New Zealand have successfully used the Olympics to reach above their weight in global affairs, while the United States aims to showcase its dominance in the world, and Russia hopes to demonstrate its return to great power status. For others such as Brazil, the Olympics provide a chance to emerge on the global stage.'⁶⁶⁶ Reiche argues that small nations such as New Zealand and Scandinavian nations have benefited from competing at the Olympic Games. 'The Olympics give small states many highly visible opportunities on an international stage. They share formal symbolic equality of status with the major (sports) powers most evident in the opening and closing ceremonies. In international sport, there is the one nation-one vote principle.'⁶⁶⁷ Ultimately New Zealand is a small nation, and the connection between sport and identity certainly portrays what Jeffrey Richards calls 'the tendency for small countries to display collective identities asserted against the outside world.'⁶⁶⁸ This is evident with the notions that New Zealand "punches above its weight," and with New Zealand as seeing itself as the underdog on the world stage.

⁶⁶⁵ Danyel Reiche, *Success and Failure of Countries at the Olympic Games*, (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.1.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid, p.9.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid, p.42.

⁶⁶⁸ Jeffrey Richards, 'Politics in small independent communities: conflict or consensus', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1982, p.170.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion – The Olympic Games epitomises what it means to be a New Zealander

Barrie Houlihan argues that sport has transformed itself within one hundred years into something completely different than its inventors ever envisaged:

In little over one hundred years sport has been transformed from a parochial activity arousing only passing interest among governments to a global phenomenon demanding the attention of presidents, prime ministers, and monarchs. Up until the late nineteenth-century sporting pastimes were largely local and informal with government intervention, if indeed any interest was shown at all, largely limited to the maintenance of the social exclusivity of sport, such as hunting, or the encouragement of particular, usually militaristic, sporting pastimes. As sport became more organised in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was within a national framework constructed mainly through the establishment of a range of sport-specific voluntary governing bodies.⁶⁶⁹

Victor Cha perhaps sums it up best when he argues that:

Sport captures the national imagination. Sport is a powerful prism through which national identity gets refracted; it accepts how a nation sees itself and the image it wants to portray to the rest of the world.⁶⁷⁰

Cha goes on to say that the key link between sport and identity is emotion, as victories represent the validation of one's place in the world, or they symbolise and represent national aspiration. The nationalistic identification with sport is a form of expression that does not challenge state stability; it often fosters unity and can distract from other problems.⁶⁷¹ Because of this the political establishment in New Zealand and many other nations actively intervenes in sport either by hosting events or providing funding to elite sportsmen and sportswomen as an instrument of creating national identity and unity.

⁶⁶⁹ Barrie Houlihan, *Sport, Policy and Politics: A Comparative Analysis*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p.1.

⁶⁷⁰ Victor D. Cha, *Beyond the final score – the politics of sport in Asia*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p.40.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

Jay Coakley argues that as sports grow in popularity, government involvement usually increases. The nature and extent of government involvement in sports varies by society, but it generally serves one or more of the following purposes:

- Safeguard the public order;
- Ensure fairness and protect human rights;
- Maintain health and fitness among citizens;
- Promote the prestige and power of a group, community or nation;
- Promote a sense of identity, belonging, and unity among citizens;
- Reproduce dominant values and ideologies in a community or society;
- Increase support for political leaders and government; and
- Facilitate economic and social development in a community or society.⁶⁷²

This research has shown that the New Zealand government has certainly used sport to help promote a sense of identity and the Olympic Games has been an important part of this.

The Olympic Games today have expanded beyond the sports that are played into a competition showcasing the national strength of participating nations and serving as an opportunity for political, diplomatic, economic, social and cultural exchange.⁶⁷³ New Zealand's role in the Olympic movement has been extensive and longstanding, and New Zealand has often been at the centre of controversy. As this research has shown, New Zealand has, in any form of analysis, exceeded global expectations on the sports venues at the Olympic Games, regularly finishing in the top 25 nations or the top five nations in terms of medals-per-capita won.

While rugby holds a special place in New Zealand's national identity, dating back to the early 20th century, and will continue to do so, New

⁶⁷² Jay Coakley, *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2015), p.431.

⁶⁷³ Jong-Young Lee, *Sport Nationalism in the Modern Olympic Games*, (University of Northern Colorado: Unpublished thesis, 1990), p.145.

Zealand's involvement in the Olympic Games also holds a special place. Talk to virtually any New Zealander about the Olympic Games, and they will have a story to tell of where they were when New Zealand won a gold medal. The major difference between rugby and the Olympic Games is that the All Blacks compete every year, whereas the Olympic Games come only every four years. If the Olympic Games were held more regularly, like rugby, then the Olympic Games would be in the nation's consciousness on a more regular basis and arguably hold a similar position to rugby in New Zealand's identity.

Jay Scherer and Steve Jackson argue that 'the social construction of national traditions and mythologies were key representational projects for the political and economic elites of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that encouraged powerful senses of national allegiance and identity.'⁶⁷⁴ This research has shown that in New Zealand, since the Richard Seddon Liberal Government of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, sport has been at the heart of creating that sense of national allegiance and identity. Scherer and Jackson agree with Benedict Anderson that communities are imagined and that their success is related to the aligning of national symbols and myths with the lives of ordinary people with widely shared and popular experiences.⁶⁷⁵ The Olympic Games, alongside the All Blacks, are potent examples for myth-making and allow New Zealanders to aspire to compete for their nation. They are also shared because New Zealanders remember where they were when John Walker won gold in Montreal or the All Blacks won the 2011 Rugby World Cup. New Zealanders felt a stake in the victory.

Steven J. Jackson from the University of Otago states that 'within New Zealand specifically, the link between sport and nationalism combined with the structure and scale of the national economy make advertising a particularly powerful force in the construction and visualisation of national

⁶⁷⁴ Jay Scherer and Steve Jackson, *Globalization, Sport and Corporate Nationalism: The New Cultural Economy of the New Zealand All Blacks*, (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2010), p.26.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid, p.27

identity.⁶⁷⁶ Steven J. Jackson and Stephen P. Haigh argue that sport has had an increasingly large impact on national identity. 'States are now in the business of national branding through sport, to the extent that it is now possible to speak of transforming nations into commodities.'⁶⁷⁷ New Zealand is not alone in this, but with governments being run right around the Western World like grand marketing schemes with slogans, sport will continue to play an important role in this scheme. And, because the Olympic Games is the largest and most prestigious of all sporting events, its role in society and its contribution to identity will continue. Based on the evidence found in this study, hypothesis one has been confirmed: sport contributes to the development of national identity, a link that is particularly strong in New Zealand.

While the Olympic Games has been a powerful avenue for representing and enhancing identity, New Zealand's involvement hasn't always been a positive experience. Broadcaster Geoff Bryan believes that the Olympic Games today have lost their lustre and are much less innocent than they once were. Bryan raises an interesting point, as over the past thirty years there have been a multitude of stories discussing the cost of the Olympic Games, corruption, drug taking, and other negatives surrounding the global sporting event. This has tended to distract from some of the supreme sporting events that have also taken place.⁶⁷⁸ The darkest times for New Zealand at the Olympic Games came in the 1970s when Prime Minister Robert Muldoon and his cynical form of populist politics put New Zealand's global prestige at risk in order to continue to play rugby with South Africa. This had worldwide ramifications, as New Zealand for a time went from being a place other nations could aspire to be like to a nation whose citizens attending the Olympic Games pretended to be Australians rather than New Zealanders. Evidence also provided in this study confirms hypothesis two: that political decisions associated with the

⁶⁷⁶ Steven J. Jackson, 'Reading New Zealand within the New Global Order: Sport and the Visualisation of National Identity', in *International Sports Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Summer 2004, p.17.

⁶⁷⁷ Stephen P. Haigh and Steven J. Jackson, 'Don't underestimate sport,' *The National Business Review*, 19 May 2006, p.19.

⁶⁷⁸ Author's Interview with Geoff Bryan, 6 August 2015.

Olympic Games have had both a positive and negative impact on the development of New Zealand's national identity.

The Olympic Games today is very different from the original concept of the Olympic Games conceived by Pierre de Coubertin, and the NZOC is tasked by the IOC to respond and deal with those challenges. Hypothesis three can also be confirmed: the Olympic Games have had a greater influence on national identity than other sports in New Zealand. However, while undertaking this research, two major challenges have been uncovered that require further investigation and debate in New Zealand. If the New Zealand Government believes that sport and national identity are closely linked then a debate and discussion must be held on securing New Zealand's sporting heritage and history for future generations. The second emerging issue involves the future role of the media in broadcasting the Olympic Games and other sporting events. These two issues could very well impinge on the future strength of the relationship between the Olympic Games and national identity in New Zealand.

Is New Zealand's Olympic history given due recognition?

One of the more interesting revelations in conducting this research has been the lack of support for New Zealand's sporting history by New Zealand's national museum, Te Papa. Geoff Kohe argues that it is 'apparent that the nation's devout interest in sport has not been equally matched with investments into preserving and exhibiting our sporting heritage in ways that necessarily befit its profound and enduring cultural and social significance.'⁶⁷⁹

Sociologist Claudia Bell discusses the role of museums in showcasing a version of national identity. Bell argues that it is through 'the museum the national is covertly articulated: an identity where people look backwards to

⁶⁷⁹ Geoff Kohe, 'Civic representations of sport history: The New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 13, No. 10, December 2010, p.1498.

the controllable and uncontroversial past, rather than forward to uncertainty.⁶⁸⁰ Part One outlined the role of myth-making in creating a national identity and museums are an important forum that adds to the process of national myth-making.

New Zealand does have a Sports Hall of Fame museum, which is based in Dunedin and is full of New Zealand sporting memorabilia showcasing New Zealand's sporting history. The Sports Hall of Fame was conceived in 1989 by the Hillary Commission, Sports Foundation and the NZOC who all agreed that New Zealand needed a Sports Hall of Fame. It was originally based in Wellington and established in 1990 for New Zealand's sesquicentennial celebrations. In 1990, 75 sportsmen and women were inducted into the Sports Hall of Fame. In 1997 the New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame Board wrote to local authorities across New Zealand wanting to set up a physical hall of fame museum. There was no interest from Wellington or Auckland, and Dunedin offered a floor at the railway station. At the time, the railway station in Dunedin was not being used, and the Dunedin City Council provided the space rent-free for two years and also upgraded the station for use by the Sports Hall of Fame. When the museum opened there was no long-term funding. There was a reliance on gaming proceeds. Sport New Zealand did agree to fund the museum alongside the Ministry of Arts Culture and Heritage. Today Sport New Zealand provides \$100,000 of funding to the Sports Hall of Fame; this sum is negotiated annually and has not changed since 2004.⁶⁸¹ The Chief Executive of the Sports Hall of Fame is Ron Palenski, who was interviewed for this research. Palenski outlined his concerns and identified a wish list:

The wish list of the Sports Hall of Fame museum would be to get more funding that is adjusted annually for inflation pressures and continuity of tenure. Instead of negotiating on an annual basis a contract set over three years or so would be preferred. It would also be preferable that we get an acknowledgement from central government that there needs to be a National Sports Museum that includes

⁶⁸⁰ Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand: everyday myths of Pakeha identity*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), p.81.

⁶⁸¹ Author's Interview with Ron Palenski, 11 February 2016.

the Sports Hall of Fame, similar to the one in Australia. This has been raised with the Prime Minister and the Sports Minister, but no formal proposal has been put forward. We are a country of 4.5 million people which is the size of Sydney, yet we have a Rugby Museum, a Cricket Museum, a Sports Hall of Fame, a Bowls Museum and we had an Olympic Museum before it closed. These should be included in one national sports museum like that of the Australian Sports Museum which is based in Melbourne. This receives substantial State and Federal Funding.⁶⁸²

Palenski also argues that the government spends considerable money on elite sport and the role of the museum is to remind and educate New Zealanders about those who have won on the world stage. Attendance at the New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame Museum in Dunedin has grown over the past year, and for the first time, the Museum has had more than 10,000 visitors (for the year ending 30 June 2017). This compares to a prior average of between 8,000 and 9,000 annual visitors.⁶⁸³

If this is not supported, then who will remind New Zealanders of the current sporting stars and sporting history and milestones in the future? 'The government constantly argues that it's about inspiring the next generation then surely supporting the museum assists this.'⁶⁸⁴ Palenski is correct in the notion that one of the reasons for supporting high-performance sport is to inspire the next generation and as this is one of the stated goals, then reminding New Zealanders of the sporting deeds of yesterday helps inspire others to replicate them.

The NZOC had an Olympic Museum in Wellington for a short time, opening in June 2008 to celebrate 100 years of New Zealand's participation at the Olympic Games. The Museum contained memorabilia such as the Olympic blazer and shoes Peter Snell wore when stunning the world in the 800m at Rome in 1960, and a bow and arrow set belonging to archer Neroli Fairhall. The collection consisted of New Zealand Olympic Games uniforms and assorted Olympic and

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ Author's Interview with Ron Palenski, 2 July 2017.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

Commonwealth Games memorabilia.⁶⁸⁵ The museum closed its operations in 2013, due to high costs, and the NZOC made the strategic decision to move its headquarters to Auckland.

More recently Te Papa has shown a greater interest in showcasing New Zealand sporting history when in April 2017 Peter Snell announced that he would donate 14 items from his personal collection to Te Papa. Items donated included his 1960 Rome gold medal, shoes worn in Rome, and a gold medal from the Tokyo 1964 Olympic Games. However, this display was only scheduled to last until July 2017.⁶⁸⁶ Despite this, Geoff Kohe argues that at Te Papa, sport occupies only a marginal place. 'This is interesting considering the prominent role that sports, especially rugby, have played within the important curatorial themes of colonialism, nationalism and international relations'.⁶⁸⁷

In thinking about museums such as Te Papa's lack of showcasing New Zealand's sporting history, Trevor Mallard remarked:

I don't like politicians dictating to museums what items they should have on display. However, there should be some sport on display in museums. Whether this is a revolving showcase of memorabilia shared between museums is another question.⁶⁸⁸

Sport New Zealand helps fund the New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame, and in an interview with Sport New Zealand Chief Executive in January 2016, Peter Miskimmin stated that more should be done for museums to showcase New Zealand's sporting heritage:

Sport New Zealand has held conversations with Te Papa to do more to showcase New Zealand's sporting heritage. By showcasing New Zealand's sporting heritage,

⁶⁸⁵ Fairfax, *NZ Olympic Museum Opens*, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/505227/NZ-Olympic-museum-opens>, (Accessed 31 July 2017).

⁶⁸⁶ Francis Cook, 'This time they're real – Sir Peter Snell's memorabilia ready to go on display in Te Papa', *New Zealand Herald*, Monday April 17 2017, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11839755, (Accessed April 17, 2017).

⁶⁸⁷ Geoff Kohe, 'Civic representations of sport history: The New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame', *Sport in Society*, p.1501.

⁶⁸⁸ Author's Interview with Trevor Mallard, 1 June 2017.

it would help inspire and enrich people's lives. New Zealand is extraordinarily brilliant at sport in both participation and in elite sport.⁶⁸⁹

Ultimately Geoff Kohe argues that Sports Museums and Sports Halls of Fame are 'repositories that reflect the cultural and social significance of national sporting and leisure pursuits'.⁶⁹⁰ Kohe correctly asserts that 'sports museums are the best places to replicate the performance, drama, romance, and emotion of sport'.⁶⁹¹ If the New Zealand Government is serious about the importance of sport as part of New Zealand's identity then surely part of that is supporting a national sports museum, similar to the Australian National Sports Museum.

The Australian National Sports Museum is located at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG) and officially opened as the National Sports Museum in March of 2008. The Australian Federal Government announced an initial funding allocation of AU\$15 million in April 2006, and a further AU\$10 million was appropriated in 2007. The National Sports Museum aims to become:

- The national focal point for the values and achievements of Australian sportsmen and women and the organisations that represent them.
- The embodiment of the notion that the pursuit of excellence at the highest levels is consistent with a commitment to fair play.
- An inspiration to the youth of Australia to be active, to set high goals and to achieve.
- A showcase for the broad spectrum of Australian sport, not just the sports played at the MCG.
- A museum that treats with appropriate respect the personal memorabilia loaned or donated by leading sports people.

⁶⁸⁹ Author's Interview with Peter Miskimmin, 19 January 2016.

⁶⁹⁰ Geoff Kohe, 'Civic representations of sport history: The New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame', *Sport in Society*, p.1499.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid, p.1501.

- A leading entertainment and tourist attraction.⁶⁹²

The Australian National Sports Museum receives ongoing support by the Australian Government through funding from the Department of Health and Ageing. The Museum also charges a fee for entry.⁶⁹³ The New Zealand Government should look to replicate the model set out in Australia for a similar National Sports Museum to showcase New Zealand's sporting history. New Zealand is known as a sporting nation and a National Sports Museum based in Auckland or Wellington would attract international visitors, as well as New Zealanders, including New Zealand schoolchildren and young athletes.

Changes to the Media landscape and challenges to the Olympic Movement and Identity in New Zealand

Benedict Anderson stressed the importance of the media in helping to create the imagined community. It can be argued that the technological developments of the 20th century, in the form of radio and television, have strengthened the significance of the imagined community, perhaps in the direction of a community with common experiences, even more.⁶⁹⁴ More recently, social media became an important part of helping create this imagined community, something that the NZOC is aware of and has been very active in promoting.

The media are influential in creating sporting heroes, not only in New Zealand but in all nations.⁶⁹⁵ The media spend much time and resources covering sport. For example, newspapers worldwide dedicate 15 to 20

⁶⁹² The National Sports Museum, *National Sports Museum Charter*, <http://www.nsm.org.au/About%20NSM/The%20National%20Sports%20Museum/National%20Sports%20Museum%20Charter.aspx>, (Accessed 31 July 2017)

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ S.W Pope and John Nauright, *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), p.280.

⁶⁹⁵ Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.182.

percent of their paper to sport, more than any other sector of society.⁶⁹⁶ Tony Collins argues that the relationship between sport and television replicated the same symbiotic relationship that developed between print media and sport a century earlier: 'Sport provided television with compelling content, regular news and a pre-existing market upon which to capitalise.'⁶⁹⁷

Andrew C. Billings discusses the role of the media at the Olympic Games and its contribution to nationalism, arguing that the sports broadcasters of the Olympics view nationalism as a double-edged sword:

The gargantuan identity issue within the Olympic telecast continues to be overt and covert nationalism. Most notably the Olympics have historically been a channel for the construction and display of nationalism, and the foregrounding of national identities within the overall construct of the Games. The Olympics highlight political tensions between different countries, usually exacerbating situations more than mollifying them because of the high-pressure to go for the gold mindset that permeates the Olympic Games, and subsequently, the telecast as the mediated sports product also constructs and celebrates mythologies of nation and political strife between nations. The concept of nationality incorporates a notion of a coherent community with common cultural beliefs and political values, but the reality is that within national boundaries there are divisions, inequalities, and oppositional ideologies, many of which have been reflected in the Olympic Games and telecast.⁶⁹⁸

Results during the early Olympiads were confined to newspaper reports in New Zealand. Newspapers in New Zealand reported on the Olympic Games from the first Modern Olympiad in 1896; New Zealander Harry Kerr's 1908 bronze medal was reported on in the local press. The first radio broadcasts from the Olympic Games in New Zealand came in 1932 from Los Angeles.⁶⁹⁹ In 1952 news of Yvette Williams's progress in the long jump was broadcast around New Zealand by amateur radio operators listening to short-wave broadcasts from overseas. At the 1956

⁶⁹⁶ Tony Bruce, Mark Falcous and Holly Thorpe, 'The Mass Media and Sport', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.149.

⁶⁹⁷ Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), p.115.

⁶⁹⁸ Andrew C. Billings, *Olympic Media: Inside the biggest show on television*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), p.90.

⁶⁹⁹ NZ History, 'Media Coverage of the Olympic Games,' <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/media-coverage-olympic-games>, (Accessed 18 June 2017).

Melbourne Olympics, the New Zealand Broadcasting Service sent a radio team to cover the event for the first time, although the small crew was stretched to the limit. The first television broadcast of New Zealanders competing at the games came at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, but it was radio broadcasts that dominated until the 1970s when New Zealand's first live television coverage of the Olympic Games was broadcast by TVNZ from Montreal in 1976.⁷⁰⁰ By the time Los Angeles hosted the games in 1984, TVNZ was providing live and extensive coverage throughout the day, providing hundreds of hours of coverage. TVNZ was the television broadcaster until the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, when Sky Television covered the games with up to 12 dedicated Olympic channels at the 2012 and 2016 Olympic Games.⁷⁰¹ From 1992 to 2004 Television New Zealand spent an estimated US\$26.2 million dollars to broadcast the summer and winter Olympic Games.⁷⁰²

The Olympic Games are a major media event. Today more media attend the Olympic Games than athletes:

The Olympics are primarily a media event in which the hosts aspire to worldwide prominence; where established nations come to reassert their dominance, even if only in their own eyes; where aspiring nations must not only be seen, but be seen to do well, or face a crisis of self-esteem; where those deemed insignificant may well have their insignificance confirmed by being ignored by those deemed to count; where engulfed nations of one kind or another strive to project their identity, even if only for internal consumption. In no other arena does the fusion of sport, politics and media turn into such a vast signifying structure, and perhaps it is the largest media-political event available, sport notwithstanding.⁷⁰³

Over the past two Olympic Games in 2012 and 2016 the International Olympic Broadcast Service has assumed dominance in providing broadcast and commentary coverage to New Zealanders via Sky Television and its free to air subsidiary Prime Television. This is an

⁷⁰⁰ Joseph Romanos, 'Olympic and Commonwealth games - Athletic achievements at the Olympics – 1950s and early 1960s', Te Ara - The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/olympic-and-commonwealth-games/page-2> (Accessed 6 January 2017)

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² Tony Bruce, Mark Falcons and Holly Thorpe, 'The Mass Media and Sport', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.154.

⁷⁰³ Neil Blain, Raymond Boyle and Hugh O'Donnell, *Sport and National Identity in the European Media*, p.186.

important development that will have interesting ramifications on national identity and the Olympic Games. The Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS) was established by the International Olympic Committee in 2001 to be responsible for providing the images of the Olympic Games to the rights-holding broadcasters around the world. The feed is 'neutral, favouring no particular country, nor any particular athlete, at the expense of another.'⁷⁰⁴ The OBS claims it 'includes uncompromisingly fair and unbiased coverage of all Olympic competitions.'⁷⁰⁵

Sky Television in New Zealand has used the OBS international signal for the 2012 and 2016 Summer Olympic Games. This means that the coverage New Zealanders receive has been 'international' in nature, offering no New Zealand flavour to their commentaries. While there are New Zealanders commentating for the OBS international feed, they are not allowed to discuss where they are from or spend any extra time talking about their own nation's competitors. In interviews, OBS commentators discussed clauses in their contracts and the penalties that they may incur if these rules are broken, including dismissal.⁷⁰⁶ This change in broadcast coverage from Sky Television has the potential to lessen and diminish over time the Olympic Games' contribution to identity in New Zealand. This is also opposite to rugby union where Sky Television has dedicated New Zealand commentators to cover All Blacks Test Matches, adding a New Zealand context to their broadcasts. Identity is shaped and adapted over time, and new New Zealanders and young New Zealanders are integrated into society. Without learning about New Zealand's Olympic history during the Olympic Games, as discussed in part two of this research, how will they learn about its place in the development of New Zealand?

Broadcaster Peter Williams, who anchored New Zealand's Olympic coverage for Television New Zealand (TVNZ) from 1984 through to 2008,

⁷⁰⁴ Olympic Broadcasting Services, *Our Role*, 2017, www.obs.tv/our_role, (Accessed 3 July 2017).

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁶ Author's Interview with multiple OBS Commentators from New Zealand including John McBeth, Keith Quinn and Brendan Telfer.

discussed the danger of global broadcasting of the Olympic Games in an interview:

There are multiple television platforms available to cover the games on multiple channels and this has a danger of diluting the audience and also the loss of a nation's identity as commentator feeds go to a worldwide audience, rather than specific nations. There is a danger that the history of the Olympic Games could be lost. When the Olympic Games were on TVNZ One the nation watched and got behind them. This is not as prevalent today with Sky Television and their multiple channels. The quality of coverage has dropped. Sky Television only plugs into OBS [Olympic Broadcast Service] commentators and the coverage is losing its Kiwi identity.⁷⁰⁷

This view is echoed by historian and Chief Executive of the New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame Ron Palenski:

Peter Williams is right. The changes to broadcasting of the Olympic Games leaves a danger that the national story of New Zealand at the Olympic Games is being lost. But it is not just at the Olympic Games where this is happening. It is also occurring in rugby and in soccer. There is not as much nationalistic flavour. The changes are for different reasons and include financial implications and the host nations wanting to control the media and also the consumers who buy into it. This underlines the importance of a sports museum, as athletes of the past need to be remembered for the people of tomorrow. The internationalism of the Olympic Games is to the detriment of those who are focussed on the national interest, like host cities and politicians.⁷⁰⁸

New Zealand Chef De Mission at the 2004, 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games Dave Curries also agree with Williams and Palenski:

The change from the Olympics being live and free to air on television one to Sky television has been a negative to portraying New Zealand's Olympic story to New Zealanders. Sky television is not available to everyone, meaning the Olympic Games is not available live to everyone. This is not a good thing and will affect New Zealand in the long run.⁷⁰⁹

One clear example of this came at the Rio 2016 Olympic Games in the men's 10,000-metre final. New Zealander Zane Robertson finished 12th in

⁷⁰⁷ Author's Interview with Peter Williams, 5 August 2015.

⁷⁰⁸ Author's Interview with Ron Palenski, 11 February 2016.

⁷⁰⁹ Author's Interview with Dave Currie, 29 December 2015.

the final and broke the New Zealand record that had stood in that event since Dick Quax set the record 39 years earlier in 1977. This was a big achievement for the New Zealander, and because of the OBS broadcast, New Zealanders weren't made aware of this information during the broadcast that was included on Prime Television in New Zealand. This information and result adds to New Zealand's Olympic story, and without local commentaries, this information is lost to history, and to New Zealanders, and is something that broadcasters should be aware of.⁷¹⁰

Media coverage of the Olympic Games is very important for the Olympic Movement. During the Rio 2016 Olympic Games (17 July – 2 September 2016) a total of 46,816 reports discussed the 2016 Rio Olympic Games to New Zealanders. This was across radio, television, newspapers and online. This was substantially more than the 26,242 reports that discussed the 2012 Olympic Games in London (8 July – 24 August 2012).⁷¹¹

New Zealand First has been outspoken about broadcasting changes to New Zealand sport. Leader Winston Peters argues that 'sport is a seriously cohesive force in our economy and our value system.'⁷¹² Peters argues that 'sport, which could do so much to pull us together, embraces so much of capitalism's potential for divisiveness. 1.2 million of our homes don't have Sky. A serious proportion of these people are the ones taking their kids to rugby, washing their gear, and they're not getting to see the big games.'⁷¹³ Peters makes a relevant point regarding free to air sport in New Zealand.

New Zealand doesn't have anti-siphoning regulations (such as exist in Australia and in the United Kingdom) and New Zealand First has

⁷¹⁰ Prime Television Coverage of the Men's 10,000m Final at the Rio 2016 Olympic Games.

⁷¹¹ Insentia Insights, *Media Coverage Report: 2016 Rio Olympics – New Zealand Olympic Committee*, (Auckland: Insentia Insights, 2016), pp. 1-11.

⁷¹² Mark Reason, *Lions Tour: Bring Sport back to the people for society's sake, says Winston*, July 5 2017, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/rugby/all-blacks/94406501/lions-tour-bring-sport-back-to-the-people-for-societys-sake-says-winston>, (Accessed 22 July 2017).

⁷¹³ Ibid.

campaigned on introducing similar regulations in New Zealand.⁷¹⁴ The Australian Broadcasting Services Act 1992 provides a right of first refusal to free-to-air broadcasters for certain significant sporting events' broadcast rights. Events listed in Australia include the Olympics, the Australian Open (tennis) and State of Origin (rugby league). In the United Kingdom, the Broadcasting Act 1996 grants the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport the power to draw up a list of sporting events of national interest. The listed events are grouped into two categories of importance. For Group A events, full live coverage must be offered to the free-to-air channels that are received by at least 95% of the United Kingdom population. Group A covers the FA Cup Final, Wimbledon, Rugby World Cup and the Olympic Games. Group B events may have live coverage on subscription television provided that secondary coverage is offered to free-to-air broadcasters. Group B includes Six Nations rugby, the Ryder Cup (golf), and cricket test matches played in England.⁷¹⁵ In thinking about the role sport plays in national identity in New Zealand, this is an issue that won't go away despite New Zealand First's Private Members Bill failing to receive majority support in Parliament in 2017 and will be something that will be discussed again in the future.

Research from Nielsen shows that during the first weekend of the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio 1.6 million New Zealanders tuned into watch. A total of 847,000 New Zealanders viewed the opening ceremony. This is down on the one million who watched the opening ceremony four years earlier in London; 1.1 million New Zealanders watched the opening ceremony in Beijing in 2008; 953,000 New Zealanders watched the opening ceremony in Athens in 2004; and 2.1 million New Zealanders watched the opening ceremony in Sydney in 2000.⁷¹⁶ While still an

⁷¹⁴ Anti-siphoning laws and regulations are designed to prevent pay television broadcasters from buying monopoly rights to televise important and culturally significant events before free-to-air television has a chance to bid on them

⁷¹⁵ Emma Turner, 'Key Issues Facing Our Sports Broadcast Rights Markey,' in *Cavell Leitch*, <https://cavell.co.nz/articles/2016/key-issues-facing-our-sports-broadcast-rights-mark>, (Accessed 1 August 2017).

⁷¹⁶ StopPress, *Rio Opening Ceremony attracts fewer Kiwi viewers than four previous editions*, August 9 2016, <http://stoppress.co.nz/news/olympics-opening-ceremony-not-popular-previous-years>, (Accessed August 11 2016).

impressive turnout in 2016, questions must be raised as to whether or not the Olympic Games still hold the same position with younger New Zealanders compared to older generations.

The last time Television New Zealand covered the Olympic Games was in 2008 in Beijing. Over the course of the Games, coverage reached 3,566,300 viewers, and in the process, the Games were watched by more New Zealanders than any other television event in history at that time. New Zealanders watched an average of 18 hours 46 minutes of Olympic coverage. During primetime, TV One's audience increased by 70 percent throughout the Olympic Games.⁷¹⁷ These statistics alone show the importance of the Olympic Games to New Zealanders. These statistics continued for Sky Television in 2012 when they covered the London Olympics. During the Olympic Games, Sky Television's audience increased by 22 percent during the Olympics, and Prime Television, which provided free-to-air coverage in 2012, was watched by 83 percent of New Zealanders over the age of five (3.82 million people).⁷¹⁸

As this research has shown, sport and the Olympic Games in New Zealand are perhaps the major cultural arena through which New Zealand's sense of national identity comes alive. There is also little doubt that sport is also used to provide a sense of community and identification. The media in New Zealand have traditionally magnified this success, 'in ways that make media representations vital to our understanding of who we are. The media constructs versions of nationhood.'⁷¹⁹

Original Contribution to Knowledge and Key Findings

As stated in the introduction of this study, research about New Zealand and the Olympic Movement is relatively small with three significant pieces

⁷¹⁷ TVNZ, *Beijing Olympics Take Gold As Most Watched New Zealand Television Event*, (TVNZ: Auckland, 2008), pp1-3.

⁷¹⁸ Chris Keall, 'Prime ratings surge during Olympics – Sky TV, rival Freeview claim victory,' *The National Business Review*, August 17 2012, <https://www.nbr.co.nz/article/prime-ratings-surge-during-olympics-%E2%80%93-sky-tv-rival-freeview-claim-victory-ck-126054>, (Accessed 22 April 2014).

⁷¹⁹ Tony Bruce, Mark Falcoux and Holly Thorpe, 'The Mass Media and Sport', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, p.159.

of work completed which have a focus on New Zealand's Olympic History. They are Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford's 1983 book *The Games*; Joseph Romanos *Our Olympic Century* was released in 2008 to mark the 100th anniversary of New Zealand athletes competing at the Olympic Games; and *At the Heart of Sport: The New Zealand Olympic Committee and the History of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand 1911-2011* by Geoffery Kohe.

This study builds on all three works and expands on them in several ways. Firstly, this research updated New Zealand's Olympic participation up to and including the Pyeongchang 2018 Winter Olympic Games. New Zealand first competed alongside Australia as a combined Australasian team in 1908 in London and 1912 in Stockholm. At the 1920 Antwerp Olympic Games, New Zealand sent its first independent team to compete at the Olympic Games after the International Olympic Committee recognised the New Zealand Olympic Committee as a NOC in January 1919. Since then more than 1000 New Zealanders have competed at the Olympic Games, winning more than 100 medals.

This study includes a comparative approach not analysed previously. New Zealand's Olympic involvement is compared to other nations to explain the importance that Olympic participation has had on national identity in New Zealand and to find out whether New Zealand is unique. Ultimately this research found that New Zealand is not unique or unique in the role the Olympic Games has on national identity. For example, a 2012 GlobeScan survey conducted for BBC World Service focussed on how Olympic performance affects national pride and found in 21 nations that in all but three nations surveyed felt that the way their nation performed at the Olympic Games was important to national pride and identity.⁷²⁰ The same survey was completed in New Zealand by UMR Research which found that 59 percent of New Zealanders felt that Olympic performance affected national pride a lot or somewhat.⁷²¹ This is lower than the average

⁷²⁰ GlobeScan, National Pride Mixed over Olympic Achievements: Global Poll, 1 January 2012, http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc2011_olympics/, (Accessed 1 July 2017).

⁷²¹ UMR Research, *Performance Affecting Pride: Online Omnibus Quantitative Survey*, p.3.

of the 2012 poll results across 21 nations, but at a similar level to Spain (58 percent), Russia (60 percent) and Mexico (61 percent).⁷²² A surprising result was the distinct difference between younger New Zealanders and older New Zealanders. Those aged 18-29 years (59 percent), and those aged 30-44 years (49 percent) found that Olympic performance affected national pride a lot or some, compared to those aged over 60 years, where 70 percent of respondents concluded that Olympic performance affected national pride.⁷²³ This shows that older New Zealanders place a higher importance on Olympic performance compared to younger New Zealanders. This difference in interest in the Olympic Games is interesting and explains the focus from the NZOC in instituting an active social media programme and also focussing on the Olympic Ambassador programme, as outlined in Chapter Eight.

Secondly, this thesis provides a comprehensive history and analysis of sport policy developments in New Zealand since the 1930's in Chapter Eight. This research found that since the New Zealand government decided to focus on high-performance sport following the 2000 Sydney Olympics, Olympic performance has improved. However, this is not unique and as this shown has shown similar developments have occurred in other nations right around the world. The increase in spending on high-performance sport in New Zealand since the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games has been substantial and follows a similar pattern and focus on high-performance sport as in other nations as outlined in Chapter Nine. This increased investment has led to an improvement of results and more medals for New Zealand, but this study found has been at the expense of community sport initiatives. Barrie Houlihan and Jinming Zheng found that from 2009 to 2013 the allocation for community sport in New Zealand increased only marginally by 5.5 per cent, while at the same time the investment in high-performance sports increased by 57 percent.⁷²⁴ This

⁷²² GlobeScan, *National Pride Mixed over Olympic Achievements: Global Poll*, 1 January 2012, http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc2011_olympics/.

⁷²³ UMR Research, *Performance Affecting Pride: Online Omnibus Quantitative Survey*, p.4.

⁷²⁴ Barrie Houlihan and Jinming Zheng, 'The Olympic and Elite Sport Policy: Where Will It All End?', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2013, p.341.

shows that this is a deliberate choice by the New Zealand government opting to focus on high-performance sport.

Charlotte Macdonald argues that 'sport could offer a tempting arena within which to overcome the limits of size, economic vulnerability and distance – and help to sell New Zealand as a destination in the highly significant tourism industry.⁷²⁵ This study has further reinforced what Macdonald argues is 'the old forces keeping state and sport apart no longer prevailed; convergence rather than separation became the pattern as increased public funding was made available on a contestable and contractual basis. Ironically, this occurred as government, overall, was shrinking.'⁷²⁶ The focus on high-performance sport by successive governments in New Zealand is part of what Avril Bell argues are political projects by politicians to create national identities.⁷²⁷

This study includes extensive interviews with Olympians, members of the media, sports administrators and government ministers. The focus of these interviews was to gain a better understanding of the link between Olympic participation and national identity. This was a useful exercise as it found that the relationship is particularly strong, especially with recent or current Olympians following the *One Team, One Spirit* developments that took place over the past 15-20 years.

This research did not only rely on interviews but also on quantitative survey data. This data uncovered some interesting changes in the level of interest New Zealanders have in the Olympic Movement. Perhaps the most significant finding was the decline in interest among young New Zealanders, compared to older New Zealanders. The other change has been in how the Olympic Games are broadcast to New Zealanders. If this decline continues then the importance of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand will diminish. In analysing this decline, this research outlined

⁷²⁵ Charlotte Macdonald, 'Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History,' in Giselle Byrnes (eds), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, p.293.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

⁷²⁷ Avril Bell, 'Imagining Aotearoa New Zealand: The Politics of National Imaginings,' in Avril Bell, Vivienne Elizabeth, Tracey McIntosh and Matt Wynyard, *A land of milk and honey? Making sense of Aotearoa New Zealand*, p.59.

earlier in the conclusion key areas that could be employed to help enshrine the importance of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand, namely a national sport museum and school visits by Olympians.

Overall, Charlotte Macdonald correctly asserts that sport provides a common meeting ground and common culture within New Zealand society. 'A place where distinctions of wealth, rank, religion and ethnicity, if not gender, can be set aside.'⁷²⁸ In victory and defeat, New Zealanders have been drawn to sport as a key driver of Benedict Anderson's imagined community. New Zealand's Olympic participation for more than a century has provided a sense of belonging to New Zealanders. At the Olympic Games, there is always drama surrounding New Zealand athletes, whether it is the underdog winning a gold medal while wearing the black uniform and the silver fern, or whether it is in the agony of defeat. 'Benedict Anderson's argument of the nation as an imagined community can easily encompass the realm of sport in its powerful hold over the popular imagination and conspicuous presence in the popular press.'⁷²⁹ Macdonald argues that the 'drama surrounding events where a New Zealand team or athlete is up against a prized opponent is undeniable.'⁷³⁰ Sporting achievement by Olympians 'constitute a focus for the nation that's much more popular and tangible than an abstract constitution, state figurehead or nation-defining historical event.'⁷³¹ That's the power of sport, and that's the power of the Olympic Games.

Concluding thoughts: the Olympic Games are the perfect mechanism to showcase New Zealand to the World

Are the Olympic Games an important part of the story that is New Zealand? Yes, and throughout its history, New Zealand has been littered

⁷²⁸ Charlotte Macdonald, 'Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History,' in Giselle Byrnes (ed), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, p.270.

⁷²⁹ Ibid, p.295.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

with stories of underdogs winning on the world stage, of kiwis punching above their weight in the international arena, and the Olympic Games are no different. While rugby will always be a cornerstone of New Zealand's national identity, this research has shown that the Olympic Games is just as important to it. The All Blacks are expected to win at all costs. They are supposed to beat all before them. However, rugby is not a truly global sporting event like the Olympic Games is. Rugby is relatively minor with only a few teams having the potential to win the rugby world cup.

As New Zealand became increasingly independent as a nation throughout the 20th century and became more outspoken, New Zealand's participation at events like the Olympic Games has become more important for New Zealanders and the New Zealand Government. An important part of identity is the perception that the citizens of a nation have of themselves and how the world sees them. As Margot Edwards has argued, social and national identity formation is a dynamic process and involves change.

As a nation interacts within the social world, be it in the sporting world or other social domain, a nation develops a sense of identity that shapes its ongoing perception of themselves. Because of these interactions sport is an important agent in the formation of identity, and is arguably more important than other parts of society, because it provides different outlets for an individual and nation to be part of wider society.⁷³²

The Olympic Games is a perfect avenue to represent Anderson's imagined community.

When people think of New Zealand, they think of rugby but could the Olympics be a better reflection of who New Zealand is as a nation? Ideas like 'little battler', the 'number eight-wire mentality', the 'plucky little nation,' the 'underdog', and 'punching above our weight,' are just a few comments that New Zealanders like to think represents them and it is how New Zealand is perceived on the Olympic stage. In contrast, the All Blacks are expected to win and to win at all costs. However, at the Olympics, New

⁷³² Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.174.

Zealand celebrates its ability to punch above its weight, and it celebrates victories in all shapes and sizes. By example, New Zealand's medal count has consistently increased since the Sydney Games in 2000 and now sits inside the top twenty on the medal tally despite its small population.

It is hard to quantify exactly how much the Olympics have shaped New Zealand's identity, but television audience numbers, the number of people who refer to themselves as 'fans' and the importance that New Zealanders place on sport are all indications that New Zealand's identity has been shaped at least in part by its participation in the Olympic Movement. It is not only that the New Zealand Olympic Team that has showcased New Zealand to the rest of the world, but it is also the changes instituted by the NZOC post the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney have also showcased New Zealand's unique identity to the world.

Sports psychologist Dr Gary Hermansson argues that sport makes up a lot of New Zealand's identity: 'when New Zealand teams succeed there's a sense of inner pride, accomplishment and confidence. Many Kiwis can remember where they were when John Walker, Peter Snell, Hamish Carter and Sarah Ulmer won Olympic gold, when David Kirk lifted the William Webb Ellis Trophy, when Michael Campbell won the 2005 US Open, when Peter Blake's Team New Zealand won the America's Cup in 1995 and 2000, and when the Kiwis won the 2008 Rugby League World Cup. These are moments forever etched in the national consciousness and, thanks to television, are played over time and again.'⁷³³

The silver fern, the 'All Blacks', and the haka have provided symbols of New Zealand identity and a rallying point for young and old New Zealanders overseas at the time of international sports events. The NZOC has done a stellar job over the past two decades in incorporating those symbols of identity in showcasing New Zealand to the world. While people might argue that the world's perception of New Zealand as a sporting nation is overly simplistic, no one can deny that sport has played an

⁷³³ Michael Brown, *Win or lose, we always feel it right down to our boots*, Herald on Sunday, 8 August 2010, p. A40.

important role in that identity. Many New Zealanders identify with national heroes, symbols, and rituals associated with sport, especially the All Blacks, but also the Olympic Games. New Zealand's sporting history is closely linked alongside New Zealand's general history and has played a central role in the path to independence for New Zealand. Ultimately the sporting success of New Zealand provides symbols of identity that are widely recognised by other nations.⁷³⁴

However, New Zealand's identity has not always been positively affected by New Zealand's participation at the Olympic Games. As this thesis has shown, New Zealand's sporting relationship with South Africa during the 1970s and early 1980s severely affected New Zealand's prestige on the world stage. Arguably in more recent times the professionalism of New Zealand's elite sportsmen and women have also taken some of the shine off the idea that New Zealand athletes are the underdogs. As Part Three of this thesis has shown, the increased investment in high-performance sport in New Zealand means elite athletes are today just as well funded as many other nations' athletes. While drug taking by elite athletes in New Zealand is not commonplace compared to other nation's athletes, the constant negative media articles have also taken some gloss off the Olympic Movement and these mega-sporting events.

New Zealand's current Chef De Mission is three-time Olympian and Sydney 2000 Olympic rowing gold medallist Rob Waddell. Waddell believes New Zealand's identity is a huge part of the Olympic team today: 'it brings a sense of national pride and is why we compete. The nation is completely engaged in the Olympic Games.'⁷³⁵ In August 2015 Waddell spoke at the one-year countdown to the Rio Olympic Games and addressed the role the Olympic Games has played in New Zealand's identity:

Most people will remember where they were and what they were doing when New Zealand won at the Olympics. This lifts the nation, and inspires a generation of

⁷³⁴ Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2007), p.182.

⁷³⁵ Author's Interview with Rob Waddell, 6 August 2015.

young people... We are not a big nation politically or economically, so sport is a very important voice in which we tell the world who we are and what we stand for. So when our athletes compete and succeed, the country watches intently. What they do has a strong effect on everyone. It lifts the nation, it inspires a generation, and in a very humbling way, most people will remember where they were and what they were doing at the particular moment in time.⁷³⁶

In an interview with the Chief Executive of High-Performance Sport New Zealand in late 2015, Alex Baumann, who was a two-time Olympic gold medallist in swimming for Canada at the 1984 Los Angeles games, said he believed that New Zealand places more interest in sport than other nations:

New Zealand places more interest in sport than other nations. That interest is from the Prime Minister down and is an interest not only in the All Blacks, but right across the sporting spectrum, from Lydia Ko to Lisa Carrington. Sport unites a nation and inspires participation and sporting champions also help motivate future champions. New Zealand has a rich history in sport and is similar to that of Australia, but is more important to New Zealanders than it is in Canada. Sport gives New Zealand a perfect platform to win on the world stage and to compete and beat the world superpowers.⁷³⁷

Sports New Zealand Chief Executive and Olympian Peter Miskimmin believe that government support of sport in New Zealand is for various reasons. Those reasons include: to enrich the lives of New Zealanders and to help inspire the nation, create heroes, and contribute to a sense of nationhood and identity; to help more young people engage in more sport and recreation; to help adults to engage in sport and recreation; and to help create more winners on the world stage.⁷³⁸ Miskimmin went on:

Ultimately sport gives New Zealand its place in the sun – its place in the world. Sport is how New Zealanders see themselves in the world. Sport has played a large part in the social change of New Zealand. For example the anthem is now sung in Maori and English. This change first happened at a rugby game and it now is common across all fields of society. New Zealanders now embrace it as they embrace the haka. This Maori tradition was embraced by sport and is an example

⁷³⁶ Rob Waddell, *Speech at Prime Ministers One Year Countdown to the Rio 2016 Olympic Games*, 5 August 2015, Viaduct Events Centre, Auckland.

⁷³⁷ Author's Interview with Alex Baumann, 14 December 2015.

⁷³⁸ Author's Interview with Peter Miskimmin, 19 January 2016.

to show that sport and the Olympic Games has done a lot to showcase New Zealand's identity to the world. Sport reflects who we are as Kiwis. Sport makes us proud to be Kiwi. Olympians feel proud to walk behind the flag and the cloak. Olympians feel proud to wear black and have the silver fern on their uniform.⁷³⁹

Former Minister for Sport and Recreation Jonathan Coleman has lasting memories of the Olympic Games and believes that a close link exists between national identity and New Zealand's Olympic participation:

As a six-year-old, I remember watching the Opening Ceremony of the 1972 Munich Olympic Games and can remember the rowing eights gold medal. The Olympic Games are an extremely important part of New Zealand's identity. New Zealanders get an immense amount of pride in sport in general and watching New Zealanders compete. At the Olympic Games New Zealanders get to compete against the very best in the world. We love our rugby and cricket, but New Zealand competes against a small number of nations. The Olympic Games is truly the world stage. There is a lot of romance and nostalgia that surrounds the Olympic Games. Take Jack Lovelock winning gold in 1936 in Berlin for example. Here was a New Zealander winning gold in Berlin from a nation of only about 1.5 million.⁷⁴⁰

Ultimately New Zealand does not have a large economy or a big population. New Zealand generally gets swallowed up in the international sphere. However, at the Olympics, New Zealand gets noticed right around the world. New Zealand identity is a complex concept because each and every New Zealander defines their identity slightly differently and it includes history, symbols, sporting achievements and other notable achievements. The identity of New Zealand will never be settled and will continue to evolve as New Zealand becomes more diverse. However, as this thesis has shown, sport has been and will continue to be a central part of New Zealand's identity and how that identity is portrayed to the world. And for as long as the Olympic Games continues to be the world's biggest sporting event, they will be an integral part of shaping and showcasing that identity to the world.

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰ Author's Interview with Hon Dr Jonathan Coleman, 26 July 2017.

Appendix One: List of Interviews

Olympians

Name	Sport	Games Represented	Result
Vivien Boyd (née. Haddon)	Swimming	1964	1964: Did not progress out of the heats – 200m Breaststroke
Lisa Daniels	Synchronised Swimming	2008	2008: 23 rd
Mike Dawson	Canoe Slalom	2012, 2016	2012: 15 th Men's K1 2016: 10 th Men's K1
Alan Chesney	Hockey	1976	1976: Gold
Don Cowie	Sailing	1992, 1996, 2000	1992: Silver – Star Class 1996: Fifth – Star Class 2000: Fifth – Soiling Class
Richard (Dick) Joyce	Rowing	1968, 1972	1968: Gold Coxed Four 1972: Gold Men's Eights
Thomas Just	Rowing	1968	1968: 4 th Men's Rowing Eights
Barbara Kendall	Sailing	1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008	1992 – Gold 1996 – Silver 2000 – Bronze 2004 – 5 th 2008 – 6 th
Barry Maister (Also a member of the IOC)	Hockey	1968, 1972, 1976, 1980 (selected but did not compete due to the boycott)	1968: 7 th 1972: 9 th 1976: Gold
Peter Miskimmin (Also CEO of Sport New Zealand)	Hockey	1980, 1984, 1992 (selected for 1980 but did not compete due to the boycott).	1984: 7 th 1992: 8 th
Patricia Pike	Skiing	1960	1960: Women's Downhill – 36 th , Women's Giant Slalom – 34 th , Women's Slalom – 32
Bianca Russell	Hockey	2012	2012: 4 th
Blyth Tait	Equestrian	1992, 1996, 2000, 20004	1992: Individual Bronze, Team Silver 1996: Individual Gold, Team Bronze

			2000: DNF 2004: Individual 18 th , Team 5 th
Rob Waddell	Rowing	1996, 2000, 2008	1996: Seventh – Single Sculls 2000: Gold – Single Sculls 2008: Fourth – Double Sculls
Rebecca Wardell	Athletics	2008	2008: 21 st Heptathlon

Others

Alex Baumann – Former CEO of High-Performance Sport New Zealand. Also represented Canada at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games winning two gold medals.

Hon Jonathan Coleman – Minister of Sport and Recreation 2014-2017.

Dave Currie – Chef de Mission of the New Zealand Olympic Games Team to Athens 2004, Beijing 2008, and London 2012.

Geoff Bryan – Presented TVNZ coverage of the Olympic Games from 1988 in Seoul through to 2008 in Beijing.

Gary Hermansson – New Zealand Olympic Team Sport Psychologist from Sydney 2000 to Rio 2016.

Hon Trevor Mallard – Minister of Sport and Recreation – 1999-2007.

John McBeth – Broadcaster who has attended this Olympic Games since 1984.

Peter Montgomery - Attended Olympic Games as part of TVNZ from 1976 through to 2012.

Ron Palenski – Chief Executive and the New Zealand Sports Hall of Fame. Historian and journalist. Was the only New Zealand print journalist to be in Moscow for the 1980 Olympic Games.

Keith Quinn – Attended and commented at every Olympic Games since Munich in 1972 (excluding Moscow 1980, and Atlanta 1996).

Joseph Romanos – Journalist and writer. Has attended every Olympic Games since the 1980s and has written extensively about New Zealand Olympic history.

Brendan Telfer – Attended the Summer Olympic Games from 1976 through to 2016 (except 1980) as a broadcaster from TVNZ and OBS.

Peter Williams – Presented TVNZ coverage from the Olympic Games from 1984 to 2008.

Appendix Two: Key Milestones in New Zealand's National Identity and Olympic History 1890-2016



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