The next chapter of the New Zealand story: Storytelling as an export promotion tool in the international business policy context

By **Ella Halstead**

Supervised by
Dr. Matevž (Matt) Rašković

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Abstract

We live in a world of narratives. Storytelling has become increasingly prominent across marketing and management disciplines in recent decades, due, in part, to its ability to incorporate both rational and emotional appeals. However, despite the proven success of storytelling as a corporate branding strategy, its potential as an export promotion tool is yet to be explored within the international business (IB) discipline. Based on the corporate branding literature, storytelling is important both at an internal level, for constructing an organisational identity, and at an external level, for building brand equity through identity value alignment with consumers. In recent years, the nation brand management literature has shown that the many stakeholders of a nation can be managed in a similar way to corporate brands. Mirroring corporate brands, nation brand management involves both the development of an internal brand identity and external country image. Set against the context of New Zealand IB policymaking, this research has three key aims: (1) to explore how storytelling can support the performance of the nation's export goods and services in international markets, (2) to ascertain the elements and techniques of storytelling that can be best utilised as an export promotion strategy, and (3) look at the resources and capabilities needed at a policymaking level to support this as part of an export promotion strategy.

To answer these research questions, I propose a conceptual framework integrating existing knowledge from the storytelling, nation branding and export promotion literatures. The framework was tested using a qualitative research approach drawing on expert interviews. I interviewed nine experts from key government agencies involved with New Zealand's nation branding agency, the NZ Story group. I then analysed the gathered data against the developed conceptual framework to understand how the experts' practical storytelling experience, as an export promotion strategy, was supported by the literature and relevant theory. The findings showed that there are three levels of consideration when implementing storytelling to support export promotion: the setting, the discourse and the story. The storytelling setting involves the internal identity narrative of the nation brand, including the brand's values, vision, resource stocks and capabilities. The storytelling discourse is where the key values of the export story are tailored to target the consumer, in a process of co-creation between the teller and the audience. The story level considers how to engage consumers with the story and includes considerations of cultural nuances, such as the consumers' propensity to engage with rational and/or emotional stimuli. Export narratives informed by these three levels of strategy will have a positive influence on export promotion (and subsequently performance).

This research has both theoretical and practical implications, especially IB policy implications. The study explores the previously untapped intersection between storytelling, nation branding and export promotion. It presents storytelling as a potential, previously unexplored export promotion tool, part of so-called *indirect* export promotion strategies. Additional research should further extend this field of knowledge. In terms of practical implications, this research has several for New Zealand policymakers. The findings of the study reveal the critical roles of a nation branding agency when implementing storytelling as an export promotion tool, including managing power dynamics between various government entities and stakeholders, developing a meta-narrative, and acquiring and sharing information about foreign markets and attitudes in them towards New Zealand. It also provides practical implications for how to develop effective narratives that are culturally relevant and can have the greatest impact on export performance.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research background and purpose

Storytelling has been extensively utilised as a corporate branding strategy, thanks to its ability to improve brand recall, trust and consumer-brand connections (Escalas, 2004). Recently, the nation branding literature has also identified that nations can manage their internal identities and external images in much the same manner as corporate brands, operating within the global marketplace (Anholt, 2005). Therefore, the adoption of storytelling techniques at a policymaking level has the potential to influence the performance of a nation's export goods and services. The intersection of the storytelling, nation branding and export promotion literature has yet to be explored within the international business or international marketing literature, creating a theoretical and empirical gap that this research aims to fill.

Increased rates of globalisation in the last two decades have led to a highly integrated global economy, in which nations compete for market share. Within this global marketplace, nations and individual organisations face myriad barriers to exporting, defined as any issue that may "discourage non-exporters from internationalising, inhibit ongoing international expansion of current exporters, induce de-internationalisation and dissuade ex-exporters from re-engaging international markets" (Kahiya, 2018, p. 1173). These barriers include, amongst many others, cultural, psychic and physical distance, a lack of resources and capabilities, and the liability of foreignness (LoF). The LoF occurs when consumers are distrusting of foreign exports due to a lack of knowledge of the product, its origins and/or the export brand. At a policymaking level, several export promotion strategies have been identified within exporting literature to mitigate the impact of export barriers and support export performance, both directly and indirectly (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). For the purposes of this study, export promotion strategies are defined as "any program including advertising messages, creative presentation, media strategy, personal selling and sales promotions" designed to promote domestic goods in a foreign market (Hultman et al., 2011, p. 19). Policy-level support, implemented by government organisations, is a critical aspect of improving export performance, especially within small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) (Ayob & Freixanet, 2014) which make up the bulk of the New Zealand economy (Kahiya, 2020).

One way that a government can indirectly support export promotion and performance is to embark on brand-building activities, known as nation branding, to improve brand equity in international markets (Anholt, 2004; Dinnie, 2008). The general logic of a nation branding process mimics that of commercial brand management, which aims to achieve such outcomes as heightened brand awareness, brand recall and brand loyalty (Passow et al., 2005). Together, these outcomes work to mitigate the LoF of export brands by improving international consumer knowledge and perceptions of the nation. Nation branding is also closely tied to the country-of-origin (COO) effect, where cues about the country in which a good has been produced affects the perceptions and behaviour of international consumers. This phenomenon has been widely researched within the international business (IB) literature. When a nation has a positive country image – which comprises the consumers' total sum of knowledge and experience of a country – there exists a halo effect, whereby consumers more positively perceive export goods from that nation. Hence, nation branding has a positive impact on export performance through the COO effect and reduced LoF of export brands. However, despite many similarities to organisational management, nation branding comes with a unique set of challenges due to the vast number of stakeholders within a nation and the associated power dynamics. This issue becomes particularly pertinent when developing a nation brand

identity which incorporates the perspectives of all stakeholders in a coherent and concise way, a key aspect of organisational identity management. Not only is it difficult to integrate the diversity of stakeholder views, particularly in an IB context (Raskovic, 2021), but managing the individual marketing activities of all stakeholders that have touchpoints with international consumers is almost impossible given the number of exporters within a nation.

While the link between nation branding and export performance has been relatively well-established in literature, the use of storytelling to support export performance through the avenue of nation branding has not yet been explored. In recent years, storytelling elements and techniques, traditionally used in literature, have become more commonly applied to a range of disciplines, including marketing, psychology, sociology and strategy (e.g., Vaara et al., 2016; Mills & Key, 2021). Within the field of psychology, McAdam articulated a life story model of identity (1985; 1993; 1996) in which he proposed that people construct continuously evolving internal narratives to establish a sense of unity and purpose within their own lives (McAdams, 2001). Such narratives serve three key functions: the development of self-identity, situating oneself within a social context, and supporting decision making (Bluck et al., 2005). Within organisational management literature, research has shown that corporate identity narratives establish a clear and enduring brand identity, situate individuals within their social setting and guide present and future organisational decision-making (Garud & Giuliani, 2013). Polyphonic identity meta-narratives also support the deconstruction of power dynamics within an organisation and provide a channel for integrating the perspectives of multiple stakeholders (Robichaud, 2004). Using narrative in organisational contexts has evolved as an effective method of messaging, evoking a memorable emotional response (i.e., need for affect or NFA) while simultaneously fulfilling an informative purpose (i.e., need for cognition or NFC) (Diamantopoulos et al., 2020; Snowden, 2000). Within the marketing discipline, consumer storytelling identifies that because consumers think in narratives, they tend to project humanistic identities onto brands, products and services, or consider them as props within a story (Woodside et al., 2008). The use of archetypal myths can allow consumers to make themselves heroes of the story behind a brand (Holt, 2004). Storytelling techniques can therefore be used to strengthen brand identities and create brand value if used in a way that can successfully be integrated into a consumer's own self-identity narrative.

Therefore, different aspects of the storytelling literature seem to be applicable to the nation branding and export promotion fields, as well. For example, storytelling has been shown to enable the integration and commitment of internal stakeholders within an organisation, addressing a key managerial issue of nation branding. Existing research has shown that the legitimacy of collective identities is improved by the consistency and strength of the members' identity stories (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001). Furthermore, marketing literature presents storytelling as an effective strategy to improve brand equity, which could be applied to nation branding and COO management strategies that support export performance by mitigating the impact of specific export barriers. Therefore, studying storytelling at the policymaking level can contribute to nation branding and export promotion literature through the exploration of how to legitimise nation identity stories from the top down. A policy level approach allows us to gain a better sense of the wider range of stakeholders involved in storytelling for export promotion than an industry level approach might, as government organisations tend to undertake more widespread stakeholder consultations than industry organisations. Due to the exploratory nature of my research, this will be beneficial to the broader field of IB and IB policy knowledge in particular, as it will provide a more

holistic view of the range of stakeholders involved in storytelling within export promotion, painting a more comprehensive picture of potential future research within the field. The purpose of this study is thus to explore how storytelling techniques and mechanisms can be implemented to support export promotion, as part of an indirect export promotion strategy. I explore storytelling as an export promotion tool within New Zealand's unique socio-cultural and institutional context, which can be of value to the broader IB discipline. New Zealand's longstanding history of storytelling and its dedicated nation branding government agency, the New Zealand Story Group (NZ Story), make the country an ideal context in which to conduct this kind of research.

The New Zealand context has strong existing links to both the nation branding and export promotion literature. The nation brand of New Zealand has long been explored within academic research, across a range of disciplines. From a tourism perspective, the construction of New Zealand's destination brand has been widely researched (e.g., Leotta, 2012; Bell, 2008; Yeoman et al., 2015) including the development of the 100% Pure New Zealand brand which focuses on New Zealand's unique natural environment (Bell, 2008). From an export marketing perspective, New Zealand's national reputation in certain industries, including the agricultural, food and wine sectors, is well recognised and established in certain export markets (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2002). Part of the success of New Zealand's nation brand building lies in its long history of creating identity narratives, established in both the nation's colonial and indigenous roots.

Despite tentative evidence of the successful use of storytelling in branding New Zealand to the world, the linkages between specific storytelling techniques and the capabilities of the NZ Story Group in promoting New Zealand exports is yet to be explored, particularly from a policymaking angle. While the NZ Story Group is facilitating storytelling as a nation branding strategy, it is unclear how precisely storytelling is being leveraged to promote New Zealand exports. For example, what techniques are being used, and are the current resources and capabilities that are being employed the most effective ones?

1.2. Research questions

The three main research question driving my study are as follows:

RQ1: (How) Can storytelling be effectively used as an export promotion tool to support the New Zealand export economy?

RQ2: Which storytelling elements and techniques can be best utilised to leverage New Zealand's identity, image and endowments, as part of an effective export promotion strategy?

RQ3: Which resources and capabilities are needed to support storytelling, as part of a targeted export promotion strategy?

To answer these questions, this research project is laid out in the following manner. First, I present a review of the relevant literature across various disciplines, which includes: (1) storytelling (within the fields of management, marketing and literature), (2) nation branding, and (3) export promotion. This literature review then informs the development of a theoretical framework, which integrates the key theories and concepts from the different disciplines into the New Zealand policymaking context. I have adopted a qualitative research methodology approach, utilising the expert interview method to gain

insight into the current process of storytelling as an export promotion tool in New Zealand. The findings from this research are applied to the theoretical framework, followed by a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of the study.

1.3. Academic and practical contribution

This research integrates the storytelling, nation branding and export promotion literatures and explores the untapped intersection between the three distinct fields of knowledge. While some connections have been identified, such as using narrative to develop brand personas within nation branding (Dinnie, 2008), the triadic links between the three fields have not been explored in a holistic manner – at least not within an international business (IB) context. This research aims to address gaps in the nation branding and export promotion literature through the application of storytelling mechanisms and techniques. My work contributes to the export promotion literature by expanding the existing toolkit of indirect export promotion strategies, which have become increasingly relevant in post-Covid-19 recovery (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). Narratives work to strengthen relationships within a nation's exporter network, which has several benefits for improving export performance (Ghauri et al., 2003). The use of narrative allows exporters to associate themselves with an established institution of their nation, which improves their perceived authenticity in specific associated product markets (Beverland, 2005). Narrative also builds trust with international consumers, mitigating the impact of the liability of foreignness (LoF) when consumers are not familiar with a product or exporter (Navarro-Garcia et al., 2016). Within the nation brand literature, the use of narrative as a tool for fostering collaboration and commitment addresses the problem of stakeholder integration within a nation brand. Narrative also allows nation brands to utilise their specific sets of resources and capabilities, to create a complex and inimitable strategy that differentiates them on the world stage, bridging the gap between the nation brand and the export economy.

In a managerial context, my research informs policymakers, export managers and government departments, such as the New Zealand Story Group, on how to effectively utilise storytelling to promote New Zealand exports. Policy interventions to support export performance are even more critical in times of uncertainty and change (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022), experienced currently with the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore the practical implications of this research are especially pertinent in the current global landscape for small, open, export oriented market economies (i.e. SMOPECs), such as New Zealand (Kahiya, 2020). Institutional support is especially critical for exporting SMEs, due to their constrained resources and capabilities (Ayob & Freixanet, 2014), which make up 97% of New Zealand's businesses (MBIE, 2017). Developing effective export promotion strategies at a policymaking level is therefore essential to support the New Zealand export economy, as a whole (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022).

2. Literature Review

Before trying to answer my research questions, it is important to have adequate understanding of existing research on storytelling, nation branding and export promotion across the various disciplines. This chapter synthesises the relevant literature from within these three research fields, which then feeds into my integrated conceptual framework and empirical research.

2.1. Storytelling

As a concept, storytelling has been defined inconsistently across different disciplines. Some academics use the terms "narratives" and "storytelling" interchangeably (Bruner, 1991; Humphreys & Brown, 2002; Sonenshein, 2010), while others make a stark distinction between the two (Love, 2019; Vincent, 2002). Following Sonenshein (2010), I take the terms "stories" and "narratives" to be interchangeable. While I acknowledge the nuanced (theoretical) differences between them, these are not that relevant for the outcomes of my study. I also follow Nelson's (2003) definition of the concept: "narratives situate action in time and place, introduce agents, connect events through mental and physical causal or temporal sequences moving toward a goal or outcome" (p. 126). Narratives use temporal ordering to connect seemingly separate events into a sensical whole to illustrate some purpose or idea (Kelly & Zak, 1999; Polkinghorne, 1988). The key difference between narrative and positivist knowledge is that the truth in storytelling is garnered from the audience's interpretation of meaning, rather than from an objective truth (Gabriel, 2000a; Love, 2019). Stories are thus imbued with meaning, often including aspects of morality and judgement, used to elicit emotional responses (Brown et al., 2009; Gabriel, 2000b). In this way, storytelling deals with facts relating to experience rather than facts as information (Gabriel, 2000b). Therefore, the meaning or message of a story is subjective to the audience's own experience of the narrative and will likely differ between individuals (Ewick & Silbey, 1995). This has important ramifications for how a story should be told, depending on the target audience and context within which it appears (Love, 2019).

2.1.1. The psychology of storytelling

In the 1980s, through his life story model of identity, psychologist D. P. McAdams spearheaded the movement of integrating narrative frameworks into the fields of consumer behaviour and psychology (1985, 2001). According to McAdams (1985), people internally construct an ever-evolving life narrative of the self, complete with settings, events, characters, plots and themes. The overarching purpose of this "self-story" is to develop a congruent and consistent identity, providing individuals with a sense of "unity and purpose" (McAdams, 2001 p. 101). As Polkinghorne (1988, p. 150) stated, "we make our existence into a whole by understanding it as an expression of a single and developing story".

We start to develop our self-story in adolescence (Habermas & Bluck, 2000; McAdams, 1985), however our ability to recognise narrative structures begins much earlier. Children start to appreciate and, moreover, expect, key features of storytelling – such as suspense and surprise – at around five years old (McAdams, 2001). This supports prior research suggesting that this is the age where we start using storytelling mechanisms, such as non-human characters or fantasy settings, to create stories in response to threats or to solve problems (Applebee, 1978).Thus, children come to expect narratives to follow familiar

"story grammar", including temporal ordering with a beginning, middle and end, as well as a moral objective or lesson (Applebee, 1978; McAdams, 2001).

Organising our lived experience through narrative is a process known as autobiographical memory (AM) (Baddeley, 1992). Bluck and colleagues (2005) identified three key functions of AM: a self, a directive and a social function. The self-function works to create and maintain a sense of self-identity, aligning with McAdam's identity model. It involves the constant construction and reconstruction of characters, themes, plots and setting in an individual's life story (Bluck et al., 2005; McAdams, 1985). Different characters within one's self-narrative can represent distinct aspects of their personality, encompassing both their current identity and their desired identity (McAdams, 1985). This is akin to the real and manufactured authenticity discussed later in the thesis. Life stories represent the innermost desires and goals of an individual. Accordingly, the way that a person's AM is organised depends on their motives (Gabriel, 2000b; Woike et al., 2003). Research has shown that people purposely seek out or, in contrast, hide, particular memories in order to develop a consistent or desired sense of self (Wilson & Ross, 2003). Thus, the way that individuals write their own self-story is tailored towards achieving a stable sense of identity. Certain memories and events that are deemed incongruent or unappealing to a desired self-identity may therefore be omitted from a person's internal narrative (Wilson & Ross, 2003; Woike et al., 2003).

The AM's social function places an individual's self-story within their social and cultural context (Bluck et al., 2005; Nelson, 2003). According to McAdams, "life stories mirror the culture wherein the story is made and told. Stories live and die in culture" (2001, p. 114). Research has shown that culture influences which memories are retained within a self-narrative (Nelson, 2003). People from collectivist cultures, for example, tend to be better at recollecting communal, family-oriented memories, while people from individualist cultures are more inclined to recall events relating to their own success (Nelson, 2003). Culture thus provides the template by which a person writes their own self-story, offering a set of instructions, values and boundaries that members are expected to abide by (Gabriel, 2000a; Howard, 1991; Nelson, 2003). This collective narrative acts as a means of group identification for individuals, through shared meaning with other characters in the same overarching cultural story (Kelly & Zak, 1999).

The AM's directive function guides individuals in problem solving and goal creation by using past events to make sense of the present (Bluck et al., 2005). This is also referred to as the meaning-making or sense-making function of AM (Habermas & Bluck, 2000; Olivares, 2010). Autobiographical reasoning is the process of accessing memories of past events, stored and remembered as scenes in one's self-story, to create links with present events in order to formulate solutions (Habermas & Bluck, 2000). When we experience narratives in any form, we construct mental models of meaning that apply the information we are being told through the story to our existing knowledge and experiences (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). This influences how we interpret that information (Martin, 2016). A person who is in a happy and stable relationship, for example, may feel differently about a romantic love story than a person who has just been through a breakup. When problem solving or planning, individuals will search for indexed memories of similar situations that will be able to help them make sense of their experiences (Martin, 2016; Schank & Abelson, 1995). AM enables this process by storing memories as easily retrievable and comprehensible chapters, where the narrative structure of one's self-story acts both as memory indexing and recall tools (Barker & Gower, 2010; Pasupathi, 2001; Schank & Abelson, 1995).

2.1.2. Organisational storytelling

In much the same way that narrative frameworks can be applied to individuals' internal stories, Bluck and colleagues' (2005) self, social and directive functions can also be important at an organisational level. Organisational narratives support the development of "self" via corporate identity, the "social" culture of the organisation through the establishment of norms and expectations, and provide a "directive" function by synthesising the past, present and future to support decision-making (Bluck et al., 2005; Garud & Giuliani, 2013).

Anthropologist Emile Durkheim posited that unity in groups is established through a collective belief in the cultural origin stories (Durkheim, 1925). Similarly, within organisations, the development of clear, consistent "founding stories" can improve organisational cooperation, cohesion and the endurance of corporate identity (Boyce, 1995). Albert and Whetten (1985) described corporate identities as the central, distinctive and enduring features of a company. Hence, organisational identity narratives tend to be selective histories of the organisation promoting past strengths and successes (Brown, 2006). An often-cited example of an organisational narrative is 3M's story of the accidental invention of scotch tape. The story provided the blueprint for 3M's enduring corporate identity as curious, innovative thinkers encouraged to take initiative (Wilkins, 1984). Narratives like these express the shared values and purpose of an organisation in a compelling and easily memorable way, working to attract and retain employees who identify with the company's values (Brown, 2006). This is underpinned by social identity theory, which purports that individuals are likely to identify with groups which they perceive to be congruent with their desired self-identity (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Through strategic storytelling, employees are easily able to understand the aims, morals and purpose of the company, and in turn, their own work (Lämsä & Sintonen, 2006). In her 1995 research on shared storytelling in organisations, Mary Boyce found that the practice of organisational storytelling enabled what she coined "collective centring", where employees achieved a sense of unity based on a shared understanding and clarity of the organisation's purpose (Boyce, 1995). The higher the salience and accessibility of messages, or schemas, that affiliate employees' personal values and self-identity with the organisational identity, the stronger the motivation of employees to reach shared organisational goals (Scott & Lane, 2000). Therefore, organisational narratives which create easily accessible, memorable schemas stored in the employees' AM work to improve employee commitment.

A second function of organisational narratives is the development of a corporate culture in which employees can situate themselves, their co-workers and their organisation's management (Ewick & Silbey, 1995; Kaufman, 2003). Peters and Waterman first introduced storytelling into the organisational management discipline in the early 1980s, arguing that stories were a method of constructing valuable meaning systems within corporate culture (Peters & Waterman, 1982). Wilkins (1984) further developed this idea, saying that stories are the maps that guide employees in terms of organisational norms and practices. Hansen and Kahnweiler (1993) suggested that corporate culture is the composite tale that emerges from the commonalities of organisational stories. This reinforces the function of narrative as a cultural code allowing individuals to place themselves and others within their social setting (Fenton & Langley, 2011; Kelly & Zak, 1999). Storytelling provides a method of communicating value-rich information by incorporating emotions and context into easily interpretable messages (Gabriel, 2000b). This can accelerate trust-building, both within teams (Barker & Gower, 2010) and management (Kaufman, 2003). It also helps to overcome cultural distance by providing familiarity and context within

informative messages (Barker & Gower, 2010). This is of special relevance for international business (IB), which needs to overcome not only the proverbial LoF but also various forms of distance (i.e., geographic, cultural, psychic). Research shows that the faster employees embrace an organisation's culture and act in accordance, the greater the benefit to the organisation (Martin, 2016). Therefore, organisations should look to develop narratives that communicate organisational norms and values to establish a strong corporate culture and build trust, especially in international contexts.

Finally, strategic narratives work to create a framework that can be used to make sense of events and guide corporate decision making (Barry & Elmes, 1997; Boje, 1991; Boyce, 1995). For example, Boje (1991) talks about an "institutional memory system", as the collective of an organisation's stories. Hansen & Kahnweiler (1993) describe strategic narratives as schemas to organise and understand events. Deuten and Rip (2000, p. 74) later introduced their "narrative infrastructure" concept, defined as the "rails" along which organisational processes are organised. All three concepts refer to the process of using existing organisational narratives to establish a framework that uses an organisation's past experiences to make sense of current events and make decisions about the future. In much the same way autobiographical reasoning allows individuals to make sense of their reality, this so-called institutional memory allows organisations to use their history to inform their future (Boje, 1991; Boyce, 1995). Part of the rationale behind the success of institutional memory is that stories allow complex information to be embedded into simplified units of information that are easily stored and remembered, enduring even through changes in management (Soule & Wilson, 2002). Samra-Fredericks (2003, p. 166) stated that managers with an understanding of a firm's past experiences were able to "selectively draw upon it, bend it and make it meaningfully consistent in the here-and-now", a process made easier by organisational narratives. However, too much of a reliance on the past can lead to path dependencies that constrain, rather than empower decision makers (Deuten & Rip, 2000). Therefore, organisations should create a stock of organisational narratives based on their past successes and strengths that they can draw upon when needed. However, they must also be cautious to assess new situations based on their knowledge of the current and future situation.

2.1.3. Corporate identity and brand image

Storytelling can help organisations develop cohesive and enduring identities (Vaara et al., 2016). This is important not only for internal stakeholder management, but also for building a cohesive and distinct brand for external stakeholders, particularly consumers (Blombäck & Ramírez-Pasillas, 2012; Cheney et al., 2011).

There has been extensive research conducted on the relationship between an organisation's corporate identity and its brand image within the marketing field since the 1980s, spearheaded by Russell Abratt (1989). Through his conceptual model of corporate image management, Abratt (1989) defined the link between the internal corporate identity and external brand image. Corporate identity is comprised of the organisation's values, objectives and mission, communicated through strategic organisational narratives (Abratt, 1989). This identity goes on to influence the brand image, which includes all the touch points between the organisation and external stakeholders, including consumers, the media, the government and various industry bodies (Abratt, 1989). The model, therefore, shows that an organisation's core values underpin its external, consumer facing brand image. Thus, strategic identity narratives have value at both an internal and external stakeholder level. Brand image is a culmination of consumers' relevant

experiences, observations and perceptions of a company (Balmer, 2001, 2008). Corporate identity management, therefore, is crucial to supporting and maintaining a positive brand image (Burmann & Zeplin, 2005; Cornelissen & Elving, 2003). De Chernatony and Harris (2000, p. 268) referred to successful corporate identity management as "narrowing the gap between a brand's identity and its reputation". Therefore, the brand's external communication should be reflective of the organisation's internal identity values (Balmer, 2001).

Accordingly, Balmer's (2001) corporate identity management framework reflects both internal and external contexts, including the internal dimensions of culture, strategy and structure, as well as external stakeholders, reputation and the environment. As Blombäck and Ramírez-Pasilla (2012) point out, neglecting the external environment when managing a corporate identity, leads to a brand image that is "not attuned to the current market" (p. 23). Hence, building relationships with external stakeholders is a key part of brand management. Urde's (2003) values-based brand building framework proposes that the company's core values provide the guiding themes for the organisation in terms of its offerings, brand positioning and brand identity. However, this must then be further developed through an external brand building process involving the "continual and ongoing interaction between the identity of the organisation and the customer" (Urde, 2003, p. 1023). Such kinds of interaction will result in the customer's perceived added functional, emotional and symbolic value of the brand and its offerings by understanding and appealing to the consumer's self-identity (Urde, 2003). This relates to cognitive models of information processing, whereby individuals interpret external information in relation to their own sense of self (Bandura, 1986). Bhattacharya and Sen (2003) developed an outside-in approach to customer relationship management (CRM), which identified that customers seek out relationships with organisations based on their own needs of self-definition. In this search process, they will evaluate companies based on their corporate identity in the form of brand image (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). Consumers identify with brands who have similar values and principles to them, emphasising the importance of value-based identity brand building for organisations (Vincent, 2002). When consumers consider an organisation to have a "believable and consistent brand persona", their levels of identification with that brand increase (Herskovitz & Crystal, 2010, p. 23). Thus, companies should manage their brand identities by balancing their core values and internal structures with the needs of external stakeholders, to achieve a consistent brand identity that resonates with their consumers. However, a myriad of factors come into play in the corresponding consumer-brand identification process.

2.1.4. Consumer-brand identification

Storytelling is an effective method of communicating an organisation's corporate identity to consumers (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017; Woodside et al., 2008). It has been shown that narrative processing in response to brand storytelling, whereby an organisation's external narratives are mapped onto a consumer's existing self-narratives, strengthens the consumer's attachment to the brand, known as the self-brand connection (Cooper et al., 2010; Escalas, 2004). According to Ochoa and Lorimer (2017, p. 244) "a determining factor for the brand's success is how strongly a brand's narrative is able to connect with its consumers' narrative". Touchpoints between the brand story and consumers' own autobiographical memory, known as indices, increase levels of comprehension, empathy and awareness between the consumer and the brand (Woodside, 2010).

Consumer-brand identification builds on the narrative psychology field, as individuals use narrative structure to make sense of their external environment (Bluck et al., 2005; McAdams, 1985). Narratives provide a framework for consumers to store and process the information they receive about an organisation, including brand values (Escalas, 2004). Once established, this framework will influence how future information is interpreted (Escalas, 2004). For example, if a consumer has associated a brand with a story of high quality goods and service, they will be more likely to explain away any future misdeeds of that brand as one-offs or accidents, rather than change their perception of the core values of the brand. This aligns with consumer psychology research which ascertains that, when making consumption judgements and decisions, individuals tend to only employ the subset of knowledge that is most easily accessible to them, even if it is not necessarily the most relevant or accurate (Wyer Jr., 2014). Thus, consumer perceptions and behaviour are likely to be more influenced by brand narratives than individual pieces of information, further strengthening brand reputation (Adaval & Wyer, 1998; Escalas, 2004). As Holt (2004) described, the identity value of a brand casts a halo effect on other parts of the organisation, including its quality reputation, benefits and value. Therefore, brand identities can be powerful vehicles within storytelling for organisations well beyond their marketing and sales functions.

In the last thirty years, there has been a wealth of research on how brands use myth-making techniques to develop their brand image and support their marketing communications (Holt, 2004; Vincent, 2002; Woodside et al., 2008). In his book "How Brands Become Cultural Icons" Douglas Holt explains how the world's leading brands achieve success by "performing the particular myth that society needs at a given historical moment" (Holt, 2004, p. 2). Both the brand narrative and the consumer's self-narrative are situated within cultural boundaries, with brands using cultural cues to promote desired identities that can be achieved through consumption of branded goods and services (Cooper et al., 2010). The brand's cultural and political authority is developed through the organisation's history. It is, in essence, the collective memory of the consumer that dictates the type of story that is expected from the brand based on the stories they have told in the past (Holt, 2004). This authority dictates which markets will be the most accepting of current and future brand narratives (Holt, 2004). So-called "myth markets" (p. 59) often act as opportunities for brands to present solutions to cultural contradictions and/or points of tension between cultural trends and consumer identity stories" (Holt, 2004). Ochoa and Lorimer (2017, p. 256) refer to a myth market as an "attitudinal target", in other words a particular group of consumers with some type of identity tension that can be resolved by adopting or partaking in a brand identity narrative. To identify these markets, in-depth consumer research must be undertaken to "cultivate empathetic understanding of the identity projects of their followers" (Holt, 2004, p. 213). Going further than traditional market research, successful myth markets are identified from a thorough understanding of the tensions in consumers' self-identity narratives, which should be gleaned from in-depth interviews, narrative inquiry and other qualitative data (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017; Vincent, 2002). It is clear, therefore, that organisations looking to utilise narrative as an effective marketing or brand strategy must commit significant resources into consumer research.

Ochoa and Lorimer (2017) noted that the consumers' self-narratives are fluctuating more rapidly and unpredictably than ever before. Vincent (2002) described this phenomena as a cultural shift away from overarching meta-narratives underpinning previous generations, (i.e. Baby Boomer activism), towards a more individualistic culture where people develop multiple self-narratives they can call upon as they please. McAdams (2001, p. 115) notes, that "people pick and choose and plagiarise from the many stories

they find in culture to formulate a narrative identity". Our self-worth is increasingly driven by how others perceive us, and thus individuals are becoming more reliant on the consumption of branded goods and services to help them develop their identities (Vincent, 2002). Another driver of identity change among consumers is the emergence of new social movements (NSMs) (Laraña et al., 1994). These movements, which include the rights of minority groups and environmental issues, are born from issues of identity, personal values and morals (Laraña et al., 1994; Lounsbury et al., 2003). NSMs can lead to wider cultural shifts that can facilitate the "emergence of new practises, strategies and industries" (Lounsbury et al., 2003, p. 72). The changing myth markets that result from such dynamic shifts in culture necessitate change in brand identity narratives to "cross cultural chasms, rather than be dismantled by them" (Holt, 2004, p. 45). Thus, it is more important than ever for brands to understand the innermost identity desires of their consumers and develop an appropriate brand narrative which allows them to explore and achieve these as they evolve.

2.1.5. Polyphony and change in organisational storytelling

Rather than organisational identity being constructed at a management level and disseminated downwards across the organisation, Scott and Lane (2000, p. 43) argued that storytelling is something that "emerges from the complex interactions between managers, organisational members and other stakeholders", hinting at a co-creative logic. Brown (2006) proposed that an organisation's collective identity is the sum of the many stories told by different stakeholders within the greater whole of the organisation. All authors agree that organisations are polyphonic - comprising a multitude of dialogues that occur both simultaneously and in response to one another (Hazen, 1993).

This view of organisations has led to two key topics of inquiry within the storytelling literature, namely, the power dynamics/politics of selecting a dominant organisational narrative (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Brown & Humphreys, 2003) and creating strategic narratives that are polyphonic in nature (Kornberger et al., 2006; Robichaud et al., 2004).

Top-down organisational narratives created by management and imposed onto employees and other stakeholders can be considered hegemonic (Humphreys & Brown, 2002). The supply, availability, frequency and linkages of the discourses and narratives that management distributes within an organisation constitute a form of power that can be disciplinary in nature. It can legitimise the perspectives of some stakeholders and delegitimise others (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). The nature of stories themselves, confined to the cultural and structural boundaries that are familiar to audiences, means that they are prone to expressing and reproducing existing power relations and inequalities (Ewick & Silbey, 1995). Hence, they have a strong performative function. Although narratives can be a useful mechanism for legitimising change, which could extend to changing existing power structures and inequalities, they can also impede change due to historical embeddedness, even if these histories promote inequality (Langellier, 1999). In some organisations, the existence of powerful overarching narratives results in the silencing of voices of marginalised groups (Sonenshein, 2010). Scott and Lane (2000) expanded the definition of organisational identity to include power dynamics, developing a framework to explore in what situations managers would consider differing stakeholder needs in the construction of an overarching identity. They found that the higher the stakeholders' perceived levels of power, legitimacy and urgency, the more likely their needs would be considered as part of the organisational identity. The needs and perspectives of different stakeholders may not be equally considered as part of, and therefore

integrated into, an organisation's overarching identity, leading to a collective identity that promotes and reinforces unequal power structures (Fenton & Langley, 2011; S. Scott & Lane, 2000).

To counterbalance this hegemonic perspective, another strain of literature has explored how strategic narrative can be utilised to embrace the polyphonic nature of organisations, by bridging opposing views (Robichaud et al., 2004). Many have proposed their own methods of achieving polyphonic strategic narratives, underpinned by similar ideologies. Barry and Elmes (1997) stated that managers must relent their monologic control over the organisation, to assume an audience-like role that is most concerned with listening, juxtaposing and disseminating organisation-wide stories in a way that provides an environment within which individual stories can take on a shared meaning.

Robichaud and colleagues (2004) presented the idea of a "meta-conversation" which functions to situate organisational actors into collectives within the organisation and to provide everyone with a voice to represent themselves and their collective. A kind of overarching organisational strategy acts within this meta-conversation as a link between collectives, providing "continuity and stability as different conversational worlds meet to construct an organisation seen as both a single entity with a strategy and as many parts each with their own strategy, translated to take a coherent form" (Robichaud et al., 2004, p. 624).

Strategies for achieving successful polyphonic strategic narratives are underpinned by the idea of listening to the stories of individuals and smaller collectives within the organisation. This is followed by tying them together through some shared language and meaning, to achieve a sense of organisational unity. This idea is furthered by Martin Parker, who describes organisations as fragmented unities that coalesce into a single, differentiated yet organised, whole (Parker, 2000). There must, therefore, be some underlying set of shared purpose and values underpinning the differentiated stories told within an organisation which bring them together as a coherent whole.

The sensemaking function of narrative is employed heavily during times of change, as stakeholders look to stories as a way of making sense of what is happening (Brown & Humphreys, 2003). This is particularly relevant in times of external shocks or quantum and discontinuous types of changes, as has been the Covid-19 pandemic (Hitt et al., 2021). Plausibility, acceptability and coherence are the three key criteria for narratives which minimise the conflict between opposing perspectives (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013). They ensure a logical connection between the narrative and the history of the organisation. Therefore, managers should ensure that organisational stories are plausible, acceptable to all stakeholders and have a coherent link to existing or past organisational identities, or they will run the risk of interpretative breakdowns (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013).

2.1.6. Plot archetypes and cultural branding

Successful storytelling requires careful selection of specific mechanisms and techniques (including plot, characters and setting) that evoke meaning and emotion for the audience (Gabriel, 2004). Luckily for storytellers, one doesn't have to look very far to discover effective plot structures. Psychologist Carl Jung (1916) theorised that within every human individual, there is a "collective unconscious" (p. 4) existing within our psyche. This collective unconscious is represented through the archetypes that have been consistently replicated in cultural artefacts around the world, including myths and legends (Jung, 1916).

These persisting plot structures have transcended physical and cultural borders, permeating storytelling across regions and eras, as our human nature compels us to tell our own stories through the template provided by our shared collective unconscious (Jung, 1916). Since the mid-twentieth century, there have been many frameworks developed aiming to categorise the archetypal plot structures and characters seen in literature. Campbell (1949) proposed the hero's journey as the ultimate story archetype, wherein a call to adventure is answered, adversity is faced and the main character returns triumphant to society. Tobias (1993), however, outlined twenty story archetypes focusing on, amongst others, adventure, quest, love, sacrifice, transformation, underdog and temptation. Booker (2004) narrowed this down to seven basic storytelling plots: rags to riches, overcoming the monster, the quest, comedy, tragedy, voyage and return, and rebirth. Regardless of the specific archetypal framework you look at, storytelling is underpinned by several universal and timeless human morals and objectives, each recurring in a different manner throughout history (Sanders & van Krieken, 2018).

Ochoa and Lorimer (2017) agree with the existence of a consistent core message or idea, but argued that a story must also be culturally relevant to successfully connect with their audience. Thus, even if a story reflects the archetypal plot structures present in our collective unconscious, storytellers must adapt their tales to reflect a specific cultural context. This perspective on story archetypes is consistent with the concept of indices within the self-brand identity literature, as the more touchpoints an individual has between their own self-identity story and a narrative, the greater their connection with the story (Woodside, 2010). If a story has not been adapted to fit the appropriate cultural context, this self-brand connection may be limited, even if the underlying values are familiar (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017).

Although narrative archetype research was initially developed within the literature and classics disciplines, it has since been extended to the field of marketing. Brands use story archetypes in three ways: to identify the brand itself as an archetypal character (Holt, 2004; Thompson, 2004; Vincent, 2002), to allow the consumer to enact a particular archetypal character (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017; Woodside et al., 2008) and to cast brand agents in archetypal roles within the brand's story (Vincent, 2002). These strategies are not independent of each other and are often employed simultaneously, as brand identity "stands at the intersection of two narratives: [the brand's] own, and that of its consumers" (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017, p. 244). Due to the familiarity of the recurring plot structures seen time and time again throughout history, consumers should be able to easily identify the roles they and the brand have been cast in, and thus connect the brand's message with the corresponding moral message and objectives of the story (Vincent, 2002).

To cast the brand in an archetypal role, an organisation can think of itself as the protagonist of the story (Barry & Elmes, 1997). Strategic narratives used to develop organisational identity tend to follow Campbell's hero journey, where the call to adventure is represented by the opportunities available to the organisation (Barry & Elmes, 1997). Eventually, by utilising key strengths and overcoming obstacles, the organisation emerges stronger, wiser and more successful (Barry & Elmes, 1997). Companies can also use character archetypes when developing their brand personas, with many organisations adopting familiar character traits of the mentor, mother, rebel or underdog, amongst others (Herskovitz & Crystal, 2010). When a company successfully casts itself in a role such as the mentor, consumers subconsciously assume the character of the student, looking to the brand for advice and guidance (Herskovitz & Crystal, 2010). In this way, individuals can think of brands as other characters within their self-narratives that they

consider as trusted advisors (Vincent, 2002). It is important for organisations to consider what role will best suit them, based on their own organisational values and the characters that will be most accepted into their target market's life stories.

Consumers also use brands and products to enact their own archetypal narratives, using them as props within their stories that can be endlessly re-enacted (Woodside et al., 2008). Brands can utilise this to their advantage, creating narratives that encourage consumers to play different roles, evoking particular desired emotions (Sanders & van Krieken, 2018). For example, brands can develop stories that allow the consumer to play the hero through some interaction with the brand - that is, if they purchase the brand's product, they will achieve a sense of shared morality with the brand who helped them achieve the promised goal (Sanders & van Krieken, 2018). Harley Davidson is an example of a brand that allows its consumers to enact a particular rebel narrative (Vincent, 2002). This ability to actively participate in the story results in consumers experiencing a strong sense of pleasure and satisfaction that can be called upon through engagement with the brand (Woodside et al., 2008). Our human nature dictates that we enjoy performing, and thus we will seek out products, services and brands that allow us to mirror the archetypal roles that we see so often within stories, myths and legends (Vincent, 2002). Organisations should, therefore, have a deep understanding of the roles that their consumers want to play and reflect their narratives to cast them accordingly.

A third way that brands can employ archetypal characters is through brand agents. Brand agents are people (either real life or characters), places or things that can be employed by an organisation to play a role in its identity myth (Vincent, 2002). Celebrity spokespeople are a widely used form of brand agent within marketing communications, as brands can capitalise on the identity aspirations that consumers associate with successful individuals (Vincent, 2002). The use of brand agents is most successful when the celebrity's brand aligns with that of the organisation. For example, Nike have built their organisational identity myth around the hero's journey, by focusing on peak athletic performance (Thompson, 2004). To support this narrative, they have employed a range of sports stars at the peak of their career as brand agents to act as evidence to their consumer of the fidelity of their story (Herskovitz & Crystal, 2010). Brand agents can be useful in strengthening the brand's identity story by creating a cast of supporting characters that are part of the overarching narrative. However, the downside of such a strategy is the organisation's loss of control over the story they are telling. While successful brand agents can elicit strong favourable results for the brand's image and reputation, it can be very damaging for the brand if the partnership goes wrong (Vincent, 2002).

When a brand manages its identity narrative successfully, it can result in strong emotional connections between the consumer and the brand (Holt, 2004). Narrative provokes emotional response in consumers, through the emotionally charged events within the plot, displayed through audio-visual cues including expression, gestures and soundtrack (Sukalla et al., 2016). When individuals engage with emotional narratives, they tend to experience mirroring, whereby they feel a sense of connection and empathy to the characters experiencing these emotions (Oatley, 2011). Sympathetic narratives are a form of story that use this mirroring experience to elicit a sense of closeness between the audience and the character, resulting in increased identification and engagement with the story (Sukalla et al., 2016). Strong emotional responses to narratives also increase the strength of the story's argument, "by colouring our logic with emotion" (Vincent, 2002, p. 30). This leads to consumers thinking less rationally about the message that

they are being told through the narrative, improving the organisation's persuasive ability. The persuasiveness of brand narratives can also be linked to the level of transportation that the audience experiences - that is, the extent to which they are absorbed into the world of the story (Green & Brock, 2000). Crafting effective identity narratives has important brand-building benefits for an organisation and should be thus managed carefully.

2.2. Nation branding

Over the last two decades, the concept of nation branding, first coined by Simon Anholt in 1998, has developed into a growing and complex research field (Fan, 2010; Stock, 2009). The vast array of terminology used, often interchangeably, within the literature has led to some confusion around the true definition of nation branding (Stock, 2009). However, a comprehensive review of the nation branding literature compiled by Hao and colleagues (2019) offers a list of existing terminology and definitions, which I have summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of nation branding terminology

Nation brand	The sum of people's perceptions of a nation as a collective whole. It encompasses their ideas, beliefs and impressions of the political, environmental, cultural, economic, historical and social aspects of the nation (Anholt, 2005a; Dinnie, 2008).
Country image	The perceptions held by an individual consumer regarding a country, drawn from the information and experiences that they have been exposed to of the nation (Papadopoulos, 2004; Stock, 2009).
Country reputation	The expressed reflection of country image, represented by the feedback shared publicly by individuals (Kang & Yang, 2010; Stock, 2009).
Nation branding	The process by which branding and marketing techniques are applied to the management of consumer touchpoints to improve the nation's brand equity – the brand's value derived from the strength of the consumer-brand relationship (Wood, 2000) - within the global arena (Fan, 2006; Kang & Yang, 2010).

Nation brand management has become increasingly important through the 21st century, as globalisation and advancing technology have meant that international consumers are increasingly exposed to information about foreign nations. This is thanks to growing levels of imported goods and services, e-commerce, increased ease of international travel, migration and much higher levels of exposure to international and social media (Rojas-Méndez et al., 2013). Every nation has a country image, as consumers will naturally develop perceptions in response to exposure to information about, or experiences of, a particular place (Papadopoulos, 2004). To gain an advantage on the world stage, where nations compete for foreign direct investment, tourists, export market share and talent, it is important that countries manage these perceptions through nation branding activities (Anholt, 2005a; Papadopoulos, 2004; Stock, 2009). Passow and colleagues (2005) noted that, because of the competitive international environment within which they operate, the function of a government is comparable to that of a company's top management. Thus, a nation's brand should be managed in a similar manner to that of a corporation to achieve sustained competitive advantage (Passow et al., 2005). This includes implementing

a nation branding strategy that, in many ways, imitates that of an organisation (Dinnie, 2008; Kotler & Gertner, 2002; Jaworski & Fosher, 2003).

The concept of applying marketing techniques at a national level, especially to the key sectors of a nation's economy, is far from revolutionary (Fan, 2010). Papadoulos (2004) identified that national marketing campaigns, designed to connect a country's image to its offerings, have long been utilised in the tourism industry through destination branding campaigns, as well as in the agricultural sector. More recently, campaigns have been implemented to promote foreign direct investment and export goods, attract labour and international students, and improve the nation's political positioning (i.e., soft power, diplomatic clout) (Papadopoulos, 2004). Although these national marketing campaigns serve the same purpose as nation branding, they have historically been context specific and confined to individual sectors (Anholt, 2004; Papadopoulos, 2004). Nation branding, on the other hand, is focused on the management of consumer perceptions across all facets of the nation (Dinnie, 2008; Hassan & Mahrous, 2019). The key purpose of nation branding is to move from an "actual image" of the nation (i.e. the current, existing country image that consumers in a particular international market have of the nation) to the "desired image" (i.e., the country image that the nation would like international consumers to have) (Stock, 2009, p. 123). The benefit of nation branding, instead of fragmented industry-specific national marketing campaigns, therefore lies in the notion of creating a strong, consistent brand that is reinforced across all the sectors comprising a consumer's overall country image (Papadoulos, 2004). Anholt (2005b) developed a nation branding hexagon, shown in Figure 2 below. It determines the power of a nation's brand by identifying six key areas that influence people's perception of a nation (Anholt, 2005b): governance, exports, tourism, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, and people. According to Fan (2010, p. 102), "nation branding calls for communicating in a coordinated and consistent manner. In line with corporate brand image theory, cohesive and consistent brand messaging will result in greater brand equity (Abratt, 1989). The more the six segments work together, the greater clarity the consumer will have of the underlying country image and the greater the nation's brand equity. Ensuring maximum consistency within the controllable messages that are being received by consumers will give the nation the best chance to break through the noise of competing information, improving country image and country reputation amongst international consumers (Hassan & Mahrous, 2019; Papadopoulos, 2004).

Figure 1: Nation branding hexagon (adapted from Anholt, 2005b)

Despite seeking to achieve similar goals, nation brand management differs fundamentally from corporate brand management in the vast multitude of involved stakeholders (Hassan & Mahrous, 2019; Kleppe & Mossberg, 2015; Papadopoulos, 2004). Kleppe and Mossberg (2015, p. 53) identified that a key managerial challenge of nation branding is that, while "authentic and core values are mandatory for efficient country branding," it is difficult to achieve an organisational structure that enables the participation and recognition of the "multiple and diverse" interests of the multitude of stakeholders within a nation brand. Another identified challenge is that "a country brand agency does not have the necessary managerial means or democratic legitimacy to determine and control the information about a source country that is communicated to the public in a target market" (Kleppe & Mossberg, 2015, p. 53). In other words, the government and its agencies have no control over the messages being shared about the nation by companies it has no control over, such as individual exporters. However, the integration of stakeholders to achieve consistent messaging is key to achieving authenticity and legitimacy in the nation's brand (Kleppe & Mossberg, 2014). Such managerial issues must be addressed to achieve successful nation branding.

Wijen and Ansari's (2007) study exploring the drivers of collective institutional entrepreneurship, which encounters the same issues of integrating a diverse range of stakeholders, identified six ways to address the collective action paradox faced by nation brands. These drivers, and their relationship to nation branding, are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2 – Applying collective institutional entrepreneurship to nation branding

Drivers of collective institutional entrepreneurship (Wijen & Ansari, 2007)	Application to nation branding
Manipulating power configuration - the reconfiguration of power to enable collaboration and minimise power differences	Development of a dedicated nation branding body, which seeks to coordinate the different stakeholders - namely government agencies, industry organisations and citizens of the nation (Dinnie, 2008; Kotler & Gerner, 2002)
Creating common ground –through shared values and interdependence	Development of a collective nation brand identity and shared vision, underpinned by core values agreed upon by key stakeholders (Dinnie, 2008; Jaworski & Fosher, 2008)
Mobilising bandwagons – Ensuring enough actors are on board	To be successful, a nation brand relies on the cooperation of the majority individual exporters and corporations to tell the same story as government organisations (Anholt, 2005a)
Devising appropriate incentive structures	The nation branding body must make it simple for government organisations and companies to participate in nation branding, with clear incentives as to why they should do so (Dinnie, 2008)
Applying ethical guidelines - e.g. fairness, equity and altruism	The halo effect means that all government organisations and domestic corporations benefit, even those who may not have the resources to undertake branding campaigns in different national markets on their own (Papadopoulos, 2004)
Using implementation mechanisms – e.g. information transfer, assistance and training	The nation branding body should support government organisations and individual corporations in their nation branding activities, to ensure cohesion and consistency (Dinnie, 2008)

Designated nation branding bodies can be helpful in integrating the values of key national stakeholders into a collective nation brand identity (Dinnie, 2008). This identity is underpinned by the identified core values of key stakeholders and is defined as "the collective understanding by the nation's people of the features presumed to be central, relatively permanent and that distinguishes the nation from other nations" (Fan, 2006, p. 6). Hassan and Mahrous note that following a "systematic examination" of the nation's resources and capabilities, sustaining the nation brand becomes "a function of turning distinctive characteristics as a comparative advantage into a competitive market position" (2019, p. 151). Dinnie (2008) identifies that national heritage, culture, landscape, governance and industry players, amongst others, are key resources that can be leveraged within a nation's brand strategy.

This echoes Kotler and Gerner (2002)'s idea that, to create a nation brand strategy, a country should first identify its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (i.e. conduct a SWOT analysis). It should then select the resources and capabilities that would provide the best "basis for storytelling" (Kotler & Gerner, 2002, p. 259). This process involves understanding current consumer needs, noting that "the development of a sustainable competitive position for the nation brand requires responding to the changing nature of demand in the marketplace" (Hassan & Mahrous, 2019, p. 152).

This also mirrors Holt's (2004) cultural brand management process described previously, as the nation's brand is embedded strongly within the cultural contexts of both the nation (as a type of organisation) and the audience. Dinnie (2008) noted that Holt's cultural branding model could also be applied to nation branding, due to the vast number of cultural resources available for nations to employ in branding activities. Thus, nations can also tell narratives that address the needs of international consumers through their unique sets of resources and capabilities (Hassan & Mahrous, 2019). Therefore, storytelling should be included as part of nation brand management, as it allows the nation brand's identity and personality to be expressed through archetype enactment. The first step in this cultural nation branding process is analysing the nation's resources and capabilities and undertaking in-depth market research into the identity values of its international consumers, in order to develop stories that are deeply rooted in the socio-cultural and historic context of both teller and audience (Holt, 2004; Dinnie, 2008).

2.2.1. Product-country image

Country image influences consumers' evaluations and purchasing behaviour of exported goods and services. This is referred to as the country-of-origin (COO) effect (Parameswaran & Pisharodi, 1994). According to the COO effect, the more positive the consumer's country image is, the more favourably they will evaluate exports from that country, increasing purchase likelihood (Kang & Yang, 2010). This effect works through two routes - the overall "halo effect" (Han, 1989) and the country-product category match (Roth & Romeo, 1992). The halo effect refers to situations where consumers know little about the products from a particular country and use their knowledge of the nation to infer general perceptions about quality (Al-Sulaiti & Baker, 1998; Han, 1989). The product-country match, however, occurs when the perceptions of a country's attributes are congruent with the desired attributes of a particular product category (Kang & Yang, 2010). For example, New Zealand's long historical connection with agriculture means that, within many international contexts, there is a strong product-country category match between New Zealand and the food and beverage industry. This is because consumers perceive the nation to have the right resources and capabilities to be able to excel at food and beverage production (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2002; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2000). Country image has a strong influence on a nation's export sector, both at a generalised level (through the halo effect) and at an industry level, where perceptions of the nation's resources and capabilities within a certain sector will add value to its exported goods (Hao et al., 2019).

There is a wealth of literature establishing the influence of country image on exported products (see Hao et al., 2019). However, there is also a growing field of research exploring how a nation's corporations can influence the overall country image in reverse (Kang & Yang, 2010; Lee et al., 2016). Due to increased levels of interaction between consumers and foreign goods and services, countries' exports are rapidly becoming one of the main touchpoints between a nation and their international consumers (Anholt, 2005a). Research has shown positive interactions with corporations from a country can improve a

consumer's overall country image. This then goes on to improve the favourable evaluations of other, unrelated products from that country through the COO halo effect (Kang & Yang, 2010). An example of this is where the positive interactions that international consumers had with South Korean companies, like Hyundai and Samsung, went on to improve those consumers' attitudes towards other South Korean products (Kang & Yang, 2010). Lee and colleagues refer to this as the chain effect, defined as the process by which "a product's perceptions first influence country image, which, in turn, influences the country's other products" (2016, p. 63). This chain effect necessitates the close collaboration between government trade bodies and key exporters from the nation to facilitate and promote the congruence between a nation and its key exports (Lee et al., 2016). According to the memory-theory perspective of country image formation, this collaborative government-industry export promotion will strengthen the consumers' semantic memory and the salient links between the country and its exports, encouraging memory retrieval of both the nation and its products in response to cues about either (Lee et al., 2016). Therefore, it is clear from the literature that key industry players should be engaged with and integrated in the nation branding process, to maximise the COO effect in terms of exports.

Authenticity is a key concept underpinning the COO effect. Authenticity manifests itself at two levels: legitimising the nation brand's authenticity within certain product markets (Elsbach, 1994), and legitimising the authenticity of the product's link to the country image (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2002). Authenticity itself is a subjective concept, relating to an individual's judgement of how genuine and true something is based on their own beliefs and perceptions (Wherry, 2006). Grayson and Martinec (2004) identified two forms of authenticity: indexical authenticity and iconic authenticity. Indexical authenticity refers to achieving the perception of authenticity via "indices", which are tangible or intangible cues creating clear, trustworthy links that confirm the authenticity of an object or an idea (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). Iconic authenticity refers to authenticity gained from a consumers' perceived sense of similarity, or congruence, between two things (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). This type of authenticity requires the consumer to have pre-existing knowledge of the context in which the thing attempting to achieve authenticity resides (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). The distinction in the two types of authenticity is important in understanding how to legitimise authenticity in COO branding, depending on the level of pre-existing consumer knowledge of the nation. This relates to research conducted by Diamantopoulos and colleagues (2020), which identified that consumers differ in their need for cognition (NFC) and need for affect (NFA). NFC is defined as their "intrinsic motivation to engage in cognitive information processing," while the NFA relates to the "motivation to seek out emotional stimuli" for emotional processing purposes (Diamantopoulos et al., 2020, p. 487). Indexical authenticity uses indices to provide consumers with factual cues to perceive authenticity, and is more useful for consumers with high NFC. Iconic authenticity uses emotional and sensory stimuli to elicit authenticity through consumers' existing knowledge and experience, so it is more relevant for high NFA consumers (Diamantopoulos et al., 2020). Therefore, COO authenticity may be achieved through different branding methods in different markets, based on consumers' existing knowledge of the nation and their differing levels of NFC and NFA (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Diamantopoulos et al., 2020).

Authenticity does not necessarily need to be based on fact and can also be crafted. This phenomenon is called "fabricated authenticity" (Beverland, 2005). Fabricated authenticity refers to establishing authenticity through partially or completely fabricated accounts of heritage or culture that adds value to the brand or product in some way (Lim & O'Cass, 2001; Peterson, 2005). For example, the French

Champagne industry fabricated authenticity for their regional products by establishing a link between the wine and the tradition of the region through storytelling, despite the production process being relatively industrial. This was done to differentiate their product from international competitors who could not achieve such place-based authenticity (Guy, 2002). Fabricated authenticity is particularly pertinent for nation brands, as they can use their vast stocks of historical and cultural capital to legitimise their authenticity in particular product markets (Peterson, 2005; Beverland, 2005). Incorporating a country's resources and expertise capabilities into national heritage stories has been shown to successfully promote nation brands by establishing links between the nation and specific industries, whether that story is entirely true or not (Lim & O'Cass, 2001; Beverland, 2005). Heritage stories are also important for establishing authenticity within a nation's brand identity (Peterson, 2005; Beverland, 2005). Such stories can be based on the truth, as seen in the "Authentic Ireland" campaign which sought to recreate "authentic" Irish heritage experiences as tourist destinations (Graham, 2001). However, it can also be based on fiction, as displayed by Tourism New Zealand's campaign to establish national authenticity through the famous film trilogy The Lord of the Rings (Jones & Smith, 2005). This campaign sought to legitimise New Zealand's authenticity as a mystical, beautiful landscape by creating salient connections between the nation and the films, which were filmed in the country and directed by a New Zealander, through extensive tourism campaigns (Jones & Smith, 2005). Within their overall country image, consumers have both cognitive and affective perceptions of a nation, whereby cognitive country image (CI) consists of the consumer's beliefs of a country's economic development, technological advancement and other such factors, while affective CI refers to their feelings of like or dislike of the country (Wang et al., 2012). Research has shown that when both forms of CI are consistent, for example, a consumer has positive beliefs and feelings about a nation, then consumers are more likely to process information about a product from that country. However, when they are inconsistent, consumers are more likely to utilise their affective CI to make a purchasing decision (Wang et al., 2012). Thus, it is important for nations to utilise emotional appeals in their nation branding, through mechanisms like storytelling, which can work to both legitimise the authenticity of nation brand identity and appeal to consumers' emotions (Jones & Smith, 2005; Sukalla et al., 2016).

At a national level, legitimising authenticity within specific markets is important for the creation of strong country-product category connections in consumers' minds (Beverland, 2005; Jones & Smith, 2005). As Beverland (2005) notes in his study on crafting authenticity within the luxury wine industry, "the persistence of authenticity lies in the legitimacy of established institutions…in which society members construct mutually shared impressions" (p. 1005). Thus, it is important for the nation to be viewed as authentic within a particular market, for the COO effect to positively influence consumers' perceptions of the nation's exports within that market. Once this authenticity has been granted, individual exporters are able to leverage that within their own authenticity stories (Beverland, 2005; Peterson, 2005). The process is also able to be reversed, as effective stories that establish authenticity between product and place at the individual exporter level will improve the authenticity of the nation's connection to the product market (Lee et al., 2016). This shows how collaborative storytelling, undertaken at the intersection of policy and exporting, can legitimise authenticity between a nation and its resources and capabilities in the eyes of international consumers, thus helping to improve export value (Hao et al., 2019).

2.2.2. Cultural, historical, institutional and leadership capital of New Zealand

Narratives have a rich and embedded history in New Zealand, within both Māori and European cultures (Lee, 2009; Sargent, 2001; Ware et al., 2018). In Māori culture, oral traditions such as kōrero (referring to both narrative and the act of storytelling) and whakataukī (proverbs) were used to pass on generational knowledge in the absence of written language (Ware et al., 2018). Pūrākau (stories or myths) are central to Māori tradition and encapsulate the fundamental "philosophical thought, cultural codes and worldviews" that underpin the culture (Lee, 2009, p.1). Despite a rich storytelling culture, Māori history has been, until very recently, suppressed by the European 19th and 20th century written history of New Zealand (Binney, 2010). Historians who have been trained in Western forms of the discipline have reinforced colonialist views at the expense of Māori history, through their hegemonic presentation of New Zealand's past (Binney, 2010). It is, however, not sufficient (or appropriate) for Western historians to simply tell Māori stories. Whakapapa, or ancestry, is closely woven into Māori oral histories and therefore not everyone is offered the right to tell those stories, which are deeply rooted in culture and tradition (Binney, 2010; Ware et al., 2018).

Within colonial history, New Zealand's identity as an island utopia was established shortly after the first settlements from Europe in the 1800s, with the intention of convincing European workers to immigrate to New Zealand (Sargent, 2001, p.1). The nation was described in novels, short stories and memoirs as a "middle class paradise" (Sargent, 2001, p. 2). The main reason for this was that, unlike neighbouring Australia, New Zealand was not a penile colony and its colonisation from Europe was voluntary. Storytelling is often used to create meaning within a brand (Holt, 2004), and these descriptions of colonial New Zealand show how narratives have been used throughout history to support New Zealand's national brand identity building. Although the reality of life in New Zealand may not have lived up to these exalted descriptions, it planted the seed for the national identity of a South Pacific Shangri-La. The New Zealand government was eager to continue along this path, establishing a tourism department in 1901 - a world first of its kind (Kinnear, 2020). Throughout the early 20th century, the New Zealand brand was developed through a range of communication channels sponsored by the government. This included informative and fictional films, and supporting writers to pen articles, novels and poems about New Zealand that were then given to New Zealanders travelling overseas to disperse to foreign counterparts (Kinnear, 2020). Again, New Zealand's approach to national brand building focused on storytelling, this time through film, journalism and fiction. The identity of New Zealand as a "rural idyll" endured, promising a nation free of poverty and pollution (Kinnear, 2020, p.720).

Towards the end of the 20th century, the need to strengthen New Zealand's brand on the international stage was recognised by the government, which noted that most international consumers had at best a "vague understanding" of New Zealand, while many had no knowledge of the nation at all (Hall, 2010). Consequently, The New Zealand Way Limited (TNZWL) was established in 1995, a joint venture between the New Zealand Tourism Board and Trade New Zealand (Hall, 2010). Although TNZWL did not achieve the desired levels of success in international markets, it registered the silver fern as the official national icon, which has had long standing effects (Hall, 2010). In 1999, after the re-organisation of the NZ Tourism Board to become the more commercially-oriented group Tourism New Zealand (TNZ), the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign launched. New Zealand's rugged and unique landscape was central to this campaign, promoting the nation as clean, pollution-free and, as the name suggests, pure (Bell, 2008). The release of Peter Jackson's Lord of the Rings trilogy in the early 2000s, heavily featuring

New Zealand's natural landscapes, became a key supporting asset of the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign, cementing the national brand around the environment (Jones & Smith, 2005). Again, this is an example of the New Zealand government utilising storytelling, this time through blockbuster movies, to support their nation brand building campaigns.

The clean, green imagery of the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign provoked earlier associations of New Zealand as a rural idyll that had been established throughout the twentieth century (Kinnear, 2020). Through its heritage as a farming nation, supported by a history of agricultural innovation and now its association with a pure environment, New Zealand reinforced the links between its nation brand identity and the food and beverage (F&B) sector. Consumers thus came to associate New Zealand with the resources and capabilities needed to produce high quality food products (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2002; O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2000).

The 100% Pure New Zealand campaign proved successful in building both New Zealand's destination brand and various F&B brands among international consumers. However, the focus on tourism branding became a concern within some sectors of the New Zealand government, who worried that New Zealand's clean, green reputation could have a negative impact on other sectors due to its potential "associations with a lack of technological sophistication" (Hall, 2010, p. 76). The New Zealand Story Group (NZ Story) was set up in 2012. NZS was created with the objective of "build[ing] a narrative that would embody New Zealand's unique and compelling proposition relevant to all sectors – not just tourism" (NZ Story, 2017). NZS is partnered with Tourism New Zealand, New Zealand Trade & Enterprise (NZTE), the Ministry for Foreign Affairs & Trade (MFAT) and Education New Zealand (ENZ), the Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI) and Te Puni Kōkiri/the Ministry of Māori Development (TPK).

2.3. Export promotion

There is a wealth of existing export literature, establishing the importance of exporting within IB (see Kahiya, 2018; Leonidou et al., 2002). From this vast body of research, several key theoretical lenses have been applied to exporting to explain the barriers to and motivators of exporting, including, amongst others, the resource-based view (RBV), network theory and institutional theory (Chabowski et al., 2018; Kahiya, 2018). Understanding these theories is also critical to applying the knowledge from the storytelling and nation branding literatures to the context of export promotion strategies. For clarity in this review, "export promotion strategies" refer to any marketing techniques implemented to improve export performance (Chen et al., 2016; Hultman et al., 2011). As a concept, "export performance" is relatively ill-defined within the IB literature. It is largely measured by a range of indicators, including export profitability, market share, export sales growth and export intensity (Chen et al., 2016; Gençtürk & Kotabe, 2001). "Export barriers" refer to the issues that "discourage non-exporters from internationalising, inhibit ongoing international expansion of current exporters, induce de-internationalisation and dissuade ex-exporters from re-engaging international markets" (Kahiya, 2018, p. 1173). I will now turn my attention to the three core theoretical lenses discussed earlier.

2.3.1. The resource-based view

The resource-based view is a prominent theory within the IB literature, where a firm's particular set of resources and capabilities, if managed correctly, can lead to sustained competitive advantage and high export performance in global markets (Barney, 1991; Chen et al., 2016). To achieve this advantage, however, resources and capabilities must be valuable, rare, inimitable and non-substitutable (VRIN) so that they cannot be easily replicated by competitors (Barney, 1991). Resources and capabilities that are not VRIN individually can also be configured by organisations into complex bundles that can achieve VRIN status, as it can be difficult to replicate such a configuration (Hart & Dowel, 2011). Additionally, complex strategies, defined as strategies comprised of many interdependent decisions, can also be categorised as VRIN resources (Rivkin, 2000). Barney (1991) proposed that, unlike other theories, the RBV also considers the firm within its socio-temporal and historical contexts. In this way, the history of the firm, including its past experiences, can lead to the creation of VRIN resources and capabilities, as firms who have not had those experiences will be unable to replicate the same context-dependent strategies (Barney, 1991). This is echoed by Westhead and colleagues (2001), who noted that "the foreign investment decisions taken by firms are, in part, influenced by unique competencies developed over their histories" (p. 338). Additionally, firms who were able to achieve legitimacy through VRIN avenues, including strong relationships with and endorsement from other key actors, were less impacted by export barriers in international markets (Kahiya, 2018; Singh et al., 1986). Therefore, to achieve high levels of export performance, a firm should not only consider its specific sets of current resources and capabilities, but also assess how its past experiences and unique history can inform the delivery and sustenance of VRIN-type strategies for competitive advantage.

2.3.2. Institutional theory

Institutional theory asserts that the environment in which firms operate, defined by formal and informal game rules set in place by key institutional actors, like governments and trade bodies, impact export performance (Fligstein, 1996; Peng et al., 2008; Westhead et al., 2001). While the RBV focuses on how the firm's internal environment can support exporting, institutional theory looks at how the firm's external environment can impact export performance (Ayob & Freixanet, 2014). Research has shown that, within small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), external support is more beneficial for improving propensity to export than internal stimuli (Ayob & Freixanet, 2014). Formal guidelines include economic policies and trade regulations, as well as government assistance and funding, while informal institutional guidelines can include such things as values, beliefs and ways of doing business (Kahiya, 2018; Peng et al., 2008). Institutions, therefore, provide the context within which actors identify themselves, "reminding us that no organisation can be properly understood apart from its wider social and cultural context" (Scott, 1995, p. 151). According to Scott (1995), institutions have regulative, normative and cognitive functions. The adoption and integration by organisations of normative institutional features can be an avenue to achieving authenticity and legitimacy in the eyes of consumers (Beverland, 2005; Elsbach, 1994) to whom these institutional signals represent "worthiness and acceptability" (Oliver, 1991, p. 158).

Export promotion agencies (EPAs) are one type of formal institutional mechanism that supports the export performance of individual firms (Lederman et al., 2010). The overall objective of EPAs is to help SMEs overcome export barriers to achieve high levels of national export performance (Wilkinson & Brouthers, 2006). This is achieved in four ways (Lederman et al., 2010): country image building, export support services (including training and logistics assistance), marketing through trade fairs and other

channels, and market research. This encompasses both direct export promotion support, through trade mobility and market development functions, and indirect support through resource and knowledge development and acquisition (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). A combined approach utilising both indirect and direct avenues of institutional support is recommended to maximise impact on export performance (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). Thus, EPAs give SMEs access to resources and capabilities that they would likely be unable to access on their own, minimising the impacts of export barriers, like lack of knowledge and finances (Ayob & Freixanet, 2014; Lederman et al., 2010). Modern EPAs have been shown to be effective in improving national export performance, especially when there are high levels of integration between the public and private sector (Lederman et al., 2010). The importance of this integration is echoed by Kahiya and Delaney who argue that "the effectiveness of trade promotion organisations depends on their ability to develop appropriate distribution mechanisms that ensure export support reaches the right recipients" (2022, p. 8). The Covid-19 pandemic has made policy interventions, an example of a formal institutional mechanism, even more critical to support exporters in an unstable global environment (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022).

2.3.3. Network theory

Network theory proposes that developing a network of relationships with key actors, both within the domestic context and within the host market, can decrease the risk of exporting for organisations by reducing the impact of export barriers (Chabowski et al., 2018; Ghauri et al., 2003). Vahlne and Johanson (2020, p. 5) commented that "the process of internationalization is one of co-evolution with network members", as the relationships between firms, both horizontally and vertically, can facilitate learning through information exchange. Ghauri and colleagues (2003) researched how internal networks, where domestic firms enter co-operative relationships, can mitigate internal export problems such as insufficient knowledge and resources to successfully enter foreign markets. An example of such a network is an export marketing co-operative network, where groups of exporters come together to "solve a common marketing problem, improve production efficiency or exploit a market opportunity through resource mobilisation and sharing" (Ghauri et al., 2003, p. 731). The two key determinants of the success of these networks are the level of cohesion and solidarity within the group, and the success of the network in attaining knowledge and experience of the desired host market (Welch & Joynt, 1987). One of the ways of achieving cohesion is through an external change agent, defined as an independent party that facilitates group cooperation and connects the participating organisations with key supporting resources (Ghauri et al., 2003). Developing a cohesive and stable export marketing network will enable export organisations to achieve greater success in market penetration and export sales, due to mitigating the export barriers that individual firms may not have the resources and capabilities to address (Ghauri et al., 2003; Kahiya, 2018). However, the downside of these networks is that to achieve cohesion and solidarity, firms must surrender some of their independence and autonomy to work as part of the group (Ghauri et al., 2003). This could cause some issues if firms felt like they were not able to make their own decisions, however this is where the role of the change agent comes into play, to facilitate cohesion between the independent values and objectives of each firm within the network (Ghauri et al., 2003).

2.3.4. Standardisation vs. localisation

There is some debate amongst IB scholars about whether exporters looking to internationalise should adopt standardised or localised marketing strategies, whereby standardised strategies are identical across

all host markets that the exporter enters while localised strategies are adapted for the cultural nuances between each market (Leonidou et al., 2002; Navarro-García et al., 2016; Özsomer & Simonin, 2004). While some scholars believe that standardised approaches can be adopted if the host market is culturally similar to the home market (Özsomer & Simonin, 2004), many believe that cross-cultural differences influencing consumer preferences and behaviour, as well as institutional norms and regulations, are significant enough to warrant localised strategies within each host market (Albaum & Tse, 2001; Leonidou et al., 2002). Prior research has shown that adapting export promotion strategies to reflect the cultural context of each host market has a positive effect on export performance, through greater product-market match and reduced uncertainty around the foreign product (Navarro-Garcia et al., 2016; Leonidou et al., 2002). To develop successful localisation strategies, exporting firms must gather in-depth market intelligence, defined as "acquiring knowledge concerning foreign consumer needs and potential and about the practices of the competition in international markets, and transferring that knowledge to the functional areas of the exporting company" (Navarro-Garcia et al., 2016, p. 368). The learning orientation of a firm is comprised of four components: (1) the firm's commitment to learning, (2) its shared vision, (3) its open mindedness and (4) its intraorganisational knowledge sharing (Calantone et al., 2002). Research shows that improvements across these four components have a positive impact on firm performance, especially for organisations that are exporting into culturally distant international markets (Calanzone et al., 2002; Navarro-Garcia et al., 2016).

2.4. The ISP framework

Drawing on the conceptual framework of institutionalised storytelling developed by Lwin (2017), the four key elements of a story in an institutional context shown in Figure 2 below include: events, characters, temporality and spatialization.

The key logic of Lwin's framework is that "the various situational and functional factors of a storytelling event can have a direct bearing on aspects of the story told, such as the narrative structure and discourse elements" (2017, p. 57). Thus, the story must be examined as part of its wider context. While this framework was developed for performative institutional storytelling, it can also be useful for understanding the mechanisms of any storytelling for organisational purposes, where the context within which the story is told has direct implications on how the story should be structured and communicated.

Figure 2: Contextualised ISP model (Lwin, 2017)

2.4.1. Storytelling

The events of the story should be structured in a way that reflects traditional story grammar. It should be familiar and coherent to audiences, but omit enough information to keep people curious (Lwin, 2017). The characters present in the story should be relatable to consumers, and their emotions, desires and goals should act as clear motivations for the actions of the plot (Lwin, 2017). The events and characters within the story must be situated within a recognisable time and place for the audience to replicate the story world within their own mental models, therefore temporality and spatialisation are also key considerations in the narrative potential of stories (Lwin, 2017).

2.4.2. The storytelling discourse

As the ISP framework was developed for performative storytelling, the storytelling discourse component refers mostly to the verbal, vocal and/or visual features of the story (Lwin, 2017). However, the underpinning idea of this part of the framework is how the storytelling discourse provides an "interpretive frame for the recipient to understand the story and the act of storytelling" (Lwin, 2017, p. 60). This idea persists even as the framework is applied to different types of institutional storytelling, as this level of the framework works to understand how the story is applied to a given socio-cultural context in which it is told.

2.4.3. The storytelling event

The storytelling event component of the framework incorporates the institutional context of the story, the purposes for which the story is being told, and who the teller and audience of the story are (Lwin, 2017). The idea of this level of the framework is that, when a story is being told for specific organisational purposes, the overall setting and context of the story will influence the way in which the story is told. In Lwin's words, "the relevance of situational and functional factors to the specification of narrativity in an ISP can be explored by examining the dynamics of the storyteller and audience, and compatibility between the form, function and situation of a particular storytelling performance" (2017, p.60). The idea of real vs. implied teller comes from the concept of the author of a story assuming a particular persona when becoming a storyteller, distinct from their own identity (Lwin, 2017). This could mean anything from being an "omniscient presence" that narrates the story from a third person perspective or entering the story as a character by adopting a first-person perspective (Lwin, 2017, p. 62).

Overall, the ISP framework shown in Figure 2 helps us understand the nested nature of institutional storytelling (captured by the different levels of the model), and the importance of spatial and temporal contextualisation of storytelling elements and features. These need to be aligned with "institutional settings, purposes, types of audience as well as assumptions about their inferential capacity and knowledge" (Lwin, 2017, p. 63).

3. My research framework

Figure 3 presents an integrated storytelling framework as an export promotion tool for policymakers within New Zealand. The framework integrates existing storytelling, nation branding and export promotion literatures, and follows the nested logic of Lwin's (2017) institutionalised storytelling performance (ISP) framework. The framework examines the storytelling process at three levels:

- The strategic level, which considers the institutional purpose of the story and context within which the story is being told.
- The functional level, which situates the story within the cultural context of the receiving host market.
- The operational level, which includes the specific features, structure and format of the story.

Also included within this framework are the concepts of the so-called "real teller" and the assumed sources, or narrators, of the stories. The real teller is an umbrella concept in my framework, as it relates to the collective efforts of the New Zealand government and all exporting industry organisations. The assumed sources/narrator of the stories capture the individual government agencies and individual exporting companies.
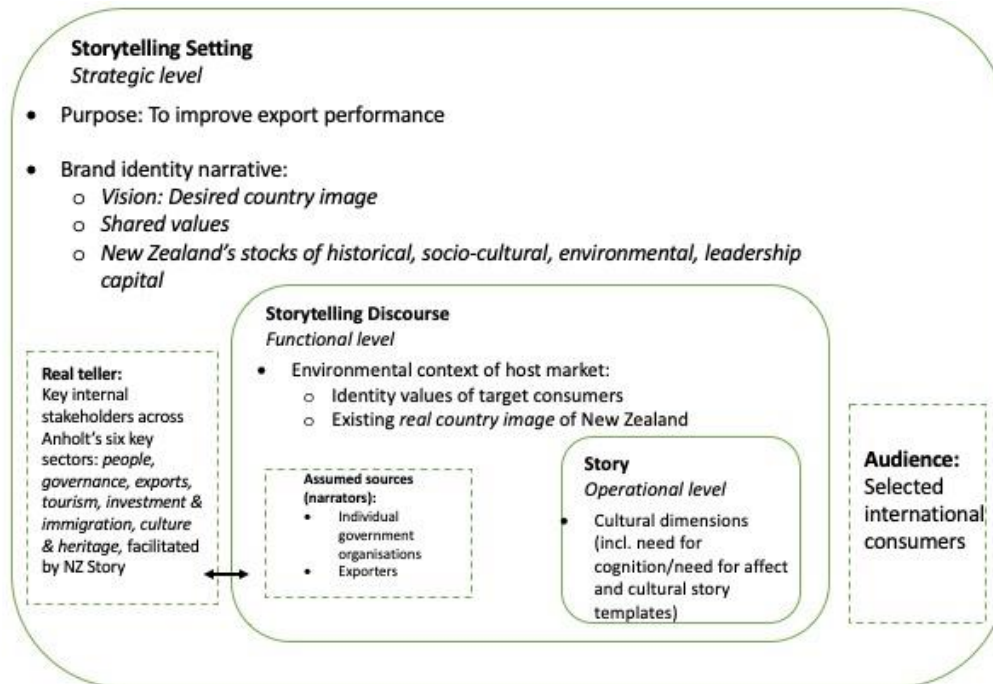
Figure 3: Framework for storytelling as an export promotion tool at the policymaking level

3.1. The storytelling setting: the strategic level

As in Lwin's (2017) contextualised framework for institutionalised storytelling performance, the setting within which the story takes place informs the form and function of the story. This level of the framework includes the contextual aspects of the storytelling event which remain constant, no matter the targeted international market. These contextual aspects relate to the internal facets of export promotion storytelling, in that they relate to the relevant stakeholders within New Zealand. The key components of the storytelling setting component of the framework are:

- The purpose of the story being told.
- The nation brand identity narrative of New Zealand, which includes the vision, shared values of the NZ nation brand and New Zealand's stocks of historical, socio-cultural, environmental and leadership capital.

As this framework is specifically developed for storytelling as an export promotion tool, the overall purpose for any story developed is to improve export performance. This can be measured in a multitude of ways, including export intensity, export profitability, foreign market share and/or export sales growth (Chen et al., 2016). More recently, the concept of "value added" has also become increasingly important, especially as New Zealand looks to position itself beyond a traditional agricultural export powerhouse.

As seen in the organisational storytelling literature, strategic narratives can be used to craft an enduring, compelling and memorable corporate identity based on a set of shared values and an overarching vision (Barry & Elmes, 1997; Brown, 2006). In the case of nation brands, the vision is the desired country image - in other words, the perceptions that the country would like to have in the minds of international customers and consumers (Stock, 2009). Not only do organisational identity narratives improve employees' commitment to the brand through collective centring, but they also provide a platform for

legitimising and sharing the perspectives of multiple stakeholders within an organisation (Robichaud et al., 2004). This is especially important within nation brand management, in which the integration of a vast array of stakeholders is integral to the authenticity of the nation's brand identity (Kleppe & Mossberg, 2004). To successfully author a polyphonic national brand identity narrative that achieves stakeholder integration, a dedicated nation branding body is needed to manage the power dynamics between the various sizes of stakeholders (Wijan & Ansari, 2006). Within the New Zealand context, this body is NZ Story. Their role is to facilitate the collaboration and integration of the government agencies and domestic industry players to create an overarching New Zealand nation brand identity. This process should include stakeholders across the six key sectors identified by Anholt (2006) informing international consumers' country image, namely: (1) governance, (2) exports, (3) tourism, (4) investment and immigration, (5) culture and heritage and (6) people.

The collective centring of the six key sectors mentioned above will mean consumers are receiving consistent messaging across all facets of the nation's brand, resulting in improved country image and brand equity. In this way, NZ Story acts as an external change agent, facilitating cohesion and solidarity within the network of nation brand stakeholders of New Zealand. Improved levels of cooperation and commitment to the network reduces the impact of export barriers, such as lack of resources. Integrating the perspectives of relevant stakeholders into a metanarrative will inform the shared values and desired country image of New Zealand, which will evolve over time. Stakeholders should feel represented by and aligned with the narrative, fostering a sense of commitment to the nation brand. This relates to both the self and social functions of the narrative, as the overarching nation story works to build both a clear and enduring brand identity and strengthens relationships within the internal export network.

Brand identities are made up of the central, distinctive and enduring features of an organisation (Albert & Whetten, 1985). There are a plethora of resources and capabilities available to capitalise upon within a nation, but not all of them will necessarily result in a successful brand identity. Following Hassan and Mahrous' (2019) recommendation, the NZ Story has to undertake a thorough examination of New Zealand's stocks of capital, including socio-cultural, historical, environmental, and leadership resources and capabilities, to identify which types of capital can help build sustainable competitive advantage which is also resilient against shocks. This follows the resource-based view, whereby particular resources and capabilities can lead to sustained competitive advantage if managed correctly (Barney, 1991). Of particular importance is the concept that a brand's heritage, rooted in culture and history, can be considered a valuable, rare, inimitable and non-substitutable (VRIN) resource (Barney, 1991). In terms of nation branding, specific resources and capabilities can be communicated through narratives to establish authenticity. This authenticity can be linked to the overarching nation brand, or within given product markets (Beverland, 2005).

The directive function of narrative refers to its ability to guide decision making and goal creation, both at the organisational and individual level (Bluck et al., 2005; Garud & Giuliani, 2013). This is especially pertinent in times of change and uncertainty (Brown & Humphreys, 2003). Organisational narratives can form a framework that utilises history to inform present and future decision making, both at a national brand level and an individual exporter level (Deuten & Rip, 2000). For nation branding, with its complex web of interconnected stakeholders, this directive function is incredibly helpful, as it addresses the second managerial problem of nation branding identified by Kleppe and Mossberg (2015): that the government

has little control over messages being shared by individual exporters. Exporting involves many firm-level decisions, including how to develop individual export promotion strategies (Ayob & Freixanet, 2014). Through the development of organisational narratives developed by NZ Story, individual exporters will be able to use the past experiences of other exporters and the shared history of the New Zealand brand to make decisions that will be congruent with the overarching nation brand narrative.

3.2. The storytelling discourse: the functional level

The second level of the framework relates to the functional aspects of storytelling for export promotion. This includes decisions around the storytelling discourse, including specific messaging and framing. This component of the framework needs to be adapted to the cultural context of each individual host market, consistent also with the market adaptation logic within IB.

The importance of external stakeholders in brand building has been established at both an organisational brand level and national brand level (Urde, 2003; Hassan & Mahrous, 2019; Holt, 2004). The brand's internal identity narrative developed at the strategic level of the framework forms part of the overall country image; however, the core nation brand narrative must be adapted to reflect the cultural context of a specific international market it is targeting.

Narrative processing means that brands who communicate their identity to audiences through storytelling can achieve greater levels of self-brand connection with consumers, who "map" the brand's narrative onto their own identity narrative (Escalas, 2004). This type of information processing has many benefits for brands, resulting in increased brand equity (Holt, 2004; Vincent, 2004). However, to achieve this self-brand connection, consumers must feel a sense of alignment between their own actual or desired identity and that of the brand. For a nation brand, this becomes relatively more complex as individuals' identity narratives are deeply embedded within their cultural context (Gabriel, 2000). Culturally specific events, such as recessions and political and social movements, and popular culture have a strong influence on consumers' identity values, which are subject to regular and ongoing change (Laraña et al., 2002; Vincent, 2002). Nation brands must, therefore, have an in-depth understanding of the values and desired identities of target consumers within each host market, achieved through in-depth qualitative research. Once these are established, the nation brand can use narrative, such as heritage stories, to achieve cultural and political authority within these myth markets and align their values with those of their consumers.

Storytelling can be used to actualise the change from a market's entrenched real country image of New Zealand to the desired country image through its directive, sense making function (Sonenshein, 2010). Changes in both the internal environment, such as innovation within New Zealand's domestic industries, and the external environment, such as exogenous shocks or shifting consumer trends, necessitate changes in a brand's strategic direction (Holt, 2004). However, sudden changes in a brand's identity, which constitutes its core values, can lead to interpretative breakdowns if consumers cannot fathom the link between their perceptions of the brand and its new identity (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013). Therefore, strategic narratives should be implemented that are plausible and acceptable to relevant stakeholders, by creating a salient link between the nation's desired country image and the brand's actual current image within the nation (Kaplan & Orlikowski, 2013).

At this level, therefore, the storytelling process becomes one of co-creation between the internal stakeholders within New Zealand and the external stakeholders - the international consumers and customers. Building relationships and feedback loops within the host market through local market research firms and consumer groups is crucial to collect in-depth, accurate data which then informs in-market campaigns.

3.3. The Story: the operational level

The operational level of the framework involves the specific structures and features of the stories being told for export promotion. There can be multiple different types of stories being told within each international market, utilising different media channels and formats, depending on the consumption preferences of the target consumers. While the underlying values of the stories being told within a particular market should be established at the strategic and functional levels of the framework, how these are expressed should be considered at the operational level.

As well as influencing core identity values, cultural dimensions impact how stories are told and interpreted. The way that stories are traditionally told within a specific market (i.e., the cultural template) should inform specific plot structures, characters and storytelling mechanisms, in order to increase the number of indices between the brand narrative and the consumer's self-story. Cultural nuances between markets necessitate different storytelling approaches. These nuances include factors such as the level of consumers' need for cognition (NFC) and need for affect (NFA), as well as cultural dimensions, such as individualism vs. collectivism (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Diamantopoulos et al., 2020; Nelson, 2003). Differences in NFC and NFA inform the level of rational and emotional cues that should be present within a story, while cultural dimensions influence the roles the consumer will feel comfortable playing. Brand agents who reflect the consumer's desired identity are also an effective way to create indices connecting the brand to the consumer. Partnering with prominent influencers or opinion leaders that are already established as trustworthy and inspirational within the target market gives the nation brand some authenticity within that market, given that their values are well aligned with the brand agent they are partnered with (Vincent, 2002).

4. Methodology and Data

4.1. Research method

As the research framework examines the unexplored intersection between storytelling, nation branding and export promotion literature within an institutional context, I opted for a qualitative exploratory approach. Drawing on the expert interview method, I follow a non-positivist research tradition of constructivism and interpretivism. Expert interviews are, however, not a single research method but rather a family of methods. They are frequently used as a tool in exploratory research, where the knowledge gained from the experts is used to further understanding (Bogner et al., 2018). Expert status is awarded to an individual based on their knowledge in a specific area, extensive experience and/or status within a community or an organisation (Döringer, 2021). The role of experts is to provide expert knowledge (i.e., meta-knowledge) and insights, not necessarily their own experiences. Experts are thus not the primary subjects of the study but rather conduits of knowledge, information and/or insights (Takacs Haynes &

Rašković, 2021). Expert interviews are particularly appropriate for research in policy and/or government level contexts due to the relatively small number of key actors involved in decision making (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019).

The expert interview is an umbrella term for a family of interview methods which usually consist of three most common types of interviews (Bogner et al., 2018): (1) the exploratory expert interview, (2) the systematising expert interview and (3) the theory-generating expert interview. I use the systematising expert interview approach, whereby the key objective is to "gain access to exclusive knowledge possessed by the expert" (Bogner et al, 2018, p. 10). Systematising expert interviews aim to uncover both the experts' technical and processual knowledge (Döringer, 2021). Technical knowledge refers to specific knowledge of the operational aspects and application routines of the field, which the experts have deep understanding of due to their experience in the field (Bogner et al., 2018). Process knowledge is more contextual, encompassing the institutional and social environment and relationships within the field (Döringer, 2021). In a policy and/or government setting, process knowledge refers to the policymaking process itself (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019). Processual knowledge does not tend to be codified, as it relates more to the interactions and relationships between different players than the output of these processes.

Interviewing experts with active roles in the decision-making processes allows access to information that would otherwise be difficult to attain (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019). Processual knowledge encompasses the context in which decision making processes take place, revealing important insights into the power dynamics present between different stakeholders (Döringer, 2021). Expert interviews are well suited at uncovering context knowledge, especially in ongoing processes such as policymaking. This is because experts can reflect on the environment in which they and their colleagues make decisions (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019).

This research is seeking to uncover the technical knowledge of the operational storytelling aspects for export promotion, as well as process knowledge of the decision-making processes and key interactions that support the telling of these stories. Additionally, the context knowledge that experts in the field are privy to of the wider institutional setting in which storytelling for export promotion takes place is critical to answering the research questions. Therefore, the systematising expert interview methodology is well suited for the purposes of this research study.

4.2. Data collection

The aim of systematising expert interviews is to collect a comprehensive and structured set of information within a particular field (Döringer, 2021). Therefore, this methodology requires adequate participants to achieve saturation of knowledge, while keeping in mind the limited pool of available experts. When there are few experts with the desired levels of technical, processual and contextual knowledge, the sample size will reflect this, as only these experts will be helpful at achieving the goals of the systemising expert interview methodology. For this study, nine experts were selected through purposive sampling across four government agencies. These agencies were the NZ Story and three of its partner agencies: New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (NZTE), Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) and Education New Zealand (ENZ). Although six government agencies partner with NZ Story, these organisations were chosen because they

are the key agencies that make a concerted effort to promote the New Zealand story to international consumers. The other three, Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) and Te Puni Kōkiri/Ministry of Māori Development (TPK) either have a larger domestic focus, or in the case of MFAT, do not undertake marketing campaigns.

Experts are selected "by virtue of their specific knowledge, their community position, or their status" (Döringer, 2021, p. 1). In line with the methodology of expert interviews, only those policymakers were selected who hold a decision-making role within their organisations (Bogner et al., 2018) and have a wealth of knowledge in the areas of export promotion and the current state of storytelling at the government level within New Zealand. The interviewees were chosen through research of the four key organisations, based on their position and their experience with the subject matter. The positions held by the nine respondents included three marketing directors, one Māori business director, one CEO, one general manager (GM) of customers, one GM of government relations, one GM of international and one respondent who had previously held director roles at two of the sampled government agencies. Each of these positions are actively and strategically involved in "telling" the New Zealand story to international consumers, either by directly working with the New Zealand Story Group, by supporting NZ exporters to tell their story in international markets, or both. The gender split of the respondents was five women and four men. Each was considered to have the technical, processual and contextual knowledge necessary to answer the research questions. While there may have been more decision makers not interviewed that also have access to elements of this knowledge, the purpose of expert interviews is to reveal and synthesise exclusive information, rather than compare a multitude of subjective experiences (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019). Saturation in the data was achieved through relatively few respondents compared to other qualitative methodologies, which is why only a few experts from each represented organisation were approached.

I first checked the websites of the targeted government agencies to identify potential participants. I then double checked their LinkedIn profiles to ensure their tenure and work experience background. I discussed the final roster with my supervisor, before contacting the participants first via e-mail with a brief explanation of the study. Although face-to-face interviews are the preferred format for expert interviews (Bogner et al., 2018), issues relating to the location of the respondents and the Covid-19 pandemic necessitated that some of the interviews be conducted online. Zoom was used to facilitate virtual visual meetings, which improves control of the interview for both participants (Bogner et al., 2018). In total, three of the interviews were in person and six took place via Zoom. Interviews lasted between 25 and 45 minutes. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed once permission was obtained from the participants.

As according to the systematising expert interview methodology, a general interview structure was developed covering the key topics of inquiry (Bogner et al., 2009) and followed the general logic of my ISP framework shown in Figure 2 on p. Some questions were omitted or adapted across the interviews (i.e., semi-structured expert interviews) to reflect the specific expertise of the respondent (Bogner et al., 2009). This was done to improve the validity of the data by incorporating the perspectives of the different stakeholder groups, and only asking questions that were relevant to the interviewee to minimise respondent burden (Van Audenhove & Donders, 2019).

I used a combination of deductive and inductive approaches in this research. The data was analysed through the lens of the ISP theoretical framework (Figure 3), developed based on existing literature. This, therefore, informed a deductive coding approach whereby the data was loosely organised based on the components of the framework (Kennedy & Thornberg, 2018). A potential limitation of deductive coding is being constrained by existing theory to the point that important pieces of data are missed if they do not fit into the framework (Kennedy & Thornberg, 2018). Thus, inductive coding was also used, whereby themes that were repeated throughout the data were organised into codes, even if they did not fit directly into the research framework. This reflected the exploratory nature of the research, as while the framework is informed by the relevant literature, we are also interested in new ideas stemming from the experts themselves. A table of key themes and related codes can be found in the appendices (Appendix 1).

As the research involves human subjects, Human Ethics (HEC) Approval was obtained. An ethical consideration in the proposed study is the privacy of the interviewees, who may not wish to be identified. Given the purposive sampling strategy and expert interview method we are undertaking, we had to identify the level of seniority of the participant and the organisation they belong to. However, an organisational pseudonym (i.e., NZS2 referring to New Zealand Story respondent 2) has been assigned to them only identifying the organisation they work for. Consent was obtained from each participating organisation and interviewee for data to be collected, including permission for each interview to be recorded, and published. Additionally, all stakeholders were provided with an information sheet about the purpose, motivation and details of the study, as well as given the opportunity to request a full transcript for authorisation purposes.

5. Findings

Organising the findings from the nine expert interviews in terms of the ISP research framework (Figure 3), I first discuss the various strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats identified by the experts. This is followed by the key considerations of export storytelling at both the government level and the industry level, including the value and barriers of storytelling within each respective context. Then, at a functional level, the respondents' perspectives on achieving balance between the values of international consumers and the New Zealand nation brand is discussed. Finally, the creative and operational features of storytelling are discussed, and the existing processes by which government agencies develop export stories for different markets.

5.1. SWOT analysis

The 100% Pure NZ campaign
The country's stocks of environmental capital, including its landscapes, scenery and lack of pollution, were identified as a key drawcard for international consumers. This is largely based on the success of the 100% Pure NZ campaign which, according to a decision maker from Tourism New Zealand (hereinafter TNZ), was the result of the length and consistency of the campaign, the authenticity of its messaging and its widespread integration across the entire tourism sector. While this campaign has undoubtedly had a positive impact on New Zealand's tourism industry, some respondents felt that the dominance of the tourism story hindered the nation's ability to achieve its full potential in terms of country image. The 100% Pure NZ campaign becoming synonymous with the New Zealand brand in international markets

has led to a relatively one-dimensional country image of New Zealand. A decision maker at NZ Story (hereinafter NZS), for example, noted: *"We're known for being beautiful and natural, so we need to round out the story with innovation and technology and all of those new things that people don't know about us" (NZS2)*. Therefore, the historic success of the 100% Pure NZ campaign was identified both as a strength and a weakness for New Zealand.

Māori culture

New Zealand's indigenous Māori culture was also identified as a key strength for the nation. This is New Zealand's key differentiating factor on the global stage, as it is the only resource which cannot be claimed by another country. Additionally, a global interest in Māori culture indicates that international consumers want to know more about it, and tend to respond positively to exporting stories that incorporate aspects of it. Māori culture is rooted in the values of sustainability and community, which are values consumers all over the world are increasingly demanding of businesses. The principles of Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview) can be an opportunity to legitimise New Zealand's authenticity as a sustainable, community-minded nation. For example*: "Māori have always developed their products sustainably, with an eye on the future, and protecting resources for their children and their children's children. (…) You put that in a good succinct story, that goes a long way to validate your product and whatever price you want to charge in that particular market" (NZTE1).*

Such an opportunity also comes with the threat of (mis)appropriating Māori culture. However, as an expert noted, *"misappropriation of any cultural artefacts anywhere around the world is a risk. But, used properly, with integrity and properly attributed to iwi and whanau etc., it's hugely powerful." (NZTE1)*. What is important in this process is that Māori voices are not only heard but have the authority and autonomy around key decisions relating to how Mātauranga Māori is leveraged within storytelling. Another consideration is the level of existing knowledge of Māori culture across international markets and the resources needed to build this up. *"These things take time. If we were to launch a Māori product into Africa tomorrow, it might take us two or three years to get confidence at least." (NZTE1)*. To capitalise on the opportunity to legitimise New Zealand's authenticity as a sustainable and values-based exporter through Māori culture, significant resources must be invested in both establishing relationships with iwi domestically, and also educating international markets about Māori culture.

Culture, history and leadership capital

Oher aspects of New Zealand's cultural capital, which can be consolidated as quintessential "Kiwi culture", were also mentioned in the interviews as key resource for the nation. This includes a longstanding history of pioneering social movements, such as giving women the vote, as well as its acceptance of diversity and a global reputation of being a friendly. *"All those historic moments in time, where we've taken a stand. I think there's a lot of currency around how we can portray that in a more modern sense internationally" (NZS2)*. New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was also noted by multiple respondents as a strength for the nation on the global stage, thanks to her elevated profile as a result of the NZ government's response to the Covid-19 pandemic. In 2020, positive media exposure regarding the nation's successful Covid-19 response improved global perceptions of New Zealand, however throughout 2022, the country's prolonged strict border controls are expected to reverse some of this positive attention, as international audiences begin to perceive the nation as unwelcoming. Soft power is a measure of a nation's ability to influence international stakeholders through attraction and persuasion,

rather than coercion, and includes the nations' familiarity, influence and country image (Brand Finance, 2021). In 2021, New Zealand's Covid-19 response led to a 22-point rise on the soft power index rankings to 16th globally, but this is predicted to fall in 2022 as consumers begin to place more importance on nations' post-pandemic return to normality than public health measures.

Size and resource limitations

As a small and remote island nation, New Zealand's geography was noted as a weakness by many respondents. *"New Zealand is three rocks at the bottom of the world, with very few opportunities to promote itself internationally" (NZTE1)*. The country's limited financial resources mean that the *nation "needs to create an emotional connection, and that necessitates storytelling because we can't just buy the reach" (TNZ2)*. New Zealand's nature as a premium holiday destination and exporter of high-value goods also requires storytelling to validate the higher price points. The digital boom that has resulted from the Covid-19 pandemic, however, was identified as an opportunity for New Zealand to utilise technology to reduce the impact of size and distance on their country image. *"Digital, I think, is just a blessing for us because we aren't big players and so the ability to be able to connect with the right audience very quickly and relatively cost effectively is a real win for us" (NZTE2)*. Additionally, remote working can enable New Zealand to attract investors, entrepreneurs and other skilled workers, raising the nation's profile on the world stage.

Covid-19

Although Covid-19 may have created an opportunity through digitalisation, the pandemic has posed also a huge threat to New Zealand exporters. Closed borders have made it difficult to maintain relationships and relevance in international markets. Nation branding efforts have been challenging, as with borders closed and export prices pushed up by supply chain issues, it becomes hard to create a call to action for international consumers. *"You start to fall off the consideration set. The travel agents will drop NZ brochures, TNZ is not activating so they're trying to keep in the hearts and minds of people, but there's only so long you can do that without annoying people too. It's like 'stop sending me pictures of a place I can't go" (NZS2)*. Alongside an out-of-sight-out-of-mind issue, international consumers' perceptions of New Zealand as closed and unwelcoming has threatened the nation's country image of a friendly and open place. The strong stance on vaccine mandates has also not gone unnoticed internationally.

Market reach

New Zealand's dependence on established tried-and-true markets was also highlighted as a potential threat to its international competitiveness. As more emerging markets start to build their middle class, more global consumers are considering international tourism, education and purchasing foreign goods and services. An expert who has held previous positions at NZTE and ENZ stated, *"we struggle in some parts of the world because we don't understand [them] as much, and so our default tends to be to go to Western markets or places that we've been going to for a very, very long time. When you start looking at places like India, or markets in Southeast Asia, either we try to hang too much onto what we know and what we're familiar with or we ignore them completely" (NZTE/ENZ1)*. A lack of resources, as well as the unpredictability of the Covid-19 pandemic were cited as reasons for not establishing market entry strategies into emerging economies, which would take *"years to build up" (ENZ1)*.

5.2. Government level export storytelling

Within the expert interviews, three key concepts were discussed at the government level of export storytelling, namely: the need for NZ Story as a coordinating body, the nation brand's identity narrative, and the value of this cooperation and cohesion within the global environment.

Need for the NZ Story
A common theme in the interviews was the need for a coordinating body (i.e., the NZ Story) to regulate the power balance across the government agencies. *"Otherwise, I think the danger is that whoever has got the most money within sectors will go and shout that story and we just won't round out the reputation of the country" (NZS2)*. New Zealand's tourism agency *"spend the most money, time and resource on promoting New Zealand" (TNZ1)* due to their proportionally larger marketing budget. Without a regulating body facilitating cooperation across all national sectors, the tourism story would likely continue to dominate New Zealand's global country image. This can lead to issues of competing priorities if there is a mismatch between TNZ's story and the priorities of other agencies. For example, a decision maker at ENZ recalled *"in the Chinese market, if there's a tourism campaign and it shows a lot of empty, nature spaces with no people, that can lead consumers overseas to think that's what all of New Zealand is like(...). Then, it's been the challenge of someone like ENZ to sort of push back against that" (ENZ1)*.

The NZ Story's coordinating role is therefore two-fold. Firstly, they needed to develop an overarching story incorporating the goals and values of all sectors. At the same time, the NZ Story facilitates the cooperation and integration of that nation brand story across public and private sectors. To do this, a "Brand Hub" was established, consisting of branding representatives from NZ Story's government agency partners, headed by NZ Story. The purpose of the Brand Hub is to *"get all the agencies together to tell the same brand story" (NZS1)*. It also involves four work streams, namely: (1) creating a set of shared values and brand proposition, (2) developing a library of resources for use across government and industry, (3) a shared calendar to align campaign work and (4) a brand tracker to consolidate cross-sectoral data.

Initially, neither Immigration NZ (INZ) or the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) were involved in the Brand Hub, although DPMC have now joined the group as they start to shift their focus to the country's post-pandemic reopening, and conversations have been had to involve INZ. The group has also recently expanded to the private sector, including key NZ companies like Air NZ, Fonterra and regional economic development agencies (EDAs) representing the domestic industry. As New Zealand moves to open its borders to the rest of the world, the Brand Hub group will also be used to create a shared communications strategy to align post-pandemic messaging across all key sectors. The NZ Story's constrained budget and resources were, however, identified as a potential hindrance to the facilitation of the NZ national brand narrative, as they must rely on leveraging other, larger organisations to implement the campaigns. For example, the funding for NZ Story for 2016/17 was just under NZD$3m, while for the same year, Switzerland's equivalent nation branding agency Presence Switzerland had a budget of NZD$13.1m (NZ Story, 2017) and TNZ received over NZD$100m in crown funding (Tourism New Zealand, 2017).

NZ Inc identity narrative

When the Brand Hub was established, its first task was to develop an identity narrative for NZ Inc - the nation brand which encompasses both government agencies and industry. The purpose of the NZ Story was *to "provide a platform for alignment at the higher level, so while we're not determining creative expression for each organisation, we do have a foundation that is consistent" (TNZ1)*. A respondent from ENZ agreed that *"our story doesn't need to be the same, but it needs to build a sensical grander whole" (ENZ1)*. To achieve this, the NZ Story researched the existing value propositions of each individual agency, and through consultation with the key stakeholders, consolidated them into four shared values. These include: *Pono* (honesty and integrity), *Tiaki* (guardianship and care for place), *Manaaki* (care for people, openness and respect) and *Pōtikitanga* (the spirit of the youngest child, adventurous, bold, innovation). These support the overall brand value proposition: *"care for people and connection to place drive innovation" (NZS1)*. This was developed to tie together the individual priorities of each different agency. As an NZ Story expert stated, *"the idea is that at any given point all four values should be part of your brand proposition, but maybe not all leading. [Each agency] will dial them up and down as they need" (NZS1)*. To respectfully and appropriately embed Māori cultural values into the NZ Inc narrative, NZ Story consults with cultural advisors from the NZTE Māori Business Unit, who work closely with key Māori stakeholders.

Value of cohesive national brand

The value of a cohesive national brand was clear through many examples provided by the experts, where New Zealand's country image across all sectors had positive flow on effects to other sectors. The importance of an overarching brand is demonstrated by an NZTE respondent*: "We know that the people who travel as tourists…invariably will fall in love with our beautiful country and…their children may well be sent down to New Zealand for schooling. (…) They will potentially invest in New Zealand down the track (…) So, there's just a whole lot of dots, there's no silo in this, we all are internationally talking to the world with the overarching Brand New Zealand, and the more of that we do, the better it is" (NZTE2)*. Exposure to one of New Zealand's key sectors, be it tourism, exports or education, means that international consumers are more open to and accepting of the marketing efforts of the others if the values underpinning them are aligned. Additionally, New Zealand's small size and marketing capability means that the more that each marketing message could do to promote the entire nation, the better. *"I think any time that we can be repeating a similar message in a market across tourism, education, investment, exporting, whatever, is good for us because we just have such a small window of opportunity" (NZTE3)*.

5.3. Industry level export storytelling

At the industry level, the key concepts of export storytelling from the expert interviews were: the institutional support from government agencies for individual exporters, the nation brand halo effect and the barriers to aligning individual exporting stories with the overarching nation brand.

Value

Respondents identified two key areas of value related to government-level export storytelling for individual exporters: (1) the halo effect of the nation brand identity narrative, and (2) access to resources that support SMEs to tell their product-brand story.

The halo effect works both ways, with the overarching nation brand benefitting exporters in certain markets. For example, *"any New Zealand company selling food into Asia would be nuts not to use the New Zealand story stuff, because it's a multiplying impact on the value perception and we can prove that" (NZS1)*. This, however, works in both directions with export brands influencing the nation brand, too: *"When I worked in the U.S [for a clothing brand], people wouldn't know where NZ was, and we'd start talking about the country and where the merino came from and they would be fascinated and drawn to this mystical place at the end of the world" (NZTE3)*. The critical mass of export companies telling the New Zealand story within a market is a success factor: *"If there's ten food products being sold from New Zealand into Chinese markets, if eight of them are telling a good story and nine and ten aren't telling a story, they'll get in on the basis of the other eight" (NZTE1)*.

Firm-level resource restrictions necessitate government-level institutional support to enable export brand storytelling. *"Most New Zealand companies are on the small to medium side, particularly by international standards, and do not necessarily have the same kind of budgets to be able to build their profile and their brand on their own. So, coming on the back of a country brand, or country promotion, is actually very, very powerful for them" (NZTE/ENZ1)*.

Institutional support

Exporters can access this support via multiple avenues across the government agencies. NZ Story has an extensive toolkit of free resources for exporting companies, including market perception research and image assets. They also run workshops for NZ companies around the value of storytelling and training on how to best use the resources. *"NZ Story has a massive image library, so [businesses are] able to take some of that and tailor it to suit [them], or take some of the key messages, add a bit of [their] own, make it more authentic to [their] business, but then the core messages, the nation branding messages are all the same across the board" (NZTE/ENZ1)*. This year, the NZ Story are strengthening their industry ties by working with key international organisations, including Fonterra, Xero and Rocket Lab, to help them become brand ambassadors for New Zealand. Additionally, they are also working with domestic marketing agencies developing brand campaigns for NZ exporters to support their use of the NZ brand and the NZ Story resources.

The NZ Story also heads the FernMark licensing programme, which allows NZ exporters to apply to use the Silver Fern logo in their marketing promotions. TNZ use partnerships with regional trade organisations (RTOs) to align the messaging of their national tourism marketing campaigns with each region and individual tourism operators. *"When we do a global campaign, we try to get [RTOs and industry] engaged in the campaign as much as possible so they have tools and ability to tell stories and build on the work that we're doing" (TNZ1)*. From NZTE, individual support is given to exporting businesses to help them develop their own value proposition and enter foreign markets. *"Ultimately our customers - NZ businesses - own their stories, and they own their storytelling. We are there to support, to guide, we like to think that we are trusted advisors in those markets" (NZTE2)*. NZTE also has a specific Māori Business Development Unit to support Māori businesses in exporting. *"We've now got a Māori strategy that's woven throughout the organisation and we've got an absolute, crystal-clear commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi, the partnership element and doing whatever we can to get Māori to be successful as exporters" (NZTE1)*. This unit also works in partnership with the NZ Story to integrate

Māori export stories into the wider NZ Story catalogue, *"as these new Māori businesses are developing, NZ Story is also developing their suite of stories to support Māori" (NZTE1)*.

Barriers

While the experts highlighted the importance of getting the industry on board with the nation brand storytelling, they also acknowledged some barriers to achieving this. In some cases, individual exporters are not willing to collaborate because they do not understand the value of collective branding efforts. *"Some [sectors] are still in that space where individual companies don't see the value of coming together, and want to tell their story as opposed to the NZ story" (NZS2)*. This can be an issue as, in the same way as exporters telling good stories benefits other NZ exports in that market, a NZ exporter telling a bad story can negatively impact other exporters. *"I can absolutely guarantee that if one company tells a bad story, they'll ruin it for the other companies in the market. So, our biggest challenge at NZTE, and for NZ Story, is to help companies who don't work directly with us to understand the importance of having the same story in that marketplace" (NZTE1)*. Another identified issue is a mismatch between the stories that exporters want to tell and the stories that will be successful among consumers. *"It's our job to make sure that we are putting forward the imagery, the operators, the activities that are going to resonate the most with the consumer. And that means that sometimes what a specific region has to offer isn't a perfect match. It might be what they can give, but it's not necessarily what that person wants to buy" (TNZ2)*. The current solution for addressing these mismatches is the institutional support and guidance of consumer trends identified above, although "guidance" is the current extent of the government agencies' control over the industry.

5.4. Co-creation of stories

Three key themes emerged from the expert interviews around storytelling in different cultural contexts. These were: (1) striking the balance between the core values of the story's teller and the audience, (2) the types of cultural differences between markets and (3) the research needed to understand these differences to achieve that values balance.

Balance between NZ values and consumer values

An idea that was consistently reinforced throughout the expert interviews was striking the right balance between the nation brand or exporter's identity values and the values of the target consumers. Both TNZ and ENZ took a values-based approach to consumer segmentation, by seeking out target consumer groups whose personal values reflected the values of the agency. *"We've got to find these 'right people', the people that New Zealanders want to come to New Zealand, that match our values, so they're going to respect our place and have a great time." (TNZ2)*. While it is important to stay true to your organisational identity values, the way these are portrayed must be reflective of the audience that you are trying to target: *"A great storyteller is one that can articulate their value proposition in a way that is engaging for their audience, that they can articulate a vision, a 'why?' and weave their whakapapa (family) into their storytelling that has got a lens of the audience that they are speaking to." (NZTE2)*.

Cultural nuances

Adapting messages to reflect consumer values is especially pertinent when marketing to international consumers across diverse cultural contexts. Experts identified that the two most relevant aspects of the host market context to consider for export promotion are the current perceptions and knowledge of New Zealand, and the key cultural trends within that market. Cultural trends determine the core values to address through the export story, while perceptions and knowledge of New Zealand determine how to relate those values to the nation brand. The differing perceptions of New Zealand across international markets is made clear in this quote from an expert: *"The cultural story that Japan has [is] based on All Blacks, sport, the similar sized countries, and then you've got a place like Germany, where a lot of Germans are very fond of New Zealand based on nature. America tend(s) to think of us as an adventure destination, a place like India you're talking to people who might know a friend or family member who went to New Zealand, so they'll base their idea of New Zealand off of that" (ENZ1).* Another example of cultural value differences highlighted: *"In China, we've got to make sure that we are telling the right story of fresh, live seafood from New Zealand. Now, in the States, they won't care that the lobster was swimming off Kaikoura yesterday, they'll care that it was packed in biodegradable, sustainable packaging" (NZTE1).*

Research and knowledge-sharing

It is important for NZ exporters and policymakers to have an in-depth understanding of perceptions and cultural values in all host markets, but especially those that are physically and culturally distant to New Zealand. Gathering this knowledge demands two types of research: (1) high-level perception research and (2) in-depth qualitative values-based research. *"We would encourage [NZ exporters] to do consumer insight work in two ways, qualitative and quantitative…[what's] probably more important is deeply understanding what needs you're trying to solve for them." (NZTE3).* Currently, the NZ Story focus on perception research which, while it includes both qualitative and quantitative data, does not delve into the deeper level mindset research that is necessary to understanding consumer values. Instead, they rely on the other government agencies and corporate brands who have more resources to spend on this deeper level of research. NZTE, TNZ and large private sector companies have embarked on values-based, in depth qualitative research specific to their sectors. However, there has not been sufficient infrastructure to support the dissemination of information across the government agencies or the private sector. *"Historically, information sharing between the government agencies has been really ad hoc and dependent on individuals remembering to do it. So, what we're trying to do with this new reformed Brand Hub group is to use that as the forum for us to be more deliberate with our information sharing" (NZS1).* This has meant that until now, across both the private and public sectors, those organisations with more resources have been better placed for understanding their consumers' values and thus better able to tell successful exporting stories.

5.5. Storytelling

In terms of operational aspects of storytelling, cultural nuances between international markets necessitate the levels of emotionality and rationality of stories to reflect the needs of the market, as well as creative decisions around messaging, channels and actors.

Emotionality vs. rationality
According to many experts, storytelling appeals to both consumers' rationality and emotions. Striking the balance between the two is context dependent. *"For a place like China, they would often be very, very quick to move through to the rational space, however when we focus-group our storytelling and our brand in a place like India, or some of the South American countries, they really, really connect with the storytelling stuff." (ENZ1)*. To reflect the cultural nuances of whether consumers prefer rational or emotional messaging, stories tailored to different markets either played up one type of messaging or found a balance between both. There was also a pattern, especially within TNZ and ENZ, where storytelling and emotional appeals were more commonly used in the first stage of marketing strategies, with broad overarching messaging trying to draw consumers in by appealing to their senses. Then, as the consumer moved down the marketing funnel towards conversion, more rational appeals were used for specific calls to action, such as booking accommodation or applying for a particular university. This could still be achieved through storytelling, but these stories included more rational informational cues.

Creative decisions
Cultural nuances between host markets are also important to consider when making creative decisions at an operational storytelling level. For example, the wording, messaging and tone of the story should reflect the cultural context, as well as the specific actors, channels and brand agents used. *"Each market's quite different in terms of the messaging and also the tone. So, Japan is a little bit quirkier, some countries are quite straight, Australia knows much more about us so we can have a little bit more humour within that" (NZS2)*. To understand these cultural nuances, all agencies use in-market creative testing with target audiences. When using brand agents like sportspeople or influencers within a particular culture, alignment of values with the New Zealand brand is important. *"We really have always looked at if there is a really strong values alignment between who we are and who they are, and we actually do an influencer evaluation." (TNZ1)*.

5.6. Measuring success

One of the NZ Story's four key work streams was the development of a brand tracker, which consolidates the data from nine different countries around the key drivers of the NZ Inc brand across all sectors. This provides an index number that enables NZ Story to track the performance of the nation brand. The NZ Story has developed a framework using key content pillars based on the six sectors of Anholt's model: (1) governance, (2) exports, (3) tourism, (4) investment and immigration, (5) culture and heritage, and (6) people. International perceptions of New Zealand's strengths across these sectors are used to measure how successful the nation branding efforts are within each area. Although the brand tracker will be hugely beneficial to analysing each agency's marketing efforts within the context of the national brand, there is still a lack of infrastructure to measure the impact of collective nation branding on export performance, which is of relevance to international business and needs to consider a whole range of control measures and potential time lags.

In terms of export value and market share, each individual agency collects and analyses their own data, and it is difficult to measure attribution from overarching national campaigns to final output measures. This is partially influenced by the political party that is in power, as one expert said, *"when we had National as our government, the NZ Story programme was linked into the business growth agenda, so*

there were a lot more numbers like that to prove the value of it. I think with Labour in government it seems to be a little bit softer in terms of the drive to prove the value from an economic growth and return perspective - it's more about cultural and softer measures that they seem interested in" (NZS2).

6. Discussion

6.1. Theoretical implications

6.1.1. The storytelling setting

The New Zealand nation brand, dubbed by NZ Story and the various involved government agencies as NZ Inc, is comprised of three parts: (1) the opportunities and strengths emerging from the nation's set of resources and capabilities, (2) the set of shared values underpinning the various stakeholders, and (3) the desired country image that emerges from the two. This supports the storytelling setting component of the research framework as set out in Figure 3.

The domination of the tourism story in New Zealand's international country image is an example of a strong institutional path dependency based on historical brand narratives. It likely also has something to do with New Zealand's isolated geographic location. The success of previous promotion of New Zealand as a "rural idyll" throughout the twentieth century and the success of the 100% Pure NZ campaign in the early 2000s embedded tourism offerings into the institutional memory of the New Zealand brand, dominating (and sometimes even overshadowing) other important sectors. The nation brand thus became over-reliant on one sector.

While the narratives of a brand's history can support present and future decision-making, this is an example of when historical narratives can become restrictive if they are not updated. Just as administrative heritage can impede organisational change and evolution, such institutional heritage, linked to the New Zealand country image, can also impede country branding. As consumers' country images are made up of the total sum of their interactions with a nation across Anholt's six key sectors, an over-exposure to one can be at the expense of other sectors. This is because international consumers have no reason to trust New Zealand's authenticity in non-tourism markets, such as education or technology, if their only experience with the country is through tourism-centric campaigns. Thus, innovation and development within other key sectors in New Zealand, including the technology industry, demands the support of the national brand story to legitimise the authenticity of New Zealand brands in these markets. Increasing consumer demand for and knowledge of sustainability issues also means that the environment-heavy 100% Pure NZ campaign would be more heavily scrutinised by more knowledgeable consumers, posing a potential risk to the NZ brand.

As seen in the organisational change literature, changes in both the internal and external environment require brands to make changes to their identities to reflect the needs of all stakeholders (Brown et al., 2009). Changes in the external environment, including shifting consumer trends and, later, the Covid-19 pandemic, exposed the weaknesses of New Zealand's one-dimensional country image. The pandemic shut down the international tourism industry in a matter of months, highlighting the need for a national story that incorporates more New Zealand sectors and would therefore be more resilient in the face of

exogenous shocks like Covid-19. As a small open economy (SMOPEC), New Zealand relies heavily on its export economy to drive socio-economic prosperity, also shaped by its unique geographic, entrepreneurial and institutional context (Kahiya, 2020). Making the New Zealand economy more resilient towards future exogenous shocks necessitates not only economic diversification, but also a diversification of country image to support a differentiated export economy.

The organisational identity literature posits that, to achieve a clear and coherent brand image in the minds of consumers, a brand's internal identity must be both strong and consistent (Balmer, 2001). Thus, a nation branding body – like the NZ Story Group – is needed to successfully author a nation brand identity which integrates the voices of the vast multitude of stakeholders across both the public and private sectors, as well as to ensure the plausibility, coherence and acceptability of the brand's revised identity narrative. The NZ Inc brand identity consists of the defining and distinguishing features of New Zealand, made up of both its stocks of resources (i.e., various forms of capitals) and capabilities, as well as its shared values (Fan, 2006).

Aside from our environmental capital, the two resources and capabilities identified by the experts as being integral to the New Zealand brand are Māori values (i.e., Mātauranga Māori) and the "quintessential Kiwi culture". Both are VRIN-type resources, emerging from New Zealand's socio-cultural and historical context. Kiwi culture, for example, is a complex bundle of resources and capabilities that incorporate the nation's history of pioneering social movements, innovation, propensity to travel, down-to-earth nature, entrepreneurial tinkering and more. Considered together, this set of resources and capabilities becomes almost impossible for other nations to replicate, resulting in New Zealand's competitive advantage when implementing resource-based strategies in relevant international markets.

When creating the four shared values of the NZ Inc brand, the NZ Story identified the core values underpinning key moments of New Zealand history. This enables the connection between potential heritage stories and the NZ Inc brand narrative. Mātauranga Māori is deeply rooted in the history of New Zealand and is unique to the nation. The more embedded a resource is in the nation's heritage story, the more authentic the link between the nation and that resource is perceived to be by consumers. Heritage stories are examples of the nation brand using its past experiences to create identity narratives that influence present and future decisions. By incorporating Māori values and New Zealand history into the overarching nation brand identity, New Zealand can legitimise itself in relevant markets through its heritage. This also helps expand its one-dimensional "pure nature" image into a two-dimensional "nature and history" image. It affords the nation opportunities for competitive advantage, in markets where consumer values align with deeply rooted cultural values. The value of sustainability, for example, has been present in Māori culture for hundreds of years. Crafting a narrative linking these embedded values to the nation's production capabilities will allow New Zealand to legitimise its authenticity as a sustainable export nation with a long history of sustainable values. This creates a supportive institutional environment for individual exporters who practise sustainability to gain legitimacy in overseas markets, through their connection with the nation brand. It is important, however, for the New Zealand government's actions to reflect their narratives, especially when it comes to incorporating Māori culture. To appropriately utilise Māori values in brand identity narratives for export promotion, comprehensive consultation with relevant Māori stakeholders must be undertaken, and the inclusion and support of Māori businesses is critical. While New Zealand has come a long way in terms of addressing cultural misappropriation, it must be

mindful also of tokenistic use of Māori culture and the dangers of cultural appropriation by non-Māori parts of society and its institutions. The legitimisation of New Zealand's exporting capabilities within the sectors that it is currently less well-known for, such as technology and innovation, is a critical first step in the success of individual export goods within those markets. Therefore, heritage stories should be developed that promote the alignment of New Zealand's resources and capabilities and the desired markets, to reduce the LoF of New Zealand exporters in those sectors. This halo effect has already been seen in the F&B sector, where exporters who aligned their export marketing efforts with the NZ Inc brand achieve larger profit margins.

The NZ Inc brand identity narrative, underpinned by the four values of Pono, Manaaki, Tiaki and Pōtikitanga is an example of a polyphonic brand identity narrative. through an iterative and cyclical process NZ Story created the values, and the emergent brand proposition of "care for people and connection to place drives our ingenuity", in collaboration with key stakeholders across the public and private sector. As Tourism New Zealand has a much larger marketing spend than the other agencies, the NZ Story's role to manage the power dynamics behind the NZ Inc brand is essential. By creating the Brand Hub group with representatives from each agency and the private sector, the narrative has become a meta-conversation in which each collective has a voice and needs to be consulted. The independent stories told by each stakeholder are tied together by the four shared values, which are an amalgamation of the existing values of each organisation. This creates a sensical, overarching metanarrative within which each stakeholder is still afforded agency to develop independent campaigns under the umbrella brand. This reconfiguration of power has also been essential for incorporating the Māori perspective into the nation brand narrative. The purposeful inclusion of all stakeholders has meant that smaller groups, who have historically been silenced, are also heard. This is especially important within the NZ Inc brand, given the value and importance of the Māori culture to the nation's identity. The development of the four shared values also creates coherent links to the nation's present and past identities. This allows the NZ Inc narrative to maintain plausibility, coherence and acceptability by being familiar to stakeholders, while also enabling development of the identity narrative to reflect a changing environment. As they are designed to underpin all New Zealand's key sectors, the brand proposition and shared values are incorporated into the desired country image of New Zealand.

The NZ Inc identity metanarrative improves the unity and cohesion of key stakeholders, as it enables collective centring across the public and private sector. This addresses Kleppe and Mossberg's (2014) managerial issue of stakeholder integration within nation branding. Not only are the purpose and direction of the NZ Inc brand clear, but the collaborative nature of the brand's identity narrative also means that the shared values are highly aligned with the values of the individual stakeholders that enact them. This improves the motivation of the Brand Hub members to commit to the nation brand identity as they feel a strong self-brand connection with the overarching NZ Inc story. This is consistent with network theory, where one of the key determinants of network success is the levels of internal cohesion and solidarity. Network theory posits that strong relationships within a network can help overcome export barriers and thus improve export performance (Kahiya, 2018). The Brand Hub network achieves this by mitigating the impact of New Zealand's liability of smallness (LoS), which relates to a lack of resources, and liability of foreignness (LoF), which relates to the lack of familiarity and knowledge of the host market (Kahiya, 2017). Through the development of a cohesive and inclusive brand identity narrative, the Brand Hub network pools together the resources, including brand awareness and reputation, of each stakeholder

to minimise the impact of the LoS export barriers. The repetition of the core messages in international markets drives home a clear, consistent country image to foreign consumers across a larger range of interactions, which reduces the impacts of the LoF as consumers build up salient memory cues between New Zealand and its capabilities.

The second identified managerial issue of nation branding is a lack of control over individual messages shared within a target market (Kleppe & Mossberg, 2015). The NZ Story's response to this issue has been to set up a resource toolkit and training workshops, which act as implementation mechanisms to simplify the process of incorporating the nation brand story at an export-firm level. Institutional theory underpins the role of NZ Story in country image building at a national level, through the development of an overarching, cohesive NZ Inc identity narrative and export support services for individual exporters. NZ Story implements both direct export promotion support, through market development activities that develop New Zealand's authenticity within certain markets, and indirect support, through training and resources at an industry level. The data supports the nation branding and export promotion literature which posits the success of a nation brand relies on its widespread adoption across both the public and private sectors (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). This is necessary to achieving the bi-directional halo effect of strong nation and product brands, which works to improve export performance (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). The experts identified the importance of the reverse halo effect, whereby New Zealand export brands could influence the nations' country image through their own firm-level promotion. This reinforces the need for institutional support, as the more resources and capabilities that NZ exporters have to tell their stories, the better they can develop stories that help bridge the gap between NZ's current country image and its desired country image. This bi-directional halo effect also supports NZ Story's strategy to work with leading NZ exporters, such as Rocket Lab and Fisher & Paykel, who act as global ambassadors for the NZ brand. The chain effect purports that, if international consumers have positive experiences with these brands, there will be a flow on effect to both New Zealand's country image and consumer perceptions of other NZ goods.

While the training and support helps exporters incorporate the NZ Inc story into their own brand story, this is only useful if they are willing and able to accept the help (or advice). An identified issue was that some exporters do not understand the value of the NZ Inc narrative for their own products or feel as if they must relinquish their own autonomy to be part of the collective New Zealand brand. The perceived loss of autonomy in particular is an important barrier, given the strong entrepreneurial nature of New Zealand's export economy (Kahiya, 2020). Additionally, smaller exporters who are under a time and resource pressure may not feel able to take the time to attend workshops, especially if they do not have many employees. Thus, as drivers of collective action, appropriate incentives must be established to encourage and enable exporters to access this support (Wijen & Ansari, 2007), to mobilise New Zealand exporters to utilise the NZ Inc narrative.

The integration between private and public sectors is also critical to improving export performance. For the halo effect between the nation brand and individual export brands to take effect, New Zealand exporters must effectively integrate the nation brand story into their own promotion strategies. While nation branding efforts at a public sector level may work to legitimise the country's authenticity in certain sectors, the benefits of this strategy will only be realised if the international consumer is able to make the connection between New Zealand exports and their country.

6.1.2. The storytelling discourse

As the NZ Inc brand targets customers across a range of international markets, encompassing a variety of different cultural contexts and backgrounds, it is important to tailor the brand identity narrative to each market as much as possible to ensure fit. Both perception research and values research are critical to this localisation process.

Applying Holt's (2004) cultural branding model, the current perceptions of New Zealand in an international market inform the cultural and political authority of the NZ Inc brand - that is, in which product markets NZ exporters are seen as *authentic and legitimate* (Holt, 2004). These perceptions change across different markets, based on the existing knowledge, relationship and experiences that customers in that market have of New Zealand. The perception research currently undertaken by the NZ Story helps facilitate the change from New Zealand's current actual country image within a particular market, to its desired country image. To achieve the desired country image in the minds of international consumers, the new NZ Inc identity narrative must be underpinned by familiar values, to achieve *plausibility, coherence and acceptability (*Kaplan & Orliwkowski, 2013). This will be especially important during and after the Covid-19 pandemic, which has strongly impacted consumer perceptions of New Zealand. As countries around the world have opened and are returning to normalcy, New Zealand must understand the consequences of their relatively strict border control measures. The perception of New Zealand as "unwelcoming" widens the gap between the nations actual and desired country image, as it is incongruent with the NZ Inc's identity value of "care for people".

Looking at the second component of Holt's (2004) model, to identify international myth markets, or attitudinal targets (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017), New Zealand exporters must understand identity values and cultural trends for each international market. Currently, both ENZ and TNZ adopt an attitudinal targeting segmentation strategy, by selecting target consumer groups whose values align with that of the agency brand (Ochoa & Lorimer, 2017). This is very much a supply-driven approach, which should be paired with a demand-driven one discussed above. This type of targeting will likely result in greater levels of self-brand connection between the agencies and their consumers, through high levels of value alignment (Woodside, 2010). Perception research and values-based research are both essential components of crafting effective stories for export promotion, as the two strategies work in partnership to find the intersection between New Zealand's desired country image and the consumer's desired self-identity image. Qualitative research is especially important for finding opportunities in which the NZ Inc identity values are congruent with consumer trends, as is the case with the values of sustainable and values-based production.

Globally, consumers are increasingly valuing sustainability and ethical production, as environmental concerns such as climate change become increasingly relevant and widely discussed (Costa Pinto et al., 2014). Therefore, in many markets, identity tensions arise between the easily accessible, mass-produced goods and services that are common in today's global marketplace and the consumer's desired identity of a sustainable consumer (Costa Pinto et al., 2014). This creates the opportunity for New Zealand exporters to present themselves as the solution to this identity tension, by promoting the deeply embedded cultural values of sustainable business practice. Within these identified myth markets, where the target consumer values are aligned with those of the NZ Inc brand, export narratives can empower the consumer to play their desired archetypal role. When consumer values are appropriately identified and analysed through

research, government agencies and industry exporters can craft narratives that reflect the inner desires of each target consumer group. The data supports the literature in that export promotion narratives should be a product of co-creation between the brand and consumer, residing in the intersection between their desired identities. The idea that the four shared values can be dialled up or down depending on need supports this co-creation process, as New Zealand exporters and government agencies can develop narratives using the core value that best reflects the desires of their target consumer. The set of values allows for the development of narratives that are authentic to the NZ Inc brand identity, but are flexible enough to reflect different target markets.

Applying a consumer lens to the NZ Inc brand identity narrative can have a positive effect on export performance by improving the product-market match (Navarro-Garcia et al., 2016). The co-creation process enables exporters to tailor their export promotion narrative to reflect the needs of the consumers within a specific market. For example, while New Zealand seafood producers tailored their story to promote product freshness in the Chinese market, they highlighted sustainability in the U.S. market, reflecting the different consumer values. The success of localised promotion strategies lies in the ability of internal NZ stakeholders to acquire, analyse and disseminate market intelligence within the domestic exporting network. This is an example of an indirect export promotion support strategy (see Kahiya & Delaney, 2022), as, due to the limited resources and capabilities of most NZ exporting firms, most will require institutional support to adapt their marketing narratives to each market. Currently, however, not all agencies have the resources or capacity to undertake in-depth qualitative research, especially across a multitude of different markets. It also does not make sense financially, for each organisation to undertake such research on their own. NZ Story relies on larger agencies or private sector companies to acquire this values-based research, which will be limited to the specific markets they operate in. Historically, this has led to constraints in the markets in which New Zealand has operated within, as a lack of knowledge of the cultural values, trends and perceptions have been barriers to the nation's export performance within emerging or culturally distant markets.

6.1.3. The story

For storytelling to be successful as an export promotion strategy, consumers must be engaged with the story itself in a myriad of ways and across multiple identity levels. Therefore, once the key messages and underlying values of the story have been established, its creative and aesthetic components must also be tailored to the market. The expert respondents identified that international markets differ in their NFC and NFA, supporting the literature that culture influences how consumers process cognitive and emotional information (Diamantopoulos et al., 2020). This influences storytelling, as consumers across different markets will be more inclined to engage with different levels of rational and/or emotional cues. Authenticity is also granted through different avenues based on the levels of NFC and NFA within a market. In high NFC markets, perceived authenticity is achieved through indexical cues, such as university rankings or B-corp certifications. In high NFA markets, authenticity is granted through emotional stimuli, such as imagery of New Zealand landscapes and cultural elements. This type of iconic authenticity, however, relies on the consumers having some existing knowledge of New Zealand for the stimuli to evoke a strong emotional response. Therefore, market development through direct export promotion support strategies like trade missions are important, especially within high NFA countries, to support iconic authenticity narratives that utilise emotional cues. This highlights the need for direct and indirect export promotion strategies to be closely aligned (see Kahiya & Delaney, 2022).

The stage of the consumer within the sales funnel is also relevant to which appeal to utilise. Both ENZ and TNZ used emotional storytelling appeals in the broad, initial stage of a campaign, giving way to more rational, facts-based messaging as the consumer moved down the funnel towards conversion. This is supported by the country-of-origin literature that posits that when there are incongruencies between a consumers' cognitive and affective country image, they will rely on their affective country image (CI) in decision-making (Wang et al., 2012). Therefore, by establishing affective CI early on in marketing campaigns through broad emotional appeals, consumers are less likely to be dissuaded from a purchasing decision by rational cues that could otherwise be perceived as negative further down the sales funnel. This is especially important for New Zealand products, which are largely situated in premium, high priced export markets to offset high manufacturing and transportation costs.

In terms of specific creative decisions, cultural nuances are taken into consideration regarding structure, tone and characters utilised within a story. This is underpinned by the concept of employing *indices* within a story that act as touchpoints between the brand's narrative and the consumer's narrative (Woodside, 2010). Through in-market consumer testing and working with international agencies, NZ exporters can rewrite the NZ Inc brand narrative according to the specific cultural template of the market. This results in a story that is more easily mapped onto the consumers' own self-identity narrative, as it fits within the same cultural boundaries. This has ramifications for both the roles played by the NZ Inc brand and the consumer within the story. Once the consumers' desired identity values have been identified, it is important to understand how their cultural context influences the role they will be most comfortable taking on. This relates to archetypal plot structures and casting of roles. Within individualistic cultures, such as the United States, narratives that allow consumers to play "the hero" will likely be more effective in achieving engagement. In cultures that tend to be more collectivist, the use of archetypes such as "the mentor" might be more effective. The mentor could be the NZ Inc brand itself, if consumers within that market consider the brand to be trustworthy and sincere. Otherwise, brand agents can be utilised as characters representing trusted advisors. NZ Story's Inside Stories initiative, where people from different cultures are filmed talking about New Zealand, is an example of using brand agents who can enact the roles of mentor or trusted advisor. This is an example of a sympathetic narrative, where consumers who feel a sense of closeness to the characters within a story are more engaged and connected with it (Sukalla et al., 2016). Additionally, TNZ and ENZ have both utilised influencers and celebrities in marketing campaigns to align their brand identity with that of the brand agent, who has already established trust within the market. If a consumer is influenced by a brand agent, it is likely that their identity narrative - real or desired - is relatively aligned with that of the agent. Therefore, the brand agent partnership with the NZ Inc brand creates a culturally relevant identity index between the end consumer and the nation brand.

However, one also needs to look beyond just values and consider other cultural aspects, in particular specific norms and cultural schemas (Leung & Morris, 2015). While cultural values usually drive behaviour in normal circumstances, as they are widely shared across society, norms usually vary across social groups (i.e., social class). Cultural schemas on the other hand are usually shared within specific types of contexts (i.e., various types of shocks, celebrations etc.) and are shaped by the interface of the mind (i.e., knowledge structures) and the environment (Leung & Morris, 2015). So far, the NZ Story group has mostly focused on cultural values and attitudes. To resonate with specific consumer segments (i.e., consumers from higher social classes who can afford more expensive New Zealand products) or in

specific circumstances (i.e., pandemics, trade wars, etc.) market research needs to capture also specific norms and cultural schemas.

Incorporating various indices into the export promotion narrative can further improve export performance by minimising the impact of LoF. When the mechanisms of a story relating to an export good or service are familiar to consumers, their uncertainty of the product and brand is reduced (Leonidou et al., 2002). Emotional engagement with stories also heightens brand connection, which is important for New Zealand as a small, relatively unknown country in many international markets. Therefore, developing narratives that enable consumers to achieve their desired identity narrative in a way that feels comfortable and familiar to them will likely improve engagement and trust with the NZ Inc brand, thereby improving export performance.

6.2. Policymaking implications

In addition to the theoretical contributions and implications of this study, there are also several practical implications that policymakers, particularly NZ Story, should consider.

While the Brand Hub group has been successful in developing a polyphonic identity narrative for the NZ Inc brand, the group has not historically included all relevant government organisations. Anholt's six sectors of country image include governance and immigration. It is therefore essential that these agencies are integrated into the NZ Inc narrative to maximise clarity and consistency within New Zealand's international country image. Additionally, the Brand Hub group is currently meeting regularly as a forum specifically to discuss the nation's post-pandemic communications strategy. While this will be critical in establishing a narrative that addresses changing consumer perceptions and provides strategic direction to both private and public sector organisations, the group should continue to meet even after this campaign is completed. NZ Story must actively listen to and incorporate the perspectives of representatives from each of the six sectors into the NZ Inc brand narrative through the ongoing meeting of the Brand Hub group. Which stakeholders are part of the group should be periodically reviewed, in order to ensure that the members comprise an accurate representation of the various sectors.

Industry involvement in the Brand Hub meetings is also critical to improving export performance, as individual exporting firms must feel included and represented by the nation brand narrative to align themselves with it. Including large organisations, the likes of Air NZ and Fonterra, in the meetings is a good first step in this public-private sector integration, but it is also important that SMEs have a voice in the discussion given the structure of the New Zealand economy (Kahiya, 2020). Including regional economic development agencies (EDAs) that represent the various SMEs across New Zealand is critical to achieving this integration. Although EDAs representing New Zealand's largest cities are currently part of the Brand Hub group, this should be extended to include EDAs from all regions to achieve a truly representative stakeholder network. This is especially important when taking e-commerce platforms into consideration, as the locations of New Zealand export businesses are not necessarily representative of their touchpoints with international consumers.

While some SMEs may be dissuaded by the perceived loss of autonomy involved with entering a market as part of a New Zealand collective, it is important to understand the potential value-adding benefits of

this strategy. Therefore, information should be readily available and distributed around how salient links between individual products and the nation brand can add value for the exporter, not just the nation brand. This should incentivise companies to commit the resources to learning about how to integrate the NZ narrative into their export marketing, as the long-term return will be greater than the short-term resource investment. Setting aside free time and assigning a champion, are often the most critical resources in this process, particularly among SMEs.

The Brand Hub group also acts as an information sharing mechanism amongst both government agencies and, now, the private sector. NZ Story demonstrates a commitment to learning, one of the components of a learning-oriented firm, by promoting research as a core pillar of their organisational purpose (Calantone et al., 2002). However, NZ Story currently relies on larger organisations and agencies to conduct in-depth values research. This impacts their ability to facilitate a shared vision for knowledge acquisition and dissemination, where there is a common sense of direction and purpose for learning (Calatone et al., 2002).

The sharing of research across sectors is important for understanding where messages can be reinforced and aligned to create an even more powerful narrative. An often-untapped potential exists also in terms of collaborating more closely with universities, which have both the necessary capabilities to conduct such research and the ability to mobilise additional government research funding. NZ Story could facilitate such collaboration by fostering relationships with New Zealand's tertiary institutions, by creating specific, objective-driven research projects that can be outsourced.

Where possible, NZ Story's research capabilities should be developed to facilitate overarching, cross-sectoral data that will provide a strategic direction for the independent research efforts of other stakeholders. This in-depth, qualitative research would work alongside NZ Story Group's existing perception research to paint a more comprehensive picture of the cultural context of each market, which should also include cultural schemas and norms. It will also become increasingly important to expand the reach of market intelligence activities to better understand emerging and culturally distant markets. Otherwise, the NZ Inc brand runs the risk of cutting themselves off from a large pool of potential consumers by not investing the resources into the necessary market development strategies due to a lack of information. When entering a high NFA market, particular emphasis should be placed initially on trade missions and market development strategies that provide context for consumers about New Zealand, that can then be called upon through emotional stimuli in product-level campaigns later. Market development strategies should also incorporate information about Māori culture, to develop knowledge in international markets. This would involve consultation with appropriate Māori stakeholders to develop campaigns that inform international consumers about Māori history and culture, which will provide the necessary underlying knowledge for both iconic and indexical authenticity to be achieved through cues in later campaigns. This will be a critical part of addressing the opportunity presented by the alignment of consumer values with Māori cultural values, as to perceive these values as authentic, international consumers must first have an appropriate level of understanding of the Māori culture.

The Brand Hub group should be carefully structured to best support information sharing. There should be a systematic review of existing research to determine which information is the most useful and important to be disseminated across the stakeholders, and in what way. Subsequently, this information should both be presented at the Brand Hub meetings, and recorded and shared as a physical copy to all key

stakeholders, to be referred to and continuously improve information alignment. While this might seem self-evident, the "siloed" nature of government institutions and organisations often hinders this. One way of cutting across such silos would be to incorporate so-called principles of *policy entrepreneurship*, which introduces entrepreneurial thinking to policy (Raskovic, 2021). To implement policy entrepreneurship, NZ Story should support experiential learning within its stakeholders, through the development of new research channels and in-market relationships with marketing agencies and consumer groups. Resources should also be allocated towards future-oriented anticipatory learning, with dedicated environmental scanning teams that analyse and report on expected future trends. Due to the impact of cultural changes on consumers' identity values, it is imperative that NZ Story's information infrastructure monitors and is proactively responsive to external events. Key cultural events in host markets, and their implications for the NZ Inc brand narrative, should be regularly and consistently reported back to all key internal brand stakeholders. Reflexivity is a key capability for fostering policy entrepreneurship (Raskovic, 2021). Thus, the Brand Hub meetings should act as a forum where stakeholders can critique and make changes to the campaign narratives.

The measurement of export performance is another key consideration for NZ Story. The development of the brand tracker is important for measuring international perceptions of individual sectors and the overarching NZ Inc brand. However, as of yet, there are no mechanisms in place to measure the tangible impact of NZ Inc narratives on export performance in international markets. Instead, each individual agency reports on sector specific export performance results which limits NZ Story Group's ability to prove its importance and success. Therefore, emphasis should be placed on the development of measurement mechanisms that look at specific measurements of export value (and value adding potential), such as the difference in profitability between exporters that align their products with the NZ narrative with those that do not, or the success of NZ exports in markets that have not yet been entered by government level nation branding campaigns. The value of the NZ Inc brand and the economic value of export performance should be evaluated side by side to create an overall view of the results of narrative as an export promotion strategy. These measurement systems should be consistent, regardless of which political party is in power for policymakers to track the results of nation branding campaigns. This should allow for improvements in efficiency in both the development of the narratives and the appropriate allocation of resources to best support this promotion strategy.

In terms of a post-Covid strategic response, NZ Story should develop a narrative that reflects the shifting consumer values of the return to normalcy, underpinned by familiar NZ Inc brand values. For example, a campaign could focus on how New Zealanders are using innovative technology solutions to adapt their business models, highlighting New Zealand exporters who have gone digital in the face of the pandemic. Underpinned by the value of Põtikitanga, or innovation, this narrative would use the value of 'Kiwi ingenuity' to create a plausible and coherent story that moves away from the perception of New Zealand as closed and distant, towards the desired country image of a resilient and innovative nation. It is imperative that any post-pandemic narratives are underpinned by the NZ Inc brand identity and existing perceptions of New Zealand to be accepted by international audiences.

7. Limitations & future research

The scope and scale of this research were confined by its nature as a requirement of the Master of Commerce programme, leading to multiple limitations of the study. The first limitation is that not all the involved stakeholders in the NZ Inc brand were included in the qualitative research sample. No private sector representatives were involved in this research, nor were stakeholders from some of the less international marketing-oriented government agencies. Future research should extend this study by further exploring the perspectives of the private sector, given the importance of integration between the public and private sectors when it comes to institutional export promotion support (Kahiya & Delaney, 2022). Qualitative research undertaken with key decision makers at the industry-level could extend the research framework developed in this study by garnering insights into the resources and capabilities needed to support storytelling at an individual exporter level.

A second limitation of this research is that the stories told by NZ citizens abroad was not explored as a channel for export storytelling. This is another touchpoint between international consumers and the New Zealand narrative, but incorporating this added channel of communication to the already complex, exploratory framework was outside of the scope of the research in terms of time and scale.

Due to the conceptual nature of the research framework and the qualitative methodology utilised to support it, future quantitative research is necessary to test causal relationships and focus on predicting outcomes. This research is an exploratory first step into the intersection between storytelling, nation branding and export promotion, and should thus be extended and validated through further research. Not only should the conceptual framework be tested through quantitative research, but it should also be applied to different contexts to extend its generalisability across different nations. Further testing is an important step to realising the significant theoretical implications of this research project, and related future research, within the international business discipline. Future research could also explore different elements of the framework in more depth, such as the role that political parties play in storytelling for export promotion, or how changing trends within a nation's domestic population impacts the storytelling process.

8. Conclusion

This study explored (1) the effectiveness of storytelling as an export promotion tool, (2) the elements and techniques of storytelling that can best support export promotion, and (3) the necessary resources and capabilities to support storytelling as an export strategy, all within the New Zealand policymaking context. Through the development of a conceptual research framework that integrated extant storytelling, nation branding and export promotion literature, and qualitative research utilising the expert interview methodology, the study findings showed that storytelling is an effective export promotion tool at three levels.

By establishing strong network relationships and a supportive institutional environment, the NZ Inc brand identity narrative works to improve New Zealand's export performance by mitigating the export barriers associated with the resource constraints that would face individual agencies or exporters. Narratives can

also have a value adding effect to the nation's exports, by creating salient links between the nation brand and its resources and capabilities.

The findings from my study show that narrative archetypes and emotional cues are two of the most important elements and techniques of storytelling for export promotion purposes. Export promotion narratives should be a process of co-creation between the target consumer and the NZ Inc brand, residing in the intersection between the identity values of each party. Once these shared values are established, narrative archetypes can be employed to develop a story that allows the consumer to play a role that reflects their desired identity. The narrative plot should both support the consumer in enacting their desired identity and reflect the cultural context in which it appears, by utilising culturally familiar storylines and characters. This will encourage engagement with the story, as consumers have more indices available to map the brand narrative onto their own self-identity story. Both emotional and rational cues should be incorporated into export narratives, however the importance of each one should be reflective of what will best engage consumers within that market.

In order to best support storytelling as an export promotion strategy, several resources and capabilities are needed at the policymaking level. Perhaps most importantly, a coordinating body is needed to facilitate the development of a nation brand identity narrative, to manage power dynamics and integrate the values of all key stakeholders. In the New Zealand policymaking context, NZ Story acts as this coordinating body, heading the Brand Hub group that collectively develops the NZ Inc identity narrative. NZ Story's capability to facilitate ongoing Brand Hub collaboration will be critical to supporting the development of the NZ Inc narrative to reflect environmental changes, both domestically and globally.

Appropriate information sharing infrastructure is critical to the learning orientation of NZ Story, as market intelligence must be dispersed across internal stakeholders in order to be most effective at both the public and private sector levels. This is especially important to mitigate the export barriers of lack of resources and information faced by smaller government agencies and SMEs. Measurements of export narrative success that incorporate both the added economic value to export goods and services and brand equity, at both a nation and industry level, are also a key resource to supporting the export promotion strategy. Understanding the outcomes of export narratives on export performance is critical to the ongoing development of storytelling as an export promotion strategy and the appropriate allocation of resource investment to best support it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Key themes and supporting codes from expert interviews

Relevant framework level	Subcomponent of framework level	Themes	Codes
1. Storytelling setting - strategic level	1.1 Resources and capabilities	1.1a Strengths	Environmental capital, Māori cultural capital, cultural/historic/leadership capital
		1.1b Weaknesses	Size and resource limitations, reliance on 100% Pure NZ
		1.1c Threats	COVID-19 pandemic, limited market reach
		1.1d Opportunities	Technology, Māori values
	1.2 Policymaking level	1.2a Need for NZ Story	Power dynamics, well-rounded NZ story, competing priorities
		1.2b Value of NZ Inc brand	Liability of smallness, reinforcing message, halo effect to other sectors
		1.2c Metanarrative	Expand the story, integration of sectors, shared values
		1.2d Barriers	NZ Story resource limitations, power dynamics
	1.3 Industry level	1.3a Institutional support	Workshops, resource library, integration of private sector stakeholders
		1.3b Halo effect	Sector-specific halo effect, value-adding, reverse-halo effect
		1.3c Barriers	Lack of understanding of benefits, readiness of the sector, lack of alignment with consumer needs
2. Storytelling discourse - functional level	2.1 Cultural context	2.1a Consumer identity values	Values based segmentation, consumer-first lens, authenticity to brand values, deep qualitative research
		2.1b Consumer perceptions and trends	Relationship to New Zealand, current market trends, higher level demographic/psychographic research
3. The Story - operational level	3.1 Cultural dimensions	3.1a Need for cognition/need for affect	Culturally specific, both needed, time spent in each level, research needed
		3.1b Creative decisions	Brand agents, in-market testing, tone, messaging, consumer touchpoints, characters, value alignment