GLOBALIZATION AS A TOOL TO PROTECT NATION-STATE SOVEREIGNTY: A CONCEPTUAL EXAMINATION OF NATION-STATE EXPORT CULTURE AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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Abstract

Contemporary globalization threatens the role of the nation-state. In particular, contemporary globalization, characterized by an increase in technological innovation and a focus on neo-liberal economics, has reduced state sovereignty and increased nation-state dependency on corporations. Subsequently, as the importance of the nation-state is reduced, its identity is less recognized. However, the identity of the nation-state must be acknowledged in order for the state to protect its citizens.

Concentrating upon the country of origin effect, this dissertation conceptualizes a new public diplomacy campaign to protect nation-state identity. It is hypothesized that contemporary globalization can be used as a tool to promote the nation-state identity by conveying a particular section of nation-state culture through exportation, namely the nation-state export culture (NSEC) to global audiences.

A qualitative investigation conducted into the hypothesis recognizes the weakening state sovereignty and the need for a NSEC campaign to protect nation-state identity. To ensure successful NSEC implementation, analyses are made of prior United States, British and New Zealand public diplomacy campaigns. These case studies not only assess the varying ability for different nation-states to undertake public diplomacy, but also discover different modus operandi to be utilized or avoided.

The analysis concludes that while a NSEC campaign is essential for the protection of the nation-state identity, the case study findings must be recognized in order for the NSEC campaign to be successful.

Keywords: Country of Origin Effect, Globalization, Nation-State Export Culture, Protectionism, Public Diplomacy
Abstract


Das Ergebnis der gesamten Untersuchung, dass einerseits eine NSEC-Kampagne essentiell für den Erhalt einer nationalstaatlichen Identität ist, jedoch andererseits zeigen die Einzelergebnisse der Analyse der Fallbeispiele das bestimmte Faktoren beachtet werden müssen, um eine NSEC Kampagne erfolgreich durchzuführen.

Schlagwörter: Country of Origin Effect, Globalisierung, Nation-State Export Culture, Protektionismus, politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>9/11</td>
<td>Attacks within the United States on September 11, 2001</td>
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<td>AOL</td>
<td>America Online</td>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAA</td>
<td>British Airports Authority</td>
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<td>BG Group</td>
<td>British Gas Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BHS</td>
<td>British Home Stores</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMW</td>
<td>Bayerische Motoren Werke AG</td>
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<tr>
<td>BTA</td>
<td>British Tourist Authority</td>
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<td>BTG</td>
<td>British Technology Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>COO Effect</td>
<td>Country of Origin Effect</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
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<td>EC</td>
<td>European Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERM</td>
<td>European Exchange Rate Mechanism</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FCO</td>
<td>Foreign and Commonwealth Office</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>G8</td>
<td>Group of Eight</td>
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<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
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<td>GCSE</td>
<td>General Certificate of Secondary Education</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>Houses of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSBC</td>
<td>Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation</td>
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<td>IPR</td>
<td>International Public Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>Information Technology</td>
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<td>MG</td>
<td>Morris Garages</td>
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<td>MNC</td>
<td>Multinational Corporation</td>
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<td>MTV</td>
<td>Music Television</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<td>NASA</td>
<td>National Aeronautics and Space Administration</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBI</td>
<td>National Brands Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NFL</td>
<td>National Football League</td>
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<td>NHL</td>
<td>National Hockey League</td>
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<td>NSEC</td>
<td>Nation-State Export Culture</td>
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<td>NZ</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
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<td>NZTE</td>
<td>New Zealand Trade and Enterprise</td>
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<td>PM</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
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<td>PR</td>
<td>Public Relations</td>
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<td>R&amp;D</td>
<td>Research and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Systems Applications and Products</td>
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<tr>
<td>SARS</td>
<td>Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sci Fi</td>
<td>Science Fiction</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNWTO</td>
<td>United Nations World Tourism Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAC</td>
<td>United States Advisory Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>USIA</td>
<td>United States Information Agency</td>
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<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
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<tr>
<td>VOA</td>
<td>Voice of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>VW</td>
<td>Volkswagen</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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‘…products make far more effective ambassadors for the national image than promotional campaigns, because they make money rather than costing money; people welcome products and avoid advertisements; and people take products into their homes and keep them, rather than throwing them away or deleting them as soon as they can’ (Anholt 2007: 92).
Preface

The transition from traditional to contemporary globalization has brought about unprecedented economic, political, socio-cultural and technological changes. These changes transform the nature of the nation-state, allowing states, citizens and corporations to have an increasing transnational reach. The increased international reach creates potential for actors to improve their economic revenue. However, the neo-liberal economic mandate for higher economic revenue requires a reduction in state control, and this reduction weakens nation-state sovereignty. Accordingly, nation-states seem to have two optional responses to contemporary globalization: Firstly, protect the nation-state by blockading it from the international community and suffer economic decline, or secondly, embrace contemporary globalization to compete for economic success and observe the nation-state’s demise. Neither of these options are optimal as the state must ensure both economic revenue\(^1\) and sovereignty\(^2\) to support its citizens. Thus, an approach must be created that utilizes contemporary globalization as a tool to both profit economically and protect the nation-states’ sovereignty. The key lies in the ability for the transnational flows of contemporary globalization to create international attention of the nation-state. As long that attention towards the nation-state is positive, it will protect nation-state sovereignty\(^3\) and support increased economic revenue\(^4\). Accordingly, this dissertation attempts to draw upon the potential of contemporary globalization to support the nation-state economy and sovereignty. Particularly, it is within the field of public diplomacy that both nation-state economy and sovereignty is assisted.

Public diplomacy is primarily focused on creating attention and presenting the nation-state in a positive light. The study of nation-states gaining positive international attention became popular in 2004 with the creation of Anholts’ journal ‘Place Branding and Public Diplomacy’. The journal has the aim of creating expert, interdisciplinary discussion of country branding. This focus on public diplomacy can help the nation-state retain its sovereignty and support economic revenue. The importance of the role of public diplomacy has been

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1. Economic revenue allows citizens to maintain a standard of living.
2. State sovereignty is necessary for the functioning of the state. The central function of the state is to protect the citizen.
3. Nation-state sovereignty is protected through attention created from its unique socio-cultural identity on the world stage. This will be discussed in more detail throughout the dissertation.
4. Attention can increase revenue in a similar way corporate advertising supports merchandise revenue.
dramatically increased by the developments of contemporary globalization mentioned above. While the operations of different nation-states public diplomacy divisions are quite varied, there have been many cases of success. Spain has removed itself from its Franco image and is now appreciated as young and modern. Ireland has lost its catholic image and is now seen as the exciting, innovative and friendly ‘Celtic Tiger’. Chile has moved away from its ‘Junta’ and grape images. Australia is seen as less tied to the UK and is recognized more in its role as an Asian-Pacific nation-state. Other examples include Japan which has ‘successfully changed its image as a maker of cheap and shoddy products’, Germany which has moved away from its association with the Second World War, Finland which has developed a image as a powerhouse of IT, France which is now seen as modern (Leonard 1997: 36, 37, 38) and Italy as the capital of style (Olins 2002: 6). These public diplomacy campaigns have succeeded, because they have changed individuals’ stereotypes of different nation-states. In particular, the country of origin (COO) effect is the particular tool of public diplomacy that is effective in changing individuals’ nation-state stereotypes by gaining the nation-state more attention and painting it in a positive light.

People stereotype the character of nation-states. Stereotypes may have either positive or negative recognitions. It is important that nation-states are recognized in a positive light because perception influences the nation-states inclusion on the world stage. A negative perception will exclude the nation-state and ultimately reduce its economic revenue. Nebenzahl and Jaffe have found that ‘the lower the image of a country, the greater the price discount that buyers expect compared with identical merchandise from an origin with a stronger image. This helps to explain ‘Volkswagen’s ‘German-engineered’ and Suzuki Nitara’s ‘Born in Japan’ claims, aimed to disguise manufacturing in countries with weaker images and thus to reduce discount expectations’ (Gilmore 2002). Of course, stereotypes also work the other way round, and consumers are willing to pay a premium for merchandise originating from a particular nation-state: ‘We will pay over the odds for consumer electronics from Japan, food products from Italy, engineering from Germany. A Wolff Olins survey of 200 Fortune 500 companies showed that 72 percent see national image as important in influencing their purchasing decisions’ (Leonard 1997: 33). However, in order to create this positive stereotype through the COO effect, public diplomacy campaigns require careful management (Fan 2006).

Currently, there are four major interrelated problems with promoting nation-state images: (1) One reductionist image is often promoted for the whole nation-state. This image promotion is not representative as it cannot address the increasingly differentiated niche groups within a nation-state. (2) As this image is reductionist, it usually contains myths,
promotes aspirations, particular goals or values that are unrealistic\(^5\). Consequently, consumers become dissatisfied with the false illusion they have been promised, and the promotion fails. (3) Furthermore, when a reductionist image promotes myths, the campaign can be understood as propaganda. Propaganda is a bad form of image promotion because it restricts debate and reality. (4) Propaganda is also dangerous because it has the potential to bring fourth ethical questions including xenophobia, nationalism and other major problems that have plagued the 19th and 20th century.

To overcome these problems, reductionism should be replaced by a public diplomacy campaign exporting multiple images. Examples of Virgin, Nestlé and Unilever illustrate that reductionism is not necessary despite consisting of a wide range of identities: ‘They should not be so consistent as to block out diversity. But nor are they just invisible containers of wholly separate corporate or regional identities’ (Leonard 1997: 42). This example also applies to the exportation of nation-state images through public diplomacy campaigns. Exportation of a range of nation-state images are more effective, because they are representative and can address specific target audience niches. Overcoming reductionism thus allows the promotion of numerous images appealing to different demographic tastes within different nation-states. Thus, these problems of reductionism must be overcome in COO effect creation within a public diplomacy campaign. This presents potential for a new field of study.

Sociology can contribute to this new field. It can contribute through one of its central concerns, the study of culture. Contemporary globalization has made the sociological study of contemporary culture a complex field of analysis. This can be seen, for example, in changing consumerism trends brought about by contemporary globalization leading to a complexity in the ‘export and import of culture’ (Banerjee & Linstead 2001: 696). This transnational culture flow is most commonly seen in the culture industry. Popular culture texts are not only becoming increasingly complex through their transnational flow, but have gained an increasingly economic importance where contemporary globalization has improved the potential for these texts to create revenue from a global market. Thus, the study of cultural change needs to be taken seriously, particularly in terms of how they influence the COO effect is influenced. Here, sociology can contribute to this field by analyzing how culture is affected by factors such as identity creation and exportation.

\(^5\) It is unrealistic because a reductionalist image cannot be representative of a whole nation-state.
Sociology will be used within this dissertation to overcome problems of contemporary globalization and reductionist public diplomacy campaigns. These problems will be overcome by the utilization of contemporary globalization to sustain economic revenue and nation-state sovereignty in a non-reductionist public diplomacy campaign. This particular public diplomacy campaign is called the nation-state export culture (NSEC) campaign. The NSEC campaign requires state and corporation cooperation to create and export NSEC images attached to merchandise. These NSEC images create positive attention through the COO effect, resulting in increased revenue and nation-state sovereignty. This dissertation conceives the NSEC campaign. The dissertation focuses upon the campaign creation through analysis of theory and case studies. Analysis of theory explains the need for such a campaign, and the analysis of case studies recognizes successes and pitfalls of previous campaigns.

Here, it is important to recognize that the work of this dissertation involves theoretical conceptualization. The conceptualization argues for the existence of an unprecedented environment created by contemporary globalization. This contemporary globalization both creates the demand and supports the ease that cultural images attached to merchandise can be exported. Accordingly, the dissertation concentrates on the bigger sociological questions surrounding the conceptualization of the NSEC campaign, rather than technical details outlined under future research. These sociological questions analyze central theoretical concepts and definitions such as NSEC, public diplomacy and the COO effect. The dissertation will also assess case studies of other public diplomacy campaigns which use NSEC images of the United States, Britain and New Zealand. The United States will be described as an advanced and powerful player of direct and indirect public diplomacy that promotes not only its own identity but has the ability to influence the international communities’ perception of other nation-states. The British case study will be concerned with “Cool Britannia”, a re-branding campaign suggested to Tony Blair by Geoff Mulgan in the 1990s which failed miserably. The New Zealand case study will describe a small nation-state attempting to gain international attention through different methods with a limited budget. Theoretical analysis of these case studies will create a best practice for the application of a NSEC campaign.

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6 NSEC should not be confused with the culture of exporting. Rather this dissertation is concerned with export culture in terms of a particular unique cultural image that is exported.

7 Anholt, for example, argues that ‘America has a vast armory of offensive branding weapons, from the credit ratings agencies (which can virtually kill a country’s economic prospects with a couple of letters) to Hollywood and the global news media, which can put together a new image for a country in a matter of weeks’ (2004: 8).
However, before this analysis can begin, a background of the thesis must be presented. This will discuss changes brought about by contemporary globalization. This discussion will be followed by a presentation of the problems and potentials of contemporary globalization. The problems and potential will also include the dissertation's hypothesis and an explanation of the NSEC campaign. After the background to the research and the research problem is presented, the dissertation will be outlined.
Chapter 1
Introduction to the Topic

1.1.0 The Impact of Globalization on Identities

Globalization has changed significantly. This change has altered the different institutional systems of our society and how people all around the world live their lives. It would be a fallacy for the sociologist to ignore these changes. Rather, it is imperative that sociologists analyze the contemporary world we live in. Even better, is for sociologists to find advantages to this new form of globalization to improve the lives of individuals who are affected by it. Accordingly, it is the changes of globalization that form the background and founding premise of this dissertation. It is from this background that spawns all the discussion of this dissertation. It is not the aim of this background to introduce parent or immediate information, nor to present a particular problem or hypothesis. Rather, the aim of this background is to outline the relevant scene upon which this dissertation is placed. This background is comprised of two main parts. Firstly, globalization and its recent changes will be outlined. This will be followed with mention of its impact upon identity.

Globalization is a concept that has existed for a long time. However, it is constantly evolving. This dissertation will argue that towards the end of the 1970s a new form of globalization came about that continues to exist today. It is this change from “traditional globalization” to “contemporary globalization” that has led to an unprecedented era, and it is the changes that have taken place in order to enter this new realm of contemporary globalization that are interesting for this thesis. In order to explain how contemporary globalization forms the background for this thesis, changes in its three macro components will be outlined; the economic, political and socio-cultural.

Throughout the late 1970s, nation-states around the world were suffering economically. The United States was enduring high unemployment as a result of the 1973 oil crisis and 1979 energy crisis, and entered a slight recession in 1980. Britain had been struggling since the end of the Second World War to catch up with other more technologically advanced industrial nations. As Britain began to suffer economically it was forced to search for new trade partners and find ways to improve its economic condition to become more competitive. Subsequently New Zealand lost Britain as a major trade partner when Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC). During this time of economic turmoil, politicians were voted to power who were thought could restimulate the economy.
This occurred, for example, in the United States, United Kingdom and New Zealand. All of these leaders (President Regan (1981-1989), Prime Minister Douglas (1984-1988) and Prime Minister Thatcher (1979-1990)) attempted to re-stimulate their national economies through the implementation of neo-liberal economic policy (*Reaganomics, Rogernomics and Thatcherism*). This involved the execution of different policies such as trade liberalization. Trade liberalization had large political, economic and social/cultural repercussions around the world. For example, it gave nation-states the ability to trade with each other with less state control, through trade tariff reductions. This reduction in tariffs since the 1970s combined with technological development that increased ease of transportation of products technological development led to a significant increase in areas such as world merchandise exports, production and GDP (WTO 2007: 1).

These political and economic changes of contemporary globalization are interesting for sociology. It is important to realize that exported merchandise is not just as it may seem at face value. Products are also cultural artifacts which can have additional cultural attributes attached. This relates to the neo-liberal economic changes explained above where the increase in merchandise exportation results in increased flows of culture and subsequently identity to be imported and exported around the world. This has changed how different groups’ identities compete with each other on the world stage. Free-trade arrangements and international and inter-regional unification not only impacts upon the cultural identities of different nation-states, but also increases the ability for different nation-states to have their cultural identity to be consumed by other nation-states. Ultimately, it was these significant political, economic and social/cultural changes of the late 1970s that brought about contemporary globalization and distinguished it from traditional globalization.

This new form of globalization creates a diverse range of changes reaching to almost every sector of modern society. One area influenced by globalization that is of special interest to this thesis is the above mentioned consequent competition between national identities on the world stage as a result of increased culture exportation attached to merchandise. This “world stage” is a metaphor for a platform upon which different interest groups such as governmental, non-governmental or corporate factions compete with each other for different goals. One of these goals a nation-state may have is for their identity to be dominant through the above mentioned culture exportation attached to merchandise in comparison to their competitors. The benefit of this increased recognition is an improved support of the economic or political aims of that interest group such as supporting economic revenue and nation-state sovereignty.
Thus, contemporary globalization and its changing of world flows for identities to compete on the world stage have become increasingly important, and it is this that sets the background for this dissertation. These changes in transnational interaction brought about by contemporary globalization have created new problems and potentials for nation-states. If these problems are overcome and potentials realized, then contemporary globalization could be an advantage for the nation-state. These problems and potentials will be explored in the next section and will lead to the formation of the dissertation's hypothesis.
1.2.0 Problems and Potential of Contemporary Globalization

The background premise of this dissertation is that globalization has changed, and that the globalization of today (contemporary globalization) differs to globalization prior to the late 1970s. A brief outline of these changes presented in the background claims that contemporary globalization differs to traditional globalization because of the evolution of political, economic, socio-cultural and technological sectors of different nation-states. Of these sectors, neo-liberal economics and technological innovation are two particularly important areas that have influenced interaction between different nation-states. A problem arises where the nation-state needs to learn how to alter its socio-cultural, political and economic institutions to harness contemporary globalization to its advantage to compete with other nation-states while simultaneously retaining its sovereignty. Currently, contemporary globalization shows the potential to be of great value to the economy of the nation-state by creating more revenue from merchandise exports than was previously possible. Thus by analyzing the changes of contemporary globalization upon the economic, political and cultural value of the international trade of merchandise, (particularly the consumption of culture attached to exported merchandise) advantages of contemporary globalization can be found that support the nation-state.

Merchandise is often recognized as originating from a particular nation-state. New Zealand’s exportation of Kiwifruit is a good example of this. When merchandise is exported then a particular culture can also be exported. Consumption of this culture creates a relationship between the consumer and the country of origin. This is known as the COO effect. As presented in the background, in the age of contemporary globalization the nation-state has the ability to export culture in merchandise at unprecedented levels. Accordingly, the nation-state has the potential to create a relationship between the consumer and culture at unprecedented levels. This increased recognition of the nation-state culture on the world stage leads to further consumption of merchandise relative to the particular culture, resulting in increased revenue.

Increased revenue is measured through exports versus imports where, simply put, if a nation-state exports more than it imports it creates a favorable balance of trade and therefore positive returns for its corporations. Accordingly, it is in the nation-state’s interest to

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8 This is expanded upon in section 1.5.2.
9 World merchandise export, production and gross domestic product have increased significantly since the 1970s (WTO 2007: 1).
10 Though cultural representation of the product or through the attachment of cultural identity to the merchandise.
have more exports than imports. The corresponding revenue from higher levels of merchandise exportation can result in increased political power for the state which it can use to flex its political muscle. This is illustrated within institutions such as the WTO where particular nation-states are able to influence policy. Nation-states whose economic, political and/or cultural voice(s) are not heard risk domination by the voice of the more powerful nation-state. Domination means that the state can experience a reduction in sovereignty in its economic, political and cultural independence. For example, a stronger nation-state could assimilate the culture of the weaker state by drowning its culture with the stronger states culture. The stronger state also could enforce economic and political policy that would exploit the weaker state and force particular laws upon it. Therefore, in this time of contemporary globalization, as almost all nation-states are competing for their identities to be recognized on the world stage, the nation-state should export merchandise to encourage the COO effect as much as possible.

   Sovereign independence is the most important factor for a nation-state, to the extent that it will drive citizens to war. However, not all nation-states are made equal. It is apparent that there are extreme differences in the ability for different nation-states to compete for recognition on the world stage. This is illustrated by the power of political (permanent representatives of the United Nations Security Council\textsuperscript{11}), economic (representatives of the G8\textsuperscript{12}) and cultural (such as the United States\textsuperscript{13} and Japan\textsuperscript{14}) dominance of particular nation-states. Thus, as contemporary globalization has increased the ability for social, political and economic identities of different nation-states to compete to dominate each other, the demand to protect nation-state sovereignty has also increased. Herein lies the central problem for this dissertation: \textit{Nation-states must find the most competitive way for their identity to be recognized on the world stage in order to protect their sovereignty.}

\textsuperscript{11} China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States are permanent members of the council. They and their ten other temporary members have the power to investigate disputes and choose a form of action.

\textsuperscript{12} Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States (the European Union is also represented). This group protects their interests through the implementation of different forms of foreign policy such as free trade agreements.

\textsuperscript{13} The United States has often been discussed for its success in exporting culture via merchandise such as film (Hollywood), Levis jeans or Mc Donald’s fast food.

\textsuperscript{14} In recent years the Japanese have become more successful in exporting their culture in merchandise such as Manga films.
Sociology has often been frowned upon to solve such a problem because it can lack practical application to big issues such as politics and economy that nation-states face. By tackling this problem, this dissertation will make a significant contribution both to sociology and the protection of nation-state sovereignty. Sociology is an excellent school of thought to solve this problem as it specializes in understanding the function of society in its relationship to the socio-cultural, economic and political polity and sovereignty of nation-states. Thus, the central hypothesis of this dissertation aims to propose a sociological response to solve the problem faced by nation-states in the age of contemporary globalization. The hypothesis aims to solve this problem directly by proposing how the nation-state can protect its sovereignty by exporting its identity to the world stage. The central hypothesis of this dissertation is as follows:

Hypothesis

*It is theoretically conceivable for a diverse range of state subsidized cultural images associated with a nation-state to be attached to corporate merchandise for exportation on the world stage in order to support the sovereignty of the nation-state identity.*

Explanation and benefits of the hypothesis

This hypothesis utilizes the positive aspects of contemporary globalization in order to support a nation-state’s identity to be recognized on the world stage. Therefore this hypothesis does not attack contemporary globalization nor see it as a problem for the nation-state to retain its sovereignty. This dissertation creates a campaign out of the hypothesis to support the sovereignty of the nation-state identity by encouraging corporations to attach NSEC images to their merchandise that is exported to the world stage. The theory follows that the consumer will not only consume the merchandise, but also the NSEC image that is attached to the merchandise. Consumption of the NSEC image attached to merchandise will support the nation-state recognition on the world stage because it will create the COO effect whereby the consumer will become interested in the attached cultural image, and will extend this interest into learning and consuming more from the nation-state. This repeated consumption will ultimately support sovereignty through an increased awareness and appreciation of the nation-state.
Implementation of the hypothesis

The practical implementation of this hypothesis involves the creation of a state funded independent panel. This panel receives applications from corporations who want to attach particular NSEC images to their merchandise in order to receive government subsidies\textsuperscript{15}. The panel would then review applications from corporations concerning their merchandise. This review would comprise of two steps; Firstly, deciding if the merchandise would be received in a positive light by all stakeholders; and secondly, deciding if the proposed NSEC images to be attached to the merchandise accurately reflect the cultural identity of the nation-state\textsuperscript{16}. Through the consumption of the exported merchandise, the consumer becomes more interested in the attached NSEC image and wants to consume more merchandise related to the NSEC image\textsuperscript{17} (Fig.1.2.0.1). This increased recognition of the nation-state supports nation-state sovereignty, and the increased consumption of merchandise supports economic revenue.

The independent panel should remain independent in order to retain neutrality in deciding which corporations should receive government subsidies. While it is difficult for the nation-state to stop corporations attaching cultural images to their merchandise, the independent panel would decide if the corporation should be encouraged through the incentive of government subsidies to attach cultural images to merchandise. Not all corporations should have the right to receive government subsidies as some corporations’ merchandise carries a negative image and would thus not promote a positive representation of the country of origin. An instance of negative merchandise may be weapons, whereby the attaching of cultural images would create a negative image of the country of origin from stakeholders who oppose weapons. The second main task of the independent panel would be to choose the type of NSEC images that corporations could attach to their merchandise\textsuperscript{18}.

\textsuperscript{15} The nature of the subsidy would be determined by the state.

\textsuperscript{16} Accurate reflection of the nation-state cultural identity will be discussed throughout the case studies.

\textsuperscript{17} This assumption can only be proven through the practical application of the theory. Furthermore, the result of the practical application would only be representative for the particular nation-state at hand due to the many independent variables that would be taken into consideration when applying the theory.

\textsuperscript{18} Admittedly, this will contain some reductionalism as the thesis asserts that the corporations and an independent assessment panel decide the cultural images that are attached to a product, and thus influence the nation-state identity of a country on the international stage. Thus the cultural identity exported is essentially controlled by corporations and the independent panel. However, this reductionalism will be to a smaller extent in comparison to current nation-state branding, as corporations will be encouraged to attach a diverse range of cultural images to their products that relate specifically to their niche market. Thus, as many corporations have many different niche
It will be explained how NSEC images attached to merchandise are representative of nation-state culture in section 1.5.5. Practical examples of NSEC images will be presented in the case studies.

Application of this theory will allow corporations to choose from a wide range of NSEC images in order to appreciate the nation-states cultural diversity. By doing so, this will avoid the problem of reductionism that currently exists in public diplomacy such as destination branding where adopted slogans summarize the identity of a country in one sentence. These include, ‘Malaysia, Truly Asia’, ‘Incredible India’, ‘Amazing Thailand’, and so forth. Such slogans do little to describe the identity of the nation-state, and do little to stimulate the COO effect. Furthermore, because these slogans are so reductionist and broad, they do little to meet the particular interests of the consumer. Following the hypothesis of this dissertation, if corporations are able to choose from a wide range of images, they will be able to attach NSEC images which are attractive to the specific demographic identity of their consumer audience. Application of this hypothesis would therefore be more effective than current campaigns in gaining consumer attention and creating the COO effect.

Now that a hypothesis of the dissertation has been presented, the next step must be made to justify research into profiting from the changes brought about by contemporary globalization. This justification must illustrate the benefits of the study for both sociology and the nation-state.
1.3.0 Justification for the Research

This dissertation will contribute new knowledge to sociology. This new knowledge surrounds topics of cultural change in relation to globalization and the economic, political and socio-cultural strength of a nation-state. New knowledge is brought about by using contemporary globalization as a tool to profit from the exportation of culture. In order to gain this knowledge, questions are posed, examining for example how attempts to promote the British identity have failed, how the United States is able to export its culture on such a large scale, or the different techniques that New Zealand uses to export its identity to the world stage. The justification of this research is firstly explained in terms of how contemporary globalization has reduced nation-state sovereignty, and then how research involved in this dissertation will contribute to resolving that problem.

Contemporary globalization

This dissertation has contended that contemporary globalization has caused nation-states to have undergone major changes since the 1970s. The impact that contemporary globalization has had is currently seen in either a positive or negative light by different groups of academics. Sociologists who perceive contemporary globalization in a negative light raise fears:

‘...that the customs, heritages, and traditions of diverse societies are being eroded. Such fears have led to the call for policy objectives and tools to provide cultural safeguards as nations adapt to globalization. Various forms of trade control, including quotas, taxes, and subsidies, have been applied by several countries for the purpose of protecting and nurturing domestic culture’

(Baughn & Buchanan 2001).

Regardless of the perceived negative impact of contemporary globalization, its economic and political affects are difficult to avoid, and sociology can learn to use contemporary globalization as a tool to achieve particular goals. By using contemporary globalization as a tool, this study contributes to the debate of cultural change by proposing a means in which cultural identities can profit through competition of recognition.
Importance of research for the nation-state

Contemporary globalization can be considered to be responsible for the decline of the nation-state. This dissertation argues that while this may be true, contemporary globalization can be used as a tool to support nation-states economics, politics, and social cohesion. The potential benefits of contemporary globalization have been outlined in section 1.2.0. These benefits will now be examined in more detail to justify the implementation of the NSEC campaign.

State gains

This thesis argues that contemporary globalization is reducing state sovereignty. This decline is due to state policies of economic deregulation and transnational alliances brought about in order to create a competitive economy. As a result, the state has decreased governance over both its corporations and citizens. For example, deregulation means that corporations have more freedom to enter and exit the nation-state which makes it difficult for the state to retain corporations to support the nation-state economy. Furthermore, state deregulation means citizens are less protected by the state and are thus more vulnerable to corporate power. Consequently, citizens have less attachment and identity to the nation-state. To retain nation-state sovereignty, the hypothesis aims to increase state sovereign power by encouraging corporations to attach NSEC images to their merchandise. This increased recognition of NSEC images also allows citizens to regain a sense of identity and support their allegiance to the state. Furthermore, as a stronger economy grants more freedom to the government to increase industrial taxes, the state profits from increased corporate revenue brought about by the NSEC campaign.

Another central advantage for the state a NSEC campaign is implemented is its low running costs. The cost of running a campaign has been described to cover the independent panel and its mediation, as well as the subsidies (if any) rewarded to corporations for attaching the NSEC images to their merchandise. While the exact cost of a campaign is dependant upon the level of funding and subsidies granted with an exact cost cannot be determined. However, it has the ability to be a very affordable and would certainly be more economical than any conventional public diplomacy campaign. Furthermore, the increased consumption through the COO effect brought about by NSEC images allows the campaign to pay for itself and would be essentially free for the state to run. This is because the extra revenue taken through tax from the industries could be recycles back into the NSEC campaign.
However, not all corporations will be interested in attaching NSEC images to their merchandise. This is because of the piggyback theory (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 125). The piggyback theory asserts that through the power of identity relations there is always one weaker actor who tries to assert its identity through the use of a more recognized actor’s identity. For example, if a corporation’s identity is weaker than a nation-state’s identity, then it may try to associate itself with the nation-state to gain more recognition. This can be seen for example with the many corporations that attach themselves to the United States by illustrating the US flag on their merchandise. On the other hand, merchandise may have a stronger identity on the world stage than a nation-state. An example of this is with the film trilogy *The Lord of the Rings* and New Zealand. New Zealand took advantage of the film being shot in New Zealand and used the attention it created in its destination marketing campaigns. This is a clear form of piggybacking that indicates that recognition of the *Lord of the Rings* was stronger than New Zealand on the world stage at the time the film was screened. Therefore, a success factor of the hypothesis will be dependant upon the size of the nation-state in terms of how much attention it can capture on the world stage. This means that the smaller the nation-state, the higher the possibility the corporation will recognize its identity as being stronger than the nation’s identity, and as the nation-state will piggyback on the corporation, the corporation will see no benefit to support the nation-state cultural identity. Accordingly, in smaller nation-states, the NSEC campaign will not succeed unless the corporation adopts corporate social responsibility (CSR).

By adopting CSR, large corporations would allow nation-states to piggyback on them and reap the rewards from the extra attention on the world stage. It would do this for the good of the whole nation-state rather than its own prosperity. Thus, it is important that the state encourages CSR to gain from the NSEC campaign.

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19 Another example of using a foreign sounding brand name to position a product with an associated country is Haagan Dazs, now owned by Pillsbury. The product was founded as a small ice cream business by Reuben Mattus of Brooklyn, New York and subsequently produced in New Jersey. In the late 1950s, Mattus’ Company was finding it hard to compete with larger competitors. He decided to upgrade the quality of his products, producing what he termed a “superpremium” ice cream. At the time, European ice cream was associated with quality, like the Danish brand Premium Is. So, he made up the name of Haagan Dazs, and printed a map of Denmark, marking Copenhagen on the top of the containers... The adoption of a Scandinavian sounding name was intended to associate the product with a region that is known for its high quality dairy products’ (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 125).

20 CSR is the corporation adopting an ethical stance in which it wants to improve the social, economic and political environment of its surroundings beyond the minimal laws created by the state. Through CSR corporations try to support customers, communities, shareholders and environment.
Economic gains
As well as supporting the state, this dissertations’ NSEC campaign contributes to the economic benefit of corporations, government and its citizens. The NSEC campaign benefits corporations through foreign indirect economic investment with the increased consumption of merchandise containing NSEC images. Here, the dissertation contends that these corporations involved in promoting the COO effect of the NSEC campaign process experience indirect economic gains. Ultimately, consumers choose to consume merchandise with NSEC images because of their association with the image formed through the COO effect rather than the merchandise itself. Thus, while the attachment to the image may be formed though the consumption of particular merchandise, further consumption may not necessarily be of that merchandise, but of other merchandise from other corporations with similar images. Here, although a consumer may be first introduced to the nation-state merchandise through the consumption of corporation x’s merchandise, as the COO effect has been created, the consumer will then go on to consume merchandise from other corporations of the nation-state, such as corporation y. Ultimately, because of the COO effect and foreign indirect reinvestment, all corporations within the nation-state that export NSEC images have the potential to gain economic revenue from the campaign (Fig. 1.3.0.1).

There are also economic gains for the nation-state as a whole from the NSEC campaign because the increase in corporate revenue is seen as attractive to overseas corporations who are looking to relocate. These new corporations bring their assets and trade resulting in further economic overseas funds flowing into the nation-states. Subsequently, citizens can also profit from the economic success of a NSEC campaign. This profit is firstly seen through improved economic conditions whereby a reduction in unemployment creates an environment to increase wages. This then leads to an overall increase of citizens’ living standards. Also, an increase in sovereignty of the state increases state controlled rights for citizens.

Social cohesion
Another important justification for the research of this dissertation is successful implementation of the NSEC campaign will support social cohesion of the nation-state. When not using contemporary globalization as a tool, the argument follows that contemporary

21 Fig. 1.3.0.1.
22 Increased corporate revenue also provides opportunity for increased state revenue via taxation.
globalization results in a decline in nation-state sovereignty and a reduction in the recognition of the existence of a center nation-state culture:

‘A culture thrives where there is a center and where there is an intensity of interaction among persons creates a concentration of effects that vivifies the efforts of those involved. The lack of a center for modernist culture, both nationally and internationally, and the fragmentation of culture into compartmentalized segments invariably tend to break up the discourse which sustains a culture for the entire society’ (Bell 1976: 104).

As a result of this reduction in a cultural center due to contemporary globalization, nation-state citizens lose a sense of shared identity that subsequently impacts upon social cohesion. Here ‘in states lacking a common national identity ...Politics at best takes the form of group bargaining and compromise and at worst degenerates into a struggle for domination. Trust may exist within the groups, but not across them’ (Miller in Abizadeh 2002: 501).

On the other hand, a shared cultural identity supports factors such as trust, which subsequently boosts social cohesion. Thus, another reason for this research is to support the creation of a NSEC campaign that not only reinforces the nation-state domestically, but supports social cohesion by pushing NSEC images to the world stage to compete with identities of the Other in order to make them recognized as sovereign and appreciated. Ultimately, this competition for attention increases nation-state sovereignty and social cohesion. This means that the value of the culture increases as its international consumption increases.

In summary, contemporary globalization can be argued to have reduced nation-state sovereignty. However, the argument that justifies this problem can be overcome by sociology through the use of contemporary globalization as a tool. The benefits that justify this research not only contribute to sociology but also to the prosperity of the nation-state.

23 A shared cultural identity can be formed without cultural assimilation. Different micro cultural identities within a nation-state can be acknowledged while still recognizing a macro nation-state culture.

24 Domestic awareness of the increasing value of the culture on the world stage stimulates pride amongst citizens. This pride is transformed into increased social cohesion.
Benefits are seen through increased state sovereignty, economic prosperity and social cohesion. As a result, the research of this dissertation is justified through its contribution to supporting the existence of the nation-state in the age of contemporary globalization. Now that the research of this dissertation has been justified, an outline of this report will be presented.
1.4.0 Outline of the Report

It is important to outline the dissertation to give an overview of what will be presented. This dissertation is split into five sections. Section one is concerned with providing an outline of the problem, the hypothesis, definitions and delimitations. Section two introduces the parent disciplines of NSEC, public diplomacy and the COO effect. Section three presents the methodology of the dissertation. Section four covers the nation-states and their case studies. Finally, section five ends the dissertation by reviewing the problem and hypothesis, discussing implications and limitations and concludes with a discussion of future research for both the dissertation and NSEC campaign.

Section one

Section one set the scene for the dissertation. It presents the impact of contemporary globalization. A hypothesis is made to use these changes of contemporary globalization to the nation-states’ advantage. Following this dissertation outline, major concepts will be defined followed by a submission of delimitations.

Contemporary globalization has both problems and potential. The sociological discipline has been offered as a tool to harness its potential. From the sociological perspective, a description of contemporary globalization has been made concentrating upon technological innovation and neo-liberal economics. Using this analysis, a hypothesis has then been constructed harnessing the potential of contemporary globalization and surmounting its problems. The theoretical and practical implementation of the hypothesis is then outlined including reference to its benefits.

Following this dissertation outline, five central definitions are clarified; protectionism, contemporary globalization, the nation-state, nation-state culture and NSEC. First of all, the NSEC campaign is recognized as a form of protectionism. This protectionism is recognized by contrasting it to defense and cultural heritage. The second definition, contemporary globalization, is similarly defined through contrast whereby the modernity of contemporary globalization distinguishes it from traditional globalization. In particular, it is modernity’s technological innovation and neo-liberal economics that distinguishes contemporary globalization. This distinction between traditional and contemporary globalization becomes particularly clear when analyzing the impact of technological innovation and neo-liberal economics upon the state, corporations and citizens. Here, the state reduces its control to allow transnationalism. Transnationalism increases corporate power as corporations become less tied to the state. This subsequently impacts on citizens’ identities that are increasingly
seen as workers and consumers. Thirdly, following protectionism and contemporary globalization, the nation-state is defined. This definition is created both through a combination of Bourdieus’ Habitus (1990) and Andersons’ Imagined Community (1991) theories as well as a practical analysis. The practical analysis then discusses the nature of the nation-states’ existence within contemporary globalization resulting in the construction of a nation-state definition. Once the nation-state is defined, the fourth definition of nation-state culture is made. A definition of nation-state culture must be constructed in order to identify NSEC. To define nation-state culture, various theoretical definitions of culture are offered, and it is from these theories that a definition of culture is formed. This culture definition is then molded with the prior nation-state definition in order to create the nation-state culture definition. After nation-state culture, the fifth definition, NSEC is presented. NSEC will be said to derive from the culture industry, which itself exists within nation-state culture. Accordingly, to define NSEC, the character and impact of contemporary globalization upon culture industry is considered involving an elaboration on the different actors involved in the creation, production and filtering of NSEC images. It is from this explanation of nation-state culture and the culture industry that NSEC is defined.

After presenting these definitions, the last chapter of this section is concerned with delimitations that limit the scope of the dissertation. Delimitations include; restrictions of the dissertation as a theoretical contribution; central definitions concentrating upon main actors; the narrow concentration of culture concentrating upon NSEC; and finally case studies focusing upon public diplomacy of three nation-states.

Section two
The aim of section two is to discuss the dissertations major disciplines, namely NSEC, public diplomacy and the COO effect. NSEC is the export culture at the center of the proposed campaign hypothesized in this dissertation. Firstly, in order for such a campaign to function, the existence for the need of a NSEC campaign must be questioned by comparing hyperglobalist, global skeptic and transformationist theories. Once the need for a NSEC campaign is established, its ability to move transnationally will be debated. The second major discipline presented is public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is the major discipline that the NSEC campaign works within. Public diplomacy is discussed by contrasting its traditional with modern forms, which then can be compared to public relations (PR). Finally, the last major discipline, the COO effect, is introduced as a tool of public diplomacy. COO effect campaigns are a new front where nation-states compete with each other, and the COO effect creates associationism resulting in supporter allegiance. From this perspective, the different
methodologies undertaken in order to form the COO effect are described. This description also involves the role corporations and consumers play in supporting or hindering a nation-state within COO competition. Lastly, the successes and costs of a COO campaign are presented.

**Section three**
Section three is concerned with the methodology and ethical considerations used throughout this dissertation. The methodology section argues why a qualitative approach is chosen in the analysis of both primary and secondary sources. Additionally, an examination of how primary and secondary information are sourced and analyzed takes place. The ethical section is concerned with problems of racism, ethnocentrism, nationalism and perceived cultural imperialism. These factors are contrasted to the banal nationalism of the NSEC campaign.

**Section four**
Section four involves a presentation of particular nation-states and their case studies. Here each nation-state is presented in terms of the impact that contemporary globalization has had upon their structures. This is followed by arguments supporting the existence of a unique NSEC originating from the nation-state. After the nation-states are introduced, their individual case studies are analyzed. Finally, the case studies are compared and contrasted with reference to their ability to successfully conduct a NSEC campaign.

Section four is firstly concerned with why specific nation-states are selected for analysis. The selection of nation-states is made by recognizing distinguishing characteristics of geography, population and history as well as the impact of contemporary globalization upon political, economic and socio-cultural structures within the nation-states. Following the introduction of the subjects, the case studies are presented.

The first case study is the United States. In order to describe United States NSEC, the existence of a common identity construct must be argued for which surrounds democracy and is influenced and promoted by consumerism. After NSEC is recognized, public diplomacy of the United States is presented as an influential global leader through its consumerist popular culture exportation. This argument of influence is reinforced through a brief outline of both historical and contemporary direct and indirect public diplomacy. Examples further strengthen these arguments. Finally, the influence of United States public
diplomacy is illustrated from a different perspective by briefly explaining how it not only controls its own identity, but also has the ability shape other nation-states identity.

A British case study of the Cool Britannia campaign follows the United States case study. Firstly, the political and economic conditions leading to the Cool Britannia campaign are presented. These conditions are discussed in relation to British modernization that was stimulated by contemporary globalization and responded to by Thatcher and New Labour. After contemporary globalization in Britain has set the scene, the argument for the existence of British NSEC follows. To explain British NSEC, a brief history of British identity is outlined. Here, particular changes in British identity are argued to have weakened the ability to form NSEC. Evidence of this weakening is seen through pressure from devolution and contemporary globalization with particular reference to the European Union. These arguments against a common NSEC are reinforced by a general analysis of the impact of contemporary globalization upon British state, corporation and citizen relationships. However, despite contemporary globalization forces changing Britain, the claims against a British NSEC are argued to have not made it impossible to form a NSEC. Rather, it is still possible to argue for a collective British identity, and thus the existence of NSEC. After presenting the conditions leading to the Cool Britannia campaign, and arguing that a common British identity exists, the Cool Britannia campaign itself is presented. This involves an assessment of the need, construction and outcomes of the campaign.

The last case study is of New Zealand. Firstly, it is argued that New Zealand has a NSEC. This NSEC is realized through current government emphasis upon nation-building. Biculturalism is then offered as a seeming opposition to nation-state identity until it is argued that it does not hinder. Once the ability for a New Zealand common identity is made, its quest to create a NSEC is explained through a discussion of traditional New Zealand symbols, before acknowledging the relatively modern Kiwiana icons. In order to assert Kiwiana to be representative of the New Zealand nation-state, critical arguments must be overcome. Following this, New Zealand public diplomacy is presented. It is firstly explained how the impact of contemporary globalization led to the need for New Zealand to implement particular methods of public diplomacy. This need for public diplomacy is highlighted through the New Zealand government recognition of the importance of a strong state and corporate relationship. Here, the importance is seen not only in merchandise exportation, but also through the need to protect its domestic economy from the negative side associated with newly opened boarders. To support this argument, the Buy Kiwi Made campaign example is made. The case study of destination marketing as a sub-group of public diplomacy is then presented. This case study of New Zealand public diplomacy includes a description of
strategies of working with a limited budget using tools of piggybacking and niche creation. The recognition of local voices and cultural rights in the creation of NSEC images in public diplomacy campaigns must also be emphasized. Finally, the 100% Pure New Zealand brand is presented as an example of particularly successful destination marketing and public diplomacy.

After the three nation-states and their case studies are presented, a comparison of case studies is made. Firstly, the case studies are reiterated with relation to the impact of contemporary globalization on nation-states and case studies. Nation-states local variables and different state, corporation and citizen relationships are then compared to assess their impact upon the execution of the campaigns. This is followed by a comparison of the different techniques used in public diplomacy campaigns. Finally, an overall assessment of the campaigns differing successes and failures are made.

After the different nation-states and the case studies are presented, compared and contrasted, the ability for the nation-states to implement the NSEC campaign is made. Here, special emphasis is placed upon the implications for policy and practice. Firstly, the criteria required for a successful campaign based on the analysis of each of the case studies are made. This refers to contemporary globalization; piggybacking, use of images, state, corporation and citizen relationship, nature of the state and campaign application. Through this assessment, the reality of the ability for each of the case study nation-states to implement their own NSEC campaign is made. Finally, the benefits and potential success for the nation-states to actually implement such a campaign is assessed.

**Section five**

Section five reviews the dissertation’s problem and hypothesis before discussing implications for theory and limitations of the study. This is followed by a presentation of future research for the dissertation and NSEC campaign.

Firstly, the central problems and hypothesis are restated in order to present why different implications and limitations arose throughout the dissertation. Secondly, implications for the theory discuss the problems by asserting particular theoretical premises which must be accepted for the creation and need of the NSEC campaign. Thirdly, limitations firstly review the dissertation’s delimitations before presenting limitations of the theory, methodology and case studies. Finally, future research is presented. Future research will be split into two parts. The first part will cover the dissertation itself including ways to support the qualitative methodology and an expansion of the analysis. The second part will be an outline
of future research needed to be made for the practical development of the NSEC campaign. Now that the dissertation has been outlined, central definitions will be introduced to familiarize the reader with the topic. These central definitions include protectionism, contemporary globalization, the nation-state, nation-state culture and nation-state export culture. The first definition of protectionism is important to be understood by the reader because it is the central reason for the implementation of the NSEC campaign.
1.5.0 Central Definitions

1.5.1 Protectionism

Protectionism is considered a tool for the act of maintaining and guarding the sovereignty of a unique nation-state culture identity. Protectionism may be enforced through certain actions to support the nation-state’s unique cultural identity. These actions result in nation-state culture becoming ‘protected’. The opposite of protection is ‘exposure’. Through exposure nation-state culture would have no protective measures to be able to retain the unique identity of its nation-state culture. To explain the nature of protectionism more coherently, it will be compared to theoretical constructs of ‘defense’ and ‘heritage’ by illustrating similarities and differences.

The protection of nation-state culture differs from the techniques used in defense and heritage of nation-state culture. Defense is defined as the explicit action of preventing the Other from being able to “attack” the Self. Unlike protection, defense could involve going to the source that is attacking the nation-state culture and adopting specific defensive measures to defend from the particular attacking mechanism. Alternatively, protection is only concerned with protecting nation-state culture itself and so only interacts with its own nation-state culture. Protectionism also differs from cultural heritage. While protection is involved with retaining all nation-state culture that stakeholders choose to protect, cultural heritage is involved with protection of specific culture considered to be of historical importance (i.e. see United Nations 1972 World Heritage Convention that created the World Heritage List) (Fig. 1.5.3.1).

While protectionism does not use defense and heritage, protectionism can be found in both defense and heritage. The similarities of protectionism with defense and heritage will now be outlined. Defense includes aspects of protectionism. This is because defense is not only concerned with preventing the Other from being able to “attack” the Self, but is also involved with supporting the Self in order be able to withstand attack from the Other. In this regard there are similarities between protectionism and defense. For example, the defensive strategy of supporting nation-state culture by promoting it to the Other can also be

25 Protectionism recognizes that culture is consistently evolving due to interaction between the Self and Other. From this perspective nation-state cultural identity can be protected although it is constantly changing under influences from other nation-states. What is important is that despite these influences, the nation-state maintains sovereign control over its unique culture.

26 “Attack” is defined as using particular methods that is creates a cultural assimilation of another nation-state culture.

27 Theory derived from Mead (1934).
understood as a protectionist measure. This is because by promoting nation-state culture, the culture gains more recognition by both the Self and the Other. This recognition is also a protectionist measure of nation-state culture. Heritage has been explained to be concerned with particular historical cultural aspects of the Self. As with defense, heritage also implements different methods of protectionism in order to achieve its aims. For example, heritage could also use the protectionist method of promotion to preserve a particular cultural identity. Thus aspects of protectionism can also be found in heritage.

♦  ♦  ♦

In summary, while this dissertation will concentrate upon protectionism as distinguished from defense and heritage, a relationship between protectionism, heritage, and defense is recognized to exist. Protectionism is a relevant concept to define for this dissertation because it is the basis of the need for the NSEC campaign. This need for protectionism is a reaction towards contemporary globalization which has changed the nature of different components within the nation-state and has questioned some of its purpose. The nature and changes that have brought about contemporary globalization and its reactionary protectionism are discussed in the next section.
1.5.2 Contemporary Globalization Definition

Today, contemporary globalization provides the optimal environment in which NSEC images can compete on the world stage. However in order to recognise this optimal environment, contemporary globalization must be identified. In this dissertation contemporary globalization will be distinguished from traditional globalization by identifying specific factors of modernity. It will be presented that there are two major areas of modernity that have brought about contemporary globalization; technological innovation and neo-liberal economics. Each of these two factors will be discussed in terms of their effect upon three central structures of the nation-state. These are; citizens, state and corporations. These central structures will also be discussed in terms of their contribution and reaction on technological innovation and neo-liberal economics. This explanation will reduce the reductionism in the debate by showing the interrelatedness of these different structures (Fig. 1.5.3.2). The concept of modernity must be firstly introduced.

Modernity – A shift to contemporary globalization

Globalization is essentially concerned with the international interconnectedness of socio-cultural, economic and political structures. The centre of debate concerning globalization revolves around the extent and output of globalization upon these structures. Since the late 1970s, an era of modernity has been entered that contemporary globalization exists within. The existence of contemporary globalization within modernity is a hotly contested issue amongst social scientists (Nash 2002: 48). Modernity recognises a point in time where significant changes occurred impacting upon social, political and economic structures of nation-states. Contemporary globalization is distinguished from traditional globalization because of changes brought about by this new modernity. While contemporary globalization is not a commonly used term amongst social scientists, the idea of a form of globalization distinguishable through modernity is not new and has been recognised by academics such as Appadurai (1996: 2), Giddens (in Holton 1998: 42) and Jones & Fleming (2003: 430) separating two different eras.

As Smelser argues at its most basic level, the nature of modernity is a discussion of the ‘modern vs. post-modern’, ‘modernity vs. globality’, ‘age-of-the-nation-state’ vs. some age of an internationalist, post national world’ (2003: 102). However, this describes little of modernity and how it has defined contemporary globalization. Rather, it is technological innovation and neo-liberal economics which are more concise at distinguishing contemporary globalization. These areas have resulted in (e.g.) merchandise being able to flow across
nation-state boarders at higher speeds (technological innovation) and with increased ease (neo-liberal economic policies) than was previously possible. These changes have had broad-ranging results impacting on the role of corporations, government and citizens. It is important for social scientists to recognize the change that this modernity has had upon society by identifying contemporary globalizations’ impact on socio-cultural, economic and political structures of different nation-states (Robertson 1998: 192, Radice 2000: 3). A theoretical identification of globalization will now be presented.

Globalizing social, economic, political and technological structures do not necessarily create a ‘one world system’ of homogenisation, nor heterogeneity. Alternatively, the complexity of globalization\(^2\) (Urry 2003) moves away from the ability to form a ‘hard core’ of recognised structures and results in what can be described as a complex interrelated ‘soft centre’ (Wallerstein 1974). This soft centre can be recognised as three groups of contradicting constructs of ‘convergence and divergence, inclusion and exclusion, and centralization and decentralization’ (Jones & Fleming 2003: 430). Bhabha and Duncan take this thought one step further, asserting that globalization brings about recognition of the Other in relation to the Self; ‘between sameness and difference, between the universal and the particular, and between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization’ (in Banerjee et al 2001: 696). Globalization thus creates contradictions of standardisation and difference. This theoretical contradiction and complexity of globalization results in the difficulty for social scientists to form common norms\(^2\) (Hall 2000: 68). However, it does recognise that globalization affects the relationships between global and the local environments (Morley & Robins in Silk & Michaels 2001: 195).

Theoretical identifications of globalization are thus very contradictory, confusing and abstract resulting in much debate between different academics (Nash 2002: 48). Debate between traditional and contemporary globalization as a breaking away of modernity is particularly fierce. While globalization can be argued to have existed for a very long time it is however, not an \textit{inevitability} progressive phenomenon (Hirst & Thompson 2002: 250). Rather, globalization is dependant, representative, and consequential of current social, economic, political and technological structures (Giddens in Thorns 2003: 691), including their variable interrelationships across space and time. Identifying the changing interrelationships between these social, economic, political and technological structures is therefore a logical way to

\(^2\) This complexity may not be immediately observable to the untrained eye. As it is ‘fashioned from globalization concedes in the obscurity to form universal norms (Hall 2000: 68).

\(^2\) Generalizations that can be made about different structures. For example, ‘globalization created homogenization’, or ‘globalization creates heterogenisation’.
distinguishing contemporary from traditional globalization. This differentiation will now take place.

**Contemporary globalization**

As already mentioned, most academics differentiate between traditional and contemporary globalization through illustrations of a change in inter-societal relations occurring in the late 1970s (Appadurai 1996: 2, Jones & Fleming 2003: 430). At its broadest level *traditional* globalization can be linked to modes of imperial colonisation, while *contemporary* globalization is often linked to a modernity of ‘post colonial era’ of ‘First World’ imperialism (Banerjee et al 2001: 683). Traditional imperialism generally dominated by the Europeans included military competition for the acquisition of areas such as Asia, Africa, Australasia and North America providing the European nation-states with new markets and resources of labour and materials. This form of imperialist traditional globalization could include the Persian and Roman empires to the Eastern bloc of the 1990s.

Traditional globalization will now be compared with contemporary globalization to distinguish it as a distinct change of modernity. The differentiation will take place through an introduction of some major theories of contemporary globalization. Contemporary globalization is distinguishable from traditional forms of globalization as it is a unprecedented ‘process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transaction—assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact—generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and the exercise of power’ (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton in Silk & Michaels 2001: 180) and the way they have impacted upon the local and global environments (Morley & Robins in Silk & Michaels 2001: 195). Here, modernity distinguishes contemporary globalization from traditional globalization through changes in transnational flows over the last 30 years that resulted in the creation of ‘a new global-local nexus’ (Robins in Silk & Michaels 2001: 187).

This new nexus can be seen to derive from Marx who claimed that the expansion of production and capitalism has required the creation of a world-market for modern industry (Marx in Banerjee et al 2001: 690). A paradigm shift thus came into existence at the end of.

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30 How long is not of interest for this paper, but it could be considered as far back as when sovereign nation-states became recognised or even further back in time.

31 This is particularly notable through studies of westernisation of different non-western nation-states (e.g. Heath 2004). Here, corporations can be seen as successful in exporting identities. Corporations are therefore particularly useful in the exportation of NSEC.
the Cold War when capitalism spread to ex-socialist countries through global flows upon political, social, economic and technological structures. As discussed, this impact can be analysed through technological innovation, neo-liberal economics and their impact upon complex social, economic and political structures. However the extent to which these changes can be seen as unprecedented and able to define modernity impacting upon nation-states is debatable. For example, Hirst and Thompson (1996) would agree with Helds’ et al (in Silk & Michaels 2001: 180) position on the changes existing within core structures of societies due to contemporary globalization, but would disagree on their effects. The different arguments identifying the existence and impact of contemporary globalization are broadly broken up into the ‘globalist skeptic’, ‘hyperglobalist’ and the middle ‘transformationalist’ position (Fig. 1.5.3.3). These different arguments will now be examined.

Globalist skeptics claim contemporary globalization has not been brought about through world changes, but rather through the way the world is viewed (Burawoy, Blum, George, Gille, Gowan, Haney, Klawiter, Lopez, Riain & Thayer 2000: 340). This perspective argues that globalization is only a figment of the imagination and therefore does not exist (Wade in Burawoy 2000: 395). Hirst and Thompson support this argument from a trade perspective by claiming that the last 30 years have not shown a significant increase in merchandise capital investment and labour. In fact Hirst and Thompson contend that the period 1850 – 1914 had higher levels (2002: 248).

Other social scientists argue against the globalist skeptics that while a global mobilisation of people, ideas, capital and goods have existed for a long period of time, modernisation and westernisation are new factors distinguishing contemporary globalization from traditional globalization (Goss & Yue 2005: 251). These supporters of contemporary globalization are broken up into two camps; the hyperglobalists and the transformationalists. Hyperglobalists who recognise contemporary globalization as a radical break from ‘traditional’ globalization, (Held et al 1999 in Burawoy 2000: 395), claim that contemporary globalization is evident through the end of the nation-state and the birth of a new world order (Ohmae & Greider in Burawoy 2000: 395, Fukuyama in Goss & Yue 2005: 252). For example, Fukuyama states that globalization is terminal where ‘history comes to an end and geography ceases to matter’ (in Goss & Yue 2005: 252), and Blau claims that modernity has resulted in the state no longer to able retain sovereignty over the nation-states internal functioning (2004: 3) of ‘markets, life-worlds, identities and histories’ (Appadurai in Berking 2003(c): 254).
Between the globalist skeptics’ position, slanting towards hyperglobalist position is the transformationalist thesis (Held et al 1999 in Burawoy 2000: 395). The transformationalist thesis argues that ‘the nation-state will not disappear, [but] there will be a qualitative change in how governments approach their tasks’ (Castells, Ruggie & Rosenau in de Vries & Reinicke in Burawoy 2000: 395). It also claims that while the sovereignty of the state has become reduced, its function is remains important (Dunning in de Vries 2001: 402, 403).

This dissertation will not attempt to solve differences between the three different fields of globalization theorists. Rather, it will argue against the globalist skeptic position by taking the position that modernity has brought about a distinctive change leading to the creation of contemporary globalization. However these changes will not be argued to go as far as the hyperglobalists claim (that contemporary globalization has led to the end of distinctive socio-cultural political and economic structures of the nation-state). Rather, this dissertation adopts the transformationalist theory that contemporary globalization exists and has impacted on different structures. Here, the extent of the impact of contemporary globalization has led to a reduction in sovereignty for the nation-state but not to its extinction, (Fig. 1.5.3.4). Now that the transformationalist perspective has been taken, the identity of contemporary globalization can be made.

1. Contemporary globalization differs to traditional globalization because of an unprecedented era defined as modernity has occurred surrounded by ideas of capitalist production and consumerism.
2. Contemporary globalization differs to traditional globalization because of the rapid interactions between technological innovation and changes within and between social, economic and political structures.
3. While the nature of contemporary globalization is recognised by increasing flows through an increasingly linked network (Castells 1996), an exact description cannot be made due to its complexity (Urry 2003).
4. The increasing interconnectedness of individuals has made citizens more aware of the ‘Self’ in comparison to the ‘Other’. This has impacted upon homogenisation and heterogenization and exposure of different identities (Waters 1995 in Banerjee et al 2001: 690).

(Illustrated in Fig. 1.5.3.4).

32 This brings fourth the possibility of Eurocentrism where it is said to be only by adopting Western economic and social institutions that other nations and regions can advance (Holton 1998(3): 44).
Globalization has been claimed to be a phenomena constructed out of the interrelating structures of politics, economics, society and technology. In summary, globalization has been argued to have existed for a long period of time, but modernity has differentiated contemporary from traditional globalization. The split between these traditional and contemporary modes, in terms of the extent of the impact it has had upon politics, economics, and society is contestable among social scientists. This dissertation’s theory of contemporary globalization does not follow hyperglobalist or globalist skeptic theories, but adopts the transformationalist thesis recognizing a lowering of structural, institutional and network borders that occurred through technological innovation and neo-liberal economic policies influencing economic, social and political structures. This has resulted in a higher awareness of the Self as identity in comparison to Other identities contested on the international stage. Thus, as the complexity of contemporary globalization can be realized as a homogenization of identities, analysis of contemporary globalization must also recognize the simultaneous forces of identity polarization as a response to protect the identity of the Self from assimilation of the Other. Contemporary globalization has also threatened nation-state sovereignty but the nation-state continues to play an important role unlike what the hyperglobalists suggest. In order to understand the full extent of contemporary globalization from the transformationalist perspective, an analysis of the changes in neo-liberal economics and technological innovation will be explained.

**Primary changes identifying contemporary globalization: Technological innovation**

Technological innovation has played a key role in bringing about contemporary globalization. This section will explain changes of technological innovation since the 1970s to illustrate its role as a major player in the formation of contemporary globalization. Castells supports the theory of contemporary globalization as a form of modernity. However, he places emphasis upon through what he calls a technological revolution that is occurring. This technological revolution started in the 1970s via sudden advances in computer technology. It was this technological innovation that was one of the key factors of the

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33 This dissertation does not want to assert technological reduction, recognizing that it is dangerous to assert that technological innovation occurred spontaneously (Hesmondhalgh 2000: 64). Rather, while technological innovation has been argued to encourage (e.g.) consumerism, it is also recognized that consumerism supported technological innovation. This therefore recognizes the interdependent relationship that technological innovation has on other factors.

34 It must be recognized that technological innovation has not occurred in a unilinear fashion in nation-states since the late 1970s. Rather technological change is ‘endogenous, that is, the
information revolution that undid the Soviet Union, ‘for while planning and brute force could produce roads and dams, they could not induce innovation in computer chips’ (Treverton 2005: 90).

At the core of this revolution are ‘technologies of information processing and communication’ (Castells 1996: 31) where the technological innovation distinguishing contemporary globalization is seen through ‘microelectronics, computing (machines and software), telecommunications/broadcasting, and optoelectronics’ (Castells 1996: 30). One example of an area that this has created changes is the communications industry. Development in the communications industry has decreased time and space distances which previously limited interaction between citizens of different nation-states. Due to this technological innovation, citizens have become increasingly exposed to (e.g.) merchandise from other sources, therefore increasing heterogeneity. Simultaneously, migrants have the ability to consume media from their homeland that they were previously unable to via i.e. satellite television defending homogeneity. The communications industry has therefore had a significant impact upon capital, goods, people and ideas across borders (Robertson in Goss & Yue 2005: 251). For example, the impact of the October 1987 market crash was supported by computers all around the world registering the downturn, and turning it into a collapse (Thorns 2003: 691).

One area within the communications industry is the media industry. The media industry is particularly interesting for this dissertation in terms of technological innovation because it plays an essential role in the exportation of cultural images attached to its merchandise. One of Appadurai’s arguments of modernisation is brought about through the globalization of migration and media. Appadurai sums this side of the argument by stating that ‘globalization brings about a rupture in the work of the imagination of modern subjectivity through the combined effects of electronic media and migration, whereby ‘moving images meet deterritorialized viewers’ (in Goss & Yue 2005: 251). This means that consumption of media is no longer bound to a particular nation-state, and this deterritorialization affects consumers’ identities. Technological advances in media technology and the invention of (e.g.) television, internet and computer software increased the amount and exposure to merchandise for consumption to a more global origin. Barnet presents the example of the

equilibrium growth path depends on past efforts in research and development, education, and product differentiation’ (Boyer 2002: 35).

35 Technological innovation therefore encourages socialist nation-states to enter the capitalist system further encouraging economic and political homogenization and international relations.

36 Which is particularly important for this dissertations attachment of NSEC to merchandise.
music industry where ‘in the 1970s just as sales of vinyl records flattened, the market for the newly developed audiocassette exploded as portable boom boxes arrived… and people of all ages wired themselves up to their Walkmans. Then came the compact disc… Then the music video neatly inverted an older technology, and fans could now listen to songs with sight tracks’ (Barnet & Cavanagh 1995: 27). This is also supported by Miége who claims that:

‘the most remarkable aspect of the growth in cultural consumption over the period from the 1950s to the 1970s was ‘the very rapid growth in the development of reproducible products for private purchase’ including cultural hardware such as TV sets, video recorders, tape recorders, hi-fi sets, but also photo and movie equipment; and the software linked to this equipment (records and film stock). The effects of all this on cultural production were profound. The sheer amount of texts produced proliferated; cultural consumption became radically more complex as products vied with each other for consumer time and attention; and the different media became interlinked with each other, so that the products of each medium were advertised and marketed in other media’


This technological innovation thus also increased the case that merchandise can be exported internationally which has reduced time and space distances between individuals and institutions around the world. This has resulted in higher frequencies of interaction in terms of different consumerable merchandise.

The technological innovation has thus resulted in dramatic changes in ‘social relations, practices, mechanisms, and competencies from their specific, usually local, circumstances of time and space (“locales”) and their extension, thanks to developments in communications, over much wider spans of time and space’ (Holton 1998: 261). Technological innovation has enabled increased transnational flows to impact on (e.g.) citizens through (e.g.) mechanization, changes in consumption patterns and access to merchandise38. Ritzer makes a significant contribution to this debate claiming that technological innovation has led to the replacement of human capital with machines. He gives the example of the fast food restaurant where ‘soft-drink machines that shut themselves off then the cups are full, French fry machines that buzz when the fries are done

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37 This also included new ways NSEC could be attached to merchandise.

38 These examples are important for the consumption of NSEC images attached to merchandise.
and automatically lift the baskets out of the oil – and soon robots rather than real human beings to serve customers’ (1995: 146). However contemporary globalization is not solely a result of technological innovation. The optimal extent of technological innovation could not have been realized without government’s creation of neo-liberal economics. Neo-liberal economics is the second important factor of modernity that distinguished contemporary globalization.

**Primary changes identifying contemporary globalization: Neo-liberal economics**

The introduction of neo-liberal economics under Thatcher and Reagan led to a new set of economic policy resulting in different social, economic and political implications that contribute to the identity of contemporary globalization. Prior to neo-liberal economics it was the state alone that controlled the nation-states economic success or failure. Today, neo-liberal economics has reduced the power of the state and passed it on to the market. This has resulted in corporation’s economic power reducing state sovereignty. Now, ‘each of the ten largest companies in the world has an annual turnover larger than the GNP of 150 of the 185 members of the United Nations, including countries such as Portugal, Israel, and Malaysia’ (Treverton 2005: 99). Throughout the 1950s to the 1970s the “Western World” had steady economic growth similar to the USSR (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 85). However, these countries fell into ten years of economic turmoil with the 1973 economic crisis while their Asian counterparts continued to profit (Hesmondalgh 2002: 90). Late into the 1970s, the expansion into what were previously seen as secondary markets resulted in earnest competition between different state economies and corporations to export their merchandise. While some nation-states have profited from these new markets, the results of neo-liberal changes have not been universally successful as neo-liberal economics have weakened social, political and economic borders of the nation-state. For example, it can be said that the welfare state is in decline due to increased competition for capital which, under neo-liberalism and austerity measures, leads to privatization. A definition of neo-liberal economics will now be presented.

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39 Europe, North America and Australasia.

40 Notably, the case studies in this dissertation.

41 ‘Privatization will be constrained in national security functions, but even there, it will grow. The number of private contractors engaged in Iraq after the 2003 war and the range of their activities are testimony to that fact’. (Treverton 2005: 109).
Neo-liberal economic ideologies are represented by free trade instead of traditional state regulation. This is seen through an increase in the trade of goods, foreign direct investment, world wide flows of capital, and global strategic alliances. Neo-liberal economics originated through the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement, in particular the end of the fixed exchange rate system. The end of the Breton Woods\textsuperscript{42} agreement and its fixed rate system coupled with the 1970s oil crisis and the collapse of socialism, led to global financial volatility and the resulting manifestation of new financial instruments such as neo-liberal economic strategies. Examples of some of these new strategies are the replacement of Import Substitution Industrialization, trade expansion and intensification, and the creation of a new international division of labour.

Neo-liberal economics have also led to a strengthening of transnational organisations, institutions, movements (Wang 2000: 105). This is seen through the increasing influence of international organizations such as GATT and the WTO as well as international law and commercial arbitration systems (Wang 2000: 105). For example, trade liberalization through the lowering of tariffs and protectionism was first structured by GATT who prepared rules for 90 percent of world trade\textsuperscript{43}. One notable result of deregulation is the creation of free trade bodies such as the EU, APEC and NAFTA which have adopted neo-liberal economics to create laws of deregulation on international and regional levels\textsuperscript{44}. Free trade bodies such as these have resulted in corporations becoming more diverse in terms of their trade partners. One result of nation-states joining these free trade bodies is a weakened nation-state sovereignty to govern its own economic activities (Whitley 2005: 192)\textsuperscript{45}. These two results can be argued to gradually replace nation-state autonomy (i.e. Held in Hall & Jacques in Wang 2000 & Sassen in Wang 2000). The neo-liberal economic transition into contemporary globalization can thus be seen to exist moving from ‘the linkage of national societies predicated on a world economy to an emergent transnational or global society predicated on a global economy’ (Robertson 1998: 191). This reduction of state sovereignty

\textsuperscript{42} The Bretton Woods system (and the Marshall Plan) can also be credited with being an early attempt to establish contemporary globalization as they created incentives for European countries and Japan to ‘follow the American track of mass production and consumption’ (Boyer 2002: 44).

\textsuperscript{43} GATT was replaced by the WTO in the 1990s.

\textsuperscript{44} On the other side of the argument, theorists such as Giddens argue that these new organisational power relations have supported nation-state prerogatives and their continued existence (Wang 2000: 106).

\textsuperscript{45} For example, one common concern of free trade agreements is that it makes it easier for nation-states to acquire each others land. This is a concern for nation-states as increased foreign ownership of a nation-state decreases state sovereignty. The impact of free trade agreements becomes immediately apparent as only international arbitration courts and treaties can stop this acquisition.
is most clearly seen through an increase in economic independence and power for corporations who can export their merchandise and bases of production with increased ease by changing the face of nationalism and territoriality (Giddens “leaking container theory” 1990).

Neo-liberal economics has led to the internationalization of business, where corporations no longer bear any responsibility to a particular nation-state. It is still the case that revenue from corporations is returned to the ‘base country’ borders, (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 178) allowing corporations to export their merchandise and bases of production trans-nationally. However, neo-liberal economics has resulted in a reduction of sovereignty for the nation-state in order to make it more competitive on the world stage. The impact of neo-liberal economics upon different structures of the nation-state; citizens, the state and corporations will now be described to illustrate the impact and identity of contemporary globalization.

Effects of contemporary globalization: Citizens

Within contemporary globalization there is increasing importance upon the citizen in terms of their ability to consume and produce within and outside the nation-state. In particular, neo-liberal economics and technological innovation have led to the emphasis of the identity of the citizen, becoming more recognised as a consumer and worker.

One of the major areas neo-liberal economics has changed which impacts upon citizens identity is consumption and production. Neo-liberal economic deregulation has diversified merchandise of consumption and thus altered the identities of individuals. Featherstone supports this by claiming economic deregulation has led to the ‘overproduction of signs and reproduction of images and simulations leads to a loss of stable meaning, and an aestheticization of reality in which the masses become fascinated by the endless flow of bizarre juxtapositions which takes the viewer beyond stable sense’ (1991: 15). As a result, citizens have become increasingly recognised as consumers because of the increase in the production of consumer merchandise, and the increasing leisure time that they have to consume (e.g. Fordism and mechanisation through technological innovation has allowed for more free time). As Lee claims; ‘by the time that Fordism had achieved its status as a fully fledged regime of accumulation in the 1950s and 1960s, it had brought about a wholesale transformation of both the conditions of production and of the conditions of consumption: that is, a transformation of the social relations of production and a transformation of the whole way of social life from which those production relations emerge and are ultimately sustained’
(1993: 73). This change in citizens’ identity towards consumerism is another important step distinguishing the transition to contemporary globalization (Leslie in Silk & Michaels 2001: 180).

Due to neo-liberal economics and technological innovation, the importance of citizens being recognized as workers rather than citizens has increased, especially so as pressure has been enlarged to attract corporations to the nation-state. This is seen for example through nation-state education systems which are becoming increasingly corporate orientated. For example, the UK Qualifications and Curriculum Authority have granted McDonalds the ability to issue GCSE, A-level and advanced level Diploma grades (BBC News 2008). As the role of the citizen is reduced and become more recognized as a worker, state sovereignty has decreased, making it more difficult for the state to protect the rights of the citizen. Subsequently, the role of the state has changed under contemporary globalization.

**Effects of contemporary globalization: State**

Under the transformationalist thesis, the power relations of the nation-state are constantly evolving (Van Kersbergen, Lieshout & Lock in de Vries 2001: 403). At its most general level, contemporary globalization has led to changes in the ‘complex relation between production, classes, political power, and territoriality’ (Robertson 1998: 194) which have led to changing power relations in state structures. These examples are of particular interest to social scientists (Beck 2002: 5). This dissertation has argued the transformationalist theory that that the nation-state continues to exist (Hobsbawm 1990: 182 & Held 1990 in Wang 2000: 93) but is undergoing a weakening of sovereignty due to contemporary globalization (Frey 2003: 93). This is because states have had to change their role in order to adapt to modernity and the more a nation-state creates policy to deregulate the economy in order to attract economic flows (Sassen in Berking 2003: 250), the further the political sovereignty of the nation-state decreases (Frey 2003: 93). In particular, it is the deterritorialization involved with contemporary globalization that weakens nation-state sovereignty as Appadurai (c & d) in Berking (2003: 250, 251) argues. This is predominantly the case for capitalist governments developing a business centred approach to drive their policies by implementing neo-liberal economic deregulation policy to attract economic flows (Sassen in Berking 2003: 250, Sassen in Silk & Michaels 2001: 6) to use technological innovation to its full extent. It is often argued that neo-liberal economic policies weakened the grip of territorial political organizations on the nation-state, resulting in a reduction of nation-state sovereignty. Thus, the nation-state became affected economically by contemporary globalization due to
Fordist/Keynesian economic policies of privatization, deregulation and liberalization at a time when corporations were becoming increasingly flexible with their transnational movements (Berking 2003: 251) to reduce costs.

If governments are to maintain their role of supporting legitimate nation-state sovereignty, they need to continue to create and enforce regulations throughout legal, economic and socio-cultural structures. However, the reduction in state sovereignty means corporations are now able to enter and exit nation-states with increasing flexibility. Consequently governments have had to become more sensitive to the demands of corporations (Morely & Robins in Silk & Michaels 2001: 180) in order to retain them. Ironically, this means that governments have realised it is necessary to weaken their controls in order to compete with other nation-states on the world stage to attract corporations to their shores. This has led to states adopting the neo-liberal of a “hands off approach” in order to give corporations the maximum amount of freedom as possible, and has dramatically changed the role of the government. Using the previous example of the citizen identity, in the process of making the nation-state more attractive to foreign investment, the state reduction in control over worker rights in addition to increased emphasis placed on transnational consumerism, the citizen is less regarded as a citizen and more as a worker and consumer. This relates to the changing identity of the state whereby the decreasing corporate and citizen attachment to the state further decreases nation-state sovereignty. The government is now placed in the balancing act of pleasing corporations (for economic revenue) by reducing their economic control (Banerjee et al 2001: 26) while remaining committed to protect citizens rights (to contradictorily maintain sovereignty) as (e.g.) workers of these corporations through the enforcement of regulations. ‘Governments are increasingly backing down to the demands of corporations and are increasingly restricted in their ability to address problems such as poverty (Falk 1999).

The loss in political autonomy exists both internally and externally (Krasner in de Vries 2001: 380). External pressure against the nation-state is represented through the state becoming less able to manage international crime and economy alone, a weakening of state borders which has resulted in institutional arrangements crossing borders and a loss of control of the nation-state to NGO’s46 (Matthews in de Vries 2001: 389 & Lechner & Boli 2003: 275). This transnational interdependence is also evident through world trade and multilateral agreements (de Vries 2001: 398) which weaken the nation-states’ hold on their

46 Non-governmental bodies such as Amnesty International or Greenpeace International may press for various changes to national policy-making, affecting issues such as controls over foreign investment, fiscal policy, or human rights practices’ (Holtson 1998(3): 90).
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traditional territorially defined ‘national economy’ (Hobsbawm 1990, in Silk & Michaels 2001: 6). Furthermore, this weakening of the national economy passes power directly to the corporations and world institutions such as the World Bank, World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund. Internally, within the nation-state, academics such as Hirst and Thompson claim there is a reduction in the ability for states to create public policy independently (in de Vries 2001: 380). This comes about because of ‘domestic organizations such as business, labour organizations, consumers, and those with interests in the cultural integrity of the nation can singly or in alliances, pressure the state to secure freer or more protected trade, to ratify or reject international treaties and conventions, and to expand or contract flows of immigrants’ (Holton 1998: 90). Thus the sovereignty of the nation-state is being gradually replaced by international organizations, transnational corporations and NGOs (Reinalda & Verbeek in de Vries 2001: 389).

Again, it is important to reassert that the state continues to retain sovereignty over the control of the nation. However, within modernity, the sovereignty of the state has become threatened and weakened because of the increased international connectedness. Corporations are a major contributor to encourage states to relinquish their sovereignty. This places the nation-state in a position where it has to reclaim sovereignty, and this can be done through a state and corporation partnership, using contemporary globalization, to promote NSEC.

**Effects of contemporary globalization: Corporations**

Corporate production is a major factor of globalization (Giddens 1990, Wallerstein in Banerjee et al 2001: 696). Neo-liberal economics and technological innovation have created major changes for the way that corporations behave within contemporary globalization. Corporations have become more focused on service industries, internationalisation and organisational innovation (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 88). Corporations used to work within the political and economic regulatory boundaries of the nation-state. However, contemporary globalization has given them the ability to become more transnational. Today corporations work within the “confines” of the market state, driven by commerce rather than the traditional sovereign boundaries (Treverton 2005: 89). From this perspective, Dirlik argues

47 Holton disagrees with this perspective, rather following Keohanes’ argument that nation-states are not passing their responsibilities on to transnational organizations, but rather nation-states are using their sovereignty as ‘a bargaining recourse for a politics characterized by complex transnational networks’ (in Holton 1998(3): 90). However, this is obviously not the case as there is always a ‘looser’ in transnational agreements who suffer a loss of sovereignty at the expense of a more powerful nation-state.
contemporary globalization ‘is about the ability of transnational corporations to seamlessly operate within the language of the local simultaneously in multiple locations’ (in Silk & Michaels 2001: 187). One tool that corporations have used to achieve this transnationalism is technological innovation. Through this corporations can export merchandise to markets that were previously inaccessible, thus reaching more consumers. This can be seen for example through the UK telecommunications industry that was privatised (opened to public ownership) and deregulated\textsuperscript{48}.

Technological innovation and neo-liberal economics has also changed the way corporations target consumer audiences. Here, contemporary globalization has led to both homogenisation and diversification of consumer groups. For example, Hollywood blockbusters continue to dictate mass consumption by attracting large numbers of consumers. However, at the same time corporations are able to diversify their merchandise in order to appeal to consumers with specialised wants. This diversification can be seen through cable television where ‘in 1990, there were 104 cable and satellite channels across Europe. By 1994, this figure had almost doubled to 198. But by 1998, this larger figure had more than tripled to 659 channels, including digital terrestrial (Screen Digest in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 232). Previously corporations may have focused on customers who were located within a small number of nation-states. However, because of technological innovation and neo-liberal economics corporations can now earn revenue from consumers who live in “isolated” areas resulting in a potentially larger consumer market to earn revenue from and export NSEC images to.

\begin{center}♦ ♦ ♦\end{center}

Contemporary globalization is a unique form of globalization that replaces traditional globalization. Contemporary globalization is distinguished as a period of modernity where the structures of neo-liberal economics and technological innovation change the identity of the nation-states citizens, state and corporations (and vice versa). This dissertation adopts the transformationalist stance that modernity weakens the sovereignty of the nation-state. Nation-state support is called for as a response to the weakening of its sovereignty. Accordingly, the increased interconnectedness of contemporary globalization has provided the perfect environment to support the nation-state sovereignty through the exportation of NSEC images. This is because contemporary globalization offers the technological innovation and neo-liberal economics to export NSEC images at higher levels and through more avenues than was previously possible. Contemporary globalization is therefore an

\textsuperscript{48} ‘Telecoms and cable companies were increasingly allowed to enter into television markets; cable television companies were allowed into telephony, etc’ (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 114).
optimal environment in which to run a NSEC campaign. A more in-depth analysis will now be made that will explain the nature of the changes the nation-state is undergoing within contemporary globalization. This reductionalist characterization will explain the position of the nation-state that will be used throughout this dissertation.
1.5.3 Nation-State Definition

This section presents a definition of the nation-state and describes its role in the realm of contemporary globalization. Defining the nation-state recognizes a specific political, economic and social/cultural territory that the independent panel can use to determine which corporations receive government subsidies and which NSEC images can be attached to merchandise. Defining such territorial parameters is commonly used amongst social scientists to define a specific field of study (Berking 2003: 250). The nation-state definition will be firstly presented with relation to major theories of the nation-state. The unclear origin of the nation-state will then be briefly outlined before describing the impact of contemporary globalization on its role and identity. This analysis will question the role of the nation-state within contemporary globalization.

Two major theories relating to the identity of the nation-state

Sociologists often use theory in an attempt to define the nation-state. This dissertation will concentrate on two specific theories; Bourdieus’ habitus (1990) and Andersons’ imagined community (1991). These two theories will be outlined because they both contribute to a socio-cultural nation-state definition which realizes the nation-state as a socio-cultural construct and thus makes a logical link to the creation of NSEC images.

One theoretical conceptualization of the nation-state is the habitus. ‘The habitus is an organization of structured dispositions from historical circumstance. Principals of the historical circumstance amongst citizens generate and organize collective practices and representations perceived as common sense behavior seen through mutual participation’ (Finer in de Vries 2001: 395) of banal nationalism/everyday activities (Billig in Beck 2002: 12) at the level of the nation-state. Here, habitus produces a sense of gemeinschaft between nation-state members and can result in sanctioning against those who do not follow (Bourdieu 1990: 53-64). The habitus and its structures are therefore factors that reaffirm the nature of the nation-state through its objective conditions and provide its members with a sense of common identity (Alasuutari 2001: 4).

Moving away from the habitus, Anderson’s rationalist theory claims the nation-state is an ‘imagined community’ (Bilton, Bonnet, Jones, Skinner, Stanworth & Webster 1997: 254) of social constructs (Anderson in Kelly & Kaplan 2001: 420) where the values of community members have a common interest (Carlsnaes, Risse & Simmons 2005: 149) evident through cooperation, collective representation (Mclennan, Ryan & Spoonley 2000:
262) and experiences amongst members (the Self). Nation-state citizens\textsuperscript{49} must not necessarily have an immediate relationship with each other (Calhoun 1991 in Phillips 2002: 600), but rather through institutional mechanisms. ‘It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’ (Anderson in Phillips 2002: 600). This theory counters other theories that nation-state membership concerns aspects of ‘language, blood, soil, and race’ (Appadurai 1996: 161), and rather focuses on the socio-cultural aspects that define a nation-state.

The theoretical conceptualization of the nation-state for this dissertation is a combination of the habitus and the imagined community. The habitus provides the historical identity of the nation-state through the construction of shared historical circumstance, represented through banal actions by certain individuals and corresponding polity. These identifying constructs of the habitus then create the imagined community, the imagined sense of gemeinschaft and polity between citizens. Thus this dissertation asserts the theoretical definition of the nation-state as a socio-cultural construction between citizens who share the same imagination and experiences. This differs from the argument that the nation-state must be economically or politically constructed immune from socio-cultural identity. According to Anderson, the idea of dying for ones country cannot be solely linked to a political or economic ideal, but rather for some fundamental ethical (and thus cultural) reason (1983: 132). Furthermore, it is important to support this socio-cultural theory of the nation-state because it allows for relativist diverse and inclusive representation of nation-state culture images to be exported with merchandise, rather than a narrow ethnocentric definition. This theoretical definition of the nation-state will now be explained in the functional role of both the nation and the state.

**Practical description of the nation-state**

The nation-state is recognized as a joining together of the nation and state which both have independent roles but function interdependently. The states concern is with sovereignty, legitimacy, the provision of internal order and territory (de Vries 2001: 391). Both Weber and Marx agree the state is a form of political authority supported by force (Gerth & Wright in de Vries 2001: 391). This includes ‘legislature, judiciary, police, armed forces, and central and local administration’ and institutions that claim a ‘monopoly of power and legitimacy within a bounded territory’ (Bilton et al 1997: 275). On the other hand, the nation within the state is

\textsuperscript{49} Citizens are recognized as belonging to a nation-state because they have full interaction with the state and share a sense of collective membership.
made up of people who often share the same language, history, identity (Carlsnaes et al 2005: 159) and socio-cultural institutions, in a word, culture. Together, the nation-state is a combination of ‘solidarity and authority, merging a socio-political identity within a certain location’ (Bendix in Reis 2004: 252), combining citizens with a shared sense of identity enforced by political power. These roles of the nation-state have become greatly influenced by contemporary globalization. How this socio-cultural definition of the nation-state operates within modernity and contemporary globalization will now be explained.

The nature of the nation-state in the age of contemporary globalization

While the origin of the nation-state is unclear, it is certain that it exists today50. It is how the nation-state has changed due to contemporary globalization that is important to analyze. The identity of the nation-state is particularly affected by globalization because of its ‘complex relation between production, classes, political power, and territoriality’ (Robertson 1998: 194). Nation-states are no longer perceived as maintaining full internal functioning within the boundaries of the nation-state (Blau 2004: 3) as may have existed prior to contemporary globalization. Instead, the reduction of space and time constraints and increased magnitude and complexity of transnational flows upon the nation-state are of particular interest to social scientists (Reis 2004: 251). In the case of measuring the affects of globalization upon the nation-state, a theoretical conceptualization of the processes and structures is needed (Robertson 1998: 192). Particular emphasis will be placed upon the debate of if contemporary globalization is weakening the process and structures of the nation-state.

50 The origin of the nation-state is uncertain. The main confusion associated with determining its origin is the problem of the nation-state definition. Jukarainen (2003: 218), Alasuutari (2001: 7) and Reis (2004: 252) claim that the term nation-state began in 18th century Europe. Alternatively, Bilton et al (1997: 276) and Grillo (in Reis 2004: 252) argue that the idea of the nation-state came about in the twentieth century. This is perhaps supported by the fact that nation-state entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 1918 and other English dictionaries after 1945 (Kelly & Kaplan 2001: 420). The grounds of how to determine a nation-state from the socio-cultural perspective are also controversial. A nation-state could be seen to exist as long as it has the typical Eurocentric models such as a national flag and hymn (Alasuutari 2001: 7). On the other hand from a more bureaucratic perspective, the nation-state may be only recognized by the United Nations whereby applicants must ‘demonstrate appropriately formulated assertions about sovereignty and control over population and territory, along with appropriate aims and purposes’ (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez 1997: 87). The nation-state then becomes further recognized through acknowledgement from the media (Anderson in Carlsnaes et al 2005: 418). However, while the origin of the nation-state is unclear, it is unanimous that the nation-state exists today.
Role of the nation-state

Arguments for the weakening role of the nation-state

Some social scientists argue that contemporary globalization is weakening the sovereignty (Hobsbawm, 1990: 182 & Held in Wang 2000: 93) or even ending the nation-state (Appadurai 1996(a): 19 & 1996(b); Bauman 1995, 1998; Castells, 1996; Ohmae 1995; Robertson 1992; Ruggie in Burawoy 1993; Hannerz 1996; Matthews 1997; Sassen in Berking 2003: 248 & Jessop 1994)\(^5\). One explanation for the weakening or end of the nation-state is the forces promoting deterritorialization through a reduction in time and space seen through an increase in transnational flows (Appadurai 1996(a & b) in Berking 2003: 250). In particular, Berking points to the technological revolution, globalization of the economy, institutionalization of transnational legal regimes and the globalization of people and information (2003: 251). It is argued this transformation results in a nation-state no longer able to maintain its traditional role.

For social scientists who claim that contemporary globalization weakens the role of the nation-state, common argument is that the state loses its association with the nation as it is no longer able to control territorial organization of the increasingly complex relations between ‘markets, life-worlds, identities and histories’ (Price, in Appadurai in Berking 2003: 254). This complexity has been presented in 1.5.2 (e.g.) through the reduction in the ability for nation-states to create independent public policy (Hirst & Thompson in de Vries 2001: 380). Here, it was argued that while nation-states themselves continue to be recognized internationally, the internal state sovereignty over the nation is diminishing (Krasner in de Vries 2001: 380), and is being replaced by international organizations, transnational cooperation’s and NGOs (Reinalda & Verbeek in de Vries 2001: 389). One extreme version of this ideology is Hardt and Negri’s ‘Empire’ which is claimed to have (or will) replaced the nation-state. Empire sees the world as de-territorialized with no boundaries or barriers (Hardt & Negri in Urry 2005: 236) in a completely open and globalized system. Another example presented in 1.5.2 from the position that globalization is the weakening of the nation-state as a response to neo-liberal economics whereby nation-states are dependant upon transnational corporations to support their economy, and that this weakens the nation-states sovereignty. There is however another school of thought which argues that the nation-state is not becoming weaker.

\(^5\) While all of these texts support the argument that the nation-state is becoming weaker or has ended, not all texts are completely clear in terms of which of these two positions to take. See i.e. conflict of perceptions between Wang (2000: 93) and Berking (2003: 248).
**Nation-state is not becoming weaker**

While many arguments claim the identity of the nation-state is becoming weaker in contemporary globalization, this dissertation continues to assert that the role of the nation-state remains very important. As previously discussed in section 1.5.2, as neoliberal economics turn citizens' primary identity into workers and consumers, citizens' rights are becoming increasingly threatened\(^{52}\). Thus, the state needs to respond to this problem and ensure that citizens retain their rights and are not exploited. Furthermore, the nation needs to remain an identifiable entity in order for the state to have a clear representation of who they support. Thus, while the role of the state may be argued to be becoming weaker, in the age of contemporary globalization the nation-state is needed more than ever. One way that the nation-state can continue its existence is by following the transformationalist perspective.

As previously discussed in section 1.5.2, the transformationalist stance is a relativist theory arguing the nation-state is a continually evolving entity (Van Kersbergen et al in de Vries 2001: 403). However, this does not mean that the state will become less important (de Vries 2001: 402), nor that the impact of contemporary globalization has been significant enough to threaten the state's function (Dunning in de Vries 2001: 402, 403) to support the nation. Another argument countering the perspective that contemporary globalization has made the role of the nation-state obsolete is that if the de-nationalization of the nation-state was extreme enough to result in a loss of sovereignty, there should be a backlash to contemporary globalization. This potential backlash would illustrate the limitations of globalization (Hirst and Thompson 2002: 249). However, while there are groups who protest about contemporary globalization, the majority of institutions have adapted to using it on a large scale\(^{53}\). Thus, as of yet there is no significant backlash to globalization. In summary, it is the perspective of this dissertation that while the role of the nation-state has been challenged by contemporary globalization, the nation-state is constantly evolving and now has an important role to protect its citizens from the negative effects of contemporary globalization.

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\(^{52}\) As previously discussed, citizens lose their traditional identity as they become seen solely workers and consumers. They are left in a world of competing corporations attempting to create a monopoly over other corporations. The corporations do so by restricting the rights of the workers and exploiting consumers.

\(^{53}\) Arguing that they are all involved in some form of neo-liberal economics or use technological innovation on a day-to-day basis.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Definition of the nation-state

From this analysis the following definition of the nation-state is made:

The nation-state is a socio-cultural phenomena deriving from representative collective experience and attitudes amongst its citizens. It is these experiences and attitudes that create the nation and state, two separate entities consisting of institutions that work together interdependently. While contemporary globalization may be argued to have weakened the role of the nation-state, in actual fact it is needed more than ever to protect its citizens against the impact of neo-liberal economics and technological innovation.

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Various ideas of the nation-state make it difficult to be defined. Furthermore, it has been argued that the role of the nation-state has been challenged because of contemporary globalization, and in particular because of neo-liberal economics and technological innovation which have led to particular nation-states becoming more dependant upon other nation-states and more vulnerable because of the fluidity of their corporations. However, the nation-state continues to play an important role in contemporary globalization, and the state still retains sovereignty over the nation’s important role to protect its citizens’ rights. Thus, the nation-state is argued to both exist and function within contemporary globalization. This premise allows the nation-state to be recognized throughout the dissertation. After this definition of the nation-state, the next step is to claim that nation-state culture exists within the nation-state. Nation-state culture is an important component that must be defined, because it not only contributes to the nation-state identity, but within nation-state culture exists the NSEC used in the NSEC campaign. The proceeding section will define culture and then nation-state culture.
1.5.4 Nation-State Culture Definition

To present the sub-group of NSEC, nation-state culture must be defined. To do this, various theorists will describe how the concept of culture has evolved over time into its current relativist position. After the theorists are presented, this relativist perception of culture will form a definition of nation-state culture through application to the nation-state. Recognition of the impact of contemporary globalization on nation-state culture is then presented. Finally, after taking these theories and variables into account a definition of nation-state culture is constructed.

Definition of culture

Social scientists’ definitions of culture have changed over time. This transformation will now be presented. Debates concerning definitions of nation-state culture extend back to Taylor (1871). Taylor defined culture and civilisation as the same, a ‘complex of knowledge, belief, art, morals, law and custom’ (Marshall 1994: 104). From this traditional nineteenth century perspective, culture was seen as a progressive phenomenon that could be ranked accordingly. This conflicts with contemporary perceptions of culture from academics such as Boas who uses methodologies of cultural relativism and comparative ethnography in order to describe rather than compare cultures. Using this relativist instead of evolutionary perspective, theorists such as Anderson were then able to argue that different cultures were formulated through ‘learned patterns of behaviour; aspects of culture that act below conscious levels (such as the deep level of grammar and syntax in language, of which a native speaker is seldom aware); and patterns of thought and perception, which are also culturally determined’ (Marshall 1994: 104). Another important construct of culture not mentioned in Benedicts’ formulation is the importance of history, the sharing of a common past by a group of people (Bell 1976: 100). Here, culture is seen not as a static entity but rather as representative of its historic roots which plays an important role through its evolution. This shared historical experience identifies particular traits a group of individuals’ share that can be traced over a period of time. Furthermore, this historical experience has the ability to evolve to be projected into the future. Additionally to subconscious actions and a

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54 Within German academia there was a major difference between culture (Kultur) and civilisation (Zivilisation). Here, in the German context, Kultur refers to symbols and values, while Zivilisation refers to the organisation of gesellschaft (society).

55 This supported claims that some cultures were more “advanced” than other cultures, sparking nationalism and xenophobia.
shared sense of identity, Bell claims culture is a sustained\textsuperscript{56} identity ‘through the coherence gained by a consistent aesthetic point of view, a moral conception of self, and a style of life which exhibits those conceptions in the objects that adorn one’s home and oneself and in the taste which expresses those points of view. Culture is thus the realm of sensibility, of emotion and moral temper, and of the intelligence, which seeks to order these feelings’ (1976: 36). Thus Bell’s idea of culture is represented in the way that people do things. Bourdieu also recognises this and asserts that culture is identified through the cultural production (i.e. Bourdieu in Hesmondalgh 2002: 172) of knowledge, literature, art and other human products (Layder 2006: 18). These conceptualisations of culture have not ended and still exist today in contemporary social science debate. Layder, for example, argues that culture is represented through the roles and responsive behavior individuals have (2006: 22). It is the affinity individuals have for their unique cultural identity that builds a \textit{gemeinschaft} in the recognition of the Self in relation to the Other. Once the unique cultural identity has been established amongst its members, it is produced and presented through avenues such as NSEC which will be demonstrated later. This is an important point for this dissertation, because in the realm of contemporary globalization, cultures in cultural production are coming into contact with each other at unprecedented levels. Therefore, while the definition of culture for this thesis will derive from theories of culture as described above, it must also be recognised with respect to contemporary globalization.

Theorists well known for discussing culture in relation to contemporary globalization are Castells and Urry. It is important to present their opinions of culture because it recognises the changes that culture is undergoing as a result of contemporary globalization. Here, special attention is paid to the impact of contemporary globalization upon culture, as it has been argued to make group cultures more difficult to identify because of increased transnational flows. While the theorists’ perceptions of contemporary globalization differ\textsuperscript{57},

\textsuperscript{56} While there is some truth in this definition, one has to be careful with the word \textit{sustained}. To enforce the word sustained implies that culture static. Rather, this dissertation claims that nation-state culture is a constantly evolving phenomenon with a limited sustained culture. Here, culture is only sustained in the sense that it provides a linear coherence through time as to the ongoing change to the culture. Thus, there has to be some kind of link for the future culture in relation to the culture of today, and the culture of yesterday, but, this culture is able to go under change and not remain static.

\textsuperscript{57} Castells argues that globalization identified through analysis of new scapes and flows (see i.e. \textit{The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture} (Blackwell): 1st volume, \textit{The Rise of the Network Society} (1996); 2nd volume, \textit{The Power of Identity} (1997); 3rd volume, \textit{End of Millennium} (1998)), while Urry disputes Castells theory to claim that of globalization is too complex to measure and that Castells does not illustrate the complexity within factors globalization (see \textit{Global Complexity}, Blackwell 2003). However, both theorists recognize that globalization of contemporary society can be distinguished from traditional forms of globalization.
there is agreement that cultural identities are undergoing simultaneous and contradictory processes of homogenization and differentiation. Within these processes, cultures are ‘pushed’ and ‘pulled’ by different influences. Subsequently, cultures currently evolve at unprecedented rapid and dynamic frequencies due to the (e.g.) transnational exposition. Culture in relation to globalization thus differs from traditional definitions.

Culture has been described as a relative, not ranking concept that identifies the subconscious roles and actions that individuals have within groups, the history that they share, the way they act on an everyday basis and the type of identity that they produce. All of these factors have to be taken into account with regard to contemporary globalization, which has put these different cultural groups in increasing contact with each other. From these descriptions, a definition of culture can be made for this dissertation:

*Culture is common patterns of behaviour, thought and perception that distinguish a group of the Self from the Other. This may be represented through a production of culture which the Self share an affinity for. While culture can be recognised through gemeinschaft historical roots, it is constantly evolving, especially so throughout contemporary globalization.*

This definition of culture will now be contributed to the definition of nation-state culture.

**Definition of nation-state culture**

The nation-state’s political legitimacy and economic sovereignty is obvious because of its recognition in national and international law. A nation-state culture, however, is more difficult to legitimately identify. It is very difficult for sociologists to describe culture in terms of the nation-state because of contention agreeing upon theoretical analytical development (Archer 1998(2): 1). The nation-state has been defined in section 1.5.3 as a socio-cultural phenomenon using Bourdies’ Habitus and Andersons Imagined Community. This combination of the Habitus (an organization of structured dispositions from historical circumstance) and Imagined Community (shared values and interest within a group of individuals) will also be used to define nation-state culture. The same conscious/unconscious identity constructs of shared values, beliefs, ideas, experiences\(^{58}\), and practices (Chun (2000) and Pertierra (1999)) that create the nation-state also define the unique cultural identity of the nation-state – the nation-state culture.

\(^{58}\) This supports the shared historical experience of the Habitus and roles and identities of individuals as in the imagined community.
Nation-state culture is represented through public and private sectors of the state and the nation. For example, the culture of state institutions is seen through the unique legal system that governs political power exerted in the nation-state (Whitley 1994: 268). This argument is reinforced by Redding and Wu (in Whitley 1994: 268) who also argue that nation-state culture can be identified through culturally distinctive business systems. Finally, the nation-state has already been discussed in terms of the unique culture in citizens shared experiences (etc) which together cumulate the nation-state. Thus nation-state culture is defined as the unique cultural identity that is a result of shared culture located in the people and institutions of a particular nation-state.

Nation-state culture is a form of representative culture for particular groups and their institutions. This identifies the group as the Self in comparison to Others and is supported by Bourdieu’s Habitus and Anderson’s Imagined Community. A sub-group of nation-state culture is NSEC. It is important to define NSEC as this is the central construct of public diplomacy aimed to promote the nations-state on the world stage. The next section will examine NSEC in relation to the culture industry, contemporary globalization and groups involved in the creation and production of NSEC images.
1.5.5 The Culture Industry and Nation-State Export Culture Definition

NSEC derives from the culture industry of the nation-state culture. The aim of this section is to identify NSEC so that it can be discussed in case studies later in this dissertation. NSEC will be identified by moving from analysis of nation-state culture, and then studying NSEC as a subgroup within the cultural industry (Fig. 1.5.5.1). Analysis of the culture industry will be concerned with the mass produced culture, or “popular culture” currently affected by contemporary globalization. Actors within the culture industry who create culture images will then be argued to have their culture image recognised only when they are supported by particular power groups. After the different power groups have been identified, factors that distinguish NSEC as a special sector within the culture industry will be presented. This analysis will then allow for the creation of a definition of the NSEC.

Introduction to the culture industry

The nation-state has been defined as a unique construct deriving from the socio-cultural identity of its citizens. Nation-state culture has also been described as deriving from the socio-cultural identity of the nation and the state. NSEC can be distinguished from nation-state culture because it is a sub-group within the culture industry. The culture industry is concerned with the creation and mass production of cultural images. More information will now be presented on the culture industry in order to provide a background in which NSEC can be defined.

Cultural production is one cultural identity output from the nation-state. Within cultural production there are three macro avenues in which culture is produced. High culture is found in (e.g.) theatre, art works and particular forms of music. Folk culture is the second avenue that celebrates the cultural history of a group by promoting selected traditions. These two⁵⁹ avenues are “peripheral” cultures in cultural production because they use semi-industrial or non-industrial methods of production (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 13). High culture and folk culture could only be included in the culture industry if they were mass produced. However, if this happened they would become a culture for the masses and would therefore turn into popular culture. Therefore, high culture and folk culture do not play a major role in the cultural industries. The third avenue, popular culture, is an industrially produced mass culture consumed by the majority of citizens in a nation-state. This dissertation will place special emphasis upon popular rather than high or folk culture for two reasons: Firstly, because

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⁵⁹ It is recognized that some areas of folk culture are industrial. However, in this situation they lose their title folk culture and become popular culture.
popular culture is mass produced it can be easily attached to mass produced merchandise. This relates to the second point that popular culture can have the highest rate of consumption when exported. Popular culture will now be discussed in more detail to explain its important role in the culture industry.

Popular culture of the culture industry came about through technological innovation and neo-liberal economics which changed consumers’ consumption habits. Popular culture was able to use these changes of contemporary globalization to encourage citizens to share similar identity constructs produced by competing corporations such as ‘Hollywood movies, radio and television shows, the records of Bing Crosby, Elvis Presley, the Beatles…’ (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 65). From the 1920s for example, technological innovation led to the mass consumption of cultural industries’ popular culture. This mass consumption led to mechanisation of household, mass assembly, instalment purchases and advancement in communications (Bell 1976: 66). In nation-states, such as the United States which adopted these technological advances, there came a shift towards a consumption society (Bell 1976: 70). Later, in the 1950s, changing consumption attitudes became increasingly linked with the consumption of culture (Bell 1976: 44) on an industrial scale. Industrialised production meant that cultural images such as ‘Dallas’ were available for consumption more frequently across a wider geographic space than previously existed (Leibes & Katz in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 176). Now that the background to the culture industry has been presented, the contemporary culture industry will now be analysed.

Culture industry
The culture industry has been described as the creation and mass production of cultural images that are consumed on a large scale. This consumption of particular cultural images creates and reflects the cultural identity of a nation-state. In particular, consumed merchandise represents partial cultural identity of citizens in terms of ‘who we are, our perception of self, and the valuation of our self-esteem would all appear to be influenced by what we own and possess (Lee 1993: 26). The culture industry since the late 1970s will be distinguished by explaining its relation to contemporary globalization. The actors who create culture used in the culture industry will then be identified. It will then be argued that while certain actors create culture, there is another group who has the power to support certain culture images to be produced in the culture industry.

60 This is important for the attachment of NSEC exported merchandise.
61 Thus giving the highest level of exposure for NSEC images on the world stage.
Contemporary globalization and the culture industry

Contemporary globalization has changed the playing field of the cultural industry in terms of how corporations conduct business and the way that NSEC images are created and supported. These changes concern how culture is defined, created and exported. Bell argues that the distinction between art and life has dissipated with contemporary globalization and the corresponding blurring of traditional boundaries of cultural distinction: ‘There is no distinction between art and life. Anything permitted in art is now permitted in life as well’ (1976: 54). For example, high culture is becoming recognized as popular culture as it is increasingly mass produced. The difference between high culture and popular culture is thus becoming increasingly relative. High culture was previously distinguishable from other forms of culture because of its rarity. Works of art such as (e.g.) paintings or music were traditionally distinguishable because of their uniqueness. However contemporary globalization has allowed paintings to be duplicated and displayed, and music to be copied in electronic format and sent around the world. As a result, culture borders have become blurred and it is no longer easy to define high culture (Holton 1998(3): 161) from other forms of culture. Furthermore within contemporary globalization, the consumption of culture is no longer as restricted as it previously was. The nation-state culture industry has responded to technological innovation and neo-liberal economics in conjunction with post-modern perceptions of culture by finding new ways of creating and exporting cultural images (Fig. 1.5.5.2) to harness increased consumption and compete on the world stage. These changes of the culture industry will now be presented with analysis of corporations’ response to contemporary globalization.

The way corporations in the culture industry operate has changed in order to accommodate contemporary globalization. This change has particularly affected what Hesmondhalgh refers to as the ‘core cultural industries’; advertising and marketing; broadcasting; film industries; the internet industry; the music industries; print and electronic publishing; video and computer games (2002: 12). These industries have had to adapt the way they sell their products. This is important to analyze because it shows the impact that contemporary globalization has had on corporations and their recognition that citizens have an increased ability to consume and be aware of merchandise. These points will now be discussed in more detail.

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62 It must be noted that these are only some of the mediums of the culture industry.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Resources large corporations have to promote their merchandise are immense and thus very influential. This, and the increased ease to export within contemporary globalization has led to corporations becoming particularly good at becoming recognized for the merchandise that they sell around the world. Disney, Coke and Nike (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 5) are some prime examples. The reason that these corporations have become leaders in their field is because of the strong merchandise image they are able to present to consumers. Heath and Potter claim that the central focus of many corporations today is the presentation of their image rather than the services that they provide (2004: 328). This is particularly true when considering that corporations often no longer produce the merchandise they sell\(^6\), while their core competency is design and branding. In summary, contemporary globalization has changed the way that merchandise is perceived, and corporations of the culture industry have had to respond to these changes. Corporations have also had to respond to the changing consumption patterns of consumers because of contemporary globalization. This will now be discussed further.

Increased consumerism has been supported by factors such as the credit card (Ritzer 1995), allowing citizens to consume in ways previously not possible beyond their immediate financial means. Corporations in the culture industries have tried to take advantage of amplified consumption in order to enlarge their revenue. As Ritzer argues; ‘[corporations] spend many billions of dollars on advertisements designed to manufacture a sense of difference for their merchandise. This is seen via (e.g.) similar fast food restaurants which attempt to advertise themselves as being different through marketing attached to the sold merchandise’ (1995: 137). One new way corporations can distinguish their merchandise internationally is by attaching NSEC images as the thesis of this dissertation proposes. In this situation, consumers’ decision-making to consume merchandise would be based upon the NSEC image displayed on the merchandise\(^6\).

Now that corporations of the cultural industry have been introduced in terms of the impact of contemporary globalization, analysis of how the culture industry creates and promotes a cultural image will be presented. This will involve an explanation of who the different actors are that create and support the culture images for the culture industry and NSEC.

\(^6\) Merchandise is outsourced to corporations that produce merchandise at cheap prices because of their access to cheap materials and labor.

\(^6\) This would be an effective strategy once the NSEC is formed.
Actors who create NSEC images

Hesmondhalgh claims that artists continue to create culture, “independent” from the corporations that subsequently produce the culture. ‘So one of the defining features of the complex professional era of cultural production is this unusual degree of autonomy, which is carried over from preceding eras where artists, authors and composers worked independently of businesses... carried out under the supervision of creative managers (2002: 55) and marketing personnel (2002: 62)’. Particular individuals are experts at creating NSEC. These individuals are often artists, but individuals working in (e.g.) marketing or advertising also have the ability to create NSEC. Thus artists and individuals in marketing or advertising have the ability to create NSEC. However, these people do not have the final decision in deciding what NSEC is. Once an artist creates the culture image, there are three different groups who decide if it will become mass produced via the cultural industry (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 56). It is this artistic licence combined with strict production control in the culture industry that represents the distinctive nation-state culture of contemporary society and goes on to form the NSEC. The three particular groups who have the ability to accept proposed NSEC images are the citizens of the nation, the state and the elite who own corporations within the nation-state. Each of these three groups will now be discussed in more detail.

Groups with the ability to support particular artists’ cultural production

It has been presented that artists create cultural images. What is not clear is how consumers should know which of these cultural images to consume when they have freedom of choice. In reality, the extent to which this ‘choice’ exists is questionable. Hesmondhalgh likens the situation as to walking around a big book shop (2002: 219). Here, while the consumer has the money and the freedom to look around the shop, how does he or she know where to look? Citizens as a group, government and elites of corporations control the selection process by supporting creation (conception, execution and transcription), reproduction (duplication) and circulation (marketing, publicity, distribution and wholesaling) (Ryan in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 55). Each of these three groups will now be explained in more detail with relation to NSEC (as NSEC is the focal point of the dissertation).

65 ‘First, companies grant symbol creators a limited autonomy in the hope that the creators will come up with something original and distinctive enough to be a hit. But this means that cultural companies are engaged in a constant process of struggle to control what symbol creators are likely to come up with’ (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 18).
As discussed in the definition of nation-state and nation-state culture, culture is a result of habitus and the imaged community within the nation-state where citizens share common experience and beliefs. Therefore, the artists’ NSEC image should be accepted by citizens if it is reflective of the nation-state culture. However, while citizens are influential as a collective they are weak individually. Furthermore, because it is hard to coordinate a consensus without resorting to support from the other two groups, it is not often that citizens are able to support artists work to become a NSEC image.

The second group, the government, should have interest in the NSEC image as a form of FDI to compete for recognition on the international stage. The government can be influential in their support of artists’ creations of NSEC by choosing particular culture images to be promoted. This can happen through investment into certain areas of the nation-state. For example, if a government wanted to increase its NSEC association with music, it may invest more money into the music industry.

The third group are the elite who own corporations. The elite can support artists’ cultural images because of their financial power, and because they own the corporations that produce the merchandise which NSEC would be attached to. Thus, the financial power of this small group of elites can influence the NSEC. In contemporary globalization, neo-liberal economics and technological innovation has resulted in corporations having more power within the nation-state, Because of corporations’ unprecedented ability to move transnationally, both the state and its citizens become dependant upon the revenue that the corporation earns. Lastly, it must be recognised that while globalization has increased exportation and ease of consumption, corporations and creators of culture are still regulated in the images that they produce and support. For example, the state ensures that

66 Increased funding leads to increased ability to be recognized on the world stage.
67 For this dissertation, corporations are the primary group that export NSEC.
68 The elite’s support of ‘high culture’ is one example of how they hold power to determine nation-state culture identity. Cox and Sanderson quote the Independent: ‘representatives of the business community and especially professional politicians who see themselves as guardians of the petit bourgeoisie values, such as Margaret Thatcher, may...see to cut government spending on the arts, the market inflated by the rise of a new generation of art investors continues unabated. Indeed under the pressure of new money, according to a spokesman at Sothebys in New York, ‘the art market has reached the point where it’s almost another business’ (1997: 46).
69 Seen as Parson’s voluntarism of social life, ‘the capacity for people to act on the basis of their own decisions, desires and choices and not on requirements enforced by the brute workings of an economic system that thrived on inequalities of wealth and power’ (Layder 2006: 17).
70 The power of the elite in being able to have a large share in deciding the nation-state culture brings about a critique of individual citizen freedom and choice of identity (Douglas & Isherwood in Lee 1983: 28).
corporations are restricted in the use of pornography or violence in their merchandise images, as well as ensuring minority interests etc. (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 119). Thus, the state still contains a certain extent of regulatory authority despite the liberalisation brought about by contemporary globalization.

Thus, in contemporary society, the nation-state culture used within the culture industry is a result of identity constructs created by artists, of which some are supported or ignored by citizens, the state and elite of corporations. Now that the NSEC as a sub-group of the culture industry has been identified a definition can be presented.

**Nation-state export culture (NSEC) definition**

NSEC has been presented as a particular niche of images produced within the culture industry that are representative of the nation-state culture. NSEC images are a sub-category of images of the culture industry because they must be representative, realistic and must educate both domestic and international audiences as well as create a positive emotional attachment with the nation-state to create the COO effect. The NSEC should also have the ability to extinguish negative perceptions of the nation-state. Most importantly, the NSEC images must have appeal so that consumers will want to purchase the cultural image repeatedly. It is the accumulation of these factors that define NSEC images. As NSEC is a parent discipline, a more in-depth explanation of NSEC in terms of its existence and ability to use transnational flows will be presented in section 2.1.0.

From this discussion the following definition can be made:

*NSEC is particular cultural images that the consumer can identify with the nation-state and creates the country of origin effect.*

♦ ♦ ♦

NSEC has been defined for future application in the analysis of case studies. NSEC has been recognised as a specific cultural identity originating from the nation-state culture that is created and promoted by specific individuals and groups in the culture industry. It has been presented that NSEC originates from particular artists who create a culture image. The culture image then seeks approval from citizens, the government and/or corporations in order to be promoted, and when accepted is mass produced. NSEC differs from other cultural images of the culture industry because it is aimed to create understanding and create the COO effect on the citizens of other nation-states. Particular emphasis has been placed upon the elites of corporations who maintain the power to choose cultural images that
are to be exported. Corporations are also of particular interest because of dissertations’ aim of attaching cultural images to merchandise for export. The culture industry itself is being greatly affected by contemporary globalization, and it is these effects allow for the exportation of NSEC at unprecedented levels. Now that the central concepts and their definitions of this dissertation have been presented, the dissertations delimitations and key assumptions will be outlined. These delimitations and key assumptions will inform the reader of the refined area that is used in the analysis throughout this dissertation.
1.6.0 Delimitations of Scope and Key Assumptions

This section looks at the delimitations that exist in this dissertation in order to narrow the field of research and analysis. Delimitations include the nature of this paper as a theoretical contribution, definitions presented in section 1.5.1-1.5.5 and 2.1.0, 2.1.2 and the different nation-states and public diplomacy campaigns used in the case study. It is important to take these delimitations into consideration when reading this dissertation.

**Delimitation of the research problem as a theoretical contribution**

This dissertation is a theoretical contribution to sociology and public diplomacy to conceive of a way to support nation-state sovereignty within contemporary globalization. The dissertation is seen as the theoretical starting point that many nation-states could adopt to profit from the NSEC campaign. It is recognized that while the nation-state would also have to take local variables into account when implementing such a theory, it would require analysis from interdisciplinary team of specialists (see section 5.5.0). Therefore, it is not the aim of the dissertation to go further into detail about how NSEC should be implemented to the nation-state.

**Delimitations presented through definitions**

Through definitions in sections 1.5.1-1.5.5, delimitations were formed identifying central actors. It was defined that NSEC is a sub-group of the culture industry. It was argued that the culture industry is a sub-group of the nation-state culture and then the nation-state itself. Furthermore, actors involved with the NSEC campaign were identified in relation to their changing identity within contemporary globalization. Lastly, it was argued that contemporary globalization is a form of modernity that is distinguishable from traditional globalization because of unprecedented changes in neo-liberal economics and technological innovation in terms of their reflexive impact upon socio-cultural, political and economic structures of the nation-state.

**Delimitation of culture: NSEC as a specific sub-group of nation-state culture**

This dissertation's concentration on NSEC is a delimitation from the wide field of culture used within sociology. NSEC has been defined as a culture deriving from the culture industry that has unique characteristics. NSEC culture is therefore very different from other understandings of culture. For example, the cultural identity of the whole nation-state often
studied by sociologists is different from NSEC which is a micro part of this culture. Also, the culture created by corporations to support only itself (i.e. Mercedes-Benz has its own culture image attached to merchandise that may also add to the COO effect of Germany\textsuperscript{71}) is different from NSEC. This is because corporate culture is primarily concerned with creating revenue for itself rather than the nation-state.

**Case study delimitations**

This dissertation uses three nation-states’ case studies to analyze the broader questions brought up in the hypothesis. These are the United States, Britain and New Zealand. They were specifically chosen to create delimitations concerning nation-state structures (see section 4.1.1 selection of case studies) by taking advantage of each of the nation-states similar political and economic reactions contemporary globalization. However, this does not ignore that each nation-state uses different forms of public diplomacy\textsuperscript{72} because of their different international relations positioning. While nation-states with extremely different structures (such as Mozambique, Canada and North Korea) could be analyzed, the formation of any conclusion of the hypothesis would have been impossible because of the complexity in the relations between the countries.

\textsuperscript{71} Mercedes reflected all that was admirable in German cars: ‘good, wholesome types without ostentation or undue scamping of detail – cars uniformly good and serviceable’ (E.J.A., in Koshar 2004: 124).

\textsuperscript{72} See case studies 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.3.2, 4.4.2.
Chapter 2
Parent Disciplines

The purpose of the literature review is to explain different perspectives surrounding the existence of NSEC images; how the campaign is a form of public diplomacy; and how the COO effect is produced through the use of NSEC images in public diplomacy.


2.1.0 Nation-State Export Culture

The first parent discipline concerns NSEC and its transnational movement. In order for this dissertation to discuss the exportation of NSEC images, its existence must be first recognized. Its existence will be argued for by claiming that nation-state culture exists. This is because if nation-state culture is disputed to not exist, then NSEC does not exist. While it is not the aim of this section to describe the identity of nation-state culture, it is important to recognize it as a common cultural identity shared amongst citizens and supported by the state. When NSEC has been recognized to exist, debate of the existence of NSEC transnational border flows will be presented. The existence of NSEC and its transnational flow will be primarily discussed in relation to the hyperglobalist versus transformationalist theories.

Against the existence of NSEC: Unique nation-state identity has been replaced by a ‘global cultural homogenization of hetrogenisation’

Prior to contemporary globalization, the nation-state was observed via its ‘unique cultural identity, seen through attributes such as legend, landscape and music’ (Robins 1998: 3). However, contemporary globalization has crowded the nation-state with different groups identifying themselves with attributes representative of cultural identities outside the nation-state (Bell 1976: 85). Although the hyperglobalist position has already been presented in section 1.5.2., it will be reiterated with respect to the existence of NSEC.

Hyperglobalists argue that contemporary globalization has resulted in individuals’ identity not belonging to a nation-state, resulting in the lack of a common cultural identity amongst nation-state citizens. Resultantly, hyperglobalists contend that the nation-state no longer exists, nor do the cultural identities that are harbored within the nation-state. Following this line, the key hyperglobalist must dispute NSEC as a shared culture amongst citizens of a nation-state. Within contemporary globalization, citizens have the freedom to choose their cultural identity that must not be tied to the nation-state. For example, Abizadeh claims that it is not necessary to share common values (etc) with others to be recognised as ‘Jewish, Québécois, Scottish, African American, or Iranian’ (2002: 500). Accordingly, hyperglobalists argue that the structures of the nation-state no longer need to reflect a unique culture. This hyperglobalist perspective thus argues that there is no imagined community or habitus within the nation-state. This is because contemporary globalization has weakened its sovereignty through the ‘destruction of state structures, support in state non-political and economic intervention and loss in ability for diverse governance through market deregulation’ (Crouch
& Streek 1997: 12). For example, while the state structure of a education system may exist, there is no need for a single culture or language to train its students in a set of common technical and communication skills (Abizadeh 2002: 505).

Today, citizens can choose from a diverse range of cultural identities that are represented for example through the diversity in magazine choices that cater ‘from needlework to the mercenary solider business, from gay porn to religious affairs’ (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 76). Hesmondhalgh claims that the diversity of magazines encourages citizens to ignore the wider nation-state identity, and concentrate on channels of communication (that create identity) that individuals are interested in (2002: 76). From this perspective, the argument is formed that contemporary globalization has ended nation-state culture and subsequently NSEC.

For the existence of NSEC

Despite the hyperglobalists argument, indicators exist that nation-state culture continues to be alive. Citizens’ ties to the nation-state are seen as a almost natural phenomenon (Abizadeh 2005: 26, Waltzer in Abizadeh 2005: 45, Miller in Abizadeh 2005: 45 ) to the extent that patriotism leads to citizens being willing to die for it. To support the argument that NSEC exists, the argument that all humans share a homogenous cultural identity will be discounted with little discussion. Rather, debate will concentrate upon countering hyperglobalists arguments against complete heterogeneity within a nation-state as presented above.

The nation-state has been argued to be constructed from the habitus and imagined community in section 1.5.3. Structure and agency is one way of acknowledging an imagined community and habitus within the nation-state. Structure and agency is concerned with the interaction between structures of the nation-state (such as state institutions) and citizens as agents. It is the nature of state structures that creates a unique identity that holds citizens together with a sense of solidarity (Miller in Abizadeh 2002: 498). Structure and agency supports an area in which identities can be formed, contested and evolve. This is because it continues to create a habitus and imagined community and ties citizens to the nation-state within contemporary globalization. For example the nation-state’s welfare system promotes a sense of belonging through its protection of citizens. (Kitschel, Lange, Marks & Stephens in Crouch & Streeck 1997: 170). This contributes to the nation-states unique identity helping to distinguish it from the structures of other nation-states. A unique nation-state structure creates an identity that citizens can recognise and form an attachment to (Hancké 2005: 54).
However, within contemporary globalization, the nation-state is increasingly challenged to retain a unique system at a time when financial markets are demanding a homogenisation of political and economic structures to support transnational interconnectedness (Boyer 2002: 29). Although the nation-states’ unique structures have a large impact upon citizens identification and recognition of the nation-state, the way that these different structures are understood are contested between different fields of thought. For example, ‘as intentionally constructed and put into effect by other individuals (constructionist or utilitarianism); as the result of a set of very abstracted agreements about how a society should be coordinated (functionalist); or as the outcome of deep-seated and largely unrecognized realities (critical structuralist)’ (Waters 1994: 4). However, despite this debate, it must be recognised that the nation-state imagined community is retained by these unique structures of the nation-state.

State institutional structures that create a relationship constraining citizens to the nation-state also require participation from citizens as agents of change. Citizens as agents living within the nation-state have the ability to contest and shape structures via this (e.g.) democratic process. The agency perspective ‘is the sum of local experiences that makes up the national economic, social and technical infrastructures and competitive capabilities (Shearman 1997: 111). As the agent requires structures to create its nation-state identity, structures also require agents to uphold, maintain and contest the unique structures. For example, for a just system of welfare to ‘be democratically supported’, it must be ‘backed up by a popular consensus about the distributive principle in question,’ and this requires a ‘common identity’ (Miller 1989(b): 236-37). To ‘motivate people to make the sacrifices that social justice requires’ is empirically more feasible when citizens ‘share a common identity or common values’ (Miller in Abizadeh 2002: 497). Agents also possess the power to contest and ultimately change structures of the nation-state through (e.g.) protest. This shows that structure and agency is a reflexive process where structure creates agency and agency creates the structure.

Therefore, structure and agency maintains a sense of common culture created through shared identity which can be contested and subsequently evolve over time. This supports a unique nation-state culture and subsequently allows for the existence of NSEC with support and change by the nation-state structures and agents. Now that the existence of NSEC has been supported, the ability for it to be exported transnationally will be questioned. This analysis will concentrate on the existence of transnational culture. Transnational culture will be concentrated upon, because if culture cannot be argued to be transnational, then neither can NSEC. Furthermore, an analysis of the transnationalism of NSEC relating to the NSEC campaign cannot be made because the campaign does not yet exist.
Against the existence of transnational culture

While the existence of an imaged community and habitus allows a common nation-state identity and the existence of NSEC, the question arises if NSEC can be exported transnationally. NSEC transnationalism relates to the parent discipline of the nature and extent of culture flowing across borders within contemporary globalization. When discussing flows of NSEC there are two mechanisms that need to be recognised: There must be a mechanism that sends NSEC to the other nation-state (such as the merchandise that NSEC images are attached to). Also, there needs to be a receiver of the culture (such as consumers of the merchandise with NSEC images). Arguments against transnational NSEC will revolve around these sending and receiving mechanisms.

Due to contemporary globalization, sending mechanisms have made NSEC easier to export transnationally. However, the extent of this transnationalism must be analysed in more detail. As hyperglobalists argue, global homogenisation as a result of transnational culture flows means that it is no longer possible to associate NSEC as belonging to one nation-state. Cultural convergence through English as the international business language is an example of transnational cultural convergence, and this cultural convergence is represented by the fact that 78 percent of internet web pages are in English (Raphael in Hesmondalgh 2002: 215).

However, this hyperglobalist argument can be disputed as market economies continue to display a variety of dominant institutions (Whitley 1994: 278) in relation to their sending and receiving mechanisms. Cultural assimilation by dominant players on the world stage has been prophesised many times, but not yet become a reality as sending mechanisms from different nation-states compete with each other. For example, the culture of Japanese business practices have not become international (Boyer 2002: 30), and even when they are received and adopted by other nation-states they are glocalized to fit local variables. Another example is that European films suffer from a lack of ‘marketing and distribution clout’ in their international exportation (Screen Digest in Hesmondalgh 2002: 189) and are thus not widely seen as a result. Consequently, received foreign films take less than 3 percent of the US market (The Economist in Hesmondalgh 2002: 192). Cultural differences also play a large role in European television which also has large language barriers to be overcome (Hesmondalgh 2002: 186). For example, international television channels such as MTV and CNN still have to glocalize their channels to the local audience to maintain ratings (Robins in Hesmondalgh 2002: 187). This questions the extent of culture transnationalism in relation to the hyperglobalist argument.
One of the strongest arguments against unrestricted transnational culture flow concerning receiving mechanisms is glocalization. The theory of glocalization argues that when a nation-state exports culture to another nation-state, the culture that is absorbed is then changed from its original identity to be adapted into the local culture (Featherstone, Lash & Robertson 1995: 28). A common argument is that while multinational corporations attempt to export their merchandise to other countries, the merchandise often has to be glocalized before it is consumed by citizens. Therefore transnational exportation (sending mechanism) may exist, but its impact upon the nation-state is not to the extent that hyperglobalists claim and ultimately ‘national differences are not being significantly eroded’ (Radice 2000: 2).

In summary, the hyperglobalist perspective claims that sending and receiving mechanisms allow for unrestricted transnational flows. This dissertation argues against this perspective. Rather, it is argued that sending mechanisms of NSEC have not become globally homogenous, meaning that restrictions to NSEC flows do occur. Furthermore, imported culture is glocalized by receiving mechanisms. While the argument is supported that NSEC experiences friction in its transnational flow, a conclusive argument against the transnationalism of NSEC has not been reached. Thus transnational flows of NSEC do exist, but not to the hyperglobalist extent. The nature of NSEC transnational flows will now be explained supporting the transformationalist rather than hyperglobalist theory.

**For the existence of transnational culture**

NSEC has an increased ability to be transnational within the age of contemporary globalization. As argued, this has changed the capacity for citizens to construct their identity, no longer basing it solely upon their nation-state culture. While nation-state culture has become increasingly transnational, the extent and nature of transnationalism must be analyzed. If nation-state culture was to be transnational without restriction, this would eventually result in a NSEC dominating as a global culture. However, it will be argued that there is not one cultural core from which nation-state culture is exported, leading to a nation-state culture monopoly as hyperglobalists suggest. Rather, there are several newly established cores that are particularly good at exporting their culture and influencing the cultural identities of their peripheral nation-states. Evidence of these cores explains and supports the transformationalist argument for NSEC transnationalism.

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73 From (e.g.) Wallerstein 1976.
As previously mentioned, the increased accessibility and availability of imported cultural images has created social mobility allowing citizens to pick and choose their identity. Citizens can now create a sense of belonging to particular groups and distinguish themselves from others within and outside the nation-state. ‘In more parts of the world individuals are increasingly able to dismiss their inherited culture and adopt careers, lifestyles, friends, or political representatives without traditional authoritative restrictions’ (Bell 1976: 90). Citizens can now share more commonality with an international group of individuals with similar tastes than with citizens residing within their nation-state. The ability to adopt a particular taste and choose to consume culture from outside their nation-state is usually dependant upon ‘citizens specific occupation and class fractions, making it possible to map out the universe of taste and lifestyle with its structured oppositions and finely graded distinctions which operate within a particular society at a particular point in history’ (Featherstone 1991: 18). This has led to cultural identities becoming more transnational, reducing the cultural sovereignty of the nation-state and contributes to nation-state culture being a constantly evolving phenomenon (Holton 1998: 175).

Although the state is increasingly limited in ways to counter transnational culture, it responds to these influences through glocalization. By doing so the state responds to this threat of its sovereignty by retaining and promoting local culture. The strength of the nation-state and its strategy in exportation of nation-state culture contributes to its success on the international stage. Some states are particularly good at exporting their culture. These states are called “cores”, while nation-states that consume their culture are the “periphery”.

The positioning of a nation-state as a core or periphery is partially determined by the nation-states’ ability to use transnational flows for NSEC. It has been discussed that political and economic convergence has allowed increased flows of transnational culture allowing ‘a greater connectedness and linkage between peoples’ and the export of certain positive values, such as skepticism of authority, and the questioning of repressive traditions’ (Herman & McChesney in Hesmondalgh 2002: 175). Nation-states have become centres attempting to create cultural homogenisation through the formation of regional political and economic systems. One example is the EU where the ‘proposals for removing tariff and other barriers to the movement of capital and goods within the EC on the 1st January 1993 have been seen as major steps towards the creation of “European” firms and the decline of nationally specific

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74 Awareness of other cultures through transnationalism also supports differentiation through a stronger sense of the Other in terms of the culture of the Other. This can take place through exportation of NSEC attached to exported merchandise.
forms of economic organisation’ (Whitley 1994: 276). Consequently, firm interdependence today within Europe is increasingly seen as the norm (Kristensen 1996: 1).

As argued, international economic institutions have encouraged regional deregulation of export tariffs resulting in higher flows of imports and exports. Deregulation has also supported NSEC flows across borders, changing the nature of the consumption of NSEC. This argument of culture transnationalism contends for regional rather than global increased flows due to contemporary globalization. This uses the transformationalist thesis that transnational culture exportation has not been monopolised by one centre as hyperglobalists suggest. Theories of “Americanization” as the dominant of culture exporter of the world, dominating cultures of other nation-states is thus seen as exaggerated. Rather, many different centres exist, often including newly industrialised countries that are able to impose their culture upon other nation-states. (Tomlinson in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 176).

Technological innovation supports the existence of these different cores by creating new mediums for exportation and consumption of NSEC. Television is one example that has led to new modes of cultural consumption in which ‘global, regional, national and even local circuits of programme exchange, overlap and interact in a multifaceted way’ (Sinclear, Elizabeth & Cunningham in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 180). While television still represents regional diversity through language difference, many different cores of influence with their own particular blend of culture can be seen to exist. The cores cultural distinctiveness is often reflected in their religious, political and social perspectives. This allows many cultural niches to become recognised and compete with other cultural cores.

The argument of transnational culture does not argue for global mono-culturalism as Levi-Strauss feared\textsuperscript{75} and hyperglobalists maintain. Rather it supports the transformationalist argument that there are different centres of power that compete with each other (Levi-Strauss in Holton 1998: 163) and are able to influence the identities of citizens in other nation-states. Against this homogenisation thesis, contemporary globalization has reduced the ability for the central transnational culture to be (e.g.) Anglo-American. This counters more simple arguments that solely western cultural imperialism is being imposed upon the non-western world (Holton (1998(3): 163) and Levi-Strauss (in Holton 1998(3): 163). While many of these centres overlap with Anglo-American culture (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 194), there are also cores that export NSEC transnationally which do not reflect Anglo-American culture; ‘for the people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianism may be more worrisome than Americanization,\textsuperscript{75} ‘Humanity is installing itself into monoculture; it is preparing to mass-produce culture as if it were beetroot’ (1955: 37).
as Japanisation may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, Russianization for the peoples of Soviet Armenia...’ (Appaduari in Holton 1998: 170). Each of these different centres and periphery groups compete with each other for attention on the world stage. Thus ‘places such as the Vatican or the Shia holy city of Qom also organize different aspects of culture within core/periphery relations. In addition, some countries may have a disproportionate regional and cultural influence, such as Mexico in Latin America, or Egypt in the Arab world, without exerting a transregional global influence’ (Hannerz in Holton 1998: 180). These examples illustrate that the hyperglobalist theory of monopolised cultural industries has not been reached. Rather, the transnationalism of culture still functions in competition between many different centres that have their own cultural, political and economic systems.

Two parent disciplines have been outlined in this section: Firstly, the argument of the existence of NSEC through recognition of nation-state culture; and secondly, debate about the extent and natures of transnational flows of NSEC have been presented. It was important to argue for the existence of nation-state culture because this allows NSEC to exist (as seen in Fig. 2.1.0.1). Hyperglobalists claim that nation-state culture is replaced by a ‘global homogenisation of heterogenisation’ whereby citizens must to no longer rely on constructing their identity from the nation-state within contemporary globalization. Rather, citizens can identify themselves with individuals from other nation-states in contemporary society. Countering this argument, the transformationalist theory argues that nation-state culture is still alive and well.

This transformationalist theory adopts the argument of structure and theory to claim that the nation-state still contains a unique identity within contemporary globalization, although this unique identity is becoming weakened. Structure and agency provides a realm for the creation of the imagined community and habitus within the nation-state, and thus the existence of nation-state culture.

Once it is shown that a nation-state culture and thus NSEC exists, the argument is taken a step further to question the ability and nature of NSEC being able to be exported through transnational flows. Transformationalist arguments against transnational flows claim that while some transnationalism exists, market economies have not merged completely. Furthermore, while some NSEC transnational flow exists, once the NSEC enters the nation-

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76 Hyperglobalists are often left relying on arguments of universality that ‘The idea of a post-national identity is of a political identity founded on recognition of democratic values and human rights as these are contextualized in a particular constitutional tradition’ (Ingram in Abizadeh: 2002(2): 496).
state it becomes glocalized, losing its original form. It is claimed from the transformationalist perspective that borders are not completely open to transnational flows within contemporary globalization. However, borders are more open more than prior to contemporary globalization. It is claimed that the establishment of new cores of nation-states with significant success in NSEC exportation results in the ability to influence the cultural identities of their peripheral nation-states. Here, factors of contemporary globalization such as the technological revolution provide the means that these cores can export their culture at unprecedented levels. Evidence of this influence supports the theory of transnational flow of NSEC.

From these arguments it can be summarized that as nation-state culture exists, so does NSEC, and while not without restriction, NSEC can be exported transnationally at unprecedented levels due to contemporary globalization. This leads to struggle between different core nation-states to have their NSEC recognised on the world stage. Following this explanation of NSEC, the second parent discipline will now be presented. Public diplomacy is the field in which the NSEC campaign will take place and is thus a central concern to this dissertation.
2.1.1 Public Diplomacy

‘A new “Great Game” of politics is emerging, this time not about oil and trading routes but about image and reputation. Managers seem to be aware of this change, but the international relations research agenda has yet to take this new development on board’. (ANNALS (van Ham) 2008: 305).

There is still a lot of work to be done for the state to catch up to the advances made by the private sector through the utilization of contemporary globalization\(^7\). The realm that this will take place is public diplomacy. This catching up is taking place both through academic debate and through practical application of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is a method of letting different nation-state identities be seen and heard (Castells in ANNALS 2008: 299; Berridge & James in Merlingen & Mujic 2003: 271; Malone in Gilboa 2008: 57; Tuch in Gilboa 2008: 57; Malone in el-Nawawy 2006: 86; Gregory 2008: 275; Cull 2008: 32). Today, nation-states identities are considered seriously and this is shown in recent years, through increased attention in this area (Anholt in Gilboa 2008: 67; Kotler & Gertner in Gilboa 2008: 67; Olins(a) in Gilboa 2008: 67; Olins(b) in Gilboa 2008: 67; Yan in Gilboa 2008: 67). This attention is in both academia and in practice. It has already been mentioned that a recent surge of academic interest in public diplomacy can be seen through Anholt’s recently established journal *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* in 2004. Practically, advances taking place in the current inter-state competition of public diplomacy can be seen through methods such as ‘academic exchange programs, participation in international exhibitions and festivals, setting up cultural centers in foreign countries and using international broadcasting’ (Gilboa in el-Nawawy 2006: 186).

**Character versus definition of public diplomacy**

As public diplomacy is the central realm in which the NSEC campaign will take place, the reader must have a good understanding of what public diplomacy is. In its most simple terms, public diplomacy involves state promotion of the nation-state to other nation-states citizens. However, because of its varied execution by different nation-states, this is the most detailed definition of public diplomacy that can be made. To define public diplomacy further would favor particular nation-states use of public diplomacy, while ignoring other nation-states, thus not being universal. As a detailed universal definition of public diplomacy cannot

\(^7\) Such as the implementation of the NSEC campaign.
be made, four characteristics of modern public diplomacy will be described. The existence of these characteristics will then be illustrated through examples of public diplomacy in Japan and Germany and the nation-states of this dissertation’s case studies.

**Distinguishing modern and traditional forms of public diplomacy**

Although public diplomacy has always made an ‘effort to influence public opinion abroad by establishing ‘channels of communication with specific audiences or with the general public’ (Mueller in Scott-Smith 2008: 175), the methods to target audiences have changed over time distinguishing its traditional and modern forms.

While its exact origins are unknown, public diplomacy extends far back into history. Traditional public diplomacy is said to have existed in the Greek Great library of Alexandria, or in Rome’s policy of inviting sons of friendly kings to be educated in Rome (Cull 2008: 33). Cull also claims traditional public diplomacy advocacy was found in ‘Herodotus, where envoys from Xerxes of Persia appeal to the people of Argos for their neutrality in the Empire’s invasion of Greece in 480 BC’ (2008: 32). Der Derian even claims that “Moses” attempt to influence the Pharaoh was a form of public diplomacy (in Merlingen & Mujic 2003: 271). However, this traditional public diplomacy differs greatly from its modern form, and as this dissertation is only concerned with its modern form, traditional forms of public diplomacy will not be discussed in more detail. Rather, the rest of this section will concentrate on characterizing modern public diplomacy.

**Characterizing modern public diplomacy**

Modern public diplomacy originates somewhere between the 1920s (Gregory 2008: 276) and 1965 (Cull 2008: 31). It is distinguished from traditional public diplomacy discussed above through four main avenues: (1) contemporary globalization, (2) a shift in technique from monologue to dialogue, (3) the work of Habermas’ communicative action and (4) the implementation of communication studies in public diplomacy. These characteristics of modern public diplomacy will now be presented.

**Contemporary globalization**

Technological innovation and neo-liberal economics are important factors of contemporary globalization that have been influential in giving modern public diplomacy characteristics that can distinguish it from its traditional form. One way that these changes of contemporary
globalization can be shown to influence public diplomacy is in terms of how states interact with overseas citizens through communication mediums.

Changes in information flows can be contrasted prior to contemporary globalization, where ‘small teams of American foreign service officers drove Jeeps to the hinterlands of Latin America and other remote regions of the world to show reel-to-reel movies to isolated audiences’ (Ross in Nye 2008: 99). Within contemporary globalization, the development in communication mediums offers the state both new opportunities and challenges to reach their target audience. Within contemporary globalization and ‘in an information age, it is often the side which has the better story that wins—until recently, it was the lack of information that shaped people’s image of other places, rather than information overload (ANNALS (van Ham) 2008: 304).

Contemporary globalization allows easier access to a more diverse target audience through a new range of varied methodologies. These changes of contemporary globalization have distinguished modern public diplomacy in that indeed a wider audience is sought. This public diplomacy target reorientation no longer aimed solely at elites changes the nature of public diplomacy. As a result, contemporary globalization changes the traditional “club model” of public diplomacy to adopt a “network model” (Heine 2006). Rather than the old club model of public diplomacy targeting the elite and state to state relations, modern public diplomacy responds to contemporary globalizations’ transnational movement of both people and images. One way of distinguishing the new public diplomacy brought about as a result of contemporary globalization is that it is increasingly democratically based. As a result, all members of a nation-state are exposed to the public diplomacy and have the ability to form a perception\textsuperscript{78} of the sending nation-state. This transnationalism impacts upon the execution of public diplomacy whereby it must respond to contemporary globalization by becoming more sensitive in realizing that the message it promotes is no longer contained within a nation-state, and also and that the message can also be consumed within the nation-state by citizens of other nation-states. The recognition of these influences of contemporary globalization upon the nature of public diplomacy campaigns influences its character because it has opened up many new possibilities for its execution. Aside from contemporary globalization, the shift of public diplomacy from monologue to dialogue is another factor that characterizes modern public diplomacy.

\textsuperscript{78} As public diplomacy is not propaganda or monologue. See 3.1.0.
Monologue to dialogue
As a partial result of public diplomacy targeting a wider audience base because of contemporary globalization, and because of other changes such as Habermas’ communicative action, public diplomacy is experiencing a shift in its functioning from monologue to dialogue. As with contemporary globalization, this is another factor that characterizes modern public diplomacy.

Traditionally, many nation-states’ public diplomacy involved one-way communication, but have now changed to the modern form of two-way or collaborative dialogue (Cowan & Arsenault 2008; Riordan 2004; Council on Foreign Relations 2002 in Cowan & Arsenault 2008: 10). This shift from monologue to dialogue has made public diplomacy more sensitive towards its audience in comparison to the traditional form as dialogue as it allows citizens to contest the public diplomacy they are exposed to. One way public diplomacy has become more sensitive is by promoting a more credible message. The increase in audience size and demographic make-up as a result of both a change to dialogue and contemporary globalization has increased in the different avenues which audience targeting takes place such as exchange. The introduction of new and diverse techniques are more likely to be persuasive to particular demographic groups. The variety of new techniques also increases the different options of execution and thus nature of public diplomacy. Following dialogue, Habermas is the third point that characterizes modern public diplomacy.

Habermas
International relations have a large role in public diplomacy, particularly throughout the 1960s (Iriye in Gregory 2008: 280). This is most notable with Scott-Smiths work of Antonio Gramsci (2008: 184). However, despite the continued importance of international relations, Habermas’ communicative action has been gaining increasing attention in public diplomacy. The work of Habermas has two diverse impacts on public diplomacy. Firstly, Habermas solidifies some debate in the public diplomacy field; However, secondly Habermas’ solidification brings public diplomacy closer to communication studies. This has resulted in it being difficult to distinguish public diplomacy from other areas in communication studies. These two points will now be presented in more detail.
CHAPTER TWO: PARENT DISCIPLINES

Habermas solidifying debate

Many academics have chosen to follow Habermas’ theory of communicative action (1979, 1984, 1987, in Dutta-Bergman 2006: 104; [1962] 1989, [1992] 1998 Gregory 2008: 281; Calhoun in Gregory 2008: 281; White in Gregory 2008: 281), arguing that his theories have been influential in shaping modern public diplomacy. This is not to claim that modern public diplomacy perfectly reflects communicative action, but rather that Habermas’ work is influential in shaping public diplomacy’s modern form. For example, Habermas’ work can be seen in creating the break between the traditional state - state diplomacy and the modern state - citizen relations of public diplomacy (Zöllner 2006: 163; Nye 2008: 95). Habermas also supported the change of public diplomacy from its traditional form of addressing concerns of particular issues, to its modern form of promoting values (van Ham 2008: 135). These changes came about through the application of public diplomacy of distinguishing actions that are social, instrumental, normative and dramaturgical (Habermas 1984) and has initiated modern areas such as “strategic public diplomacy” and “strategic communication” (Manheim 1994; Lord 2006; Melissen 2005). The new areas of strategic public diplomacy are represented through new techniques such as: ‘advocacy, communication, cultural relations, and exchange programs’ (Cull in Scott-Smith 2008: 175), the ‘comprehension of cultures and attitudes, cross-cultural dialogue, people-to-people exchanges, and finding common ground in strategic communication’ (Gregory 2008: 281), as well as ‘the development of lasting relationships with key individuals over many years through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels (Nye 2008: 102). Intentional or not, academic debate surrounding public diplomacy has been solidified as many core issues can be argued to stem back to Habermas’ communicative action.

Habermas opening public diplomacy to communication studies

While Habermas’ work has solidified some debate on the field of public diplomacy, it has simultaneously brought public diplomacy closer to these other fields of communication studies. This is because Habermas’ communicative action has been implemented by many fields within communication studies. The ability for these different fields to implement Habermas’ communicative action illustrates the overlapping similarities between public diplomacy and other fields. Subsequently, while Habermas’ communication action has been influential in distinguishing the modern form of public diplomacy, it also makes it more difficult

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79 This is a generalized argument that can be argued against for example by Germany’s short term public diplomacy campaign for the 2006 FIFA World Cup.
for public diplomacy to be distinguished from multidisciplinary areas of communication studies (Gilboa 2008: 56).

The multidisciplinary influences from Habermas have resulted in grayed borders between public diplomacy and other fields in communication studies such as ‘propaganda, public relations (PR), international public relations (IPR), psychological warfare, and public affairs’ (Gilboa 2008: 56), ‘education, journalism, advertising, branding, and other ways in which people communicate in societies’ (Gregory 2008: 276). As a result, the exact construction of modern public diplomacy continues to be disputed amongst academics (Gregory 2008: 285, Van Ham 2005: 57; Gilboa 2008: 57; Manheim in van Ham 2003: 428). This disorder is often because of academics many ‘confusing, incomplete, or problematic definitions of public diplomacy’ (Gilboa 2008: 57). Subsequently, this closer association with communication studies restricts the ability to form a concise definition of public diplomacy. However, despite Habermas drawing communication studies closer to public diplomacy, it still remains possible to distinguish public diplomacy from other fields of communication studies. The following examples will illustrate this graying of borders and distinction with examples of propaganda and PR.

**Public diplomacy vs. propaganda**

As a partial result of Habermas’ communicative action\(^{80}\), public diplomacy is often argued to be indistinguishable from propaganda. This is because Habermas’ communication studies decreases the difference between the two fields, particularly when public diplomacy is thought to press ideas through interaction of two different groups (Cull, in Gregory 2008: 275; Roberts(a) in Gregory 2008: 275, Roberts(b) in Gregory 2008: 275; Der Derian in Merlingen & Mujic 2003: 271; Kendrick & Fullerton in Gilboa 2008: 66). However, despite Habermas bringing the two fields together, they can still be distinguished from each other.

Propaganda is many things. It is the ‘political advocacy with hostile or hidden intent (Smith in Gregory 2008: 277), often seen as ‘the inevitable result of technology’ (Ellul in Gregory 2008: 277). Propaganda can also be seen as the manipulative consequence of elite domination of state bureaucracies (Herman & Chomsky in Gregory 2008: 277), or finally as a neutral instrument that all political actors use to achieve ends (Bernays in Gregory 2008: 277; Lasswell [1936] 1958, 1980 in Gregory 2008: 277; Taylor in Gregory 2008: 277). The

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\(^{80}\) Partial because of traditional forms of public diplomacy such as monologue, found through Gobbels public diplomacy that functioned as propaganda.
ability to identify public diplomacy becomes confused when these above aspects of propaganda are also found in public diplomacy (Gregory 2008: 278).

However, the two different fields do remain distinguishable. Public diplomacy differs from propaganda because it has credibility by allowing its audience to deliberate freely about the presented image (Melissen 2005: 18). This differs from propaganda which is intrusive (van Ham 2008: 135), lacks credibility and is thus counterproductive (Nye 2008: 101). It is also particularly important to separate the two fields so that the NSEC campaign can be recognized as a form of public diplomacy rather than propaganda. Following the above differentiation, the NSEC campaign differs from propaganda because it attempts to persuade its audience through the use of images that can be discussed, and accordingly accepted or rejected by its audience. This is not possible when the NSEC campaign is a form of propaganda. Thus the NSEC campaign is public diplomacy rather than propaganda.

Public diplomacy vs. public relations (PR)
Another common area where confusion exists as a result of Habermas' communication studies is the grey border between public diplomacy and PR. The close similarity between the two fields is noted by Signitzer and Coombs; Ham; Wang & Grunig; (in Gilboa 2008: 65). The similarity between PR and public diplomacy lies in their comparable aim to promote a particular group in a manner that benefits it. For example, it may be difficult to recognize the difference between corporate advertising and the advertising of the nation-state in the NSEC campaign. Both of these could be seen as PR. In fact, the similarity between PR and public diplomacy is so close that it has resulted in PR companies being contracted by states to conduct public diplomacy campaigns (see the example of Germany below). Another example of the similarity between PR and public diplomacy is illustrated by Yun, who has attempted to mould particular PR theories into 113 embassies in Washington D.C. (in Gilboa 2008: 66). However, there are three distinct differences between PR and public diplomacy.

The first difference between PR and public diplomacy is that PR is associated with improving the public relations for only the immediate corporation or institution that it is responsible for. Here, public diplomacy differs from PR because it is involved with communicating (promoting or disputing) particular image(s) and messages to the public of another state to suit the interests of the nation-state (Dutta-Bergman 2006: 104; Gilboa in Nisbet et al 2004: 15; Adelman in Nisbet et al 2004: 15; Melissen 2005: 11; Tuch in Melissen 2005: 11; Fortner in Zöllner 2006: 163; Signitzer and Coombs in Zöllner 2006: 163; Gregory 2008: 275; Zöllner 2006: 163; Tuch in Gilbora 2008: 57; Tuch in Dutta-Bergman 2006: 103;

Secondly, unlike PR, public diplomacy is involved with the influencing and building of relationships with overseas individuals to create a productive environment for government policies in other countries (Nye 2008: 101; Signiter & Coombs in Gilboa 2008: 57).

Thirdly, public diplomacy differs from PR because PR is usually involved in promoting particular merchandise while as fore-mentioned public diplomacy specializes in the nation-state. Here, public diplomacy differs from PR in that the nation-state does not have merchandise that can be ‘discontinued, modified, withdrawn from the market, relaunched and repositioned or replaced by improved products’ (Fan 2006: 7) as corporations can. Now that public diplomacy has been distinguished from PR, it will be explained how the NSEC campaign is a form of public diplomacy rather than PR.

The NSEC campaign is a form of public diplomacy rather than PR because it must be remembered that both public diplomacy and the NSEC are concerned with the well-being of the nation-state as a whole. Furthermore, the NSEC campaign is managed and financed by the state rather than a private PR corporation. Finally, the NSEC campaign is public diplomacy rather than PR, because it has the ability to follow Signitzer & Coombs’ argument that the NSEC campaign influences ‘directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government’s foreign policy decisions’ (in Gilboa 2008: 57).

Here, unlike PR, NSEC public diplomacy is concerned with presenting an image to the consumer that will improve the consumers’ ties to the whole nation-state. The NSEC campaign does this as a form of public diplomacy by changing negative stereotypes of the nation-state through correcting or presenting new images of the nation-state to the consumer.

Through the above examples, it has been explained that while modern public diplomacy can be distinguished from its traditional form, it is difficult to make a universal definition of public diplomacy. This is because of the increased variables constituting public diplomacy as a result of contemporary globalization, the use of dialogue, and Habermas that has simultaneously solidified debate, yet brought it closer to other fields of communication studies. However, these points support the description of the character of public diplomacy. Examples of this modern nature of public diplomacy will now be illustrated through examples of Japan and Germany, as well as the central case studies of this differentiation, the USA, Britain and New Zealand.
Examples of modern characteristics in public diplomacy

It is important for nation-states to use public diplomacy wisely. With the help of public diplomacy, nation-states can promote their identity on the world stage where ‘the United States, for example, is associated with self-expression and technology, Germany with engineering and quality products, Japan with miniaturization, Italy with style, France with chic, Britain with class, Sweden with design, the Catholic Church with the Crucifix, and the Arab world with Al-Jazeera’ (Gilboa 2008: 67). Today many nation-states invest in public diplomacy to assert their identities. France spends the most in different areas of public diplomacy calculated at over $9 billion p.a. (Wyszomirski, Burgess & Peila in Melissen 2005: 158)\(^1\). Other large spenders in public diplomacy are the United States\(^2\) in ninth place, behind the United Kingdom, Sweden and Singapore (Schneider 2005: 158).

The success of these public diplomacy campaigns are measured through different surveys which analyse perceptions of the nation-state. Anholt and RISC are leaders in this assessment. Anholt produces a quarterly National Brands Index (NBI). The NBI polls a panel of 25,000 people annually ‘on their perceptions of the cultural, political, commercial and human assets, investment potential and tourist appeal of over 35 developed and developing countries’\(^3\) (Anholt 2007: 2) (Table 2.1.1.2, 2.1.1.3). The NBI takes a worldwide sample of 25,900 consumers questioning on ‘perceptions of cultural, political, commercial and human assets, investment potential and tourist appeal of 36 developed and developing countries’ (2007: 44). The results measure factors such as the nation-states brand value, the brand value in relation to GDP, per heard of population and an overall brand rating (see appendix, 2 & 3 for NBI results). Another way that the COO effect can be measured is to survey consumer perceptions of nation-states to see if the message of the COO effect is influencing consumers’ perceptions. Such a survey was undertaken by RISC in 1992 in France, Germany and Italy measuring the associations between seven countries and ten product attributes\(^4\).

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\(^1\) A large proportion of this budget is spent on French language schools (Cull 2008: 33).

\(^2\) This depends on how you measure the budget. The public diplomacy budget of the United States ranges between US$1 billion (Nye in Schneider 2005: 158) to US$184,359,000 (Wyszomirski et al in Schneider 2005: 158).

\(^3\) In relation to this dissertation’s case studies: The UK was ranked place 1, The United States place 10 and New Zealand place 15 (Anholt NBI Q2 2007: 4).

\(^4\) The results show that France and Italy are associated with “style”, “design” and “refinement”, Germany with “reliability”, “after sales service”, solidarity” and “quality” and Japan with “attractive prices”, “value for money” and “technology.” Among the other countries other than the respondents’ own country, the United States was not outstanding on any attribute, with the
Despite academic solidification of modern public diplomacy surrounding theories of international relations and Habermas’ communicative action, the fore-discussed characteristics of public diplomacy have led to a varied practical application of public diplomacy between nation-states. The most striking example of differences in perceptions of public diplomacy is the name for public diplomacy by non-English speaking nation-states. For example, although public diplomacy is known as publieksdiplomatie in the Netherlands, in Germany public diplomacy is known as “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” and in France as politque d’influence. The translations of these names often suggests that while some nation-states use public diplomacy as a form of diplomacy (i.e. the Netherlands) other nation-states do not. The confusion can be seen with the following example of Germany:

‘Representatives of the broadcasters… are often uneasy about any attributed link of their station with their host nation’s public diplomacy efforts. In the case of Deutsche Welle, this is made even more complicated by the lack of a generally agreed German technical term for what is called ‘public diplomacy’ in English. Equivalent terms range from direct translations (‘öffentliche Diplomatie’) to expressions with a slightly different emphasis such as ‘diplomatic public relations’ (diplomatische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit), ‘foreign-policy public relations’ (außenpolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit) or ‘auswärtige Kulturpolitik’ (cultural policy abroad), the latter being the term favoured and officially used by the German government (Bericht der Bundesregierung, 2001, 2004; Peisert, 1978; Signitzer, 1993: 200). Since public diplomacy is a concept the modern forms of which have been developed largely in the United States, German-language literature on the subject is rare and mostly covers US examples (Klöckner, 1993; Ohmstedt, 1993); the definitions relevant to the field are also mostly of US origin’ (Zoellner 2006: 162).

These varied approaches to public diplomacy bring fourth a host of questions concerning the analysis and methodology nation-states use in their public diplomacy activities. The varied role of public diplomacy will now be illustrated with examples of Germany and Japan.

exception of “technology”, (23.4%) on that attribute. Great Britain and Spain showed the lowest overall associations’ (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 84) (Table 2.3.2.4).
Germany

German “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” is quite varied, ranging from independent bodies such as Deutsche Welle⁸⁵ (joint to ARD⁸⁶) and DAAD⁸⁷. However, these organizations have secure ties to the German government, for example through state funding or their close relationship with the Auswärtige Amt (Federal Foreign Office). The interesting side of German “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” is that aside from the presented traditional state funded bodies, Germany also employs private agencies for campaigns. This German “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” differs from nation-states campaigns such as the United States because they are short term and thus ‘fade away—probably too quickly’ (van Ham 2008: 133). For example during the 2006 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup, Scholz & Friends were contracted for the rebranding of Germany as the “land of ideas”⁸⁸ (van Ham 2008: 133), and Artevent was responsible for the cultural and artistic presentation of Germany. Their slogan Die Welt zu Gast bei Freunden (presented to English speakers as ‘time to make friends’) aimed to change traditional perceptions of both Germans and Germany to one of ‘an open minded host with a fine sense of humor’ (Artevent: 2008). The implementation of this “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” as state sponsored, and contracted to different private institutes, reflects Heine’s (2006) argument of modern public diplomacy breaking down the traditional state hierarchal diplomacy as well as the neo-liberal privatization of areas traditionally run by the state. Furthermore, the contracting of PR companies to conduct public diplomacy for the German state reinforces the fore-mentioned argument that the distinction between areas of communication studies (in this case PR) and public diplomacy are often seen as grey, and that fields of communication studies are often implemented into public diplomacy. In this example of German “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit”, it is shown that the state considers it acceptable for PR strategies to be implemented into public diplomacy (although this is not the case for all nation-states), despite the fore-mentioned differences between PR and public diplomacy. In spite of the use of PR to conduct public diplomacy, it must be recognized that when a PR corporation conducts public diplomacy, they have changed their role to public diplomacy, rather than the state campaign changing to PR instead of public diplomacy. In this situation, the PR corporation conducts public diplomacy because of the methodology and already discussed aim(s) of the

⁸⁵ Germany’s international broadcaster similar to BBC or Voice of America.
⁸⁶ A group state sponsored broadcasters.
⁸⁷ A German based academic exchange service.
⁸⁸ www.land-der-ideen.de
public diplomacy taking place in the campaign by the PR corporation is greatly different from the PR it does for a corporation.

Japan
Another example of a modern variation of public diplomacy is seen in Japan. Japanese public diplomacy is controlled by its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While Japan’s public diplomacy division is split into public diplomacy planning, cultural affairs, multilateral cultural cooperation and exchange programmes, it has two particularly significant areas, exchange and culture exportation.

Firstly, Japanese public diplomacy places such a large emphasis upon exchange that it often substitutes the word for exchange for public diplomacy (Cull 2008: 33). Here, the citizen is seen as a diplomat that extends goodwill from their nation-state to another. This Japanese emphasis on exchange in public diplomacy shifts identity representation from the state to the exchangees. An example of this shift in image representation is reflected in Japanese – Chinese exchanges. Here, because interaction is made between the two nation-states’ citizens rather than the states, the public diplomacy is able to ignore the political tension between the two governments.

The second characteristic representing modern public diplomacy is through cultural exportation. Rather than traditional public diplomacy focusing on elites, cultural exportation is a form of modern public diplomacy because Japan targets all citizens promoting its image through the exportation of cultural products to the world market (Rausch 2008: 136). In Japan this takes place by encouraging (e.g.) the consumption of manga and animie (Er Lam 2007: 1874). Here, Japan’s focus on exchange and the exportation of culture illustrates a move along the lines of Habermas’s communicative action to use new multidisciplinary methods of public diplomacy and the stimulation of dialogue rather than monologue between Japan and other nation-states.

Importantly, Japan’s public diplomacy through both states support of exchange and culture exportation harnesses contemporary globalizations’ increase in transnational flows. This refers to the increased ease in transnational flows for exchangees (through e.g. technological innovation), and a reduction in trade restrictions through neo-liberal economics for the export of Japanese cultural images. Now that some of the modern characteristics of public diplomacy have been presented through examples of Germany and Japan, a brief outline of the characteristics of public diplomacy of the case study nation-states will now be
presented. An explanation of the characteristics of public diplomacy in these nation-states will further reinforce the variable identity of public diplomacy.

**United States**

Looking at public diplomacy of the United States from a broader perspective, public diplomacy was formed by Eisenhower as the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953. The USIA brought together tools of public diplomacy such as the Voice of America and the Fulbright programme into one public diplomacy body. Here, similarly to Japan, the United States has long placed emphasis on exchanges through Fulbright (grounded 1946) which is state funded through the US Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. In fact, the state has increased the importance in exchanges in recent years and this is recognized through enlarged state funding for exchanges. Fulbright understood the aim of the exchange for individuals to be diplomats ‘scattered throughout the world, acting as knowledgeable interpreters of their own and other societies; as persons equipped and willing to deal with conflict or conflict producing situations on the basis of an informed determination to solve them peacefully; and as opinion leaders communicating their appreciation of the societies which they visited to others in their own society’ (Fulbright in Snow: 209). This further reinforces the change of public diplomacy from the elite to the ‘normal citizens’ as occurred in Japan. Later in 1978, the USIA was changed into the United States Advisory Commission on public diplomacy (USAC). However in the Clinton era, despite its perceived increased importance the USAC was moved into the department of state in 1999.

Today, the United States direct public diplomacy\(^{89}\) is characterized in a post-9/11 environment as a form of soft power ‘to win over the hearts and minds of foreign audiences and convince them that their values, goals, and desires are similar to those of the United States’ (van Ham 2008: 141). However, this soft power of public diplomacy faces a difficult task ‘as a force for good and democracy, with stories about torture and human rights abuses in Abu Graibi and Guantanamo hitting the headlines of newspapers all over the world’ (van Ham 2008: 141). Despite these problems, the soft power of public diplomacy has and continues to be an essential supportive tool of US hard power. For example, without public diplomacy, the United States would not be able to achieve its objectives such as the deployment of NATO’s deployment of ‘missiles while negotiating to remove existing Soviet intermediate-range missiles’ (Nye 2008: 102) under the Reagan administration. The United States direct public diplomacy must be recognized in relation to indirect public diplomacy. These two concepts will be discussed in more detail in the United States case study.

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\(^{89}\) Direct public diplomacy must be recognized in relation to indirect public diplomacy. These two concepts will be discussed in more detail in the United States case study.
States only achieved these goals through long-term public diplomacy focused on influencing European opinion:

“The United States’s themes stressed the multilateral nature of the NATO decision, encouraged European governments to take the lead when possible, and used nongovernmental American participants effectively to counter Soviet arguments ... [As a result], even though polls in Germany showed residual concerns about the policy, they also showed that the German public was pro-American by a two-thirds majority. As former secretary of state George Schultz later concluded, “I don’t think we could have pulled it off if it hadn’t been for a very active program of public diplomacy. Because the Soviets were very active all through 1983 ... with peace movements and all kinds of efforts to dissuade our friends in Europe from deploying””

(Tuch in Nye 2008: 102).

As a result of United States success in strategic public diplomacy90, their different techniques dominate academic texts often ignoring public diplomacy of other nation-states.

**Britain**

British public diplomacy is used independently by its state institutions. British public diplomacy, defined by a 2007 report commissioned by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office distinguishes public diplomacy as constructed from five sections: (1) listening, (2) advocacy, (3) cultural diplomacy, (4) exchange, and (5) international broadcasting (Cull 2008: 31). Listening is concerned with collating overseas opinions; Advocacy is concerned with promoting particular policies; Cultural diplomacy is concerned with the promotion of culture; Exchange diplomacy is concerned with the sending and receiving of citizens and international broadcasting attempts to use communications to communicate with individuals of other nation-states. (Cull 2008: 32). British public diplomacy currently exists as a partnership overseen by the public diplomacy board established by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office and has 16 members91 and six partners92.

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91 Members of the public diplomacy partners group are: BBC World Service (observer), British Council, Department of Culture Media and Sport, Department for Education and Skills, Department for International Development, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Ministry of Defence, Northern Ireland Civil Service, Office of Science & Innovation, Scottish Executive, UK Sport, UK
New Zealand

New Zealand public diplomacy has been traditionally operated by separate state institutions such as Tourism New Zealand and New Zealand Trade and Enterprise. Each of these institutions competed (and can continue to compete) for state funding to promote New Zealand. However, New Zealand is currently establishing a new public diplomacy body under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade that should start running in November 2008. It will be separated into two divisions of internal and external public diplomacy. The external public diplomacy is known as the Outreach Division and will concentrate on the promotion of New Zealand at particular events, and create media releases (often rapid response) to promote positive and counter negative messages.

Modern public diplomacy has been distinguished from traditional public diplomacy in terms of the influence of contemporary globalization, a shift from monologue to dialogue, the work of Habermas’ communicative action and the influence of communication studies on public diplomacy. These points characterize modern public diplomacy.

In terms of contemporary globalization, technological innovation and neo-liberal economics have changed both how audiences are targeted and the demographics of the target audience. Here, while public diplomacy can reach a larger audience, it must also be careful to recognize that because of contemporary globalization, the message can transcend borders and targeted demographic groups.

The nature of public diplomacy has also been changed through the adoption of dialogue over monologue whereby two-way communication forces public diplomacy to be more credible because it can be contested. Dialogue in conjunction with contemporary globalization has also increased the different techniques that public diplomacy can be implemented.

Habermas’ communicative action theory has both solidified academic debate surrounding public diplomacy, while bringing the field closer to communication studies. Here, while solidification of the debate may increase common ground between academics, public
diplomacy’s increased relationship to communication studies has made it increasingly difficult to distinguish it from other fields. As a result, examples have been presented to show that public diplomacy is neither propaganda nor PR. Public diplomacy is not propaganda because it is credible and allows its audience to freely deliberate, while propaganda lacks credibility and is intrusive. Public diplomacy also differs from PR in that PR is involved with the success of an immediate corporation and the promotion of merchandise that changes on a regular basis. On the other hand, public diplomacy is concerned with the welfare of the whole nation-state and does this through building relationships with overseas individuals in order to create a productive environment for the government. Parallels have then been drawn with these distinctions to argue that the NSEC campaign falls within public diplomacy rather than propaganda or PR.

The presentation of the characteristics of modern public diplomacy has been illustrated with examples of particular nation-states public diplomacy. The varied nature of public diplomacy has been demonstrated through the hiring of private PR companies by the German state to execute public diplomacy, and Japanese emphasis on exchange and cultural exportation through mediums of contemporary globalization to promote their nation-states. Finally, the different ways that public diplomacy is organized by the states of the United States, Britain and New Zealand helps to set the scene for the case studies.

In summary, it has been argued that a definition of public diplomacy other than its very simplistic form stated in the introduction of this section cannot be made. Subsequently, a character of public diplomacy has been presented, rather than a universal definition. Moving on from NSEC and public diplomacy, the third parent discipline of this dissertation is the COO effect. This last parent discipline will be presented in the next section.
2.1.2 Country of Origin Effect

The COO effect is a powerful tool of public diplomacy. A nation-state can use the COO effect to communicate positive NSEC images to consumers. This chapter presents the premises in which the COO effect functions effectively with NSEC images. This differs from other uses of the COO effect where corporations attach different nation-state images, piggybacking to support their own corporation. Rather the COO effect is used to promote NSEC images of the nation-state to support socio-cultural, economic and political prosperity.

This chapter presents examples of nation-states using the COO effect as a tool both successfully and unsuccessfully. In order to use the COO effect successfully, the attachment of NSEC images to merchandise is proposed. It is explained that these NSEC images, which aim at convincingly influencing consumer perception, must be chosen strategically. Furthermore, it is not only the images that need to be carefully chosen, but also the corporations that export the images. This is because it can be claimed that some multinational corporations (MNCs) who are candidates for a NSEC campaign, are not related to a particular nation-state. This is a problem for the NSEC campaign, because if there was no evident relation between the MNC and the nation-state, the consumer would not associate the attached image with the country of origin and thus the COO effect would not occur. This problem is resolved by arguing that all corporations, regardless of how multinational they are, continue to have a base nation-state.

After this problem is resolved, more detail about consumer associationism through the COO effect is presented. It is argued that consumer ethnocentric stereotypes can be influenced through the strategic attachment of NSEC images to merchandise. Lastly, the overall functioning of the COO effect is outlined. This includes management techniques claiming that all stakeholders should be involved in the NSEC image process (while the independent panel has overall control) to ensure that the best NSEC image is exported to the consumer. The section on functioning also includes the means to measure the cost and effectiveness of using the COO effect by contracting specialists.

93 Rover British automobiles, Royal Copenhagen Danish China and Kosta Boda, Sweedish Crystal, owe their brand image to a strong country image for these product categories. The same is true of Swiss watches and perfumes made in France (Jaffe et al 2006: 115). Furthermore, corporations do not have to even be located in a nation-state to piggyback on its COO image. Shalimar perfume, manufactured by the Guerlain of France, was given an oriental brand name to associate the product with that region. Another example is the Germanic-sounding name Haier on household appliances the name used by a Chinese state-owned company selling to the West (O’Shaughnessy et al 2000: 62).
Examples of the COO effect

The COO effect is a method within public diplomacy to promote a nation-state identity. It is a tool of public diplomacy because it supports the nation-state by using soft power to influence through conveying particular images that are received by other nation-states’ citizens. The COO effect follows the modern version of public diplomacy because it is interested in the soft power of conveying images through state - people relations rather than state to state relations.

Particular nation-states have excelled in creating a positive COO effect image. Japan, Ireland, Spain, Germany, Scotland, New Zealand, Australia, India, Wales, Taiwan, Croatia, Slovenia, South Korea and Britain are examples of this (Anholt 2004(a): 29). One of the main reasons that particular nation-states have become successful or unsuccessful developing their COO effect is that they manage to attach a unique image to their nation-state: ‘Paris is about style, Japan is about technology, Switzerland about wealth and precision, Rio de Janeiro about carnival and football, Tuscany about the good life, and most African nations about poverty, corruption, war, famine and disease’ (Anholt 2007: 1).

Japan is an example of a nation-state that has created a strong COO effect amongst its international audience. Until the 1970s, Japanese products were not seen being associated with a quality image. However, today Japan has created an image of itself being associated with ‘advanced technology, manufacturing quality, competitive pricing, even style and status’ (Anholt 2004(a): 34). The Japanese creation of the COO effect has become so great that throughout the early 1990s Americans chose to purchase more expensive Japanese Toyota Corollas than cheaper Geo Prizms. These two cars were exactly the same, made in the same factory, but Americans placed more value on Japanese manufacturing than their own (Anholt 2007: 10).

However, not all nation-states have been successful at creating a COO effect. Some countries have bad publicity from other nation-states, some nation-states do not try to compete for attention on the world stage, and other nation-states seem to give themselves bad images. North Korea, Afghanistan and Iraq are examples of nation-states that have received negative public diplomacy (Anholt 2007: 8). This is because some nation-states have not only the power to create their own image, but also the power to change the images of other nation-states. This will be explained in more detail in the United States case study. Other nation-states do not attempt to promote themselves and can be forgotten on the world stage. One example of this is Paraguay which seems to be only known by its neighbors (Olins 2005: 179). Finally, Denmark is an example of a nation-state that has given itself a
bad country of origin image. This is seen in the Danish *Jyllands-Posten* cartoons which were seen as offensive to some Muslim people (van Ham 2008: 143). Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen called the cartoon crisis ‘Denmark’s worst international relations incident since the Second World War’ (*TimesOnline* in van Ham 2008: 143).

Another danger for nation-states is that the COO effect may attempt to create an image that is not representative of the whole nation-state. Germany provides an interesting example of this. While Germany has used the COO effect since at least 1896 (Williams in O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 56), it has created an image that has resulted in being able to only promote a narrow range of its merchandise. For example, while Germany has managed to create a strong image attachment with its automobile industry such as Mercedes, Audi, VW, Porsche, Maybach, Opel, Smart, and BMW, attention is taken away from banking, pharmaceuticals, and chemicals. As a result the COO effect only extends outside the automobile industry as far as its technical industries such as Siemens and Bosch, Braun, Miele and Gaggenau (2005: 173). Subsequently, German fashion (Jill Sander and Hugo Boss), cosmetics and personal merchandise (Lancaster and Nivea), banking and financial services (Deustche Bank and Allianz) and some high tech corporations such as SAP do not emphasise their German origins as they do not want to be associated with the automobile industry (Olins 2005: 173). The main danger of having a narrow core of consumer perceived exports results in a dependency on particular nation-states for export, as also experienced by New Zealand when the United Kingdom joined the EEC. Prior to 1973, New Zealand had exported a narrow range of meat, wool and dairy products to the United Kingdom. Following the United Kingdoms’ joining the European Economic Community, New Zealand was economically threatened because it lacked alternative markets and exports. As a result, New Zealand had to diversify its export portfolio.

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94 ‘In September 2006, Danish export figures showed that the Muslim boycott of Danish goods had led to a 15.5 percent drop in total exports between February and June 2006. Danish trade to the Middle East fell by half—exports to Saudi Arabia fell by 40 percent and to Iran by 47 percent. The cost to Danish businesses was estimated at 134 million euros (US$170 million) (BBC News 2006). Interestingly, the cartoon crisis also evoked opposite reactions from consumers showing their support for Denmark by buying Danish brands. The “Support Denmark Movement,” for example, encouraged a worldwide audience to buy Danish produce and display stickers and Web banners with supportive slogans and Danish flags. Numerous Web sites and blogs sprang up, listing Danish products that people could buy. As The Guardian noted, “While Danish milk products were dumped in the Middle East, fervent rightwing Americans started buying Bang & Olufsen stereos and Lego. In the first quarter of this year Denmark’s exports to the US soared 17%” (Harding 2006). Interestingly, some Danish brands replaced the “Made in Denmark” label with “Made in the EU,” hiding their true identity behind the broad back of Europe’ (van Ham 2008: 143).
Summarizing, many nation-states have room for improvement to create a better COO effect. However, the COO effect does not have to be related solely to the core exports of the nation-state. Alternatively, nation-states can base their COO effect on other factors, such as NSEC images. These unique images represent the whole nation-state. NSEC images therefore overcome the problems associated with merchandise. For example, Brazil, Australia, and Canada are all countries that do not have major international merchandise, but they are all well known and have a strong positive country of origin image. Anholt claims that Australia and Canada have a positive country of origin image because ‘they are large, beautiful, relatively remote countries with relatively small populations; they both have a certain exotic appeal which is helped by the fact that not many people are as intimately familiar with them as say, Spain, France, or America’ (2007: 46). Brazil also manages to create a similar phenomenon ‘with the merriment of samba dancing at carnival time; awesome rainforests as endangered as they are exotic; sex, beaches, sport, adventure’ (Anholt 2004(a): 30). These three countries have the ability to form a strong public diplomacy message to promote the nation-states through with NSEC images of their exotic culture and geography.

**COO effect competition**

Different nation-states compete through their COO effect images for most recognition on the world stage. Due to this competition, it is imperative that the images chosen are effective in gaining the most attention amongst all available images. Furthermore, the strategy used to present the country of origin image is also very important in order to gain the most understanding, exposure and acceptance by consumers. To create the COO effect, the strategy implemented should require nation-states to create an image both representative of themselves, convincing and attractive to the consumer (and the exporters). To do so, the nation-state needs to create a image that is consistent and all embracing ‘which determines the most realistic, most competitive and most compelling strategic vision for the country, and ensures that this vision is supported, reinforced and enriched by every act of communication between the country and the rest of the world’ (Anholt in Fan 2006: 6). To this effect, the country of origin image also needs to be homogenous and supported by all related nation-state institutions. Furthermore, the image presented has to be understood. As already argued, slogans such as ‘a small country with a big heart’ does little too spark the COO effect as it is not meaningful (Fan 2006: 10). If the country of origin image presents

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95 It is important for the nation-state to believe its NSEC is representative. If members of the nation-state do not believe it is representative, it is unlikely others will (Anholt 2007: 35).
something that consumers can not believe, promises something that it can’t deliver, or presents a NSEC that does not exist in the socio-cultural, political or economic structures of the nation-state then the image will hardly be convincing. This is why NSEC images provide the perfect solution to create the COO effect. NSEC images can overcome all of the problems outlined above.

Multinational Corporations

When considering that this dissertation concentrates upon the use of corporations to export its NSEC, the question is brought to the fore of how corporations, particularly MNCs can be argued to come from a particular nation-state. This is particularly problematic when the corporations’ merchandise can be argued to not originate from one nation-state (Paker in Gepptert et al 2003: 808). For example, Jaffe and Nebenzahl argue that the perceived origin of merchandise produced by a MNC may be split into five different categories. Of these five categories, each may create a merchandise of origin perception for consumers. Merchandise can be seen as coming from either, or a combination of the “home country”, “designed in country”, “made in country”, the country which key parts or merchandise are made, the “assembled in country” or the “country of origin” (2006: 28-29). It is subsequently difficult to form a COO effect through NSEC images attached to merchandise belonging to one particular nation-state when consumers are aware that the merchandise is sourced globally (appendix 2.1.2.1).

While MNC PR may attempt to create the perception that the MNC does not belong to a particular nation-state, MNCs do retain a nation-state base (Rugman in Gepptert et al 2003: 808). The relationship between MNCs and their base nation-state can often be seen through revenue returns or contacts in the domestic business system (Hayden & Edwards 2001).

Despite MNCs being identified as having a base country, the problem still exists concerning the COO effect that corporations retain the ability to disassociate themselves with the nation-state. MNCs can do this by (e.g.) choosing to not promote NSEC images. Often corporations have attempted to disassociate themselves with belonging to a nation-state in order to be seen as global. However, this strategy has usually not worked. British Airways is a good example. In 1997, Chief Executive Bob Ayling of British Airways tried to adopt a global image and detached the association of being a British carrier by replacing the tail

96 Tse and Lee found that a strong brand like Sony could compensate for negative images (in Jaffe et al 2006: 14).
image of the Union Jack with “international art”. This proved to be very unsuccessful. By dropping the British image, British airlines lost its COO effect with Britain as ‘methodological, punctual, predictable, efficient, traditional, heritage-obsessed, class-ridden, status-driven, ceremonious, boring’ (Anholt 2004(a): 37). This resulted in protest by British consumers and an immediate loss of its COO effect equity. Subsequently, Ayling halted the painting of tails, and under new management from Rod Eddington, Union Jacks were returned to the tails of airplanes. This is only one example of many MNCs that have survived because of their COO effect equity. Anholt claims that other ‘global brands’ such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi, McDonald’s, Nike, Levi’s, Timberland and Marlboro would never have been as successful as they are today if it was not for their association with the United States (2004(a): 37).

Thus, it is in corporations interests to have their merchandise viewed in a positive light by the consumer and this can be done through association with a nation-state that boosts COO effect equity. A positive image attached to merchandise results in the production of goodwill and supports merchandise sales97 (Anholt 2007: 6). It can be generally concluded that MNCs and other corporations associate themselves with a nation-state when it is profitable. This is why Nokia prefers to be seen as “Made in Europe” rather than a “Made in Finland” because it is to their advantage associated with Europe rather than Finland (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 133). Now that it has described why it is important and to corporations advantage to attach NSEC images to merchandise in order to support the COO effect it must be described how these NSEC images are consumed.

**Associationism**

Exported merchandise has the ability to create an association with consumers. NSEC images attached to merchandise reinforce this association. Associationism is an important topic when discussing the COO effect whereby the consumer associates merchandise to relate a particular nation-state and subsequently uses this knowledge of the nation-state as a factor in the purchasing decision.

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97 “The process becomes circular and self-perpetuating because as the media become accustomed to good true stories of successful innovation coming from the country, so this image begins to reinforce the reputation; the reputation, once reflected back onto the country from the international media and global public opinion generally, then inspires greater national pride, further innovation in the same and other sectors, and so it goes on” (Anholt 2007: 35).
Studies by (e.g.) Rozin, Millman and Nemeroff have shown that associationism influences consumer behavior. Typically, the country of origin image that consumers associate with a particular nation-state is the merchandise itself. For example, ‘it is an Italian car, associated with the Italian qualities of style, speed and innovative design. It is French perfume, sold on French chic, classiness and wealth. It is a Japanese TV, majoring on the Japanese virtues of high-tech expertise, miniaturization and value for money. It is American fashion, bursting with street credibility and youthful rebellion’ (Anholt 2004(a): 26).

However, this dissertation is concerned with attaching NSEC images to merchandise to create a positive image for consumers. When creating such an image it is important to make it positive as consumers have the ability to create perceptions about merchandise labeling them “good” or “bad”. Perceptions of merchandise are influenced by its COO effect where consumers create stereotypes about nation-states such as “friendly” (e.g., “Western-oriented”) and “credible” (“ally”), or, in contrast, as “unreliable” (“rogue state”) (van Ham 2008: 130). These perceptions play a role in purchasing decisions. For example, consumers wanting quality merchandise purchase merchandise labeled “Made in Germany”, “Made in Switzerland” or “Made in Japan”, because these among many other nation-states, (namely industrialized nations) have high country equity with this associationism (Wang & Lamb in Kotler & Gertner 2004: 41; Cordell in Kotler & Gertner 2004: 41; Agbonifog & Elimimiam in Kotler & Gertner 2004: 41). A strong COO effect is thus very important and valuable to a nation-state. In fact, research has shown that the COO effect is comparable to the price (Hastak & Sung-Tai in Teas & Agarwal 2000: 280), more important than the brand name (Darling & Arnold in Teas & Agarwal 2000: 280) and can shape attitudes on quality, attitude, and purchase intention (Tse & Gorn in Teas & Agarwal 2000: 280).

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98 ‘Their experimental subjects were quite happy to eat fudge when it was molded into the shape of a disk but very, very reluctant to eat it when then molded into the shape of animal feces. Similarly, subjects were reluctant to eat sugar labeled “sodium cyanide” despite the fact that they had seen the sugar being poured from a sugar box and arbitrarily labeled with the name “sodium cyanide.” The image arising from the negative associations generated an emotional reaction that the known facts (true beliefs) did not overcome’ (Rozin et al in O’Shaughnessy 2000: 60).

99 This perception grows exponentially as people get older (Damasio in O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 60, LeDoux in O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 60).

Consumers create associations with merchandise in relation to the COO effect because they are ethnocentric when choosing merchandise to consume either from the domestic or another nation-state. For example, consumers often have the ability to purchase the merchandise originating from their home country, or imported from another nation-state. Studies have found that consumers usually prefer consuming merchandise made in their nation-state in comparison to other nation-states. This is shown through research by Anholt illustrating consumers of nation-states with strong positive reputations tend to rate their nation-state highly (2007: 56) (Table 2.1.1.1). This rating is dependant upon national characteristics such as the home country’s ‘degree of economic/industrial development, feelings of national pride, and cultural dimensions (e.g. collectivism/individualism)’ (Papadopoulo, Heslop & Bamossy; Roth & Romeo; Sharma, Shimp & Shin; Zhang; Batra, Venkatram, Alden, Jan-Benedict, Steenkamp & Ramachandran in Ming-huei 2004) For example, empirical research has found that the majority of British and Spanish consumers prefer a car of domestic origin in comparison to a foreign car (Peris, Newman, Bigne & Chansarkar in Ming-huei 2004). Another study by Jaffe and Nebenzahl found that among American consumers, ‘a change in the assembly location of a $17,000 automobile from the USA to Mexico would result in a change in perceived value of $1,952 (a reduction of 11.5 percent). Shifting assembly to Korea would result in a reduction of perceived value to 1,795 or 10.6 percent’ (2006: 121).

Consumers’ perception of merchandise is thus dependant upon its origin. Consumers are also ethnocentric when purchase making decisions involve the purchasing of merchandise from outside the nation-state. Research conducted in New Zealand found that consumers were ethnocentric purchasing from countries similar to New Zealand as a first choice (Watson & Wright in Balabanis & Diamantopoulos 2004: 83). These ethnocentric results are also reflected in research by Klein, Ettensohn and Morris considering Chinese feelings of animosity in relationship to Japanese products (in Kotler & Gertner 2004: 45). Other examples of consumer ethnocentrism include New Zealand and Australian consumers boycotting French products against nuclear tests in the South Pacific (Kotler & Gertner 2004: 34) and Jewish consumers avoiding German products (Hirschman in Kotler & Gertner 2004: 45). The COO effect thus plays a large role in the purchase of merchandise.

Ethnocentric stereotypes held by consumers are based on factors including ‘personal experience (e.g. visiting the country); education or knowledge; prior use or ownership of particular merchandise made in that country; the depiction of the country through media channels; stereotypes’ (Fan 2006: 10). This means that consumers of different nation-states may have widely differing perceptions of one particular nation-state (Sharma et al., in Ming-
huei 2004; Gurhan-Canli & Maheswaran, in Ming-huei 2004; Amine & Shin, in Ming-huei 2004). As a result, when creating NSEC images for the COO effect, each nation-state receiving images must be taken into special consideration to make sure that the images are appropriate to the demographic structures within the nation-state. This is why current use of the COO effect that creates a singular global image of a nation-state fails to be effective and the proposed NSEC campaign with multiple images aimed at particular demographic and nation-state audiences are more effective.

In summary, the more positive a consumer is towards a nation-state, the more likely the customer is to be positive towards merchandise originating from that nation-state (Hong & Wyer, in Hsieh et al 2004: 253).

**COO effect management**

The different parties involved in the COO effect differ considerably, dependant upon the aim of the campaign. This dissertation has proposed that NSEC images are controlled by an independent panel with support from the state and corporations. However, there are other parties involved who will have a influence in creating the COO effect.

While the NSEC images to create the COO effect should be chosen by the independent panel to ensure that they are representative of the nation-state, the images also need support from other stakeholders. COO effect management is diverse, including ‘communications ministries and public affairs departments’ (Anholt 2004(a): 35) and other ‘other bodies and agencies, ministries, special interest groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and companies all promoting their version of the country’ (Anholt 2007: 2). It is then the role of the independent panel as a mediating body between the State and corporations to negotiate a middle ground from these different interest groups. Anholt claims inter-group conflict in branding (in which the COO effect is used) usually involves the following:
CHAPTER TWO: PARENT DISCIPLINES

1) The tourist board promotes the country to holidaymakers and business travelers.

2) The investment promotion agency promotes the country to foreign companies and investors.

3) The cultural institute builds cultural relations with other countries and promotes the country’s cultural and educational products and services.

4) The country’s exporters promote their products and services abroad.

5) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its policies to overseas publics in the best possible light, and sometimes attempts to manage the national reputation as a whole (2007: 2).

Additionally, in light of the aim of this dissertation, the corporate groups directly involved with NSEC image exportation attached to their product would also be involved.

Country of origin cost

Now that the different groups of the COO effect have been presented, the costs of using such a tool will be briefly outlined. As contemporary globalization allows merchandise to be exported with ease, it can be seen as increasingly important that the customer is knowledgeable about the origin of the merchandise. As previously argued, the implementation of the NSEC campaign to create a COO effect uses the socio-cultural, economic and political changes brought about by contemporary globalization. It is therefore important to use contemporary globalization wisely to get the most out of NSEC to create a strong COO effect. Many governments have become aware of this and have started to make their nation-state voice heard on the world stage in order to create a COO effect. It is often thought that using the COO effect tool is very expensive. However, within this realm of contemporary globalization, it is not only the wealthy nation-states that are able to have a voice on the world stage (Fig. 1.2.0.2). While Anholt claims that brand creation (in which the COO effect is used) is very expensive (2004(a): 31), smaller nation-states have been able to utilize contemporary globalization to make their voice heard on the world stage. ‘No longer do they have to spend the $US50-100 million it cost to run a brand campaign ‘pre-internet’” (Anholt 2004(a): 32).

Today, factors of contemporary globalization can be used to create a large impact from clever strategic campaigning, rather than just throwing a large sum of money at the problem. Consoli provides an example of the Jamaican soccer team:
‘...called the Reggae Boys who promoted Jamaica throughout the 1998 World Cup in France. The team took the largest soccer ball ever, about five stories high, from Jamaica’s capital, Kingston, to public spaces in different cities, such as New York, London and lastly Paris. In each place, people were asked to sign the ball and wish good luck to the Reggae Boys. With a modest investment of $886,000, the campaign received media space values at over $5 million. In 1999, Mediaweek ...granted it the ‘Best campaign spending $1 million or less award’. Jamaica received 33,600 more visitors than in the previous year and had an increase in tourist revenues of $50 million’ (in Kotler & Gertner 2004: 48).

As previously discussed, the successes of campaigns trying to form the COO effect can be measured through different surveys such as the NBI index.

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It has been presented that many nation-state's are in need of public diplomacy to change their negative image. One way of resolving this problem is through the creation of the COO effect amongst consumers by attaching NSEC images to merchandise. The attachment of NSEC images to merchandise of “global MNC's” has also been justified. It has been argued that despite the seeming detachment from the nation-state, corporations should and can be claimed to have a nation-state base. Furthermore, it is in corporation’s interest to promote this base in order to create a positive light not only for the COO effect, but also the merchandise associated with the nations-state. Finally, management and cost of creating the COO effect have been presented. It has been argued that while the NSEC campaign should be managed from the independent panel, all stakeholders should be involved in the process of image selection as it is essential that it is both influential to the consumer and representative of the nation-state. The cost of using the COO effect has also been presented as more affordable when applying different factors of contemporary globalization, and that the success of the campaign can be measured through analysis by contracted groups. In summary, the strategic use of NSEC images in the COO effect as a form of public diplomacy to influence consumer perceptions of the nation-state is an excellent choice and affordable option within contemporary globalization.
2.2.0 Conclusion of Parent Disciplines

This section has presented a literature review of three concepts central to this dissertation: The first concept argues for and against the existence of NSEC and its ability to be exported transnationally. The second concept examined traditional versus modern forms of public diplomacy in respect to contemporary globalization. The third concept assessed the COO effect in terms of influencing consumer perceptions through associationism. Each of these main points will be summarized.

Firstly, the literature review maintains that NSEC exists, and can be exported transnationally. To claim this, the hyperglobalist argument that NSEC does not exist\textsuperscript{101} is rejected in favor of the transformationist theory\textsuperscript{102}. Concerning NSEC transnationalism, hyperglobalist claims\textsuperscript{103} are rejected by the argument that cultural homogenization does not exist and glocalization continues to be predominant. These first arguments rejecting hyperglobalism and supporting the existence and transnationalism of NSEC are essential to form the fundamental basis upon which a NSEC campaign can be built.

Secondly, the literature review recognizes that despite many interpretations of public diplomacy, the NSEC campaign slots into its modern definition. The NSEC campaign slots into modern public diplomacy because it is a state run organization that tries to influence other nation-states citizens’ perceptions of its nation-state.

Thirdly, the literature review claims that the COO effect can be an effective form of public diplomacy to convince consumer perceptions. This is because the correct application of the COO effect theory will (e.g.) influence consumers’ behaviors by creating associationism with particular images.

Debate produced throughout the literature review surrounds NSEC, public diplomacy and the COO effect. The literature review found that NSEC exists and that it can be exported transnationally. This NSEC can then be inserted into the modern form of a state-run public diplomacy campaign whereby the COO effect is used to influence the customer behavior and perceptions of citizens of other nation-states.

\textsuperscript{101} As unique nation-state identity has been replaced by a ‘global homogenization of hetrogenization’.
\textsuperscript{102} Structure and agency continues to provide a habitus in which the nation-state and thus NSEC exists.
\textsuperscript{103} Supporting cultural homogenization and making it impossible for NSEC to belong to one particular nation-state.
Chapter 3
Methodology and Ethical Considerations

3.1.0 Methodology

There are many different methodologies that can be implemented for this dissertation. At its most macro level, the different methodologies can be split into two, either quantitative or qualitative. Neither of these methodologies are perfect, but qualitative methodologies were chosen. Subsequently, the methodology section will justify two major areas of why qualitative analyses have been chosen as the best option to deal with complexity and theoretical aspects inherent throughout this dissertation. Qualitative analysis will be firstly explained as the best option for overcoming complexity in theory, and secondly for the gathering of primary and secondary information.

A qualitative rather than quantitative methodology was chosen for the research of this dissertation because it is not the aim of this thesis to practically implement a NSEC image COO effect campaign in a particular nation-states' public diplomacy\(^{104}\). Rather the qualitative methodology was chosen to create initial theoretical conceptualization premises upon which future practical implementation can be built. However, like all methodologies, qualitative research has its drawbacks\(^{105}\). For example, as qualitative research methods are less systematic, research often results in generalizations that may not be replicable or widely applicable (Francisco, Butterfoss & Capwell 2001: 21).

To overcome such problems associated with qualitative methodology, quantitative analysis could have been implemented. For this dissertation there is one quantitative methodology that would have been particularly applicable, namely Crouch's Similarity and Complementarity Model (in Morgan, Whitley & Moen 2005). This structuralist model involves binary tabulation of present or absent factors. Analysis of the table then finds similarity (‘the pattern of capacities is the same across different fields’ (Crouch in Morgan et al 2005: 175)), complementarity or partial complementarity (Crouch in Morgan et al 2005: 175). This quantitative theory could be applied to the dissertations analysis of the role of the nation-state (particularly state institutions) and corporations to optimise revenue by attaching NSEC images to merchandise. Such a methodology requires the presumption that the market

\(^{104}\) Subsequent practical application of the theory created in this thesis would require the quantitative research to analyze local variables.

economy (in which the exportation of NSEC images takes place) has a clear structure (Seawell in Morgan et al 2005: 184) that can be estimated and compared through this binary method. Importantly, this presumption ignores the complexity within and between the structures\(^{106}\). Complexity is a crucial problem for quantitative theories such as Crouchs’ and is one of the two central reasons why qualitative rather than quantitative methods have been applied within this dissertation.

The reasons why this dissertation contains complexity will now be presented. A postmodern perspective using complexity questions the ability for metanarratives to explain structures. Here, the relationship between different factors within structures becomes complex as their identity and relationships become more interconnected, relative and difficult to measure. This form of complexity is recognised by Urrys’ *Global Complexity* (2002) following Castells’ *Rise of the Network Society* (2000). Complexity is further increased through analysis of interrelating political, economic and socio-cultural structures. This argument is supported by Bell who claims that ‘the relationship between a civilisation’s socio-economic structure and its culture is perhaps the most complicated of all problems for the sociologist’ (1976: 33). Complexity can then become overwhelming when making nation-state cross-comparisons due to the large number of variables that need to be taken into account (Sorge in Kristensen & Whitley 1996: 68). Subsequently, the central methodological challenge of this dissertation is to overcome the complexity of multidisciplinary perspectives while creating a theory applicable to many nation-states. Complexity arises in this dissertation when conducting a cross-comparison study of New Zealand, the United States and Britain. In particular, a comparison of different institutions within and between each nation-state illustrates this complexity. Each of these institutions are difficult to compare because the organizational systems of each of these institutions differ in terms of relative structure, system and output. When these structures are analyzed from a quantitative perspective alongside factors of contemporary globalization, the creation of a meta-theory becomes very difficult, if not impossible to form because the nature of those institutions is too complex to calculate. As a result of these problems it is common for academics to ‘opt for more specific, one-sided approaches which represent imperfect approximations to a comprehensive challenge, each approach in its own way’ (Sorge in Kristensen & Whitley 1996: 68). This is why this dissertation has defined specific strict boundaries for analysis (limitations and delimitations) and has used qualitative research to overcome the complexity.

\(^{106}\) Although Crouch does recognize the interrelatedness between different institutions in some of his earlier work: ‘While corporatism certainly has to do with industrial relations, it would be wrong to regard it as a concept which can be analysed within the variables of industrial relations in isolation’ (1979: 20).
Qualitative methods were chosen because unlike quantitative methods they provide a in-depth understanding and evaluation of the topic, while analyzing a small number of sources. Qualitative methods also allow the opportunity for the researcher to be open to new variables and relationships that might have not been possible to identify through quantitative research (Francisco et al 2001: 21, Morse 1999: 393). The qualitative approach subsequently grants a understanding and combination between socio-cultural, economic and political disciplines (Morse 1999: 393), while paying particular attention to changes in contemporary culture (Featherstone 1991: 11).

Thus in order to overcome the problematization of complexity, a qualitative methodology is implemented to analyze process of different nation-states from a theoretical perspective without having to rely on the narrowness of quantitative analysis. Qualitative analysis subsequently overcomes the structural problems of comparing different systems, while simultaneously recognizing complexity. Reasons for using a qualitative methodology as well as justification for other interview methodologies for primary sources will now be presented.

Primary sources: Interview strategy

A qualitative methodology was implemented for the collection of primary information through semi-structured expert interviews. Following Holstein and Gubrium’s (1995) work, interviews were chosen as the primary source for three reasons: Firstly as a method of reality-constructing and meaning making; secondly to place emphasis upon all interviewees’ narrative instead of favoring the competence of particular interviewees; and thirdly to be able to interpret the interviewee’s narratives meaningfully through patterned narrative linkages (Järvinen 2000: 371). The format of the interviews was semi-structured and one-on-one.

The semi-structured format used key questions that were purposefully chosen to expose the interviewer to perspectives not previously thought of. While it can be argued that key questions are able to influence interviewee responses, they keep the interview on topic. Furthermore, by using a semi-structured interview, the interview could stay on topic, while simultaneously being able to concentrate on information that the interviewee was particularly knowledgeable about. The positive side of semi-structured interviews is that they achieve the goal of covering a broad range of opinions and provide original answers from within interviewees subjective thought. Questions of the semi-structured interview included the existence of NSEC images, how contemporary globalization has changed different structures
of society and how cultural identity has changed and can use contemporary globalization to support NSEC images.

The advantage of one-on-one interviews was that the general opinions expressed could be taken at face value. This format differs from other qualitative interview methodologies such as analyzing feelings commonly practiced in ethnographic field work that requires more in-depth analysis (Crang 2003). Nevertheless, while it was possible to take information at face value, it is true that biases are presented in such interviews. This problem was resolved through two different avenues. Firstly, over time, throughout 36 interviews in different locations, biases were revealed through contradicting arguments, and secondly through comparing the biased arguments with secondary sources. The interviewee also becomes aware of bias by having a broad range of knowledge concerning the different schools of thought surrounding the topic. This was achieved by studying secondary information in-depth before the interviews. Biases were also discovered through comparison of primary with secondary resources.

When choosing interviewees, academics were chosen rather than people who work in public diplomacy. This is because the use of NSEC images as proposed in this dissertation does not currently exist in public diplomacy and thus, workers of public diplomacy who specialize in its practical application are not knowledgeable about the theoretical aspects of NSEC images. Rather, academics have the ability to understand the dissertation in its interrelationship with other theories (see Outward Sound footnote below).

Interviewees were chosen from universities of each of the case study countries who concentrate on studies of globalization and culture. Requests for interviews were sent, and the positive response rate was 80 percent. From April 6 – May 10 2006, expert interviews were conducted in the United States (North Carolina, Virginia and New York) with 11 professors (nine sociologists, one lawyer and one historian). From October 17 - Nov 1 2006, expert interviews were conducted in Britain with 16 professors (14 sociology and two international relations). Finally, between October 15 & November 15 2007, expert interviews were conducted in New Zealand with 8 professors (six from sociology, one from tourism, one from media) and one expert working for the New Zealand government (NZMIC). Interviews

Consultation with people working in public diplomacy would be most beneficial at the time of planning practical implementation of this dissertations theory. This is because those working in public diplomacy provide the practical insight that academics are unaware of.

The interviewee headed Outward Sound, a branch of the New Zealand Music Commission within the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage. The aim of Outward Sound has a lot of similarities with the aim of this dissertation (the exportation of NSEC images) through its
ranged between 30 minutes and two hours, with the majority lasting 70 minutes. Audio of interviews was recorded and later transcribed.

**Secondary sources**

Through these interviews, a broad range of arguments were collated. It was important to recognize that the arguments presented by the interviewees were not representative of the topic but were rather one view. To overcome this problem, the information presented was compared to secondary sources after the interview. Accordingly, after primary information had been gathered and a pattern of different arguments were found, secondary sources (namely academic texts) were used to conduct further research into these arguments. The secondary sources expanded and provided referenced legitimization to the information provided in the interviews.

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The methodological analysis presented has shown that neither qualitative nor quantitative analyses are perfect. Subsequently, the methodology most suited to this dissertation had to be chosen. It was argued that the qualitative methodology was best suited because it overcomes two central problems relating firstly to the complexity within theory analysis, and secondly to the extraction of information from primary sources. The methodology for the gathering of primary information has also been presented. It was argued that ‘one on one’ semi-structured interviews of academics conducted in each of the case study nation-states were the best option to gather information for this dissertation. This information was then made relative by referencing perspectives against secondary information. Another essential element to the methodology implemented in this dissertation is the ethical considerations. The following section will briefly account ethical considerations through an outline of the banal nationalism aim of the NSEC campaign. This account will be made so that the aim of the NSEC campaign can be ethically justified and not mistaken for negative forms of nation-state promotion.
3.2.0 Ethical Considerations

In the age of contemporary globalization, nation-states are increasingly exposed to problems of racism, ethnocentrism, nationalism and perceived cultural imperialism. Ensuring that these problems do not play a role within this thesis is the central ethical consideration.

The independent panel has to be very careful to recognise the diversity of the nation-state when choosing representative NSEC images. To exclude particular groups could be seen as racism or ethnocentrism. However, if the independent panel is to function properly, racism or ethnocentrism should not be a possibility, as the panel should strive to be as inclusive as possible. The independent panel should also avoid creating racist or ethnocentric images by promoting NSEC images that do not try to make the nation-state seem superior to other nation-states. So long that the independent panel follows the aim of the NSEC images, to create the COO effect for the nation-state, this will not be a problem. While it is straightforward for the independent panel to avoid racism or ethnocentrism in its NSEC images, the problem of nationalism and perceived cultural imperialism requires more discussion.

Banal vs. extreme nationalism and ethical management of the NSEC campaign

Nationalism is related to individuals having a strong identity connection with a particular nation-state:

“Cultural nationalism aims to regenerate the national community by creating, preserving, or strengthening a people’s cultural identity when it is felt to be lacking or threatened. The cultural nationalist regards the nation as a product of its unique history and culture, and as a collective solidarity endowed with unique attributes. In short, cultural nationalism is concerned with the distinctiveness of the cultural community as the essence of a nation’” (Castells 1997: 31).

Within this definition, two forms of nationalism emerge; ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig 1995) and ‘extreme nationalism’. Banal nationalism differs from extreme nationalism. Banal nationalism can be seen through (e.g.) international sporting events, national celebrations and other
activities. These activities boost factors such as national social cohesion\(^{109}\) which subsequently supports the identity of the nation-state. On the other hand, extreme nationalism is related to members of the nation-state holding a sense of superiority over other nation-states. Extreme nationalism has existed since different groups (through e.g. colonialism) have come in contact with each other\(^{110}\). Today, contemporary globalization has increased nation-state contact with each other. This increased contact has allows nation-state Self to absorb culture of the Other, while simultaneously distinguishing the cultural differences between the Self and the Other. Here it could be argued that the increased interaction between Self and Other increases the ease in which extreme nationalism could be promoted. This concern of cultural assimilation is also known as cultural imperialism.

Here lies the danger for this dissertation whereby the promotion of NSEC images may lead to, or be seen as extreme nationalism. This is because public diplomacy is often crudely referred to its relationship with propaganda. Such nationalism has been seen throughout history where particular leaders instil sentiment in citizens which leads to disastrous consequences. The propaganda of the Nazi party is one such example, and this needs to be avoided at all costs. Here, it must be remembered that NSEC images are part of banal nationalism as their aim is to spark interest and attract consumers to the nation-state rather than exert a feeling of superiority over them.

Now that banal nationalism has been compared to extreme nationalism, the position of the NSEC campaign in relation to these two groups will be described. The NSEC campaign in terms of using globalization to promote its images to the world stage could be seen as what was once known as cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism and globalization are often perceived to go hand in hand. The idea of cultural imperialism was developed in the 1960s and 70s. It involved ‘the values and structures of the dominating centre of the [modern world] system’ (Schiller in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 73). Most examples of cultural imperialism refer to the expansion of the US culture industry into other nation-states through aggressive cultural evolution instilled in particular periphery nation-states’ culture. The homogenising force of cultural imperialism was a concern of UNSECO until the 1980s, when

\(^{109}\) Social cohesion is boosted through a sense of pride in national identity, in terms of the nation-state Self differing from an Other.

\(^{110}\) Historically, under the imperialist expansion, it was the vernacular differences that reinforced the idea of differing nation-states, and under contemporary globalization, more different identifying factors distinguish the Self from the Other. This differentiation continued even with the African and Asian colonised countries adoption of their imperial education systems (Anderson 1983: 127), but importantly retained unique characteristics for their nation-state represented through i.e. bilingualism.
the term was replaced by globalization (Hesmondalgh 2002: 174). Today, this cultural imperialism is seen as an intrinsic element of contemporary globalization. This is because the construction of culture is seen as more complex, as a hybrid of older forms (Chambers, in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 176, Canclini in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 176) and the culture of other nation-states. Essentially culture is not static, and due to globalization the interaction between different cultures has the unavoidable result of cultural evolution. Thus, cultural imperialism must be recognised as an intrinsic consequence of contemporary globalization, and as this perceived cultural imperialism is not intentional (i.e. it is not conducted by an organisation of extreme nationalists), it is classified as banal. 'Imperialistic wars are led by tyrannical leaders, not patriotic citizens' (Engel 2005: 537). Thus the NSEC campaign by working within the realm of contemporary globalization and not using racist or ethnocentric images is a form of banal nationalism. This banal nationalism must be recognised by the independent panel in their selection of images and other management considerations of the campaign.

**External perceptions of the NSEC campaign**

Aside from the ethical considerations taken in the methodology of internal management NSEC campaign, the other main ethical consideration of this dissertation is from the external perspective ensuring that NSEC images are not perceived as extreme nationalism or cultural imperialism by NSEC image consumers. To avoid this it must be remembered that the exportation of NSEC images belongs to banal nationalism. This banality is reflected through the diplomatic aim of NSEC images to spark interest and create a positive image of the nation-state, rather than claiming that one nation-state culture is better than another. Subsequently, NSEC images should be seen by the consumers as non-superior in comparison to other cultures.

In fact, the exposure of NSEC images to consumers can even reduce nationalism. Anderson argues that the exposure of the very diversity of cultural products of nationalism, (which can be seen within NSEC images) allows individuals to gain a positive understanding of other cultures – the understanding of which can actually solve problems brought about by extreme nationalism (1983: 128). Furthermore, it must be realized that if NSEC images were used as a tool for extreme nationalism, they would not achieve their goal of stimulating interest and promoting the nation-state in a positive light because of their production of negative images. Thus if the NSEC campaign used negative images, it would fail.
The ethical concern of this paper relates to the use of NSEC images. As the aim of NSEC images is to diplomatically stimulate interest and promote the nation-state in a positive light, the exportation of NSEC images involve banal nationalism rather than extreme nationalism. Nevertheless, NSEC images must be handled very carefully by the independent panel to ensure that they are inclusive and representative, while continuing to be seen as banal by NSEC image consumers.
Chapter 4
Nation-States, Case Studies and Analysis

4.1.0 Introduction to the Case Study Analysis
The case studies will create an overall evaluation of how the United States, Britain and New Zealand have carried out public diplomacy campaigns involving the exportation of NSEC images to the world stage. An evaluation will then assess different successes and failures of the public diplomacy campaigns. The assessment examines how each of the nation-states react to contemporary globalization and how distinguishing characteristics of the nation-state including the management of contemporary globalization local variables, triggers and the relationships between corporations, citizens and politics play a role in determining the nature of the public diplomacy campaigns. Following this assessment, a critique of the different techniques used by the nation-states throughout the public diplomacy campaigns evaluates the techniques that are most effective for the future implementation of a NSEC campaign.

However, before this analysis takes place, a background will be introduced stating the selection rationale of specific nation-states for this dissertation. Nation-states are selected for their distinguishing characteristics such as geography, population and history. However, more importantly, nation-states are also chosen for their economic, socio-cultural and political responses to contemporary globalization.

Following this analysis, more detail will be shown on the United States, British and New Zealand nation-states and their public diplomacy campaigns. Here, it is explained how the United States has a NSEC identity that is exported through direct and indirect public diplomacy campaigns. The United States NSEC identity is argued to derive from democracy and be fueled by consumerism. Subsequently, consumerism is claimed to be supported by the mediums transporting identity to the world stage such as the sport, film and television industries. Once United States NSEC is established, it is explained how direct and indirect public diplomacy campaigns are conducted. Here, the United States strong public diplomacy as a world leader makes it easier to be successful in selling its NSEC images through indirect public diplomacy involving consumption. Following indirect public diplomacy, an analysis of direct public diplomacy will be presented. Through a historical assessment, it is argued that there is a close relationship between direct public diplomacy and hard power. Here, the role of direct public diplomacy compensates for negative images of the United
States brought about through war\textsuperscript{111}. Lastly, is it argued that because the United States is such a powerful nation-state, its public diplomacy has the power to create images not only of itself, but also influence the perception of other nation-states on the world stage.

After the case study of the United States is undertaken, British public diplomacy is introduced analyzing one particular public diplomacy campaign, “Cool Britannia”. Firstly, an outline of the political and economic conditions leading to the campaign is shown. The political and economic strength of Britain is shown to be in decline as a consequence of contemporary globalization and the need to modernize. This modernization of Britain is explained to be brought about by Thatcherism and New Labour which impacted upon the British nation-state, specifically British identity. While Thatcherism and New Labour attempt to resolve the problems brought about by contemporary globalization by opening Britain to the world stage, a polarizing backlash occurs. This backlash is seen through a recent trend in the support of both devolution and allegiance to the European Union resulting in a loss of British sovereignty. In addition, the changes sparked by contemporary globalization result in the formation of a new relationship between state, corporation and citizens, contributing to the change in traditional identity structures forming the common British identity. Following the argument of Britain undergoing large transformations under contemporary globalization, the Cool Britannia case study is presented. This case study is shown as a British attempt to overcome problems brought about by contemporary globalization by using it as a tool to compete more efficiently on the world stage. Here, the Cool Britannia campaign is used to create a “cool” image of Britain as “modern” in order to move away from the traditional image of an old and boring nation-state (Blair (a) in Johnson 2002: 166; Blair (b) in Johnson 2002: 166). An analysis of primary and secondary sources assesses the success of the campaign.

Following the Cool Britannia analysis, the final case study of New Zealand is presented. This firstly takes place by claiming that New Zealand has a NSEC, and secondly, with a presentation of New Zealand public diplomacy. It is explained that New Zealand collective identity is a topic currently supported by the governments’ objective of nation-building, yet New Zealand is restricted in forming a commonality because of its bicultural polity. The youth of the New Zealand nation-state also questions if New Zealand has a common identity, or if it is still searching for one. Through this, an example of New Zealand’s first unofficial NSEC campaign is introduced. Here, the exportation of the Kiwi image on shoe polish tins from the First World War is used as an example of the New Zealand identity being pushed to the world stage. In addition, more recent “Kiwiana” is used as a second example

\textsuperscript{111} Direct public diplomacy is used in all wars the United States is involved in since World War One.
of New Zealand attempting to form an identity on the world stage. A discussion on New Zealand public diplomacy follows arguing that New Zealand's response to contemporary globalization through neo-liberal economics has opened it up to the world stage. As a result of this opening up it is argued that the government supports the exportation of the New Zealand identity, while simultaneously protecting the domestic market (Buy Kiwi Made campaign). To illustrate New Zealand's NSEC image exportation, a specific example is shown through a sub-group of public diplomacy; state funded destination marketing. Here, New Zealand is described as a small nation-state competing with larger nation-states on the world stage. In order to overcome this problem of size, public diplomacy techniques of piggybacking and niche creating are presented. Further to operate New Zealand public diplomacy, it is also argued that bi-cultural identities and their corresponding rights must be recognized. This also affects the nature of the campaign which is implemented. Finally, the example of the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign is shown to illustrate the outcome of operating such techniques.

After each of the public diplomacy case studies are presented, a comparison between them takes place. This firstly takes into account local variables and triggers that limit the comparison. This is followed by a comparison of the nation-states responses to (a) contemporary globalization, (b) piggybacking, (c) the use of images, (d) state, corporation and citizen relationship, (e) nature of the state, and (f) campaign application. Following this comparison, an assessment of the campaigns differing results explains why they succeed or fail.

Finally, after the case studies have been individually analyzed and compared, the reality of the nation-states actually implementing this dissertations NSEC campaign is introduced. While it is demonstrated that perhaps not every nation-state has the appropriate structures to operate a NSEC campaign, it is argued that nation-states which do successfully implement a NSEC campaign benefit from it. Lastly, the methods in which the success of a NSEC campaign can be measured are presented. The case study section will now begin with a presentation of the rationale for the selection of specific nation-states.
4.1.1 Selection of Nation-states

New Zealand, Britain and the United States were selected as case studies for this dissertation\(^\text{112}\). These nation-states share some fundamental similarities, crucial for studying their public diplomacy campaigns, while at the same time allowing for particular factors that will be later shown to contribute to variations in public diplomacy. The following section will explain in more detail the criterion based on which these particular nation-states were chosen.

It is the public diplomacy campaigns of the three selected nation-states that are of central focus of this dissertation. However, these campaigns are greatly influenced by the variables within each nation-state. Thus, it is just as important to consider these variables in order to allow a comparison.

Large differences in the nature of two nation-states result in a large number of confounding variables, making a comparison impossible. For example, New Zealand and North Korea are two nation-states that are so differentiated from each other in their foreign trade polities that the confounding variables would make it impossible to draw any conclusions. Thus, it is important to keep the confounding variables at a minimum and to select nation-states with mild differences that can be compared rather than extreme differences that would make a comparison impossible.

The three selected nation-states of New Zealand, the United States and Britain have been chosen for analysis because a comparison of their local social, economic and political variables and influences are possible in relation to the impact of contemporary globalization. New Zealand will be presented as an example of a small, geographically isolated nation-state that struggles to gain attention on the world stage. The United States, on the other hand, will be offered as an example of a nation-state with very strong soft power that allows identity exportation to the world stage much more easily than New Zealand. Britain will be argued to fall between New Zealand and the United States.

The three nation-states’ differences and similarities will be presented through an analysis of general variables. First, basic similarities and differences concerning geography, population size and history will be considered. This will be followed by comparing and contrasting more important aspects of the impact of contemporary globalization upon the nation-states social, economic and political structures. This will be discussed with specific relation to public diplomacy. Through this comparison and contrast, it should become

\(^{112}\) For information of why Germany was not chosen as a case study see appendix 4.1.1.1.
apparent that the nation-states were chosen because they share some fundamental similarities, crucial for studying their public diplomacy campaigns, while at the same time allowing for particular factors that will be later shown to contribute to variations in public diplomacy.

**Distinguishing characteristics: Geography, population and history**

New Zealand is geographically isolated, with its neighbors Australia about 2200km away. This isolation impacts upon social, economic and political structures such as cultural diversity, accessibility of trade and regional political alliances which create a unique New Zealand identity. On the other hand, Britain and the United States have a close relationship with their neighbors due to geographical proximity and a well supported transport infrastructure. In contrast to New Zealand, this accessibility also influences the nation-states’ identities. Furthermore, the diversity of the nation-states’ geographic locations leads to different local variables and triggers of the public diplomacy campaigns, making them interesting and unique to analyze\(^\text{113}\). Population size is another area in which contrasts between the nation-states can be found.

New Zealand has a relatively small population of 4.179 million. Britain has a population of 60.769 million, and the United States has a population of 305.826 million (United Nations 2006). These differences in population size will be shown later in the dissertation to impact the amount of leverage that each nation-state can implement into their public diplomacy. This is because population size influences corresponding social and economic structures. For example, for these nation-states it will be argued that a large population increases cultural diversity and economic for identity exportation. Another comparable structural factor leading to the nation-states being chosen for analysis is the nation-states' history.

Historical differences distinguish nation-states in terms of the impact upon the NSEC identity exported to the world stage. On the one side, Britain is a nation-state with old institutions which continue to shape Britain’s contemporary identity. On the other side, New Zealand is a much younger nation-state and in many respects is still attempting to forge an identity. The United States lie between these two nation-states. Like Britain, the United States has institutionalized polity creating a unique nation-state identity which will be explained later in the case study. While not as old as Britain, the United States has created a

\(^{113}\) The specific local variables and triggers that influence the nature of public diplomacy campaigns will be presented in 4.6.0.
founding constitution upon which polity can be seen through a Bill of Rights and is reflected throughout its institutions. However, while these nation-states have different histories, there is still a commonality that makes them akin. For example, both of the nation-states have ties to Britain: New Zealand as a Commonwealth country, and the United States with emigrating English Separatists. These historical ties result in the creation of relatively similar structures throughout the nation-state. Now that the basic similarities and differences characterizing the nation-states have been outlined, the more relevant factors concerning public diplomacy will be discussed in terms of why particular nation-states have been chosen for this dissertation. Factors include the impact of contemporary globalization on social, economic and political structures of the nation-states.

Contemporary globalization and its political, economic and socio-cultural impact

While providing different dangers and possibilities, contemporary globalization has created a realm in which the nation-states interact with each other through increasingly open competition on the world stage. This competition takes place through political, economic and socio-cultural (exportation of NSEC images) avenues. One of the most important reasons for the selection of the three nation-states for this dissertation is their respective responses to contemporary globalization. Each of these nation-states implemented neo-liberal economic measures that have a large impact as to how they operate on the world stage. It will be explained how each of the nation-states responses to contemporary globalization in terms of changes in their economic, political and socio-cultural structures has led to them being chosen for analysis in this dissertation.

In terms of economics and politics, there are two major areas concerning the different nation-states political and economic structures. The first covers nation-states political autonomy while the second considers their political and hard power. The political power of the three nation-states was influential in their selection as this plays a large role in deciding the nature of public diplomacy implemented. While political power is difficult to measure, in terms of control on the world stage, the United States is considered to have one of the strongest soft and hard powers. This exists in contrast to New Zealand, which has relatively little political power. Alternatively, Britain is considered to have once been one of the biggest political powers in the world, and while remaining amongst the strongest nation-states, it has been in slow decline since the end of the Second World War. An explanation for these different political power levels will be presented in the case studies.
The access and power that different nation-states have concerning exports are a crucial factor of public diplomacy. The United States is a case study of a nation-state with a large economy that has the power to not only export its own cultural identity to the international stage, but also to present its perception of the identities of other nation-states in a positive or negative light. In contrast, nation-states with small export levels such as New Zealand struggle to compete in (e.g.) NSEC campaigns against nation-states such as the United States and Britain with high export levels. The political and economic changes of these and other nation-states due to contemporary globalization can be seen to have been brought about by neo-liberal economics. The United States and Britain initiated this economic policy, and New Zealand can be argued to have implemented it with the most force. This therefore played a crucial factor in the selection of nation-states for this dissertation. This neo-liberal transition into contemporary globalization has granted the nation-states unprecedented access to markets (and vice versa). As a result, the opening up of these economies increased competition through trade on the world stage. The impact of contemporary globalization on nation-states increases the importance of public diplomacy and the ability to export NSEC images. This also makes the nation-states particularly interesting subjects to study.

A change in political autonomy as a result of contemporary globalization is another factor which makes a comparison of these nation-states particularly interesting. Here, regional partnerships ease the flow of images in a NSEC campaign. The United States has been a major player in implementing regionalism. This is often associated with the freeing up of transnational trade through agreements such as NAFTA. Britain has also used contemporary globalization to be competitive and has relinquished some of its sovereignty in order to join the European Union. At the same time, as a backlash to this contemporary globalization, Britain has recently undergone processes of devolution. Under contemporary globalization, New Zealand has also formed regional alliances for example through APEC, East Asia Summit, Commonwealth of Nations and the OECD. Of particular importance is New Zealand’s recently signed free trade agreement with China and long-standing trade agreements with Australia. Similarities can therefore be seen between the nation-states reducing political autonomy in order to remain economically competitive on the world stage.

\[114\] World trade rank in merchandise trade; New Zealand exports place 61 (US$22 434m); Britain exports place 7 (US$ 448 653); United States exports place 2 ($US 1 036 635m) (World Trade Organization 2008).
There are cultural similarities between each of the nation-states that restrict the confounding variables for a joint analysis. This also makes them applicable to study. All of the nation-states can be categorized as belonging to the “western” culture\textsuperscript{115}, which identifies them as members of a certain group that at times can include and exclude others. This is an important factor that has to be taken into account when considering public diplomacy. More specifically, all three nation-states are based in the English language. As each of the nation-states are English speaking, they have easy access to other English language speaking nation-states and enjoy being used as one of the main and secondary languages around the world. This makes the images easier to be consumed on the world stage because of the large audience population that will be able to more readily understand the language. At the same time, while having many similarities, each of the nation-states has unique local cultural variables that influence the NSEC images and thus makes them interesting to study.

In terms of cultural contrasts, New Zealand polity is based upon biculturalism between Māori and non-Māori. This has created two distinct identities with different rights influencing the creation of representative NSEC images. On the other hand, Britain and the United States follow a more multicultural framework. The United States recognizes the different rights and identities of the many different cultural groups and as a result has a complex identity. Britain has also encountered cultural diversity through increasing levels of immigration, and the recognition of this changing multicultural identity has already reflected this through public diplomacy such as Cool Britannia. Subsequently, none of the nation-states can be said to be culturally homogenous and this impacts on the ability to create representative NSEC images.

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In summary, the nation-states have been chosen because while they share the similar responses to contemporary globalization they still have special characteristics in which they differ from each other: The United States as a nation-state with a large, population, strong political and economic power and history that transcends identity; Britain is an example of a nation-state with a medium-high population, political and economic power, that is not geographically isolated (due to strong infrastructure) but has a long history that transcends identity; Finally, New Zealand is unique with its small population, political and economic power, its geographical isolation and relatively young history. In summary, the nation-states have been chosen because they play on the same field but also have differing local structures that have influenced the type of public diplomacy campaign implemented. Now a

\textsuperscript{115} Culture generally of European origin.
justification for the selection of the nation-states has been presented, the case study analyses will take place starting with the United States. This analysis will begin with an investigation of the existence of United States NSEC.
4.2.0 United States Case Study
4.2.1 Existence of USA NSEC

In order for a NSEC image to be exported from the United States, a common identity needs to exist within the nation-state to be promoted. If the United States attempts to promote a NSEC image that does not exist within the nation-state, it will not sell well to consumers because it will be seen as unrealistic. Thus, the aim of this section is to argue for the existence of a common identity in the United States that can be implemented into a NSEC image. Unfortunately, at face value the United States is a land of individuals who all treasure their right to individuality and see nationality as less of an issue than most other people (Bairner 2001: 91). This perspective makes it seemingly hard to identify a common identity. However, it will have to be discovered in order to support the existence of the United States NSEC. Once it has been argued that a NSEC identity exists, the NSEC identity of the United States will be argued to have been challenged since 9/11. This is because many Americans were surprised to see such hatred directed against their country and what it stands for (van Ham 2005: 56), against their perceptions of the United States as a land of freedom and liberalism. This has led to a lot of research amongst academics questioning the identity of the United States. In this dissertation the existence of a NSEC image in the United States will be argued to exist through the common identity of the right to individuality, based upon the core premise of democracy. It will then be claimed that this NSEC image is locally created and reinforced not only through the state, but also through its citizens and corporations. This creation and reinforcement will be seen in relation to the consumption of merchandise that has NSEC images. Finally, discussion will take place identifying particular mediums that promote the NSEC image identity of freedom and individuality.

United States identity derives from democracy

In order to claim that NSEC images can be exported from the United States, it must first be asserted that there is a common local identity\(^\text{116}\). At face value, it is very hard to describe a NSEC identity for the United States as it is a very heterogeneous nation-state, distinct for its independency. However, it is within this independence that commonality can be found. A \textit{homogenous belief in right to heterogeneity is in itself a common identity}. The right to individuality has been institutionalized in state legislature, and reinforced through the state structure. This can be seen for example in the judicial system, to protect these rights and the nation by citizens and their corporations who promote individuality and consume their

\(^{116}\) If it cannot be argued that there is a common identity in the United States, NSEC can therefore not exist.
merchandise. To this extent, members of the United States are liberal collectivists – a collective that respects diversity (theory derived from Benhabib 2002: 54).

The individuality that forms the basis of common identity in the United States derives from the overarching image, democracy. Democracy is the core principal upon which the United States was founded, and this is reflected through the identity of citizens of the United States. The recognition of democracy and its follow-on effects does not mean that democratic images should be attached to all merchandise as the NSEC. Rather, the argument is presented that while NSEC images from the United States may attempt to present different images, such as immediate goals or priorities, all of these images will trace back to the fundamental identity of the United States, the value of democracy.

While democracy is the founding principal upon which a common identity is recognized in the United States, it is these branches tracing back to democracy which are most interesting to discuss. These branches coming from democracy can be seen through the Bill of Rights (Fig. 4.3.1.1). While much of the Bill of Rights describes the role of the state and its duty to citizens, it is the First Amendment that is particularly important. The First Amendment supports the freedom of religion, speech, press assembly and petition. Thus, it is the First Amendment that supports individual identity of United States citizens. The right to individualism is intrinsically tied to hedonism (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy 2000: 59) and this image is tied to images attached to merchandise which are then consumed.

This freedom to consume and evoke individuality is coupled with the capitalist democratic framework of the United States. Through images of individualism and freedom attached to merchandise, the joint identity of United States citizens is promoted and reinforced to a domestic and international audience of consumers. Accordingly, one way that the commonality in the belief of heterogeneity of the United States is reinforced through the consumption of merchandise that reflects this image. The United States therefore has a common identity. Recognition of this common identity allows for the ability for the United States to attach NSEC images to merchandise.

The United States exports its cultural identity not only through consumption, but through a complex variety of avenues such as politics or military (van Ham 2008: 140). However, while this dissertation is concerned with the attachment of NSEC images to exported merchandise, discussion will revolve around consumerism.
Consumerism

Now that it has been argued that freedom of individualism through democracy is the fundamental identity of individuals of the United States, examples will be presented through discussion of the reality of this freedom of how its derivative identities are internally promoted through consumerism.

While liberty is one of the fundamental identities shared by citizens of the United States through its democratic constitution, the actual extent of this freedom must be discussed. Through consumerism, the common identity of individuality amongst United States citizens becomes solidified. This is because the freedom of the United States Constitution has provided an environment in which corporations can gain more power and are thus restrictive to citizens, forcing them to adopt a particular identity of “freedom” that they promote. This increased power of corporations exists to the extent that individuality of the United States is often seen more as consumers (and workers) rather than citizens. This argument of constitutional freedom creating a legislative environment allowing corporate control over consumers’ identities will now be explained in more detail.

By providing corporations with the rights of citizens, the United States has actually become increasingly undemocratic for its citizens. The freedom of corporations has affected the relationship between corporations and their consumers. As a result, citizens’ identities have become more aligned as consumers concerned with markets rather than democracy (Habermas in Allen 2001: 257). The result is ‘a global consumer society composed not of tribesmen – too commercially challenged to shop; nor of citizens – too civically engaged – but of consumers’ (Barber in Bairner 2001: 10).

The increase in corporate power is seen as corporations have gained the rights to be judicially served in the same way as citizens. Corporations have received protection under the Fourteenth Amendment, and from 1960 had protection from the Fifth Amendment which has ultimately allowed them to challenge state regulation (Mayer in Allen 2001: 260). Another substantial change that gave power to corporations was the changing of property rights to include intangible items such as information which also became regulated under constitutional protection (Mayer in Allen 2001: 260; Bell in Allen 2001: 260; Boyle in Allen 2001; Sklar in Allen 2001; Streeter in Allen 2001: 260). Later in the 1970s corporations were able to advertise their products and ideas when the Supreme Court left the commercial speech doctrine (Allen 2001: 261). This was furthered in 1980 when communication was recognised as a form of property allowing protection to commercial speech ‘ranging from the

117 It is ironic because forcing citizens to adopt one image of freedom restricts freedom itself.
prices of prescription medicines (Virginia Board of Pharmacy 1976) to advertisements by lawyers (Bates in Allen 2001: 261). As a result of these legislative changes, corporations have been granted more power and this has affected their relationship with consumers. Today in the United States, ‘the public sphere becomes not a haven in which democracy can flourish, but another place in which commercial interests can gain access to consumers’ (Allen 2001: 259). Mereman provides evidence for this argument by claiming that consumers do not have individual freedom (infinite), but rather the freedom to choose ‘a product from an institutionally fixed product mix’ (1991: 102) (finite). Subsequently, corporate images have become dominant influencing consumers’ identities. Americanisation or cultural imperialism through images attached to products from the United States is often discussed in terms of export (Consalvo 2006: 119). However, this cultural imperialism also functions domestically reinforcing Brand America within the United States. Anholt claims that these images include ‘wealth, independence, ruggedness, dependability, individualism, youthfulness, fun, and so on’ (Anholt 2007: 100). As a result, corporations such as Coca-Cola create, represent and reinforce identity images of the United States.

**Mediums that create identity**

There are many different areas in which corporations operate that influence, reinforce and support United States consumers’ identities. Sport is one such area. Baseball, for example used to be used to “Americanize” immigrants (Bairner 2001: 98). Another sport, football, namely the Super bowl has the largest television audience in the world with a billion viewers (including 120 million Americans) (O’Byrne 2001: 202). Corporations have exploited the Super Bowl to advertise their merchandise, and the United States identity to local and international viewers. The mass media is thus a key player used by corporations for the promotion of images. Habermas has long warned of the power of the media and its elites (Habermas in Allen 2001: 259). Because of the power of the United States mass media, the United States has become very influential over its consumers (Langman in Kennedy & Danks 2001: 191) both locally and internationally. For example, in the movie industry the construction of identities can be seen at work in movies such as *Pearl Harbor* and *Saving Private Ryan*. These movies reinforced the patriotism for American values and a strong belief in fighting for them. Television is another area of the mass media that has been particularly successful in enforcing identities. This came about through technological innovation in cable and satellite technologies. By 1990, 56 percent of American houses were wired for cable (Heilbrun & Grey 2001: 269) with 98 percent of households having at least one television viewing 6.9 hours per day (Heilbrun & Grey 2001: 363). Waisbord claims that television
coverage of particular national events such as the Olympic Games within its particular cultural context (such as language) creates and reinforces commonality (2004: 373).

♦  ♦  ♦

In summary, it is therefore the images that derive from the core identity of “democracy” that formulate the NSEC of the United States. This finding is not immediately apparent because of its contradictory origins. Here, it is thought that citizens of the United States do not have a common identity because of their belief in liberty and individualism. However, at closer inspection it is argued that the belief in liberty and individualism are shared by all residing in the United States and this thus becomes the shared identity. This construct can then be implemented into NSEC. Also locally, this identity trait is reinforced both by the state and the nation. The state reinforces the shared identity of liberty and independence through state legislature, deriving from The Bill of Rights First Amendment and ultimately democracy. The nation reinforces the shared identity of liberty and independence through the production and consumption of merchandise that promote this image. In particular, the mediums of sport, television and films have been presented as examples that reinforce these identity constructs. Now that liberty and independence have been defined as a common identity shared in the United States, the argument is supported that a common identity exists in the United States, which allows for the ability for NSEC images to be exported. Subsequently, it is possible for a NSEC image to be exported. To this effect a summary of United States public diplomacy exporting images will now be presented. This investigation will concentrate on two particular forms of United States public diplomacy, namely indirect and direct public diplomacy.
4.2.2 Public Diplomacy in the United States

The United States has excelled at creating a COO effect of itself through public diplomacy since the First World War. There are two ways the United States exports its public diplomacy. The first avenue is through state run public diplomacy campaigns with direct objectives. For example, this includes its current aim to paint the United States in a positive light in Islamic countries. The second avenue is the United States exporting public diplomacy through indirect consumption of merchandise with attached NSEC images. Through this the United States sells ‘Brand America’ (Anholt 2004(b)) to other nation-states on the world stage. Brand America may be seen through different avenues such as NASA, or Hollywood movies such as Pearl Harbor or Saving Private Ryan. Here, by using soft power (Nye in van Ham 2008: 140) in public diplomacy to promote its NSEC images, the United States persuades citizens of other nation-states. Consequently, public diplomacy through the application of the United States is able to promote its socio-cultural, economic, political and military strength to the rest of the world: ‘In many ways, Mickey Mouse, Madonna, and Brad Pitt are on-screen role models for an America that not only overpowers the hearts and minds of people around the world but also one that sets the global political and military agenda’ (van Ham 2008: 139).

This section will discuss both direct and indirect public diplomacy in terms of how they have been used as tools to promote the United States as a world leader. This is often thought of as forming westernization or Americanization (Ritzer 1999: 84). In particular, attention will be paid to the public diplomacy of consuming merchandise that reflects the United States core identity. Direct and indirect public diplomacy will then be explained in the light of the history of public diplomacy in the United States, and this will be followed by a comparison with contemporary public diplomacy. Finally, the power of United States public diplomacy will be argued to be so strong that it has not only the ability to export its own identity to the world stage, but also to influence the identities of other nation-states. Subsequently, United States public diplomacy has been effective to the extent that it has become a world leader, often setting the standards that other nation-states aspire to follow.

The United States as a global leader

Today, United States public diplomacy has orientated itself around forming the image of a global leader. This means that the United States promotes itself in such a light that encourages other nation-states to imitate it. This is not only seen through different governments aspiring to Capitol Hill, but also through consumption of the United States NSEC. One of the reasons the United States is successful at making itself the standard is
not only because its culture is so readily consumerable, but that it has made its merchandise fashionable to be consumed – ‘people want to buy a part of America’ (McCracken in O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 59). Often it is part of peoples “dream longings” – buying into the American dreamworld’ (Campbell in O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 59). As a result;

‘almost everyone who came into contact with books, radio, television, music, cinema, video games or branded products during the twentieth century has been touched by America, and large numbers of them grew to love it with passion… Every little boy, from Hong Kong to Paraguay or Iceland to South Africa, who longed for a cowboy hat, a sheriff’s star and a brace of pistols, and every girl who longed for Barbie dolls, was dreaming of America. Little wonder that when they became teenagers, they reached first for the American records, happily paid a bit more for American cigarettes, drank the Real Thing and, later still, found it absolutely right working for an American firm, and taking the family on holiday to Florida’

(Anholt 2007: 100).

An example of the United States being a global leader in the exportation of images via public diplomacy is seen in the realm of media where United States television programming continues to set standards as ‘the fishbowl of the global television industry’ (Waisbord 2004: 364) where other nation-states television industries continue to monitor its trends. As such, because of the large extent of culture for the United States in television across the world, ‘US residents are unaware of their [televisions] ‘foreign’ origin, much as many global drinkers of Coke are unaware of its US origins and feel that the drink originated in their home country (Howes in Consalvo 2006: 121).

Another example of standardization originating from the United States is in the world of sport. Bairner claims that the shirts of English Premiership soccer players resemble more those of the United States National Hockey League (NHL), the National Football League (NFL), and New Zealand rugby league teams are given names similar to American sporting teams118 (Bairner 2001: 14).

118 Examples include the Moerewa Tigers, Portland Panthers, Kaikohe Lions, Kensington Knights, Wairoa Bulls, Ngawha Saints, Kaitaia Legends, Otaika Sea Eagles, Rhema Rhinos, Ellerslie Eagles, Howick Hornets, Pukekohe Pythons, Tuakau Broncos, Hamilton City Tigers, Kawerau Raiders, Linton Cobras, Marton Bears and Waiouru Bobcats.
United States indirect public diplomacy and consumption

The United States has aligned its public diplomacy to be intrinsic with consumption. The end of the Second World War led to increased leisure time and income. These factors coupled with the steady fall of socialist nation-states have resulted in the creation of a consumer society that the United States has taken advantage of. The United States has been particularly good at supporting and profiting from this consumer society – not just economically, but also through changing identities of Others through the images associated with the United States attached to its merchandise. Former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell famously defined American diplomacy as follows: ‘We’re selling a product. That product we are selling is democracy’ (Foreign Policy 2001). Ignoring Powell’s statement as a metaphor, it can be literally interpreted that the United States is selling/promoting consumerism through consumption. Here, it is asserted that democracy through public diplomacy in the United States is intrinsic with consumption of merchandise in the realm of a consumer society. ‘In the end, MTV and McDonald’s are US cultural icons, seemingly innocent Trojan-American horses nosing their way into other nations’ cultures’ (Bairner 2001:10). Anholt claims that consuming popular culture is particularly effective because when consuming, people relax their vigilance (2007: 100), and so it is in this area that public diplomacy can be most successful. Consalvo maintains that AOL-Time Warner, Disney and Viacom who are involved with large corporations such as Disney and Coke are responsible for the spreading of democratic governance and the extension of human rights (as well as waste, selfishness, and narcissism) (2006: 121). In fact, popular culture of the United States has become such the standard that it is no longer so necessary for its NSEC to be produced in the United States. Rather, due to contemporary globalization, the “American” merchandise that is consumed may come from all over the world, while the images attached to the merchandise have their origins in the United States.

Different avenues of popular culture in which messages of public diplomacy exist will now be presented. Within the United States, film and other media industries contribute to the exportation of nation-state images. For example, public diplomacy works through the consumption of ‘cinema, music, art and literature …because they add colour, detail and richness to people’s perception of the country, and help them to get to know the place almost as well as if they’d been there; better, in fact, because the picture that’s painted is often a little idealized, and all the more magical for being intangible and incomplete’ (Anholt 2007: 100). Here, this reinforces Powell’s quote of democracy being sold (quite literally) as a product whereby for example there is no ‘stronger promoter of democracy in this sense than
the cinema. It accustoms the nation, from high to low, to a single common view of life’ (Hutzinga in Schneider 2005: 149).

Accordingly, it is not just merchandise which is consumed that promotes public diplomacy aims, but also NSEC. This NSEC is not just in terms of images as proposed in this dissertations NSEC campaign, but also through the adoption of a lifestyle, which encourages and further increases consumption from the United States. In his McDonaldization thesis, Ritzer claims that consuming McDonalds is not just about burgers, but is about a fast-food lifestyle of eating on the run (1999: 84). Further, the idea of consuming, even though you do not have the funds to pay for it immediately becomes another identity trait of the United States. Ritzer presents this through the “credit card society” as another form of adopting a United States cultural identity. ‘When we whip out our credit cards at the mall we are saying, among other things, that we are “players” in the post-modern economy (1999: 130). The United States has become (intentionally or unintentionally) so good at the exportation of NSEC that it encourages this consumption through a credit lifestyle. The credit card supports this consumption of United States NSEC as it ‘makes it easier to purchase American goods like Levis and Pepsi and, more generally, the American consumer culture’ (Ritzer 1999: 84). Here, the extent of the American influence can start to be seen. Although glocalization continues to restrict cultural homogenization, the adoption of the United States identity will [or could] become virtually everyone’s “second culture.” (Ritzer 1999: 89).

**History of direct public diplomacy in the United States**

Public diplomacy in the United States was first noted in 1785 by Thomas Jefferson. However, it was not really used as a tool until World War One, when in 1917 the Committee on Public Information was formed as a soft power solution to military intervention. The committee on public information was formed by President Wilson and directed by his friend George Creel. The Committee relied heavily on using propaganda to get their message across (Nye 2008: 97). In particular, the committee used foreign language broadcasting via radio as a medium to support public diplomacy through foreign language broadcasting (Nye 2008: 97). Public diplomacy was used again in the Second World War. In 1938 the Division of Cultural Relations (replaced in 1940 by the department of Inter-American Affairs under Rockefeller) competed against Nazi propaganda in Latin America. This was soon expanded to the rest of the world after the United States entered the war in 1941 (Nye 2008: 97). Later,

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119 ‘You see I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object it to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world and procure them in its praise’ (Jefferson, in Kaminski in Schneider 2005: 147).
Roosevelt created the Office of Wartime Information in 1942\textsuperscript{120}, and this Office established the *Voice of America* (VOA). Initially the VOA broadcast United States views on the war from 1942 to North Africa, Europe and the Pacific. By 1943 the VOA had twenty-three transmitters delivering news in twenty-seven languages (Nye 2008: 97), and was expanded further during the Cold War.

Throughout the Cold War, the USSR and the United States competed using public diplomacy as a form of soft power. The United States increased competition with the establishment of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Worldnet Television, the publishing of different materials such as books, conferences, concerts, exhibitions, films and the Fulbright program also made a large contribution. On the other side, the USSR used public diplomacy to create an image of their communist agenda as peaceful, while presenting United States as war-loving (through association with Korea) and as a ‘cultural wasteland’ (Cull 2008: 39). However, one of the reasons that public diplomacy of the USSR was not successful was because it presented unrealistic images. ‘Moscow portrayed itself as it wanted to be, not as it was. The investment won admiration in the medium term, especially in the developing world, but could not counter the reality of political oppression or economic decline so clearly revealed in the 1980s’ (Cull 2008: 45). The United States responded to USSR public diplomacy through art. It did this with support of Eisenhower’s United States Information Agency\textsuperscript{121} that exhibited photographic artwork *The Family of Man*\textsuperscript{122} (Edward Steichen) around the world, including Moscow in 1959. Ultimately, the United States was quite successful at public diplomacy against the USSR and ‘when the Berlin Wall finally went down in 1989, it collapsed under the assault of hammers and bulldozers, not an artillery barrage’ (Nye 2008: 97). However, not all United States public diplomacy campaigns have been successful. For example, on another front, the United States was active in public diplomacy in Saigon and the rest of South East Asia. This public diplomacy was not as

\textsuperscript{120} The Office of Wartime Information was able to suggest ‘additions and deletions to many films and denying licenses to others’ (Nye 2008: 97).

\textsuperscript{121} According to Anholt, the United States Information Agency was the first to use the term ‘public diplomacy’, and they defined it as: ‘The influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents and the processes of inter-cultural communications’ (2007: 12).

\textsuperscript{122} *The Family of Man* comprised 503 pictures by 273 photographers, both professional and amateur, from sixty-eight countries including the Soviet Union... The pictures provided multifaceted glimpses of human life in all its diversity, including courtship, birth and parenting, work, learning, self-expression, and beyond’ (Cull 2007: 33).
creditable as against the USSR as it competed against the hard power of a negative military image of the United States.

Following this argument that the United States invests in public diplomacy as a soft power parallel to military intervention, there was less was invested into public diplomacy after the Cold War until 9/11 (Schneider 2005: 147). As a result, the United States Information Agency was merged into the U.S. State Department with its available funding, resources, and activities reduced (Kaiser in Erik 2004; Lippman in Erik 2004: 15). However, through indirect cultural diplomacy, the United States continued to dominate in exporting its image internationally. This could be seen through the new global television in the 1980s in which programmes such as Dallas and films from Hollywood influenced television and film consumers in other nation-states, while arousing critique of cultural imperialism. For example, during this time the ‘U.S. accounted for 71 percent of the total world traffic in television material’ (Segrav, in Waisbord 2004: 359). However, once 9/11 occurred, public diplomacy was reinvigorated with a new budget.

**Contemporary direct public diplomacy**

Since the advent of 9/11, the United States has entered a new era of public diplomacy and Anholt claims that $18 trillion have been spent on “Brand America” (2007: 44). The soft power of public diplomacy was activated again with a very important status in parallel to the hard power of military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. Subsequently, public diplomacy in the United States is now regularly viewed as a soft power working in parallel with hard power such as military intervention (Schneider 2005: 147), often in response to negative images created by hard power. In particular, Dutta-Bergman claims that billions of dollars have been spent on Middle East public diplomacy (2006: 118). This is a response to

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123 From 1963 to 1993, the federal budget grew fifteen-fold, but the United States Information Agency (USIA) budget grew only six and a half times larger. The USIA had more than 12,000 employees at its peak in the mid-1960s but only 9,000 in 1994 and 6,715 on the eve of its takeover by the U.S. State Department. Soft power seemed expendable. Between 1989 and 1999, the budget of the USIA, adjusted for inflation, decreased 10 percent. While government-funded radio broadcasts reached half the Soviet population every week and between 70 and 80 percent of the populace of Eastern Europe during the cold war, at the beginning of the new century, a mere 2 percent of Arabs heard the VOA (Blinken 2003, 287). Resources for the USIA mission in Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim nation, were cut in half. From 1995 to 2001, academic and cultural exchanges dropped from forty-five thousand to twenty-nine thousand annually, while many accessible downtown cultural centers and libraries were closed (Johnson and Dale 2003, 4). (Nye 2008: 97).

124 The enhancement of the public dimension of diplomacy is regarded as a central element in this revolution [revolution in the changing face of United States diplomacy (United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, in Merlingen & Mujic 2003: 271)].
public opinion of the United States being at its lowest levels\(^{125}\) (Schneider 2005: 160) whereby pictures of Americans abusing prisoners' human rights at Abu Ghraib prison have created significant damage to the perception of the United States on the world stage. Subsequently, much of this public diplomacy has been focused on Islamic countries with the aim of winning “hearts and minds” in the “war against terror”. ‘Negative views previously held in the Middle East have spread to other Muslim populations, such as Indonesia and Nigeria, where favourable ratings for the United States have dropped from 61 per cent to 15 per cent and 71 to 38 per cent respectively’ (Pew Research 2 Center in Schneider 2005: 5). The event of 9/11 and its aftermath has illustrated that the United States is not such a popular superpower as it may think it is. ‘It is little surprise, therefore, that much of global anti-Americanism feeds on the image of the United States as a trigger-happy capitalist crusader (van Ham 2008: 140). The negative image of the United States not only exists in the Middle East, China and North Korea, but since 9/11 has been extended to traditional allies. Currently, 83 percent of Germans, 85 percent of French and 81 percent of Spanish disapprove of the United States foreign policy (GMF & PEW in van Ham 2008: 141). Furthermore, the United States has found itself in a competition against other groups who have their own PR campaigns promoting negative images of the United States. Here, ‘millions of ordinary people … have greatly distorted, but carefully cultivated images of [the United States]—images so negative, so weird, so hostile that a young generation of terrorists is being created’ (Beers in van Ham 2009: 141).

In response, in 2001 Charlotte Beers, former chairman of advertising agencies J. Walter Thompson and Ogilvy & Mather took the role of Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. ‘Beers asked her former Madison Avenue colleagues to help rebrand and ‘sell’ Uncle Sam to a hostile Muslim World’ (Rutenberg in Van Ham 2003: 428; Teicholz in van Ham 2003: 428). Beers adopted the slogan “Shared Values” and had a $15 million budget\(^{126}\) to try to influence countries with predominantly Muslim populations (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 157). Another way to win hearts and minds was created by President Bush (Jnr.) who formed the Office of Global Communications in 2002 ‘to coordinate strategic communications overseas that integrate the President’s themes and truthfully depict America and Administration policies’ (Whitehouse 2008). The Office of Global Communications does this through a variety of media platforms: ‘print and electronic pamphlet titled The Network of

\(^{125}\) ‘Opinion polls indicate that favourable views in Europe of the US have dropped by 40 percentage points or more in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Spain’ (Pew Research Center in Schneider 2005: 5).

\(^{126}\) The public diplomacy budget worldwide increased to $300 million in 2003 and then $685 million in 2004.
Terrorism, a publication titled Iraq: From Fear to Freedom, a print and electronic pamphlet titled Voices of Freedom, an Arabic youth magazine, and an 18-minute documentary titled Rebuilding Afghanistan’ (General Accounting Office in Dutta-Bergman 2006: 110). Some other post-9/11 public diplomacy responses include American Corners (libraries and information) in Muslim-majority countries with the production of documentary material, and the launching of Persian and Arab-language satellite TV station (Alhurra) to compete with anti-American Aljazeera (van Ham 2005: 60).

Branding other nation-states
Public diplomacy of the United States is strong enough to not only promote itself, but to influence the identity of other nation-states. Reagans’ term “Evil Empire” became a well known term associated with the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Today, terms such as “rogue state” and “failed state” have become well known and are detrimental for states that are labeled as such. In fact, the ‘three for the price of one brand, “Axis of Evil” has probably enjoyed more world wide media exposure than any commercial slogan in history: within days, it was bigger than “Coke Adds Life” or “Just Do It” (Anholt 2007: 41). This negative labeling has not only been exported directly through state departments, but also indirectly through centers such as Moody’s, Standard & Poors and Fitch who rate the solvency of a nation-state. This is then used as a marker by investors across the world (Anholt 2007: 41). Even western, industrialized and democratic regions such as Europe are not safe from negative labeling from the United States which has been called ‘“Old Europe”, and the extraordinary “cheese-eating surrender monkeys” (this one was not an official federal weapon; it was coined by an American journalist and given worldwide airplay anyway)’ (Anholt 2007: 42).

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Direct and indirect public diplomacy of the United States has been argued to have existed since the 1700s, of which state public diplomacy is directly aligned with hard power. This soft power has been particularly important to the United States throughout the First, Second and Cold Wars. Throughout this time United States diplomacy has used both direct and indirect measures to export its message, be it directly through state controlled radio, or indirectly through the support of particular movies. Today public diplomacy has taken a more important role in the post-9/11 climate. This is particularly because of the damage that the hard power of the United States has created, and as such, public diplomacy was implemented to compensate for these problems. The United States has created an image of itself on the world stage that wants to be copied by individuals of other nation-states. The United States
has allowed its identity to be shared by attaching it to products which are then consumed. Individuals who consume such products are therefore buying into the United States identity. This identity is not only seen in the merchandise that is consumed, but in the lifestyle that surrounds it. Finally, the power of public diplomacy in the United States has been argued to be so strong that it has not only the ability to export its own identity internationally, but also to paint its own picture of other nation-states it may like or dislike. The case study of the United States will now be followed by an analysis of Britain, concentrating specifically on the public diplomacy of the Cool Britannia campaign. In order to understand the Cool Britannia campaign, an outline of the political and economic conditions leading to the campaign and discussion of the existence of British NSEC must be firstly presented.
4.3.0 British Case Study

4.3.1 Political and Economic Conditions Leading to the Cool Britannia Campaign

Since the 1970s Britain has responded to contemporary globalization and undergone a series of political and economic changes that have further opened its political, economic and socio-cultural structures to the world stage. These changes were necessary in order to remain competitive and most importantly, allowed for increased exposure and exportation of the British NSEC through different campaigns such as Cool Britannia. These changes brought about by contemporary globalization are thus important to discuss in order to set the scene in which the Cool Britannia case study takes place. Changes of contemporary globalization will explain how Britain deregulated corporations through neo-liberal policy in order to attract FDI, and the impact that this had upon state and corporate power relations. Particular emphasis will be placed on corporate deregulation implemented by Thatcher, and continued by Blair.

Modernizing Britain through contemporary globalization

The impact of contemporary globalization was realised in the 1970s when Britain found itself threatened by technologically savvy nation-states in an increasingly open market. The seriousness of being “left behind” was recognised throughout the 1970s when Britain started losing its structure as a world superpower to other nation-states who were more successful in manufacturing. Consequently, Britain started losing corporations to other nation-states who were more technologically modern and could also offer more attractive incentives to produce in their country. Some widely reported examples include HP sauce being relocated to Holland and the Longbridge MG factory being relocated to China. Britain had to quickly learn how to compete within contemporary globalization, or be left behind. Analysing Britain’s response to contemporary globalization through neo-liberal economics is crucial in understanding the impact that contemporary globalization has had upon the ability to export British NSEC. This is because the openness of the British market impinges on the ability for

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127 This was because immediately after the Second World War, Britain, which was relatively undamaged in comparison to some other countries, was able to have its economy grow rapidly without modernizing or major investment. This lack of modernization turned into a large problem in the post-war years when it could not manufacture to the same standards as other more modern industrial nation-states.

128 HP Sauce relates to Britain as the “HP” is an acronym for Houses of Parliament and thus has a strong NSEC association with Britain.

129 Although some MG operations were reopened at Longbridge 29.05.2008.
NSEC images to be attached to merchandise and exported. Here, the more open an economy is the increased ease it can export its cultural images. Accordingly, the different ways the state supports corporations creates a relationship for corporations to be based within Britain and to export British NSEC images. How contemporary globalization has changed the power relations between state and corporation will now be discussed.

The Thatcher years

Thatcherism opened Britain to the world stage. It is very important to discuss Thatcher’s neo-liberalism in association with the opening Britain up to the world stage, as it allowed for the exportation of NSEC images through campaigns such as Cool Britannia. Britain realised that it had to modernise its industries in order to become competitive once again. In 1964 Labour won the election with Wilson’s promise of modernising Britain to catch up with other industrialised countries who had revamped their industrial production after the Second World War. This was taken in recognition that Britain lagged behind in the marketplace compared to Continental European and Asian markets (Robins 1998: 332). However, the way that Labour was to go about modernisation became a contentious issue. Heaths subsequent replacement by Thatcher and the Conservatives in 1979 initiated a radical economic policy change designed to reverse long term economic decline and recover from the recession sparked by the 1973 oil crisis. Thatcher realised that Britain’s economic demise in comparison to other countries was due to a lack of innovation in government policy. Despite representing a conservative agenda, Thatcher believed that to get the Conservative party more votes she needed to implement radical change to recognise contemporary globalization and re-stimulate the British market. Thatcher followed Powell’s ideology rather than Heaths’ by retaining strict control over spending in order to support the economy (Nevin 1983: 94) while deregulating corporate activities. The policy had widespread implications for Britain, changing the political nature of state-market relations.

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130 This argument is supported by Rojek who claims that British state deregulation had a large impact on British identity as the ‘state is pivotal in organizing and connecting the national-popular’ (Rojek 2003: 139).

131 Aside from Powell, It could be said that Thatcher’s ideas came from Regan as Thatcher tried to imitate the trickle-down effect and lower taxes to stimulate the market which would ultimately support the elites and the corporations that they own. This would also make Britain more attractive for FDI encouraging more production within Britain. Thatcher was largely successful in implementing neo-liberalism, much more so in comparison to Regan. This is mainly due to the differences between British and United States governmental structures, where Thatcher had more autonomy to push through policy than Regan. For example, it was easier for Thatcher to push through her regulation without having to win the opposition over as Regan had to do between Republicans and Democrats.
within the British government (which between 1939 and 1979 had contained more consensus (Cox & Sanderson 1997: 2)).

Neo-liberalism was chosen as a method to recover from economic decline. This is because it was thought that it was the best solution to achieve growth and a reduced role of the state by increasing competition and efficiency (Edgell & Duke 1991: 4). The nature of Thatcherism is however the center of much debate amongst academics. The exact nature of Thatcherism is debated amongst intellectuals because it is tricky to describe and means different things to different people (e.g. see Hay 1996: 136). Thatcherism is perhaps best seen as a neo-liberal state project camouflaged in the rhetoric of moral conservatism (Hay in Hay 1996: 143). This is particularly because Thatcherism is often confused with anti-statism. While is seems logical that Thatcherist neo-liberalism would imply a “hands off approach” Hall rather asserts that Thatcherism was a hands-off approach only where necessary rather than a general policy for all aspects of society (in Hay 1996: 144). This view of the polity of Thatcher’s Conservative government can be seen as a contradiction, because it supported neo-liberal economic ideals while simultaneously holding on to old ideas in State and societal relations. Despite this debate, it can be sure that Thatcherism places emphasis upon the individual and the market while reducing the role (but not completely) of the state (Edgell & Duke 1991: 5) through privatisation in order to reduce public expenditure.

Generally, Thatcherism involved an ‘underlying pro-capital, anti-labour, pro-private, anti-state politico-economic orientations’. The fight against inflation and the control of public spending were given top priority from the beginning, and this has not changed. Nor has the Thatcherist dislike of organized labour or the Thatcherist support for capital’ (Edgell & Duke 1991: 215). These general policies were pushed into three pillars of ‘Thatcherite imperium’:

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132 According to Harris ‘Thatcherism tends to regard all institutions as being opposed to markets. The professions, the universities and the civil service, the trade unions, local government, the nationalized industries, the National Health Service and those institutions concerned with income maintenance, are all ‘conspiracies in restraint of trade’, if ‘trade’ be understood as the free play of market forces’ (Harris in Brown & Sparks 1991).
1) ‘The revival of a neo-liberal power bloc advocating political, moral and intellectual leadership on the basis of free market doctrine and possessive individualism.

2) The rejection of the Keynesian form of corporatism and the consensus politics of the managed economy and welfare state.

3) The restoration of the prerogatives of management, capital and control over working-class power and organized bargaining strength’. (Hall in Rojek 2003: 148).

While Thatcherism opened the British economy, providing one of the prerequisites for the NSEC campaign, it did not fully allow for conditions required for a NSEC campaign. This is because Thatcher did not believe in society and thus could not believe in a common identity which is required for the selection of images to be representative of the nation-state. Here Thatcher is most famously quoted to say ‘there is no such thing as society’. (Womens Own in Dahrendorf 1988: 191)\textsuperscript{133} Thus, while Thatcher opened Britain to increased flows of NSEC identities, she did not apply any proactive measures to benefit from this opening through public diplomacy. The potential of contemporary globalization for public diplomacy was left until New Labour was elected.

**New Labour**

Thatcherism has been continued by New Labour through Blair’s policies (Rojek 2003: 155). Under Thatcher, the British economy was opened, and by the time New Labour was elected into power, Britain was in need of utilising this openness to create a positive image on the world stage to sell itself. New Labour differs from the traditional Labour party in that it is closer to the right, which can be seen through its different policies, such as its Third Way\textsuperscript{134}. This allowed Blair to continue Thatcher’s polity, but from a more cautious perspective (for example, the minimum wage was increased). While the conservatives believed in the free market, Blair liked to have a little more control using the state as an agent of social and economic advancement (Cox & Sanderson in Lee & Sanderson 1997: 1). New Labours belief in the British “society” and identity opened the door to present Britain as a unique identity to the world through the Cool Britannia campaign\textsuperscript{135}.

\textsuperscript{133} Other than common political institutions, Thatcher did not believe in a commonality outside the family (Harris 1991) and ignored the fact that nation-state institutions require socially cohesive citizens in order to function.

\textsuperscript{134} The Third Way allowed Blair to recognize contemporary globalization and incorporate neo-liberal economics (including deregulation and privatization) from Thatcher.

\textsuperscript{135} Rather than not believing in a common identity (e.g. Thatcher) and just opening the market.
Contemporary globalization has created a new playing field in which Britain must learn to survive. It has been presented that a problem existed for Britain as it began to struggle to compete with more modern industrial nation-states from the 1960s. The British government thought that FDI was the best solution for a strong economy and under Thatcher decided to use deregulation through a neo-liberal polity as an incentive to attract industry rather than using direct subsidies. This neo-liberal agenda was followed by the New Labour government, who became obsessed with global finance and were not afraid to recognise and export the British identity. As a result, corporations have been attracted to Britain because of, (e.g.) its flexible labour force (Pollert 2007: 110). Also, because of Thatcherism, the role of corporations in business has become more advanced in Britain than many other nations. Most importantly to set the scene for the Cool Britannia campaign, creating a deregulated environment has allowed corporations to enter Britain export their merchandise with increased ease. This has subsequently created a good environment for the exportation of a British identity in order to convince the world stage that Britain is a leading nation-state. Now that the political and economic conditions leading to the campaign have been investigated, discussion concerning the existence of British NSEC will be presented. This will support the argument that Britain has a NSEC that was not only exported through the Cool Britannia campaign, but can also be used in future NSEC campaigns.

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136 This strategy allows for economic prosperity when the general economy is doing well, but also makes it easier for corporations to pull out in times of economic downturn.

137 While the British government does not commonly provide direct subsidies industries, the British state does subsidize, such as the pharmaceutical industry as well as weapons manufacturing and subsidies for agriculture in alignment with EU regulation where it sees benefits. This is because of the threat that they will relocate to North America which competes with Britain offering high prices and R&D support. Furthermore, these subsidies are more aimed at attracting new corporations rather than retaining those currently in Britain. Also, regional governments have taken the initiative to attract industries through indirect subsidies.
4.3.2 British NSEC

With contemporary globalization, traditional British images such as countryside pursuits of cricket and foxhunting as well as institutions such as the House of Lords and church are all coming under critical scrutiny (Edmunds & Turner 2001: 84). With the internationalization of Britain as a result of contemporary globalization, it can be doubted if a British identity exists. The aim of this section is to claim that a British identity does exist. This in turn will support the argument that British NSEC images can be exported.

While British identity has existed for a long time, since the 1970s, it has gone under much change due to devolution and globalization. This section of the dissertation will explain that these two factors of devolution and globalization have reduced British sovereignty and made it increasingly difficult to recognize British identity. It will then be argued that despite devolution and contemporary globalization, British identity does exist, although contemporary globalization has changed the nature of this identity through transformation in state, corporation and citizen relations. Accordingly, it will be concluded that British identity is controlled and shaped increasingly by corporations rather than the state.

British NSEC

The topic of what constitutes “Britishness” in terms of British identity is not new, having been discussed by many authors such as Kumar (2003), Morley & Robins (2001), Storrie (1997) and Taylor (2000). For example, Black suggests that a sense of English identity has existed at least since the ‘transformation of Wessex into the Old English Monarchy in the tenth century. Such a process was interrupted by the Norman Conquest, which linked England to the Continent politically’ (1998: 5). Despite this recognition this thesis argues that the British identity has undergone considerable change and challenges since the 1970s to create the British identity of today. In order to understand these changes, an assessment of British identity before the 1970s must firstly be made.

Pre-1970s

Britain’s geographical positioning has allowed it to create a sense of identity of its Self in contrast to Others. Britain first became recognised through gaining control of Britain and her islands resulting from the defeat of the Jacobites in Culloden in 1746. Black argues that Britain later recognised itself as a nation-state through its awareness of and interaction with other nation-states when Britain moved away from the monarchy and into the statehood of a political community (1998: 5). This identity of the British nation-state combined with its
perceived sense of power through colonisation instilled in the sense of the Empire (with Britain at its head), as well as a British culture. Churchill reinforced this sense of patriotic identity of the British nation-state to hold it together throughout the Second World War with his inspiring and encouraging, moral boosting speeches (which were a form of propaganda). John Major was also known for his ideals of supporting a British cultural identity of ‘village greens, district nurses on bicycles and warm beer’\textsuperscript{138} (Porter 2006: 32), which he used to reflect his conservative agenda. However, during the 1960s there were several changes that destroyed the propaganda of these traditional identities of Britain at the head of the Empire and Britain’s identity as a world power has dissipated through post-war decolonization. For example, Britain’s ability to produce manufactured products at competitive prices was being slowly eroded, because of increased inability to compete with competitors on the world market. This resulted in a loss in confidence of Britain boasting the identity of being able to lead its Empire with considerable economic, social and political power. Despite Thatcher’s response to this problem, it became clear that the days of the Empire were over, and ‘Great Britain’ no longer seemed to exist as a major force in the world. ‘The confident certainties of Churchill’s victory speech have dissolved... even the golden circle of the crown has lost much of its old magic, while the unraveling of Britain’s world role, de-colonization in Asia and Africa... have destroyed the identity that went with the multiple kingship: The British are no longer the oceanic, extra-European, globe-girdling people of Churchill’s rhetoric’ (Marquand in Edmunds & Turner 2001: 84).

This loss in power contributes too many arguments claiming that Britain does not have a common identity as it could promote through (e.g.) Churchill and Major. The two major arguments, devolution and globalization are seemingly contradictory concepts that support the argument that British identity is diminishing. On one hand, devolution supports increased regional political power being handed down from Westminster, which increases regional economic and socio-cultural sovereignty. Contemporary globalization, on the other hand claims that a British identity is difficult to capture for two reasons. Firstly, because of inflowing socio-cultural identities through immigration, and secondly because of increasingly shared political and economic regionalism relations within the European Union. These two major arguments will now be presented.

\textsuperscript{138} Although again this did not necessarily reflect the reality of the time.
CHAPTER FOUR: NATION-STATES, CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS

Against a common British identity – Devolution

It is increasingly difficult to form a NSEC as Britain is undergoing devolution. Devolution is the process of political power being passed from the central British government to regional levels. For Britain this means that the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly and Northern Ireland Assembly. Devolution is a problem for NSEC because it emphasizes the formation of regional identities rather than British identity and thus makes it increasingly difficult to identity nation-state identities and images.

Against a common British identity - Globalization

On the other hand, due to contemporary globalization, Britain’s borders have been opened, leading to a high influx of identities and decreased sovereignty through EU membership. Both immigration and the EU will now be discussed with reference to contemporary globalization.

Britain is a country of immigrants, from the days that the Brythons arrived in the Iron Age, and finally established themselves as a union in 1707, Britain has since been inundated with different populations immigrating to her shores. All of these different populations have brought with them their own identities which have been assimilated, remained isolated or mixed together with the local population, depending on different academic perspectives. However, from the 1950s Britain experienced a change in its migration patterns as increased immigration to Britain dramatically diversified its population. Immigration to Britain can be seen to alter British identity depending on if immigrants assimilation to the cultural identity of Britain, or if they retain their identity from their originating land. Traditional British identity

139 See appendix 4.3.1.1.

140 According to the UN, in 2005 the UK had a migration population of 5.6 million (9.1 percent of the population) (UN Population 2006). This places the UK 9th on the world rankings for countries with the largest international migration stock.

141 Today there seems to be a clash between two major groups in Britain: Firstly those immigrants to Britain since the Second World War and other left wing and cosmopolitan citizens. These people support cultural identity diversity. On the other side are the conservative and right wing who resist multicultural transformation and continue the promotion of a sense of pride of traditional Britishness for example, through the far-right policies of the National Front or the British National Party. Robins supports the British identity as a inclusive identity construct rather than exclusive (1998: 328), and seems to support mild assimilation (‘immigrants, should show themselves willing to respect and accept British institutions, values and behaviour, as these things have been bequeathed by the past’ (1998: 28)). In any case, post-WWII immigration to Britain has increased the diversity of British cultural identity making the ability to identify a NSEC more complicated. This change of British identity is highlighted by the extreme views of Enoch Powell’s “Rivers of Blood” speech in which immigrants were thought of never being truly able to
initially resisted influences of change from immigration by enforcing assimilation. This is seen through educational institutions and businesses which encouraged immigrants to assimilate. Assimilation was also represented by government assisted action because immigrants (a minority population) to Britain were seen in a negative light and were used as scapegoats for any current problems (Nevin 1983: 89). This could be seen in the form of the 1968 Race Relations Act (Nevin 1983: 90). Within contemporary globalization, identities of British citizens are no longer necessarily shaped by assimilation policies. Britain’s move to fit into the neo-liberal economic model further opened it to other nation-states, and as a result an increasingly diverse range of cultures have immigrated to Britain. Contemporary globalisation has impacted upon how citizens feel connected to Britain and therefore it can be said that through having a greater awareness of the outside world, the necessity of a British identity is diminishing, and the idea of being a citizen with a transnational identity is increasing.

Aside from neo-liberal economics, British identity has also been influenced by outside identities through technological innovation of contemporary globalization. Here, for example the internet has increased individuals access and ability to pick and choose their identity from an international selection that was previously unavailable. Technological innovation has increased the ability to express local, national, and international differences, while simultaneously allowing the adoption of other identities. Increased access to identities from outside Britain has nevertheless has reduced individuals British identity based on ‘traditional’ structures (Robins 1998: 320). This questions whether British identity is evolving (as all identities do) or if it should be recognised as British at all, as it becomes increasingly assimilated and/or international. The EU is another factor of contemporary globalization that, similar to immigration is making the British identity harder to identify.

Contemporary globalization and the European Union
It seems that Britain is being towed back as a peninsula of continental Europe as it was before the last ice age 9000 years ago – however, this time socially, politically and economically rather than through a lowering sea levels. Britain (under the United Kingdom) joined the EU in 1973. It joined because it found that it was not strong enough to go it alone on the world stage, and nor could it no longer rely on support from its commonwealth
partners. Britain has not willingly become interdependent with Europe\(^{142}\). Britain is embarrassed as its membership is out of necessity and reduces its sovereignty by aligning its economic, social and political policies with the rest of the member states. The necessity for EU membership shows that Britain is no longer a superpower. An outline of why Britain joined the EU despite its unwillingness will now be presented.

Britain joined the EU with recognition that it no longer has the economic superiority to prosper single-handedly and that it has needed membership to compete economically on the world stage. Here, advancements of contemporary globalisation through the need for economic interdependence have slowly forced Britain to become more integrated politically and economically with continental Europe so that it can face its (e.g.) ASEAN (etc) competitors on a more equal footing. As a result, British trade has been supported both within the EU and externally. Today, 62 percent of goods and 41 percent of British services are traded within the EU\(^{143}\) in comparison to around 25 percent 40 years ago. Under EU membership, Britain has also attracted a mixture of people and corporations to its shores. People and corporations are attracted to Britain because of its flexible workforce. Consequently, Britain as a result of ease of interaction with continental Europe can now be seen as a migration state.

Despite the positive benefits of trade with EU membership, there remains a lot of British animosity towards the EU. The EU has often been thought of as the Other, or the enemy (Robins 1998: 318). In fact this feeling has existed for a long time. Churchill was always against the formation of a United States of Europe: ‘We are with Europe, not a part of it. We are linked but not compromised’ (Pycroft 1996: 669). Aside from the reduction in sovereignty, there have been a lot of other costs for Britain involved with its EU membership. One such example is the economic balancing out between member states. This has involved the economic flows from the “richer” to “poorer” countries. Another example of EU animosity is directed towards the Lisbon Agenda\(^{144}\) which has reduced British sovereignty through a strengthening of EU driven polity.

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\(^{142}\) Britain is not alone in being unhappy about the EU. Robins argues that not only the English culture, but all of the cultures of the member states were affected (1998: 316) by the inter-governing rules of the community.

\(^{143}\) According to the 1997 Pink Book Britain had a total of 153,877 million pounds of goods traded and 51,159 million pounds of services from a world total of 245,105 million pounds of goods and 124,586 pounds of services traded (1997: 102).

\(^{144}\) The aim of the Lisbon Agenda is to improve economic growth of the EU by setting a list of goals to be achieved by member states.
For this dissertation, the central concern with the EU is the transferral of a ‘British identity’ to an ‘assimilated EU identity’. John Major, while realising the importance of the European Union, was opposed to any centralising. Much of this fear surrounded a loss of identity by dropping the Pound and adopting the Euro\textsuperscript{145}. As a result, Britain opted not to enter the ERM and ERMII. The Conservative party has been nervous not only of the EU taking away power from Westminster (Daily Telegraph in Edmunds & Turner 2001: 84)\textsuperscript{146}, but also of a loss of British identity. One reason for this is the perceived assimilation policies and its corresponding consequences on British identity. Alternatively, it is thought that to retain cultural independence is to keep identity. This argument takes the position that the preservation of identity requires the restriction of the Other (namely EU polity). This ignores that cultural evolution is a common process of identity building as with British immigration and that British identity can continue to exist while being an EU member.

However, despite these worries of EU assimilation, the EU is still considered as important for Britain. This is illustrated with the 1975 referendum to decide if it should remain in the European Economic Community. The result was a yes of 67.2 percent \textsuperscript{147} (UK Electoral Commission 2008). One of the possible reasons for the passing of the referendum was a state attempt to reduce British fears of a reduction in British identity. Campaign literature was produced declaring ‘Our traditions are safe’, and the ‘Britain in Europe’ (Robins 1998: 316). This supported the idea of working within the European Community while retaining cultural sovereignty.

In summary, resentment towards the EU exists because it is thought that the EU will swallow up Britain’s distinctive cultural social, political and economic structures – namely its sovereignty. But at the same time Britain realises that to survive economically, it is important to be a member of the EU to fight against the other nation-states that are binding their economic policies together under contemporary globalization. Thus, while Britain used to use assimilation policies on its immigrants, today under contemporary globalization conservative

\textsuperscript{145} It must also be recognised that there were also economic advantages for Britain to retain the pound currency.

\textsuperscript{146} This was not so much the case in times of the EEC because the EEC concentrated upon agricultural subsidies and customs union (until the 1967 Merger Treaty). In contrast, the EU has been more wide ranging in its economic, social and political European unionization.

\textsuperscript{147} The question asked in the 1975 UK referendum was: ‘Do you think that the UK should stay in the European Community (Common Market)?’ The result of the referendum was: Yes: 67.2 percent, No: 32.8 percent Turnout: 64.5 percent (UK Electoral Commission 2008).
Britain is worried that the British identity can no longer be recognised because of the cultural mixing due to increased immigration and assimilation into EU polity. This view however does not recognise that cultural evolution is a standard process of identity building. Aside from devolution and contemporary globalization, there is one other sector in which British identity has changed, and this is the new relationship between the state, corporations and citizens in Britain.

The new relationship between the state, corporations and citizens in Britain
The state is the intermediary institution that binds corporations and citizens together through regulated management. The state maintains the power to choose the type of social order it wants. Further, the state can search for its own balance between corporate deregulation and maintaining societal rule. Deregulation of British corporations has opened the British market, making it less restricted to compete on the world stage. It is important to recognise the relationship between the British state and its corporations as this determines how well the state can support corporations to export NSEC images. The opening of the market can be seen as a better strategy than providing subsidies, as the state does not appear weak as it is creating a more competitive environment. This competitive environment increases exposure of Britain on the world stage and increases accessibility for NSEC images. However, through deregulation a problem occurs whereby the state has to control the identities that are exported to the world stage. This lack of ability to control identity asserts the need for the state to implement some sort of campaign to promote the identity of the nation-state in a positive light through (e.g. Cool Britannia or NSEC images).

Previously, the British government was seen as the natural regulator of corporations, implementing policies such as the 19th century British Factory Act which regulated workers hours. Today the British government is run like a business – full of technocrats. The government has placed emphasis upon deregulation since the 1970s, because of the neoliberal economics and technological innovation that has resulted in corporations –the nation-states economic sustenance – becoming more transnational and maintaining the ability to move their capital offshore at speeds faster than previously possible. Consequently, the state has thus become more vulnerable and responsive to the needs of corporations because of the fear of losing them. One seemingly contradictory way to solve this problem and retain corporations has been to deregulate the market. While this makes it easier for corporations to leave a nation-state, it also makes it easier for corporations to establish themselves within the nation-state and decreases the strength of collective labour, making an attractive
environment for corporations to work within. This has changed the relationship between state, citizen and corporation within contemporary globalization.

Corporate involvement in politics is regulated directly by sections of the British public who hold anti-corporate and/or anti-capitalist sentiment and defend public spaces. However, as a result of corporate deregulation, the British state has become increasingly submissive to corporations in order to retain and attract them. Today, the government is placed in the difficult position of balance between protecting its citizens and attracting and sustaining corporations to support economic growth. The British public has generally supported liberalisation, rejecting state intervention and the public sector (Dyson in Cox & Sanderson 1997: 3). However, this has not always been to their advantage, as it has resulted in corporatism. For example, labour deregulation has led to a flexible work force with the ability for part-time working and a 16 hour week on short term renewable contracts. This may be attractive to employers, but could be seen to weaken worker rights. Furthermore, these changes in market forces have altered the traditional evolution of identity as Marquand explains from a transition of civic to market culture (2004). Through democratic politics the citizen has the ability to vote for their leaders, and through selective consumption citizens can choose corporations that will prosper. However, neo-liberal economics reduce the role citizens have while increasing their identity as consumers. This leads to a freedom paradox whereby citizens have freedom as consumers, but this freedom is steered by corporations. Ultimately, the situation where corporations shape the rules of the state are generally accepted by the citizens (Radice 2006).

It is clear that corporations have been granted excessive power in Britain as a result of deregulation. Corporationism thus influences the nation-state identity and decreases state protection of citizens. This has had wide ranging implications on the ability for government to control corporations. Nevertheless, corporate dominance is sneaking its way into government. The pressure corporations place upon the state can however not be granted unrestricted as citizens continue to require protection from the state, and corporate dominance will impinge upon democracy. Thus a role of the state is to regulate corporate demands. Results of corporate influence on the state include businesses being implemented to solve social and environmental public problems. This can be seen for example through the recent “cash for peerage” scandal, where it was thought that corporate elites were buying

148 Referring to the interaction of private corporations influencing the state. Much literature has been written about corporatism entering government such as Bauman’s discussion of corporate effects upon the community (1982).
titles to become involved in governmental decisions and thus having even more control over governmental decisions.\footnote{149 This complaint was later discounted.}

This increased corporate power brings fourth critique of post-democracy and the imperialism of corporate culture whereby British transnational corporations become the bearers of cross cultural transmissions imported and exported from Britain. The critique takes place where these British corporations which are seen as increasingly trans- or multinational must be recognised as belonging to Britain. Not only does this have political, legal and economic implications for governments who attempt to hold corporations responsible for their actions while simultaneously relying on their economic input to support the countries economy, but it is also critical for the functioning of the NSEC campaign, so that corporations and their merchandise are recognised as belonging to a particular nation-state.

Corporations in Britain are having an increasingly important role in forming the British NSEC identity. The shift in power relations under contemporary globalization from state to corporation has placed more responsibility in corporations to create a positive nation-state identity on the world stage. It is thus important that corporations represent the nation-state. This was not recognised by Thatcher, but was started to be noticed by New Labour. British corporations still have a lot more work to do to support the British identity and not all are supportive. For example, one of Britain’s biggest financial corporations HSBC advertises itself as the local bank – regardless if it is advertising itself in (e.g.) Britain or Turkey. HSBC does not advertise itself as British but as “The Worlds Local Bank”, using a strategy of creating local sentimental ties to attract its customers. While there are obvious significant advantages for HSBC to try to identify itself in close relation with its customers, disassociation with Britain results in a lack of ability of identity promotion for the British nation-state. HSBC with offices in 83 countries (HSBC 2008) could do a lot more to support British nation-state culture. The dominance of corporations has also affected the identity of citizens to becoming more recognised as consumers. Subsequently, there is not only a bureaucratic problem for British corporations to be recognised as British, but these corporations must also vocally identify themselves with the nation-state if they are to promote it to the world through (e.g.) the NSEC campaign.
In summary, a conundrum for British politicians exists as it is their regulations that are trapped within the nation-state while corporations are not. Corporations are thus very hard to regulate – and the only apparent solution for Britain to retain corporations is to reduce state power and autonomy. However, this is not a favourable response by governments as it reduces their capacity to protect the rights of their citizens from the corporate capitalist drive towards exploitation (derived from Galbraith 1998). This new relationship between corporations, state and citizens will now be used to explain how collective identity currently exists in Britain.

**Collective identity**

Despite devolution and contemporary globalization, a collective British identity exists that can be used for NSEC exportation. Today, under the influence of globalization, the British identity has become much more fluid due to increased social, political and economic interaction with other nations. It seems that as the economic might of Britain faded throughout the 1970s, so did the support of the Imperial system. Prior to the 1970s, it could be said that there was certainly a sense of patriotism felt by some, if not most people living in Britain for the nation-state due to previous military action such as the first and second world wars in which many people died for their country. However, as the traditional structures of British society such as church, Monarchy, the Times, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Oxford, Cambridge dissipated throughout the 1970s under heavy criticism for being imperialist (Robins 1998: 332), a new set of corporate structures came to rise as discussed previously, which support the contemporary NSEC.

Despite this loss of traditional identity structures, indicators continue to exist that suggest Britain maintains a sense of collective identity. Although the classic red phone box is slowly going out of existence, other icons remain such as Black Cabs, the London Bobby (policeman) and double-decker buses. The central point is that a collective identity continues to exist, but has changed under the new relationship between state, corporation and citizen. For example, Britain persists to retain popular identity amongst its citizens in important sporting events, such the Soccer World Cup, or the Olympic Games. Also national tragedies, (the death of Princess Diana) or fears (terrorist activity within Britain) continue to stoke collective emotion. This collective sentiment, while certainly not unanimous, contributes to the NSEC identity. Even the mundane such as Fish and Chips, discussing the weather and football or drinking a pint in the local pub continue to reinforce a collective identity.

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150 This theory is supported by Derrida (1997) who argues that a sense of cultural identity and military action are closely related.
In this light it is important to understand how corporations have had a significant impact on how these events are understood by the citizens. For example, corporate sponsoring of sporting events change ideas of collective representation held by citizens or national tragedies are developed and reinforced by (e.g.) media corporations. Here, corporate involvement in events surrounding collective British sentiment reinforces consumerism, corporate power and further decrease citizen association with the state. This strengthens the argument that the state’s control over the creation of collective identity is further weakened to corporate identity creation. In contemporary British society, the state still has some control over the collective identity, but this is becoming increasingly overtaken by corporations.

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Britain had a strong identity until late 1970s when devolution and contemporary globalization reduced sovereignty. Devolution has seen a greater emphasis placed upon regional politics rather than Westminster, and contemporary globalization has increased British immigration and ties to EU member states. Increased immigration has led to ever more diverse identities residing within Britain. This has made it difficult for conservatives to capture the British identity, while liberals recognize it part of identity evolution. Furthermore, the EU has reduced British identity by handing a large portion of sovereignty to EU polity. Devolution and contemporary globalization have thus presented large challenges upon the ability to recognize a British identity. Although a common NSEC British identity does exist, it differs to the British identity prior to contemporary globalization. The new British identity must be recognized with reference to the changed relationship between state, corporation and citizens. Here, due to neo-liberal economics, corporations have an increasingly dominant position in forming the British identity held by its citizens. Now that the conditions leading to the Cool Britannia campaign and arguments concerning the existence of British NSEC culture have been presented, the Cool Britannia case study itself can be investigated.
CHAPTER FOUR: NATION-STATES, CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS

4.3.3 Cool Britannia Case Study

The name ‘Cool Britannia’ originates from a 1967 song by the Bonzo Dog Doo-Dah Band. The British New Labour party also took on the name for an image campaign to create a positive British image on the world stage. This section will explain how the need for such a campaign came about and present its implementation, immediate and long term results. Finally, an explanation of future campaigns in light of Cool Britannia will be mentioned to illustrate Britain’s current position in image formation.

Introduction to the problem

Throughout the two World Wars many citizens gave their lives for Britain, partially as a result of having a strong image association with the nation-state. These images include British institutions such as ‘parliament, the monarchy, the British Army, the National Portrait Gallery, the reinvention of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, the National Trust and so on’ (Leonard 1997: 19). However, in recent times the importance of these institutions has dissipated.

Leading up to the Cool Britannia campaign, perceptions of British images were non-existent and/or unimportant, or seen as traditional and dull. Leonard claimed that the traditional British image was no longer seen as important to the general population because culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is no longer important, faith in

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151 ‘Today, even the most ardent advocate of tradition cannot be blind to the problems of legitimacy that so many of Britain’s oldest institutions are suffering. The royal family sometimes looks more like a comic soap opera rather than a source of envy – only 13 per cent of British people ‘respect’ it and 45 per cent do not think that Britain will have a monarchy in 50 years’ time, compared to only 30 per cent who think it will’ (MORI, BPO survey).

152 ‘The judiciary, Parliament and the Treasury have been undermined by a series of high-profile failures. Between 1983 and 1996, the percentage of people who had ‘great confidence’ or ‘quite a lot of confidence’ in Parliament dropped from 54 per cent to 10 per cent; confidence in the legal system fell from 58 per cent to 26 per cent; in the church from 52 per cent to 25 per cent and in the civil service from 46 per cent to 14 per cent (Henley Centre). The proportion of people who trusted government ministers to tell the truth fell to 10 per cent. (MORI). Deference towards ancient customs has also steadily eroded – 74 per cent disagree with the statement that ‘fox hunting is traditional to the English way of life and should be encouraged’ (MORI, BPO survey).

153 ‘Today such national identities are being eclipsed by more personal identities. When ranking the most important components of identity, people cite ‘my principles and values’ (66 per cent), ‘my interests’ (61 per cent), ‘being a parent’ (59 per cent), ‘emotions and feelings’ (57 per cent), ‘circle of friends’ (55 per cent) and ‘my intelligence’ (52 per cent) as more important than Britishness’ (Synergy Brand Values in Leonard 1997: 17). Table. 4.3.3.1.

154 ‘50 per cent of Britons regarded Britishness an important part of their identity’ (Leonard 1997: 2).
institutions has dropped\textsuperscript{155}, economic achievements were not appreciated\textsuperscript{156}, merchandise is not seen as good by British consumers\textsuperscript{157}, corporations are embarrassed to use ‘Britain’ to sell their merchandise\textsuperscript{158} (Leonard 1997: 2), and often British companies were their own worst critics (Dan Bobby 1999).

This was supported by British corporations’ reputation overseas (Fig. 4.3.3.2) whereby the common consensus of the British image as traditional (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 145, Leonard 1997: 1) associated scenes of Britain as a country with ‘village cricket, tea and scones, baronial castles, Beefeaters, grouse hunts on heathery moors, ceremonial celebrators in wigs and tights, tepid amber ale and Union Jacks fluttering triumphantly’ (Hoge 1997) did not present Britain as a economically competitive nation-state. This dull\textsuperscript{159} and incoherent (Leonard in Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 145) presentation of Britain rather than a technologically advanced or innovative nation-state hurt Britain’s economic competitiveness on the world stage. During this lead up to Cool Britannia, any push to improve Britain’s image was ‘fragmented and unstrategic’\textsuperscript{160}, \textsuperscript{161}, ‘presenting Britain as a nation of heritage’ (Leonard 1997: 2).

\textsuperscript{155} ‘Barely 30 per cent think Britain will have a monarchy in 50 years’ time; only 10 per cent have confidence in parliament, 25 per cent in the church; and 26 per cent in the legal system’ (Leonard 1997: 2).

\textsuperscript{156} ‘Only one in twenty are very proud of our economic achievements’ (Leonard 1997: 2).

\textsuperscript{157} ‘Only 27 per cent of British consumers see British products as excellent or good – even the Japanese (32 per cent) have a better regard for British products’ (Leonard 1997: 2).

\textsuperscript{158} ‘British Telecom, British Gas, British Home Stores, and the British Airport Authority all dropped the ‘British’ from their names, and Dixons’ own brand MATSUI is meant to sound Japanese’ (Leonard 1997: 2).

\textsuperscript{159} ‘The world’s tourists view Britain as a worthy – but dull – destination (Leonard 1997: 6).

\textsuperscript{160} In 1997 ‘almost £800 million of public money is spent on Britain’s identity. This includes the Foreign Office (£15 million on information), the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI – £55 million on export promotion), the British Council (£420 million), the Invest in Britain Bureau, the British Tourist Authority (£35 million) and the BBC (£52 million on World Service and £189 million on World Service Television). One can add to that a slice at least of the £10 billion spent each year by British companies on advertising their products at home and abroad’ (Central Office of Information in Leonard 1997: 28).

\textsuperscript{161} ‘Our identity is simply not managed... there is an initiative a week – nothing resembling an industrial policy or strategic planning’. (Ellis in Leonard 1997: 29).
Leonard went on to claim that the government was not doing much to support the British image. This is why corporations such as BHS, BG Group, BAA and BTG tried to disassociate themselves with Britain and rather adopt a global image (Trevail & Tyrrell in Leonard 1997: 23). In fact, Leonard went further to claim that Britain was a backward-looking has-been, its merchandise low tech and bad value, business strike ridden and hostile to free trade as well as having bad weather, poor food and ‘stand-offish’ people (Leonard 1997: 1). This contrasted to the possibility of creating images of Britain’s ‘pulsating telecommunications, global business transactions, information technologies, buccaneering entrepreneurs, bold architecture, cheers advertising, and daring fashion. Britpop music, nightclubbing – anything, in short, that is youthful, creative and, in the word most uttered by the leasers of this updated land, ‘modern’...’ (Hoge 1997).

While Leonard thought that the British identity was unimportant or boring, (1997: 32) he recognized the need for strong identity. For example, corporations recognize that identity is a necessity to perform well economically. However, this was contrasted with the reality of the situation in which 36 percent of the worlds 200 leading companies felt that with the UK’s present image, the label “Made in UK” would positively influence their purchasing decisions for goods and services, 7 percent said that it would be a negative influence and 57 percent, despite being influenced by the national image, were immune or indifferent to the UK (Olins in Leonard 1997: 15).

162 ‘Government has led the way with archaic and ageing diplomatic missions filled with Chippendale furniture; pompous heraldry on official publications; titled diplomatic envoys; tourism advertising displays of thatched pubs and classic cars; and cardboard cut-out Beefeaters at trade fairs’ (Leonard 1997: 29).

163 ‘Less than 40 per cent of Fortune 500 companies associate British products with being state-of-the-art; under 50 per cent see products ‘Made in UK’ as offering good value for money’ (Leonard 1997: 1).

164 ‘Over 45 per cent of Fortune 500 companies still associate Britain with poor industrial relations, and under 40 per cent of Japanese companies believe that Britain encourages free enterprise’ (Leonard 1997: 1).

165 ‘The world’s business community ranks Britain’s industries as less innovative and committed to quality than our competitors’ (Leonard 1997: 6).

166 ‘Seventy two per cent of Fortune 500 companies cite national identity as an important influence when purchasing goods and services, and most people will pay over the odds for certain products, such as consumer electronics from Japan, or engineering from Germany’ (Leonard 1997: 3).

167 ‘Although Britain has been successful in attracting inward investment, our image in the business world is often either negative or virtually non-existent. A survey of 200 of the world’s leading companies (Fortune 500 companies) revealed that only 36 per cent felt the label ‘Made in UK’ would positively influence their purchasing decisions for goods and services, 7 per cent said that it would be a negative influence and 57 per cent, despite being influenced by the national
Furthermore, a strong positive identity supports not only corporations but also results in social cohesion. As it was seen that a problem existed through the lack of a strong British image, New Labour implemented a campaign in order to address the problem of Britain’s traditional imagery.

**Birth of the Cool Britannia Campaign**

The Cool Britannia campaign may be argued to be started by Leonard of the Demos Institute, who wrote a paper asserting that the image of Britain needed to be changed. Demos was directed by Geoff Mulgan, an advisor to Tony Blair, which was probably how it became adopted by the Labour party. Leonard suggested the creation of a small group consisting of leaders from business, the arts and diplomacy to implement a new British identity (1997: 60). The aim of the group was to use Britain’s core strengths, plan coordination, a central information source, advice, cross departmental support, encourage other institutions participation and provide support for cities and regions and a brand space where people can ‘absorb values, vocabulary, imagery and re-energize their conception of the national brand’ (Leonard 1997: 62).

New Labours’ election manifesto promised to solve the old social (class conflict), economic (old economy) and political (old political parties) (Labour Party in Johnson 2002: 166) images of Britain to ‘meet the challenges of a different world’ (Blair in Johnson 2002: 166). New Labour initiated the campaign Cool Britannia to rebrand Britain as a ‘modern minded country’ with a more positive attitude towards Europe (Saeed, Blain & Forbes in Edmunds & Turner 2001) in order to get over the perceived image of Britain as “quaint”, and “old fashioned” (Blair(a) in Johnson 2002: 166; Blair(b) in Johnson 2002: 166) and moving away from the traditional image of Britain as staid, cold and pompous (Edmunds & Turner 2001).

image, were immune or indifferent to the UK (Olins 1995). More worrying was the detail of companies’ perceptions. Over 45 per cent of companies still associate the UK with poor industrial relations (compared to only 39 per cent who do not) and only 53 per cent of companies recognize that the UK has succeeded in securing a low inflation economy (Olins 1995).

Less than half of manufacturing companies think that products made in UK offers good value for money and less than 40 per cent associate British products with being state-of-the-art. This is reflected in the sectors that are associated with the UK – unprompted, 40 per cent of manufacturers associated the UK with the automotive sector, followed by clothing and textiles (Olins 1995). When prompted, the strongest associations were with financial services, closely followed by drinks, media, automotive manufacturing and tourism and heritage (96 per cent of US companies and 87 per cent of Far East companies associate these with the UK) (Olins 1995). Less than one third of those surveyed associated the UK with consumer electronics and, surprisingly, 64 per cent saw no connection with architecture’ (in Leonard 1997: 15).
Subsequently, Cool Britannia was initiated in 1997 by Robin Cook\(^{168}\) under Panel 2000, a group of different British leaders in association with institutions such as the Foreign Office and British Council. The New Labour government wanted the new image to promote the British as ‘being youthful, full of verve, creative, business-minded, ethical, liberal, tolerant, adaptable, upright, polite, fashionable and hard-working people’ (Lloyd 1996). The idea was that corporations could piggyback on this new British image (O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 62) and promote it to the rest of the world. Prime Minister Tony Blair did not like to conform to British tradition, preferring to present himself in a more modern light\(^{169}\). Thus Blair put a lot of work into promoting modern images in the Cool Britannia campaign. He had a lot of photo opportunities with ‘the Spice Girls and various Britpop acts’ (Foster 2006). On another occasion, the French President of the time, Chirac was invited to a restaurant with Tony Blair at Canary Wharf (then London’s newest skyscraper). The dinner was prepared by a young local chef emphasizing the images of the campaign (The Economist 1998). Other exhibitions included a jazzed up version of the national anthem presented to the heads of the Commonwealth and world leaders at the 1998 Asia-Europe were shown four “space-age pods” placed on Horse Guards Parade to show British creativity (The Economist 1998).

Aside from promotion by Tony Blair, the campaign was seen as a positive influence upon Britain when corporations also got on board the Cool Britannia train. Rover changed its advertising strategy from traditional to “cool” to fit more within the campaign (Green 1998), which was quite a radical turn for such a traditional “uncool” British corporation\(^{170}\), and Ben and Jerry created an ice cream called “Cool Britannia”. British music also did well throughout the 1990s in areas such as Brit-pop (Oasis, Blur), Classics (Elton John’s ‘Candle in the Wind’ and ‘Something About The Way You Look Tonight’), Pop (Spice Girls ‘Goodbye’) and dance-floor mixes from reggae to dub, jazz, jungle and hip hop (Brabazon 2002). Young British Artists in other areas such as fashion and design also became internationally dominant. Cool Britannia was even seen in the movie industry. The film Austin Powers: Man of International

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169 ‘The symbolic break with a stuffy past was apparent within days of the election, from Blair being photographed in shirt and jeans at Chequers to Brown’s refusal to wear those ridiculous dinner jackets when delivering his Mansion House speech. Other early symbols with real meaning included the appointment of the first openly gay cabinet minister, a Prime Minister with a successful working wife and Blair opting to walk some of the way to the Queen’s Speech in parliament, thereby puncturing some (though by no means all) of the more preposterous formalities. These symbols are backed by substance, most clearly in the constitutional reform programme’ (Richards 2005).

170 Focus groups categorized Rover as “staid, dull and old fashioned” (Green 1998).
Mystery promoted Cool Britannia for example with a large Union Jack painted on a Mini Cooper. Also the 1997 James Bond movie Tomorrow Never Dies supported the idea of the “cool”, “sexy”, “technological savvy” nation-state. During this initial time of the Cool Britannia campaign, the promotion worked well because artists and the New Labour government wanted to be associated with it (Cohen in Grenfell & Hardy, 2003: 27; Smith in Grenfell & Hardy, 2003: 27) and were proud carriers of the image.

One positive result of the campaign was that it was successful in boosting British social cohesion and creating a homogenous nation-state image that could be further promoted in terms of a multiethnic identity and as youthful leaders. This came about through the use of Cool Britannia to promote Britain as ethnically diverse and was seen for example when DJ and instrumentalist Talvin Singh\(^{171}\) was invited to perform at the 1998 Labour Party conference (Huq 2003: 32) publicizing this image of ethnic diversity with social cohesion to British citizens and the rest of the world. Social cohesion was also supported through the development of a well recognized British youth culture. The British youth were seen as the new leaders of “coolness” all over the world (Wayne 1998). However, these successes did not last long. Two years after the Cool Britannia campaign started, it was seen as having failed, and it failed for many reasons: Problems include the selection of the Cool Britannia image; the application of an unfocused image; and because it expected instant results and gave up quickly when they were not realized.

**Realistic Images**

The campaign failed because it promoted images that were unrealistic and that it could not live up to (Olins 2005: 170). The images were not only unconvincing to the external audience, but also to domestic British citizens (Gilmore in Henderson 2007). Obviously, if images are not accepted by the local audience, it is very difficult for the international audience to accept them. This subsequently had a large impact on the success of the campaign.

**Realism and choice of image**

Leonard, the creator of the Demos article arguing for a new British image was not a fan of the slogan “Cool Britaininia” (Richards 2005). However, New Labour chose to use this image. It was very hard to turn the image of Britain being a traditional nation-state to one “modernized, hip and cool”. This is because it had to create its equity anew (Fan 2006: 10)

\(^{171}\) Born in England, Singh is well known for his blend of Indian music with British Drum and Bass.
as it had to completely change the domestic and international audiences perceptions of Britain. To do this required much time and effort in comparison to promoting existing images. Furthermore, when this change of image was not immediately realized by the audience, campaigners gave up. Additionally, Fay argues that “cool” could encompass the cultural industries, but was irrelevant for other areas such as manufacturing or export industries (Fan 2006: 10) – just as the traditional emphasis on the Royal Family was great for tourism, but did not help manufacturing industries.

**Image focus**

The campaign also failed because its focus was unspecific encompassing anything and everything indiscriminately, which was not always appropriate. Leonard argued that the new British image campaign should project six specific points. Cool Britannia was anything but that.

While the campaign displayed a modern Britain to the world, the exact nature of Cool Britannia was unclear. For example, Naim claimed that the campaign was to be seen through the celebration of youth and style and various millennial-Britain campaigns (in Edmunds & Turner 2001). Gilboa, on the other hand claims the campaign was aimed to promote the image of the UK as a hub for arts, fashion, media, and design (2008). Gilmore thinks that the campaign also involved tourism (in Henderson 2007). The seemingly all-encompassing campaign lacked focus, eventually leading to failure.

The Cool Britannia campaign did not stand for something, and consequently, it did not stand for anything – apart from the abstractness associated with the word “cool”. It did not aim itself at particular merchandise or places, and it did not have a specific target audience. This went against Leonard’s initial claim that organizations should have clear ideas and aims, and to ensure that structures and messages are consistent with the ethos. When these requirements cannot be met then the campaign falls into crisis (Leonard 1997: 40).

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1) Hub UK: Britain as a place where messages, goods and ideas are exchanged. 2) Creative Island: Britain as an island of creativity. 3) United Colours of Britain: A ethnically diverse nation. 4) Open for Business: Britain dominant in retailing. 5) Britain as silent revolutionary: Contributing social innovations. 6) The nation of fairplay: Identifying Britain as a team. (Leonard 1997: 44-58).
Expected results
The third reason why the campaign failed was because it expected quick results as a quick fix to the seemingly negative British identity. Negative criticism over a lack of results after two years of running the campaign made it fail. In reality it takes a lot longer before such a campaign can start showing positive results. As a consequence of negative perceptions of the campaign, Ben and Jerry dropped their Cool Britannia ice-cream, and musicians, football players and other celebrities started avoiding associating themselves with the campaign. In reality, it was this defection before the campaign it had the chance to demonstrate any positive results the led to its failure.

Actual results
Results of the Cool Britannia campaign by a AMORI poll in thirteen countries found that attempts to change Britain’s image have so far not succeeded, with British Council sources saying there is general ignorance and vagueness about Britain and what it is like (O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy 2000: 63). Another study found that 40 percent of marketers thought that Cool Britannia had no effect (23 percent positive effect, 18 percent negative) on the British industry’s standing (Bainbridge 1999). Britain has tried to learn its mistakes from Cool Britannia and overcome these problems in future campaigns.

Post-Cool Britannia
After Cool Britannia, other campaigns have been started that have tried to imitate it but avoid its pitfalls. After the Cox Review of Creativity in Business, the Design Council started a campaign “Keep British Design Alive” which was aimed at achieving its slogan. Another group, the British Tourist Authority (BTA) started a new campaign “Branding Britain”. Both of these campaigns attempted to overcome the all-encompassing fallacy of Cool Britannia by having a specific focus. According to Jaffe & Nebenzahl, the Branding Britain campaign promoted London, England, Scotland and Wales as distinct, regional brands under the message “Britain is a land of contrasts” (2006: 145). The campaign was unsuccessful however because of these independent regions (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 145) that contained conflicting images which confused the consumer. The campaign was revamped by the BTA with support from Corporate Edge (directed by Jonathan Hall) in 2002/3 and adopted the new name VisitBritain. Hall went out of his way to avoid the problems that

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173 Britain’s share of the world tourist market declined from 5.2 percent in 1990 to 4.4 percent in 1999. The number of tourists to Britain had been static or declining since 1996 (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 145).
occurred in the Cool Britannia campaign. Hall’s job was made easier by the fact that VisitBritain was and continues to be solely concerned with tourism. One way Hall avoided problems was by conducting surveys with key markets and establishing and promoting new “truths” (images) that would be convincing to tourists (Hall 2004: 177). Aside from different private and public groups, British cities such as Liverpool, Sheffield, Birmingham, Newcastle and Belfast (Oakley 2004: 68) and counties such as Lincolnshire (Fan 2006: 11) have also attempted to create their own local version of the Cool Britannia campaign.

All of these new efforts differ from the Cool Britannia campaign as they specialize in supporting a particular sector of society, be it (e.g.) design or tourism. Subsequently, they have not had the overarching support that the Cool Britannia campaign enjoyed through its leadership panel stretching into all sectors of Britain. Britain later realized the importance of having such an umbrella body of public diplomacy and established the Public Diplomacy Strategy Board in 2002. This board lasted as a single body until 2006 when it was separated. Currently there is still a lot of confusion regarding the management of an umbrella British image. While it is agreed that there needs to be a single leadership group (Centaur Communications in Fan 2006: 8), British public diplomacy continues to be run by separate groups with individual goals while being overseen by a public diplomacy board by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The essential problem for British public diplomacy boils down to the ability of being able to work through the different groups interests which are often conflicting in order to have a single group that can coordinate a single campaign for the whole nation-state.

The future of creating a positive image of Britain is unclear. Although Britain recognizes that applying a positive image is important, conflict continues in the public sector between departments, and the private sector is unwilling to come onboard with financial support. In 1999, ‘attitudes towards national identity and UK industry found that 72% of the world’s leading companies believe a national image is important when making purchase decisions. In light of this, and worryingly for British business, only 36% of our respondents felt that a “made in the UK” label would influence their decision positively’ (Bobby 1999). However, ‘although 63% of marketers think that British business deserves more recognition, 52% said they would not be prepared to pay any levy to help promote British business, and only two percent of respondents were willing to pay more than £1000 as a business levy. Four per cent said they would be willing to pay a business levy of between £500 and £1000’ (Bainbridge 1999).
It has been explained that the British image has been strong, particularly throughout the two world wars. However, leading up to the New Labour election, images of Britain had changed to being described as traditional and dull while others claimed that the British image was non-existent and/or unimportant. As a result, Tony Blair under advice from Geoff Mulgan, created the Cool Britannia campaign. The aim of the Cool Britannia campaign was to flip the traditional and dull images and present Britain on the world stage as a technologically advanced, youthful nation-state. Although the different sectors of Britain to fall under the campaign were unclear, there was some initial success. This success was most clearly seen through corporate support and increased success of young artists internationally. However cracks in the campaign started to show quickly after its launch. The campaign was unfocused (unlike the initial proposed campaign by Leonard). As a result, the manufacturing industry saw little, if any increased returns as a result of Cool Britannia. Furthermore, stakeholders in the campaign expected quick results. When these results were not seen after two years, different groups started to pull out, and the campaign failed. Since the Cool Britannia campaign, regional and departmental campaigns have been founded. However, due to their specialization, they are inefficient in comparison to a national campaign and often result in conflicting messages presented to the consumer. It has been argued that it a positive image campaign requires an umbrella approach between all related public institutions and corporations. This does not exist in Britain and is an ongoing problem that needs to be resolved. It will be interesting to see if the public diplomacy campaign that is implemented for the London 2012 Olympic Games overcomes these problems. Now that the case studies of the United States and Britain have been presented, an investigation of the last case study New Zealand will take place. This investigation will start with an analysis of New Zealand NSEC.
4.4.0 New Zealand Case Study

4.4.1 New Zealand NSEC

Since its independence from the United Kingdom under the Statute of Westminster, New Zealand has struggled to forge its own identity as a small nation-state competing on the world stage. This struggle to form an identity is particularly important today in order to be recognised, rather than left behind economically and politically. These are three areas in which New Zealand identity can be used in a NSEC campaign to compete on the world stage. These are New Zealand's bicultural identity, its traditional symbols and Kiwiana. An investigation into these three areas will now be made in order to argue for the existence and identify a common identity that could be used in a NSEC campaign and the problems that may be associated with each of these three groups of images. This analysis of New Zealand NSEC images will now outline why each of these groups make excellent candidates to be representative of New Zealand, and the problems that the images must overcome to be used in a NSEC campaign.

New Zealand nation-building

In October 2006, New Zealand’s Prime Minister Helen Clark announced her desire to strengthen New Zealand’s identity:

‘Fostering our unique national identity is central to the purpose of our government, and to my purpose in being in politics. Our country is special, and our people are special. Our creative people are taking New Zealand to the world in new and exciting ways – through film and music, festivals and exhibitions, dance, kapahaka, and literature. Our government now funds a cultural diplomacy programme so that the world can learn more about New Zealand through our arts and culture. Our historic heritage is special – drawn from so many peoples and so many places’

(Clark 2006).

This was part of a plan in which Clark wanted to make New Zealand sustainable in what she termed the four pillars of economy, society, environment and nationhood. Accordingly, in May 2007, Clark, who is also the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage announced increased funding for the arts, culture and heritage portfolio. This increased funding was aimed at preserving and promoting the unique elements of New Zealand’s nationhood (Clark 2007). Clark argues that the nationhood of New Zealand stems from ‘the symbols, the
events, and the ideas and values which have contributed to the fabric of our country’s identity’ (Clark 2007 (b)). She includes factors of ‘our growing willingness to acknowledge both mana whenua and our growing diversity as key components of what defines 21st century New Zealand… We are proudly independent… We also keep the relationships we’ve always had [with the British Empire]. Many different peoples now contribute to New Zealand’s identity [and]…Our creative people can both reflect and contribute to the shaping of our identity’ (Clark 2007 (b)). Clark notes other cultural attributes that form a unique New Zealand identity, and said New Zealanders take pride in themselves for having a

‘…sense of fair play, on being clean and green, and on being nuclear free. We stand for decent values at home and abroad. We take pride in all those who’ve put our nation on the map, like Sir Edmund Hillary… Our sports people, our artists and performers, and our leaders across the community provide inspiration at many levels. In government we seek to support and strengthen what is fundamentally good and unique about New Zealand. In a globalised world we can’t take the preservation of our unique culture and our values for granted. In this globalised world, we are determined that there will be a place for a small, smart, inclusive, creative, and sustainable nation like ours’ (2007 (c)).

Clarks’ outline of the struggle for New Zealand to form its identity brings three different areas to the fore in which sets of NSEC images lie. Firstly, is as Clark mentioned, New Zealand’s bicultural identity. Secondly, stemming from Clarks discussion of symbols that form New Zealand’s identity are images such as the kiwi. Thirdly, following Clarks’ promotion of unique elements of New Zealand’s nationhood is Kiwiana. Each of these three groups of New Zealand images will now be presented.

1) New Zealand NSEC images: Māori images
While New Zealand has a diverse socio-cultural identity, its polity is based upon a bicultural system. This bicultural system has a large impact on identifying a common identity that is essential for the exportation of images in campaigns such as NSEC.
New Zealand's biculturalism is seen through its founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi. As a result, the state sees the New Zealand population split into two groups (Māori, and non-Māori) in which each group has a specific set of rights. Māori rights as first nation people must be respected and protected, and the cultural property rights of particular images could create complications if they are to be implemented in a NSEC campaign. For example, the Treaty of Waitangi has led to claims such as Wai 262 and the Indigenous Flora and Fauna and Māori Intellectual Property Tribunal. The tribunal has completed its hearings and is currently writing its report. The impact of this report will have wide implications for New Zealand domestically. Wai 262 is a claim from six iwi against the New Zealand crown asserting rights to Mātauranga Māori (traditional knowledge), Māori cultural property (tangible manifestation to mātauranga Māori), Māori intellectual and cultural property rights and environmental, resource and conservation management. If the claim is accepted and rights are granted to the six iwi, the private and governmental sectors will have to reorientate themselves around a new set of legislature to accommodate these rights. This will impact upon the availability of images that will be able to be used in a New Zealand NSEC campaign.

In order to recognize Māori cultural property rights, solutions such as toi iho are created. Toi iho is a registered trade mark that recognizes authentic Māori arts and crafts, exhibitions and performances. It is facilitated by the Māori arts board of Creative New Zealand, a state funded agency for the promotion and development of the arts in New Zealand. These organizations help to retain cultural heritage, rather than allowing the cultural evolution of particular images that may lead to a “re-writing” of the culture via the hyper-real, which demands and exploits the original cultural uses of the image (O’Conner 2004: 170). Māori cultural property is also protected by the state through the Ministry of Culture and Heritages’ Heritage Operations Unit that regulates the trade and export of Māori artifacts and other protected objects. 100% New Zealand is a destination marketing campaign that attempts to implemented techniques presented above.

Subsequently, rights granted to Māori in the Treaty of Waitangi and laws such as Wai 262 make it difficult to export NSEC with Māori images attached. This is not to argue that the exportation of NSEC Māori images are impossible, but rather that cultural property rights must be recognised, and that permission may be required to export such images. One example of this problem concerns the right of Haka performance. The Haka is a challenge dance performed at different events, such as by different New Zealand sports teams before

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commencing a game. The ownership of such cultural images could hinder the ability to promote this image to the world. However, New Zealand recognizes the importance of acknowledging the rights of different groups, and to this extent compromise must be negotiated in order to find a middle ground in which a common identity can be adopted and exported.

There are two other areas in which New Zealand images could be formed to be used in a NSEC campaign. These are traditional images such as the kiwi, Southern Cross and Silver Fern and the more contemporary images of Kiwiana.

2) New Zealand NSEC images: Traditional imagery. New Zealand trying to fund an independent symbol

New Zealand as a young country has tried to seek its identity and independence through the use of symbols to display its uniqueness. Many symbols have been promoted to fulfill this role, such as Zealandia in 1911 (Table 4.4.1.1). Also, New Zealand seems to have a fascination with native birds, and has tried to promote the kea, kaka, pukeko, huia, weka, morepork, fantail and tui at some stage (Wolfe 1991: 21). Of these birds, it is the kiwi that has gained the most attention.

While the kiwi bird was first pictured on the 1870 New Zealand 10 shilling note, the image of the kiwi did not gain international recognition until it was adopted in World War One in 1911 by the 2nd South Canterbury (Territorial) Regiment. The kiwi was chosen as an image because of the birds’ uniqueness and recognition as a fighter when cornered. During this First World War the kiwi can be seen as an image of New Zealand’s earliest form of NSEC campaigning, be it unofficial. In 1917, the Kiwi Polish Company Pty Ltd (ironically an Australian owned and operated corporation) exported 1,400,000 tins of shoe polish for the British Army. Attached to the top of these tins was an image of the kiwi. By 1927 ‘there were already some 30 million Kiwi tins scattered around the world, and by 1924 it was being distributed in 50 countries, from the USSR to South America’ (Wolfe 1991: 36). The success of this unofficial campaign created an association of the kiwi with New Zealand that was so strong, that New Zealanders were beginning to be called Kiwis by the international community. New Zealand corporations soon realised the benefits of using the kiwi image, and by the 1950s the Kiwi was a symbol attached to many merchandise as well as postage stamps and even sports teams that were sent around the world used the image. The image of the kiwi was also reinforced domestically, used for example as the symbol of the Buy Kiwi Made campaign.
Despite its dominant use, New Zealand has not been decisive in its use of the kiwi image. Barnett and Wolfe argue that the Silver Fern is just as internationally recognisable New Zealand image as the kiwi (1999: 21). Furthermore, the uses of either the kiwi or the Silver Fern image are not protected by statute. The use of both images would thus be dangerous for a NSEC campaign as ‘it is not illegal to use these symbols to misrepresent goods as being of New Zealand origin’ (Barnett & Wolfe 1999: 21). The only such image that is protected by the New Zealand government is the Southern Cross. Thus, while the Kiwi has illustrated the possible success of a New Zealand run NSEC campaign a common set of images to export must be found. Kiwiana may be one source in which these images could be found and protected.

3) New Zealand NSEC images: Kiwiana

Kiwiana are particular images that were common use in the 1950s that have continue to retain attachment amongst New Zealanders. Kiwiana came to rise during the 1950s because New Zealand realized it could no longer rely on Great Britain for military or economic support after the Second World War and sought to not only to form its own economic and political independence, but also its cultural identity. Furthermore, internal changes within New Zealand encouraged it to become more independent. For example, New Zealand had a ‘different form of government representation with MMP, expanding the variety of faces in parliament; its emancipation of women; and now a consumer society with twenty-four hour access to global media and to local supermarket shopping’ (Bell 2004: 183). Different events also helped New Zealand form its national identity such as the climbing of Mount Everest by Sir Edmund Hillary and the shared national train tragedy at Tangiwai. This identity was predominantly founded amongst baby boomers in the 1950s concentrating upon the popularity of particular unique images which became cultural icons to New Zealanders known as Kiwiana. The box below gives examples of Kiwiana images identified by Barnett and Wolfe (1999):
Plunket Society, health camps, Whitaker’s famous Peanut Slab, fish and chips, one cent, or penny sweets (or lollies), Chesdale Cheese, Fun Ho! toys, the Buzzy Bee, Tip Top ice cream, hokey pokey ice cream, Going barefoot, Jandals, corrugated iron, the Victorian Villa, the bungalow, state housing, Auckland Harbour Bridge, Victa lawnmowers, feijoa, kumara, Masport, Flemings, Diamond, Weetbix, Bell Tea, Gregs Coffee, Firth, Janola, Jif, Handy Andy, Four Square, Farmers Trading Company, New World, Foodtown, Fernleaf butter, Home Style Bread, Parex toilet rolls, Chef cat food, Chelsea white sugar, Anchor butter, Country Fresh eggs, Dairylea cheese, Winfield cigarettes, Tip Top bread, Watts spaghetti, Tegel frozen chicken, Fresh ‘n’ Fruity yoghurt, Miracle margarine, Edmonds baking powder, rugby, horse racing, Peter Snell, beer, Air New Zealand (TEAL), six o’clock closing, Lemon & Paeroa, Split Enz, Pavlova, farming, Swandri, Anchor, sheep, Richard Pearce and No. 8 gauge wire.

Most of these Kiwiana images are landmarks, corporations, foods other household names unique to New Zealand which asserts the unique New Zealand Self in relation to the non-New Zealand Other. By paying homage to Kiwiana through the idealism of unique New Zealand images, the perception of a New Zealand NSEC can start to be seen to exist.

Unique New Zealand identities were able to be formed in the 1950s before Kiwiana became commercialised, and contemporary globalization opened New Zealand to other images from new markets. Thus, throughout this time, Kiwiana such as Fun Ho! toys were able to enjoy an almost captive market (Barnett & Wolfe 1999: 40). However, contemporary globalization later opened up the New Zealand economy and this led to changes in import licensing regulations resulting in, for example, cheap plastic toys flooding the New Zealand store shelves. As a result, ‘Sales of the Fun Ho! toys plummeted and by the 1980s only a very small range of the cast toys was being manufactured, in ever decreasing quantities’ (Barnett & Wolfe 1999: 41). However, contemporary globalization also eased the exportation of merchandise with Kiwiana attached to an international audience.

Since the advent of contemporary globalization, Kiwiana has become commercialized, exploited to appeal to New Zealand consumers and to profit the corporations that created and promoted these images. Nevertheless, commercialisation of kiwiana continues to promote images of New Zealand both domestically and internationally. Furthermore, it is to corporations’ benefit to support a national identity through the promotion of Kiwiana as association with New Zealand can help to improve sales. Bell provides an example of the “Instant Kiwi” as Kiwiana still existing within contemporary globalization. This popular lottery ticket and the images printed on it ‘often featuring recognisable New Zealand icons and scenery’ (2004: 176) have become dominant and recurring motifs in the
construction of populist nostalgia. The repeated presence of these symbols re-embeds them in the national psyche as representations of the Self. The same images of New Zealand identity are exported on (e.g.) postage stamps\(^{176}\), and calendars. Even the name “Instant Kiwi” preludes identity through consumption (sharing Kiwiness instantly through lottery consumption). Kiwiana is however not without its problems. Firstly, some Kiwiana images are copyrighted, and secondly that Kiwiana may be seen as ethnocentric. These critiques challenge Kiwiana to become a NSEC image for New Zealand and will be examined.

**Problems: Copyrighted Kiwiana**

Many of the Kiwiana images noted above by Barnett and Wolfe are commercial merchandise that are copyrighted. Thus, as with Māori cultural property, negotiations need to take place to use some of these Kiwiana images in a NSEC campaign. The other conceived problem with Kiwiana is that it has been seen as ethnocentric.

**Problems: Ethnocentric Kiwiana?**

Kiwiana could be seen as ethnocentric because Bell claims that it is only representative of the Pākehā and ignores Māori or new-comers to New Zealand (2004: 177). Bells’ first argument is as follows:

> ‘Kiwiana works to alienate new-comers. Pākehā primacy is maintained as ‘outsiders’ cannot understand or connect with this commodity shared but unstated history. While newcomers know about the landscape, many of the Kiwiana symbols are recognized only by those who share a common part: who recognize the old grocery packages, the toys, the mundane domestic objects. Resorting to images that depend on the nostalgia is a way of excluding new-comers, and of reassuring Pākehā primacy’


However Bells’ divisive argument has a major problem, because New Zealand youth continue to share association with Kiwiana, despite the fact they were not alive in the 1950s and thus were unable to experience Kiwiana images when they were in common circulation. Thus, new-comers and new-born New Zealanders share the same ability as New Zealand’s born youth to form an association with Kiwiana.

\(^{176}\) New Zealand culture has been constantly reflected through New Zealand stamps. See http://stamps.nzpost.co.nz/Cultures/en-NZ/ (08.06.2008).
Bells second argument states that Pākehā use Kiwiana to assert their dominance (2004: 175) in fear that their cultural identity will be lost due to the increasing numbers of Māori, Pacific Islanders and other immigrants (Bell 2004: 84). Furthermore, Bell states that Kiwiana is used emotively to remind Pākehā of the "good old days" (2004: 180), implying a time of Pākehā domination over other ethnic groups. However, Bell ignores of the core feature of Kiwiana, that Kiwiana is predominantly concerned with merchandise that all groups in New Zealand consume. Thus because Kiwiana is inclusive, it is a prime candidate for use in a NSEC campaign.

Bell’s third argument claims that Kiwiana biases are reinforced by the New Zealand media who choose to promote particular Kiwiana images supporting particular ethnic groups. However Bell does not present any evidence to support his claim that New Zealand media is dominated by the ‘bosses of the creative teams that mostly middle-aged New Zealand Pākehā males; or men in the same age group, relocated here from overseas, who learn this view of culture from their colleagues’ (2004: 178). Furthermore, advertisers will select a Kiwiana image that supports its merchandise (or may not choose an image because the merchandise is already Kiwiana itself). As the merchandise is aimed at all New Zealand consumers, (as argued above) there is no reason to believe that Kiwiana is used to assert Pākehā dominance.

In summary, Bells’ arguments that Kiwiana images reflect only Pākehā can be dismissed. However, images promoted by corporations are selective because, they are chosen on the basis of selling merchandise to a general population rather than having the purpose of asserting Pākehā dominance. Thus, as Kiwiana is representative of all New Zealand citizens and has a close association with consumerism, it could be the ideal set of images for a NSEC campaign. The final step to argue that Kiwiana is ideal for a NSEC campaign is to claim Kiwiana creates a unique association with overseas consumers. This is however beyond the scope of this dissertation and should be considered for future research177.

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New Zealand is a small and relatively new country that has been struggling throughout contemporary globalization to forge an independent identity. This idea of creating a New Zealand identity as one of Clark’s pillars of nation-building is an important issue. Three

177 It is beyond the scope of this dissertation because it involves analysis involved in the practical implementation of a New Zealand NSEC campaign.
different areas have been recognised from which New Zealand NSEC images could originate.

The first area is Māori images. While Māori images reflect New Zealand’s unique identity, it has been presented that these images may have cultural property rights associated that require authorisation for use. This must be overcome for the use of Māori images in a NSEC campaign. The second area is the traditional symbols. Traditional New Zealand symbols such as the kiwi have been argued to have been successfully involved in New Zealand’s first unofficial NSEC campaign. However the problem with these images is that their use is not protected by the state. The third set of images, Kiwiana, have been presented that could also be used to represent New Zealand in a NSEC campaign. Kiwiana has been explained to be a set of images predominant in the 1950s when New Zealand was trying to create its unique identity that continues to have a strong emotional association amongst New Zealand citizens today. While claims that Kiwiana is ethnocentric have been dismissed, the commercial copyright of particular Kiwiana images have been recognised as a potential problem as it, similar to Māori cultural property, requires permission from outside the state to be used in a NSEC campaign.

Thus, while New Zealand may be thought to have three different areas in which NSEC images could originate from, each of these areas have problems that would first need to be resolved before being implemented in a campaign. Now that the existence and nature of New Zealand NSEC has been presented, the case study of New Zealand public diplomacy will be investigated with special emphasis upon destination marketing.
4.4.2 New Zealand Public Diplomacy

New Zealand faces many challenges as it has become exposed to contemporary globalization. It had to quickly create a policy of fostering state and corporate relationships in order to export images to new markets while simultaneously encouraging the consumption of domestic merchandise. A case study will firstly assess this impact that contemporary globalization had upon New Zealand economics. In particular it will be discussed how the New Zealand state has come to increasingly rely on New Zealand corporations to support New Zealand industries such as tourism as a response to contemporary globalization. In particular, the “Buy Kiwi Made” campaign will be presented as a New Zealand response to contemporary globalization which not only promoted domestic merchandise but also tackled the problem of which corporations can be seen as belonging to New Zealand. The case study of New Zealand public diplomacy will then take place analyzing New Zealand destination marketing. The case study will firstly assess New Zealand’s ability to compete in destination marketing with other nation-states. This will be followed by an analysis of three particular techniques; piggybacking, niche creation with the use of unique images, and recognizing local voices in image selection. An example of New Zealand destination marketing will then be presented with Tourism New Zealand’s 100% Pure New Zealand campaign.

New Zealand and contemporary globalization

As previously mentioned, New Zealand felt the implications of contemporary globalization in 1973 when one of its biggest trading partners, Great Britain\(^{178}\) joined the EEC and reduced its imports from New Zealand. As a result, New Zealand had to quickly diversify its export markets to counties such as Japan, Germany and the United States. Bureaucratic complications of exporting to these new markets were eased in 1984 under Prime Minister Roger Douglas. Douglas’s Rogernomics attempted to free the economy through deregulation, floating the dollar and supporting privatization. In fact, the deregulation and privatization undertaken was to a greater extent in comparison to other nation-states such as Britain or United States who were undergoing the same changes (Ryan & Zahra, in Morgan et al 2002: 89). Rogernomics followed the rule that the government should not interfere in corporate activities (Plimmer in Ryan & Zahra 2004: 89) and this was continued in the 1990s under Prime Minister Ruth Richardson.

\(^{178}\) Importing 27 percent of New Zealand products (Statistics New Zealand 2008).
Despite deregulation, incentives continued to be offered to support corporate growth. Incentives were given for example to tourism operators where the state offered ‘tax depreciation allowances for large new accommodation projects, Export Programme Grants Scheme, Export Performance Incentive – tax rebate on foreign exchange earnings, Export Market Development Initiative – tax rebate on marketing and promotion expenditure overseas, Regional Promotion Assistance Scheme and the Tourist Facilities Grants Scheme’ (New Zealand Archive in Ryan & Zahra 2004: 89). This illustrates that despite deregulation, the state was still involved in stimulating the economy rather than having a completely hands-off approach.

Rogernomics became more moderate when Shipley’s National Party was replaced by a coalition of the Labour and Alliance parties headed by Helen Clark in 1999. Clark introduced her middle ground by using proactive planning that can be summarized as ‘fulfilling the role of custodian of ‘public interest’ when seeking to be a facilitator of business, while also considering the social implications of such entrepreneurial activity’ (Ryan & Zahra 2004: 93). This new state and corporation relation is seen through the development of New Zealand public diplomacy.

State encourages state and corporate relations in public diplomacy
The New Zealand government recognizes the importance of state and corporate relations to promote New Zealand on the world stage. For example, Mark Burton (Minister of Tourism 1999 – 2005) claims that New Zealand tourism will only succeed by reaching ‘out to the wider business community, to local government, to important interest groups… To realize our tourism potential, we must enlist as broad a spectrum of support for tourism as possible’ (Coventry in Ryan & Zahra 2004: 93)\textsuperscript{179}.

The New Zealand Concept Center established by New Zealand Trade and Enterprise (New Zealand’s state funded national economic development agency) is one such example of close state and corporate relations. Located in Hong Kong, the center offers three floors of information on New Zealand the destination and its merchandise. Another state body that exports NSEC images is the New Zealand Film Commission. Created in 1978, the Commission aims to ‘encourage… participate and assist in the making, promotion,

\textsuperscript{179} The New Zealand government also supports the corporate sector. For example, The New Zealand Ministry of Tourism offers ‘a Facilities Grants Programme of NZ$300 000 and special business advisory programmes for Māori tourism operators, and has secured funding for specific programmes as indicated above in the example of assessing funding of infrastructure in Rotorua, Queenstown, Kaikoura and Stewart Island’ (Ryan & Zahra 2004: 89).
distribution and exhibition of films… with significant New Zealand content’ (Conrich 1999: 7). Outward Sound is another example of a state run organisation run New Zealand Music Commission that ‘provides assistance for market development initiatives and to encourage the entry of New Zealand music and musicians into global markets’ (Outward Sound 2008).

In summary, New Zealand state is concerned with the promotion of New Zealand merchandise, images and as a destination and does this through the fostering of state and corporate relationships. State and corporate relations have also led to the protection of local merchandise as a defensive response to contemporary globalization through the creation of the Buy Kiwi Made campaign.

Buy Kiwi Made
The Buy Kiwi Made campaign follows a similar methodology to the NSEC campaign, but with a single logo rather than a variety of images and with a domestic rather than an international reach. Although the Buy Kiwi Made campaign is an example of how New Zealand promotes and protects its merchandise in response to contemporary globalization, it also provides a very good example of how to overcome the question of how corporations can be perceived of belonging to a particular nation-state, relating to the discussion in section 2.1.2. Additionally, campaigns such as Buy Kiwi Made make it easier for New Zealand to implement a NSEC campaign. This is because it gives nation-states experience in creating and promoting NSEC images to protect and promote nation-state’s merchandise. It is for these reasons that the Buy Kiwi Made campaign will now be presented.

In 1988, the New Zealand manufacturers Federation and the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions initiated a “Buy New Zealand-Made” campaign. The campaign functioned by attaching a fee-paid "made in New Zealand" logo to qualifying merchandise. The campaign was aimed at its domestic market to encourage the purchasing of local rather than imported merchandise in the wake of trade liberalization as a response to contemporary globalization. The campaign was later adopted by the New Zealand government as a result of negotiations between the Labour and Green Parties. The Buy Kiwi-made campaign is now run by the Ministry of Economic Development and has a state budget of $11.5 million for 2006 until 2009. Interestingly, the campaign has had to tackle the question of what constitutes as New Zealand merchandise in order to decide which corporations can join the campaign. This question is important as it will also arise in critique of the NSEC campaign.
The Green party disagreed with PM Clark that the campaign should be expanded to support New Zealand merchandise that are manufactured outside of New Zealand (Oliver 2006: 1). The argument surrounded Icebreaker, an apparel corporation traditionally located in New Zealand but who had recently moved its production operations off-shore in order to obtain cheaper labor costs. Icebreaker's situation triggered questions of what constitutes a New Zealand corporation or merchandise. Does the whole process of production have to take place in New Zealand, or just some of the production components? ‘Prime Minister Helen Clark claimed that there was a case for Icebreaker to be promoted in such a way because its raw materials came from New Zealand, as well as its ideas, design and marketing’ (Oliver 2006: 1). On the other side of the argument to support the Greens, Scott argued that the inclusion of merchandise in the campaign that were not produced in New Zealand would make the overall brand ‘less clear, less relevant, less believable and therefore less attractive… to both consumers and producers’ (2006: 23). Eventually it was decided that the Buy New Zealand campaign should not include companies that manufacture over-seas (Martin 2006: 1). This result can then be adopted into future NSEC campaigns concerning which corporations can be allowed to be members.

While it has been decided which corporations are defined as New Zealand companies in terms of destination market, it still needs to be discussed which images should be exported and the different techniques that can be used to select and export images. These issues will now be presented through an analysis of New Zealand destination marketing.

**Destination marketing**

Destination marketing is a sub-group of public diplomacy because it is a state division attempting to convince citizens of another nation-state of a particular message. New Zealand’s destination marking is used as a case study for two reasons: Firstly because it is New Zealand’s single largest export market (NZTE 2008), and secondly because of New Zealand’s challenge concerning its geographical isolation and restricted funding to export images internationally. The techniques New Zealand has used to promote its unique variables in destination marketing will now be presented.

It is discussed that the promotion of New Zealand's unique variables has relied heavily on the technique of piggybacking upon special events that have caught the world's attention. The implementation of piggybacking allows New Zealand to compete on a more equal footing with its limited funding in comparison to other larger nation-states. It is then
explained that the different images chosen to display New Zealand on the world stage are
been carefully chosen to be convincing and representative of its unique variables. However,
it is also both recognized that New Zealand citizens have a large input on the images that
are chosen along with state and corporations, and that images used have to respect Māori
cultural property rights. New Zealand's destination marketing is then explained through its
current destination marketing campaign, 100% Pure New Zealand.

Destination marketing concerns many different components including
accommodation and catering establishments; tourist attractions; arts, entertainment and
cultural venues; and the natural environment (Buhalis in Morgan 2002: 337). New Zealand
destination marketing competes with approximately 90 other destinations for only 30 percent
of the worldwide tourism market (Piggott, Morgan & Pritchard in Morgan, Pritchard & Pride

Destination marketing campaigns must therefore promote the nation-state through a
variety of different images that are applicable to this competition, while simultaneously
retaining the ability to export images that are representative of the nation-state. This public
diplomacy is similar to the NSEC campaign which aims at exporting a wide range of different
NSEC images that are also representative of the nation-state.

New Zealand has realised that it is important to promote images that can form an
emotional attachment with its consumers. Accordingly, New Zealand has attempted to create
a set of unique images that form this emotional attachment and are involved in changing any
negative perceptions of the nation-state. Negative images of New Zealand particularly
concern outdated images that continue to exist in consumers minds, such as it being a
country of sheep. This reflects a common problem in destination marketing that images held
by consumers take a long time to change, despite the large amount of contrary evidence that
may exist. Here, New Zealand remains associated with images of ‘green hills, sheep and
aggressive Māori warriors, and that it is somewhat ‘boring’ (Morgan et al 2002: 345). This
runs contrary to contemporary exported images used in New Zealand destination marketing,
which no longer emphasises sheep (Tourism News 2007: 3), and while it does emphasise
some aspects of nature, it attempts to remove the boring image by highlighting the extreme
sports that can be done within it. Here, destination marketing can assist as a sub-group of
public diplomacy by amending these negative images. It is thought that using destination
marketing as a division of public diplomacy to export positive images and remove negative
views supports New Zealand to become more economically competitive on the world stage.
New Zealand has been relatively successful in this area in comparison to its opposition.
Competition

It is imperative that New Zealand has a good strategy to export its identity to the world stage for two main reasons. Firstly, because New Zealand is a small and geographically isolated country, it struggles to attract attention. Secondly, because New Zealand has a small budget, it is limited in the amount it can invest to create attention in comparison to larger nation-states who can invest more into their campaigns. New Zealand destination marketing currently represents just 0.01 percent (NZ$55 million) of worldwide advertising presence (Morgan et al 2002: 349). To put this into perspective, in order to attract these visitors, the United States spent a combined total of US$538m (NZ$927.5m) in 1997 (Pride in Morgan et al 2002: 339), with Illinois spending US$35m (NZ$60m), Texas US$25m (NZ$43m) and Pennsylvania US$20m (NZ$34m). These state expenditures are comparable to the tourism of other whole nation-states tourism budget such as Germany (US$27m (NZ$46.5)), Hungary (US$21m (NZ$36m)) and Morocco (US$18m (NZ$31m)) (Lurman in Morgan et al 2002: 339). Due to this limited funding, New Zealand has directed its attention towards particular markets. Tourism New Zealand has focused media activity on Australia, Japan, the USA, the UK, Germany and Singapore.

Despite this small presence, New Zealand competes for a global flow of 846 million international tourists (UNWTO 2007). Of these visitors, just a handful of major countries attract three-quarters of international tourist arrivals (Piggott in Piggott, Morgan & Pritchard 2004: 222). New Zealand is competing with these countries such as the United States, Spain, France, Italy, China, the United Kingdom, Germany, Australia, Turkey and Australia who are the top international tourism receipts respectively (UNWTO 2007). In order to gain these visitors, New Zealand competes for its images to be recognised on the world stage against other nation-states. New Zealand’s biggest competitors are ‘Australia, Canada, South Africa and Ireland (as a result of their similar landscape and features) and Vietnam, Cuba and the South Pacific (undiscovered ‘new’ destinations). Of these, its primary competitors (Canada, South Africa, Ireland and Australia) have at least doubled their promotional spend over the last five years’ (Morgan & Pritchard 2003: 289). Throughout the 1990s and until 2007, TNZ received an annual state income of $55m (New Zealand Archives in Ryan & Zahra 2004: 89, Hall in Ryan and Zahra 2004: 89) from which it was able to achieve increasing revenue. This increased profit is represented through New Zealand’s international visitor expenditure which has constantly increased since 1999 with an average increase of 7.8 percent per year.
New Zealand’s main competition is Australia. Australia’s, six states have their own destination marketing budget, some of which are close or supersede the whole budget of New Zealand Tourism (Piggott et al 2004: 212). Between 1999 and 2003 New Zealand’s (incoming) tourism receipts increased by 51 percent, while those of Australia increased by 14.4 percent (Statistics New Zealand, June 2004; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2004 in Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 155). In 2006, Tourism New Zealand spent NZ$81,181,000 in comparison to Western Australia Tourism that spent AU$60,039,000 (NZ$67,303,719\(^{180}\)), South Australia Tourism that spent AU$55,994,000 (NZ$62,769,274), Northern Territory Tourism that spent AU$37,383,000 ($NZ41,906,343), Tourism Queensland that spent AU$ 76,557,060 (NZ$85,820,464) and Tourism Victoria that spent AU$45,927,077 (NZ$51,484,253)\(^{181}\). Yet, New Zealand has the best return on investment than any Australian state. New Zealand received NZ$229 for each dollar Tourism New Zealand invests, while Western Australia Tourism received AU$95 (NZ$106), Northern Territory Tourism received AU$25 (NZ$28) and Victoria received AU$59 (NZ$66)\(^{182}\), \(^{183}\).

### Piggybacking

New Zealand has a limited budget and accordingly struggles to have its small voice heard on the world stage. One way to overcome this problem is to out-think rather than outspend competition (Piggott et al 2004: 209). A particular cost-cutting strategy New Zealand currently uses to gain a larger international voice while needing only a relatively small financial investment is piggybacking. Examples of New Zealand piggybacking include capitalizing on the publicity of positive events\(^{184}\) that capture the worlds’ attention such as rugby, The Americas Cup and The Lord of the Rings movie trilogy. To this extent, the New Zealand government has capitalised on such positive events by investing $10 million to leverage the high profile of the Americas Cup and The Lord of the Rings (Locum Destination 2002: 55).

\(^{180}\) Conversion based on 01.01.07 exchange rates.  
\(^{181}\) Expenditure for Tourism New South Wales not available.  
\(^{182}\) Tourism revenue for New South Wales, Southern Australia and Tourism Queensland not known.  
\(^{183}\) References from respective tourisms 2006/2007 annual reports (see bibliography).  
\(^{184}\) At the same time it must be remembered that negative events can also occur. For example, New Zealand tourism was hindered by the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) epidemic in early 2003 (Ryan & Zahra 2004: 106).
The Lord of the Rings trilogy was an event that captured the world's attention. Tourism New Zealand, a state run institution, advertised New Zealand as "Visit Middle Earth. They have not taken the set down"... in major magazines and on strategically located billboards in many countries' (Jutel 2004: 54). New Zealand's association with the movies was subsequently promoted in Britain's The Independent, The Sunday Times, The Telegraph (and The Telegraph on Sunday), The Mirror, The Guardian, The Observer and The London Evening Standard, and in the United States in the Conde Nast Traveler and The Los Angeles Times (Piggott et al 2004: 216). In particular, Tourism New Zealand played special footage on US-based Fox television morning shows in major US-cities and 'Making of Middle-earth documentaries shown on channels such as National Geographic and Sci Fi' (Piggott et al 2004: 216). Also, the attachment of The Lord of the Rings images to Air New Zealand planes that flew internationally (76 percent state owned) as the 'Airline to Middle-earth' did not only allow piggybacking for Air New Zealand, but further exported images of New Zealand to the world stage. Here, Air New Zealand recognized that this advertising would increase the services not only of the airline, but also to the whole national economy.

Aside from film, New Zealand has been able to piggyback on its sporting achievements that have captured international attention such as rugby or the Americas Cup. New Zealand's national rugby union team, the All Blacks, have enjoyed success in international competition, winning the majority of their games against every competing country in the world and have a current ranking of second place in the world (2008). As a result of the All Blacks' success, New Zealand has been able to promote itself well because 'the brand positioning always refers back to the All Black story, which is very much linked to the nation and therefore a powerful statement about New Zealand' (Locum Destination 2002: 55). An example of the New Zealand state piggybacking on the All Blacks is during the 2007 Rugby World Cup in France, when the New Zealand Tourism agency placed a huge inflatable rugby ball at the foot of the Eiffel Tower. Spread across the rugby ball was Tourism New Zealand's logo '100% Pure New Zealand'. The ball was covered by the media of the world cup and created attention with many photos taken of Māori and New Zealand figureheads such as Prime Minister Helen Clark. The ball also advertised New Zealand as the hosts of the 2011 rugby world cup.

Another sporting event, the Americas Cup, has also been used as a piggybacking opportunity for New Zealand. The Americas cup is a regatta that captures the world's attention and has been hosted by New Zealand in 2000 and 2003. During the 2000

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185 This illustrates that it was a state and corporate venture into public diplomacy.
competition, the America's Cup generated an estimated NZ$62 million in additional expenditure for the New Zealand economy and over 1100 full-time equivalent jobs' (Market Economics, in Piggott et al 2004: 215).

While piggybacking is a technique of public diplomacy, it would not be successful unless it exports particular images that are convincing and unique to the consumer. This leads to the second technique, creating a niche.

**Creating a niche**

It takes years of research and investment for nation-states to refine an image of themselves to export to the world stage. For example, the Australian Tourist Commission has tried to add ‘culture, sophistication and a cosmopolitan appeal to the existing youth, sun and beach values of Brand Australia (Morgan et al 2004: 210). Ireland has attempted to create an image of their nation-state as a “cool”, fashionable destination ‘and quality to its established identity as a laid-back, friendly destination’ (Morgan et al 2003: 296). Japan has become invariable synonymous with advances technology, manufacturing quality, competitive pricing and even style and status (Anholt in Morgan et al 2002: 347).

If New Zealand associated itself with images already in common use with other nation-states, consumers would not gain an emotional attachment as this attachment would not be unique. Thus, New Zealand has tried to create a unique selling proposition which it exports. For example, New Zealand does not want to promote itself as a nation-state associated with images of blue skies, long beaches and warm weather. This is because it will be immediately categorised with images of many other nation-states that use these images such as the Caribbean or Mediterranean Islands (Morgan et al 2002: 286, 336).

Images used in destination marketing which are consumed by overseas individuals must be highly fashionable, following the same strategy the NSEC campaign proposes. This idea is asserted by the World Tourism Organisation who sees the future of promoting tourist locations more as fashion accessories. It is thought that ‘the choice of holiday destination will help define the identity of the traveller and, in an increasingly homogenous world, set him [sic] apart from the hordes of other tourists’ (Lurham in Morgan et al 2003: 286). Thus creating NSEC images as fashionable concepts to consumers allows ‘to communicate, reflect and reinforce associations, statements and group memberships, and in the same way tourists use their trips as expressive devices to communicate messages about themselves to peers and observers’ (Clarke in Morgan et al 2003: 286). To capitalise on creating a fashion out of a nation-state, images that are particularly attractive to consumers need to be
exported. Subsequently, the aim in contemporary destination marketing is to create a niche that fulfills a consumer’s lifestyle statement. Thus, the niche created by the nation-state must be memorably original and uniquely preferable to the consumer. However, not all fashionable images from New Zealand can be exported. Images must also be filtered by different groups in terms of their ability to represent New Zealand. How New Zealand creates a niche through the selection of particular images will now be presented.

Unique images
Previously, New Zealand promoted a “clean and green” image of New Zealand. But this was ‘usually a vague understanding and could not be used to gain a competitive advantage for goods and services’ (Jaffe & Nebenzahl 2006: 154). Thus it was not considered as successful and had to shift to different images. In creating new images of New Zealand, destination marketers have done well to ignore the common fallacy of promoting solely sun, surf and sand or lake, land and mountain (Morgan et al 2003: 297), and have also recognised New Zealand’s cultural attributes and then used them to create a unique niche of which images can be used to promote New Zealand. Common images of New Zealand often include ‘Māori in traditional costume, typically doing a haka, a poi dance, or paddling waka’ (O’Conner 2004: 161). While New Zealand destination marketing likes to use Māori imagery to export a unique identity, it remains aware of Māori property rights concerning the exportation of these images as discussed in 4.4.1.

Creating images: Recognizing local voices and cultural rights
State exporters are restricted in their selection of NSEC images by national interests from citizen, state and corporate groups. This is because ‘country branding is not merely a rational marketing activity but a political act based on issues such as local pride (Morgan et al 2003: 296). A middle ground must therefore be found between these groups to create legitimate images that are sensitive towards their stakeholders. These stakeholders include, for example, New Zealand citizens.

In small nation-states such as New Zealand, citizen’s voices are closer to rule makers (legislators) and the media (Piggott et al 2004: 209). As a result, New Zealanders opinions are considered as important in the formation of New Zealand identity. In 1994, a study was conducted to assess the importance of New Zealand’s culture amongst its

186 Culture was defined as ‘our way of life and are a combination of: Our past and present as reflected in museums and libraries, on marae and in films; activities such as dance, classical and
population. Its findings, representative of the New Zealand population, found that New Zealand’s culture and cultural activities give New Zealanders a sense of national identity. It was also thought that New Zealand’s culture and cultural activities do not have a high profile overseas. Furthermore, it was thought that New Zealand’s culture has the potential to attract overseas visitors and cultural activities should receive some funding from government and private companies. Citizen’s voices have also been recognised in terms of the use of Māori imagery.

100% Pure New Zealand
New Zealand corporations have long had interest in the success of a New Zealand brand. Previously, corporate leaders through the New Zealand Market Development Board pooled up to five percent of their European Budgets to raise awareness of New Zealand (Morgan et al 2003: 287) to advertise New Zealand as the “The Orchard of the Pacific”. This campaign was later turned into “The New Zealand Way” in 1993, concentrating on the promotion of New Zealand agriculture and tourism. However, a state funded destination campaign was not started until Tourism New Zealand was replaced by the New Zealand Tourism Board in 1999 and started a major destination campaign 100% Pure New Zealand. 100% Pure New Zealand is New Zealand’s first state funded destination marketing campaign and is used ‘in all New Zealand’s key markets for trade and consumer events, advertising and marketing’ (Tourism New Zealand 2008). The campaign concentrates on Australia, Japan, the USA, the UK, Germany and Singapore (Morgan et al 2002: 335).

pop music, theatre, books, magazines, films, paintings, pottery and other forms of crafts and hobbies’ (Graham 1994: 3).

187 In critique it could be questioned why a representative survey of the New Zealand population should be used as an authority on providing advice to New Zealand public diplomacy.
188 New Zealand’s culture and cultural activities give us a sense of national identity - AS\textsuperscript{Strongly} = AT; AS\textsuperscript{Slightly} = AS; Neither Nor = NN; DS\textsuperscript{Strongly} = DS & DS\textsuperscript{Slightly} = DST.
189 New Zealand is not as well known for its culture and cultural activities as it is for other things, e.g. sport and scenery.
190 New Zealand’s cultural activities attract overseas visitors to New Zealand.
191 Cultural activities should receive some funding from the Government.
192 There should be more sponsorship of cultural activities by private companies.
Despite having to focus on particular markets, it is thought that the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign has been successful because of its convincing and unique images (Locum Destination 2002: 54). This success can be seen through its disproportionate results in comparison to other nation-states campaigns: ‘Everyone knows that in the global tourism environment, New Zealand is a small fish in a rather large pond. To date, the 100% Pure New Zealand global marketing campaign has managed to make a disproportionately large ripple in that pond (Burton (Tourism Minister 1999-2005). As a result of focused marketing through different mediums with convincing and unique images, New Zealand has competed well against its biggest competitor, Australia as previously explained. Part of that ripple is attributable to the mediums through which the campaign promotes itself.

Destination marketing in New Zealand has not been afraid of using different mediums in order to export their images internationally. For example, the internet has played a major role in New Zealand destination marketing. Tourism New Zealand uses their www.newzealand.com website as a portal to various types of “kiwi experiences” (Ryan & Zahra 2004: 106) in which the emotional attachment with the nation-state can start to be formed or reaffirmed. The website is very successful having won the Webby Award for the best tourism website in 2005, 2006 and was a nominee in 2007. New Zealand also uses television and print in its destination marketing as a medium promoting New Zealand images aimed at USA, the UK, Australia and Japan (Piggott et al 2004: 213). Other mediums the campaign uses include piggybacking, such as the previously mentioned use of the rugby world cup in Paris.

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In summary, New Zealand was pushed into using public diplomacy to get international attention when one of its major trade partners entered the EEC. New Zealand had to quickly diversify its trade partners which were supported by state and corporate encouragement of the promotion of New Zealand. Furthermore, campaigns such as Buy Kiwi Made advocated the consumption of local merchandise introducing New Zealand to the concept of promoting and protecting local merchandise within contemporary globalization as well as tackling problems such as which corporations can be classified as originating from New Zealand.

The New Zealand case study focuses upon a sub-group of public diplomacy – destination marketing as an example of how New Zealand promotes itself internationally. Through destination marketing, New Zealand is able to use public diplomacy to create and change images about itself. It is important for New Zealand to do this strategically because of its limited funding and competition for consumers from other nation-states with larger
budgets. New Zealand’s use of piggybacking is one solution to overcome a small budget implemented by different New Zealand state institutions to capitalize on an event concerning New Zealand that has captured the world’s attention. Here, examples of rugby, The Americas Cup and The Lord of the Rings movies are presented. It is also asserted that New Zealand attempts to gain attention through the exportation of unique images. This follows the World Tourism Organization’s claim that contemporary destination marketing should be focused on promoting a land as a fashionable location that fits individuals’ identity constructs. However, it is also recognized that in a small nation-state such as New Zealand, citizens concerns of the New Zealand image must be heard and the cultural property rights of different images must be respected. Finally, the 100% New Zealand destination marketing campaign is presented as a collaborative example of New Zealand’s attempt to export images of New Zealand.

While New Zealand destination marketing is argued to be largely successful, there is still room to expand this success to other areas of the New Zealand economy concerned with exports outside of tourism New Zealand. Particularly because of New Zealand’s limited budget and experience in using piggybacking for destination marketing, New Zealand should be able to adapt to a NSEC campaign. Now that the three case studies of the United States, Britain and New Zealand have been presented, a summary of the findings will be made.
4.5.0 Conclusion

Case study analyses illustrate how nation-states have utilized contemporary globalization in the execution of public diplomacy. Particular emphasis is placed upon the analysis of successes and failures of public diplomacy campaigns in order to avoid pitfalls in the practical application of the proposed NSEC campaign. These case studies discuss how particular nation-states have NSEC images which are exported through public diplomacy campaigns. These case studies include direct and indirect public diplomacy of the United States, Britain’s Cool Britannia campaign and New Zealand destination marketing.

The United States, Britain and New Zealand are chosen for analysis for many reasons (4.1.1 Selection of Nation-States). For example, the nation-states are selected for their similar responses to contemporary globalization. This similarity involves the implementation of neo-liberal economic measures of contemporary globalization as a tool to gain power on the world stage. Despite similarities, nation-states differ in their socio-cultural, economic and political structures. These factors subsequently impact upon the nature of campaigns. Taking into account these similarities and differences between nation-states, analysis of local variables and existence of NSEC then took place before analyzing specific public diplomacy campaigns. Each of these nation-states and their case studies are now summarized.

United States

The United States identity attached to NSEC images is a homogenous belief in heterogeneity derived from democracy and spread through the Bill of Rights into areas such as freedom and consumerism. In particular, consumerism plays an important role in the domestic and international distribution of a corporate controlled interpretation of the United States’ identity through mediums such as the film industry. This exportation of United States’ images is categorized into two avenues of indirect and direct public diplomacy. Through these two avenues, the United States promotes itself as a world leader, often setting standards through the creation of a dream world other nation-states and their citizens aspire to and in which membership requires the consumption of images that are attached to merchandise.

Indirect public diplomacy concerning the consumption of NSEC images by citizens of other nation-states has been particularly important for the United States since the Cold War. It is through this avenue that the state exports images of democracy through ideals of freedom, capitalism and consumerism. Furthermore, the consumption of images results not
only in identification with United States images, but also the adoption of a lifestyle. Subsequently, the output and success of indirect public diplomacy is measured by overseas citizens who not only consume United States merchandise\textsuperscript{193}, but also adopt the lifestyle that surround this merchandise\textsuperscript{194}. This is argued through Ritzers’ theory of McDonaldization and the credit card society (1999). This public diplomacy is indirect as the state uses corporations as a medium to piggyback and promote these images. The use of indirect public diplomacy questions if the images promoted remains in the form intended by the state, or if corporations filter the images into a “democracy” that concentrates on the consumption of their particular merchandise.

Direct public diplomacy differs from indirect public diplomacy in that it is state run without corporate support, with the objective to promote a positive image of the United States during times of war. This form of public diplomacy is considered direct because it is solely state controlled, targeted to a specific audience with an aim to create a positive image of itself in order to “win hearts and minds”. The success of direct public diplomacy is measured through opinion polls on sentiment towards the United States. As the United States has strong direct and indirect public diplomacy, it is successful at not only exporting its own identity, but also has the power to influence the identities of other nation-states in either a positive or negative light.

Britain

After the case study of the United States, a political and economic background of the British nation-state was presented, followed by an evaluation of British NSEC images. These two sections provided the background information required for analysis of the Cool Britannia case study.

The British nation-state was explained to have political and economic conditions that needed to undergo change to remain competitive on the world stage. Thatcher’s neo-liberal economics was one response aimed to open the British economy in order to make it more competitive. Here, foreign direct investment through deregulation was considered as the best solution to make Britain more competitive rather than rely on state controlled subsidies. This was continued by New Labour in addition to the Cool Britannia campaign.

\textsuperscript{193} Although they may not originate from the United States.

\textsuperscript{194} E.g. not just the consumption of a hamburger, but the adoption of the fast-food lifestyle or the purchase of a hamburger with a credit card.
Within this changing political and economic environment, a transformation of British NSEC is identified. British identity prior to contemporary globalization is argued to derive from its traditional institutions. However, throughout contemporary globalization, the British identity has become challenged by both regional devolution and EU transnationalism. These polarizing forces impact upon citizens' perceptions of Britain. Additionally, British identity has been weakened by state deregulation in comparison to the traditional citizen affinity towards state institutions, and the impact of neo-liberal economics has weakened upon corporate, political and citizen relationships. As a result of a weakening between these three sectors and the increasing power of corporations, citizens' identities are ever more influenced by deregulated corporate produced identities. This change reduces citizen attachment to the British nation-state. However, it has also been contended that despite this identity shift from traditional British institutions towards corporations, a British identity for NSEC can still be found through collective sentiment. After a political and economic background is presented with a description of British NSEC, the Cool Britannia case study is introduced.

Cool Britannia was aimed to present Britain as a modern nation-state as a solution to overcome the negative images of “boring” and “old”. However, despite the initial support from British politicians and artists, the campaign failed. The main reason the campaign failed was because images were unfocused, unrealistic and seen as unconvincing in the eyes of the consumer. Furthermore, as the new image was completely the opposite from traditional images, its equity had to be newly created. The campaign is also critiqued in that it supported the cultural industries but was not applicable for other areas such as directly unrelated manufacturing or export industries, and once results were not immediately seen by stakeholders the campaign was halted after only two years. Unfortunately, succeeding campaigns have not resolved Cool Britannia’s problems.

New Zealand
New Zealand is presented as a geographically isolated and small nation-state struggling to form its own identity to be recognized on the world stage. New Zealand is firstly presented by outlining its NSEC, followed by an analysis of its public diplomacy.

New Zealand is currently in the process of creating NSEC images through current state sponsored nation-building. The NSEC identity of New Zealand is not described as homogenous, but bicultural in which Māori cultural property rights must be recognized. Despite the dominant Kiwi image, New Zealand continues to seek NSEC images sourced either from traditional symbols or from more recent Kiwiana. Traditional images are
considered to be New Zealand symbols that have existed since 1840, while Kiwiana has existed since the 1950s when unique images were employed to give New Zealanders a particular sense of self. Once claims of ethnocentrism surrounding Kiwiana are dismissed, Kiwiana is argued to be a viable source of images for the NSEC campaign alongside traditional and Māori images. The case study of New Zealand public diplomacy follows the discussion of New Zealand NSEC.

Destination marketing, a sub-group of public diplomacy has used contemporary globalization as a tool to draw more international attention towards New Zealand. This came about in an environment when contemporary globalization forced New Zealand to diversify its markets and undergo deregulation. The advantage of this deregulation was that it enabled New Zealand to export its NSEC images in an unprecedented manner. In particular, New Zealand destination marketing is seen as one area in which public diplomacy can operate, exporting positive and extinguishing negative images. With the opening of the New Zealand economy, the New Zealand state simultaneously recognized the vulnerability brought about by deregulation and responded by encouraging the consumption of domestic merchandise through the domestic Buy Kiwi Made campaign.

New Zealand destination marketing has been comparatively successful considering the hefty competition it faces as a small nation-state against other nation-states with higher expenditure in their destination marketing campaigns. The case study of 100% Pure New Zealand was presented as an example of public diplomacy destination marketing with a relatively small budget. The campaigns success is evident through a comparison of New Zealand destination marketing revenue with its competitors and is mostly attributable to two techniques in destination marketing. Firstly, piggybacking allows images to gain more international attention for little cost. Secondly, New Zealand has excelled in gaining attention on the world stage through the technique of exporting a niche identity to a focused target audience. Here, New Zealand reflects its unique identity by exporting Māori images while recognizing cultural property rights.

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In summary, the United States, Britain and New Zealand are chosen for analysis because of their similarity in implementing contemporary globalization as a tool to compete on the world stage, and their distinguishing characteristics. While each of the campaigns in the case studies have different aims and outcomes, their respective nation-states attempt to use public diplomacy to export particular images that present themselves on the world stage in a positive light. The United States has an identity deriving from heterogeneity and uses this in
indirect public diplomacy with support from corporations which export the images through the consumption of different mediums. United States direct public diplomacy on the other hand is executed solely by the state. Britain has a traditional identity that was attempted to be changed to modern through the Cool Britannia campaign. This campaign failed due to problems in the techniques and choice of images used. New Zealand is still attempting to form its identity. Through the successful use of different techniques it profits in its exportation of NSEC identity to the world stage. Now that each of the case studies has been outlined, a comparison of their different approaches will compare their successes and failures.
4.6.0 Comparison of Case Studies

The success of public diplomacy campaigns is measured through three different avenues:

1. Increases and decreases in generated revenue in relation to direct competitors can be seen as either success or malfunction of a public diplomacy campaign.\(^{195}\)

2. Opinion polls such as the NBI which measure sentiment towards a nation-state indicate the level of success of a public diplomacy campaign.

3. With particular respect to this dissertation's NSEC campaign, the success of a public diplomacy campaign can be measured through an increased demand to consume a nation-state's merchandise and adopt a lifestyle associated with a NSEC image.\(^{196}\)

A quantitative analysis of these three factors would allow for an accurate comparison of the success of each of the campaigns of the United States, Britain and New Zealand. However, this comparison does not explain why these campaigns are not successful. To understand why campaigns are successes or failures, this dissertation emphasizes six areas. These six areas must be carefully managed for public diplomacy campaigns to be successful. The six criteria contributing to the success of a campaign are: (a) contemporary globalization; (b) piggybacking; (c) use of images; (d) state, corporation and citizen relationship; (e) nature of the state, and (f) campaign application. This analysis measures not only the independent success of the campaigns outlined in the case studies, but also the ability of each nation-state to implement a NSEC campaign (as discussed in 4.9.2). These criteria are not exhaustive, but are thought to cover the essential points which are applicable for a NSEC campaign that can be drawn from the case studies. The different criteria required

\(^{195}\) Changes in revenue levels may not be directly responsive to the public diplomacy campaign, as many other factors associated with the nation-states economy may have played a role.

\(^{196}\) Such an assessment of the NSEC campaign would be hard to analyse because it is targeted at all industries of a nation-state (rather than e.g. New Zealand destination marketing which is primarily aimed at tourism). Subsequently, positive development in the nation-states economy would be difficult to attribute to the NSEC campaign because of the many other economic factors that influence industries success.

However, it may be possible to measure the success of a NSEC campaign through analysis of the one factor that all nation-states share in their public diplomacy campaigns, namely the positivism tried to be achieved through exported images. This follows the United States direct public diplomacy methodology of analysing the success of their different campaigns by measuring the local sentiment of the nation-state. Here, the success of a NSEC campaign follows the argument that consumers are more willing to consume from a nation-state when they have a positive unique attachment with the nation-state. This derives from the argument of Jaffe and Nebenzahl that claims ‘the pulling power of the brand is likely to be greater in the case of products whose qualities can be ascertained through experience’ (2006: 115). Thus, surveys of sentiment towards the NSEC campaigning nation-state that include levels of positive perceptions measures the success of the NSEC campaign.
for a successful campaign will be now outlined in more detail. This outline will be followed by a statement of limitations of comparing the different case studies before a comparison of the campaigns using these six areas of success is made.

**Six Criteria constituting a successful campaign**

(a) **Contemporary globalization**

(a1) Nation-states and their public diplomacy campaign(s) should embrace neo-liberal economics of contemporary globalization to diversify and access new particular markets to reduce their reliance on a narrow group of trade partners. This allows the nation-state to become more competitive and promote positive images to consumers. However, if applied incorrectly, it may result in a loss of business to stronger competitors.

(a2) Nation-states and their public diplomacy should embrace technological innovation of contemporary globalization in order to harness more efficient avenues of accessing markets and exporting and promoting images.

(a3) Nation-states should avoid both transnational regionalism and local devolution as this reduces the recognition of a nation-state identity.

(b) **Piggybacking**

(b1) Piggybacking should be used to maximize the attention of images for least cost.

(b2) The execution of piggybacking should only be made with long term support from corporations (corporations should not defect when results are not seen in the short term) and images transported by corporations must be kept in their original form (as decided by the independent panel) and not be distorted.
(c) Images
Images used in public diplomacy campaigns must meet the following criteria to be successful. Images must:
(c1) Extinguish negative and build upon positive perceptions of the nation-state through the use of unique, educational, convincing and attractive niche imagery. This imagery must be accepted as realistic and create a unique emotional attachment with both domestic and international audiences.
(c2) Must be selected in their ability to create a consumer lifestyle.
(c3) Be adaptable for PR opportunities and be able to synergize with piggybacking.
(c4) Have direction and support specific aspects of the nation-state.
(c5) Be focused and targeted rather than applicable to anything and everything.
(c6) Must be selected to reflect the current nation-state rather than building from scratch.

(d) State, corporations and citizens relationship
Finding a balance in the relationship between state, corporation and citizen stakeholders is crucial for a successful campaign:
(d1) Public diplomacy should not be 100 percent executed by the state as efficiency is reduced when the citizen and corporations are not involved.
(d2) A fragile balance needs to be found in the power structures between state, corporations and citizens that allow the state to communicate its image while (a) getting support from the citizen to voice legitimacy of the image and (b) encouraging corporate support of its exportation, while restricting corporate manipulation of the image.
(d3) The state, corporation and citizens need to have long term commitment in order to see returns from the image exportation.

(e) Nature of the state
The state should:
(e1) Use its image exportation to promote itself as a world leader.
(e2) Have good coordination of all areas involved in public diplomacy of the nation-state.
(e3) Should support corporations used in piggybacking.
(e4) Encourage economic policies which make it easier to consume images.
(e5) Recognize unique local variables (e.g. bicultural polity) to reduce friction in image selection.
(f) Campaign application

(f1) Campaign managers should be aware of the ability to generate revenue in areas such as manufacturing as in combination with public diplomacy NSEC exportation.

(f2) Long term results should be expected rather than short term results.

(f3) Name-calling is an option but must be handled carefully to avoid retaliation or adoption of a bully identity.

(f4) Campaigns focused on particular nation-states and targeting particular demographic groups are more efficient than non-targeted campaigns, so long targeted audiences are addressed correctly and are profitable.

(f5) Recognition must be made of how local variables and triggers have a strong role in determining the nature of the campaign.

The success of public diplomacy campaigns presented in the case studies will be compared with each other by measuring the implementation of the six operandi. However, before this comparison of the campaigns application of the six operandi can be discussed, the limitations in making such a comparison must be firstly presented.

Local variables: Character and triggers

The aim of comparing the local variables of each of the case studies is to demonstrate that they influence the form of public diplomacy campaign implemented. In particular, the character and triggers of the case studies affect the nature of the six operandi essential for a campaign. Here, differing local variables create unique campaigns. This means the analysis of these case studies use of the six operandi cannot be directly compared.

While nation-states constitute of many local variables, this dissertation concentrates upon the character and triggers of the nation-states that create the particular form of public diplomacy implemented in the case studies. In order to present and compare these local variables, two areas influential on public diplomacy are brought to the fore. Firstly, local variables contributing to the nation-state character, and secondly, nation-state triggers that have “forced” the nation-state to implement the particular campaign. These characters and triggers are illustrated in Fig. 4.9.1.1. and will now be explained with examples of the case studies nation-states.

197 Although the nature of the variables have the ability to differ over time, and thus may or may not be influential for a NSEC campaign executed in the future.
The Cold War was the trigger for the United States that led to the contemporary exportation of its identity through public diplomacy. This identity exported stems from its character of democracy of consumerism, capitalism, freedom. In particular, the Cold War triggered the United States to reinforce and spread their democratic belief against the Socialist regime through public diplomacy to the rest of the world. United States indirect public diplomacy is related to this whereby state created values stemming from its democratic character are exported to an international audience through the mediums of merchandise and lifestyles created by corporations. Unlike direct public diplomacy, this exportation is not triggered by war, but through the state and corporate realization that Brand America is profitable when overseas citizens share United States values. This is reinforced by a literal interpretation of Powell’s quote that the United States is selling democracy.

Britain is presented as a nation-state that was triggered with the aim of needing to become recognized as more modern. Unlike other nation-states forced to rapidly modernize after the Second World War, Britain had this trigger because its unique local variables created the identity of a very old nation-state filled with different institutions that had not evolved very fast over time. This resulted in Britain having a unique character as traditional, which hindered its competitiveness with other nation-states and contributed to its reduction in status as a world power. In order to overcome this problem, Britain had to tackle its local character of having old institutions. These events created the trigger for a public diplomacy campaign to present images of Britain as a modern nation-state.

Finally, due to New Zealand’s strong bicultural polity, biculturalism is a character of New Zealand that has featured throughout its public diplomacy playing an important role in shaping the internationally exported New Zealand images. The New Zealand case study argues that bicultural polity means that the cultural property rights of Māori must be recognized. Here, the nation-state character influences the type of images exported through public diplomacy. Aside from biculturalism, other images such as Kiwiana or traditional symbols have been argued to also have their own problems to be implemented into public diplomacy. The subsequent uncertainty of the New Zealand character thus impacts on the images exported in a public diplomacy campaign. New Zealand was forced onto world stage and execute public diplomacy campaigns because it is a young and geographically isolated nation-state. Contemporary globalization consequently contributed to the trigger for New Zealand to overcome its little recognition by allowing increased ease of access to the world stage.
Unique local variables and triggers show that nation-states and their campaigns are unique from each other. These differences mean that public diplomacy campaigns cannot be directly compared to each other. The differences in the nation-states management of the six operandi will further reinforce this point. This description of how the campaigns worked with these operandi illustrates the success and failures of the campaigns. Subsequently, the operandi implemented can be used to create a best practice in terms of learning to avoid techniques that had negative results, while incorporating techniques that had positive results for the future NSEC campaign. Both the measurement of outcome and specific operandi will now be outlined that are essential for a campaigns success. This analysis will involve a description of how each of the campaigns successfully or unsuccessfully recognized and worked operandi argued as crucial for a campaign.

(a) Contemporary Globalization
Analysis of different public diplomacy campaigns throughout the case studies has highlighted opportunities and problems of contemporary globalization. Contemporary globalization has pushed nation-states to compete on the world stage by seeking regional allies and implementing neo-liberal economic policies. Both of these factors reduce nation-states sovereignty. Although nation-states have become more competitive, contemporary globalization has also presented the nation-state to achieve increased revenue through economic success. Accordingly, neo-liberal economics and technological innovation has also allowed nation-states to compete to promote and protect their identity on the world stage in an unprecedented manner.

The United States has used contemporary globalization to assert its social, political and economic power on the world stage through direct and indirect public diplomacy. Direct public diplomacy is tied up as a soft power in times of war, and is currently used to handle post-9/11 conflict. Consequently, technological innovation of contemporary globalization allows the use of different mediums to export positive images to places such as the Middle East, Nigeria and Indonesia. Indirect public diplomacy as another method the United States uses to export its identity that is supported by contemporary globalization. Due to contemporary globalization, the easing of transborder economic flows and technological innovation indirect public diplomacy are easier to export. As a result, United States values of democracy of consumerism, freedom and capitalism flow through corporate owned mediums, such as film and television industries that create identity. These values are
particularly effective because consumers identify not only with consumed merchandise, but a lifestyle surrounding this merchandise.

Contemporary globalization has increased regionalism and devolution in Britain. Regionalism is evident through political, social and economic integration into the EU. Britain has been argued to have been forced to join the EU for its economic survival as a result of competition between different economic regional zones. British regionalism has reduced political sovereignty through the concession of certain governance powers to the EU, and has created social transformation with amplified cosmopolitism through increased ease of immigration. Not all British have responded positively to these changes because of perceived fears of a loss of British identity. These fears are represented through a backlash to contemporary globalization. The backlash takes the form of popularity in British devolution. Despite the perceived problems with regionalism and its resulting backlash of devolution, the path leading to the current social, economic and political changes were determined when Thatcher bowed to contemporary globalization and implemented neo-liberal economics. It has been argued that Thatcher implemented this policy because of Britain’s reduction in stature as a world superpower and because of the failure to be modern or economically competitive. This lack of competitiveness is illustrated through the loss of some traditionally British corporations to overseas markets such as the Rover brand to India’s’ Tata Motors in 2008198.

As a result of these changes, Britain is forced, but at the same time presented with the opportunity to use contemporary globalization as a tool to change this perception on the world stage. Contemporary globalization has thus simultaneously allowed and forced Britain to push itself out onto the world stage, and revealed it is not as economically competitive as some of the new industrial powers. Britain has chosen to see contemporary globalization as an advantage and has used it to support their public diplomacy by focusing on the increased openness of nation-states as a tool to push forward their images. Examples of Britain using contemporary globalization as a tool of public diplomacy are illustrated within the production and exportation of images of a “Cool Britannia” to change negative perceptions of Britain in other nation-states.

New Zealand is argued to be a small and geographically isolated nation-state in terms of its population and resources. However, contemporary globalization has provided New Zealand with new opportunities to access other nation-states. Economically, contemporary globalization has enabled New Zealand to diversify its trade partners, making

198 After being passed from BMW to Ford.
CHAPTER FOUR: NATION-STATES, CASE STUDIES AND ANALYSIS

it less reliant upon a narrow range of nation-states. Here, New Zealand realized the benefits of having a diverse market and accordingly opened its economy through neo-liberal economics, Rogernomics. Technological innovation of contemporary globalization has also made it easier for New Zealand to tenor foreign revenue by easing merchandise exportation. Also, New Zealand has made use of technological innovation by recognizing the increased ability to access New Zealand by air and sea. As a result, tourism has become New Zealand’s biggest industry. Destination marketing, in terms of attracting visitors has therefore become an important promotional area to attract foreign exchange to New Zealand. It is argued that in order for destination marketing to operate successfully, consumers must have a positive association with New Zealand in order to be attracted. The creation of this association is supported through public diplomacy campaigns which attempt to export positive images of New Zealand to potential consumers. Thus contemporary globalization opens New Zealand to new opportunities for increased revenue and an increased ability to push images through public diplomacy.

The similarity between these three case studies is that each of the nation-states uses contemporary globalization through public diplomacy as a tool to promote themselves in a positive light. This may be a positive democratic light directly or indirectly (the United States), as a modern nation-state (Britain) or through destination marketing (New Zealand). In particular, the use of technological innovation by all of the nation-states has eased image exportation onto the world stage. Thus it is seen that contemporary globalization plays an important role in public diplomacy, influencing the way particular messages are exported. Accordingly, nation-states should embrace contemporary globalization and use it to their advantage as a tool in areas such as the NSEC campaign. Aside from contemporary globalization, other areas have been discovered throughout analyses of the case studies that have a large impact upon the functioning of public diplomacy campaigns. Piggybacking is the next criteria essential in public diplomacy.

(b) Piggybacking

An important technique for a successful public diplomacy campaign is the technique of piggybacking. Piggybacking is a particularly effective tool of public diplomacy because it supports image promotion for little cost. While the type of piggybacking that takes place is dependant on local variables and triggers, it is a technique that can be successful.

Through indirect public diplomacy, corporations have taken to promoting United States images in order to improve consumption of their merchandise. Examples of this piggybacking have been presented to be undertaken in areas such the super bowl and
McDonalds. The mass media has also been a strong piggybacker of United States images. Corporations such as AOL, Time Warner, Disney and Viacom have also been provided as examples of major piggybackers exporting images and lifestyle of consumerism, democracy, individuality and freedom. This means that the United States is successful in maximizing the exportation of images for least cost through the use of this piggybacking technique in indirect public diplomacy. However, the real success of United States piggybacking is questionable as it has been found that corporations have the potential to distort images to their own profit rather than the nation-states as a whole. Although this is discussed in more detail in operandi (d), it needs to be ensured that the mediums used for piggybacking either do not have any control over the image that is being exported, or there is a commitment from the mediums that the meaning of the images will not be altered. Piggybacking cannot take place through direct public diplomacy, and as a result it is inefficient in terms of campaign cost in comparison to campaigns that allow piggybacking.

Piggybacking in the Cool Britannia campaign took place through corporations such as Ben and Jerry, Rover and different film makers and artists trying to attach the “Cool” image to their merchandise. However, Britain was not successful in piggybacking because of a lack of commitment from these corporations and activists. Here, public diplomacy campaigns are more likely to be successful when they have a commitment from corporations to use the spectacle that is being piggybacked upon for an agreed upon duration. This is especially important when the immediate results of piggybacking may not be directly apparent and campaign supporters may want to defect.

New Zealand piggybacking has been recognized through a strong state and corporate relationship whereby New Zealand corporations promote their merchandise in close alliance with New Zealand destination marketing such as the New Zealand Concept Center in Hong Kong, the state run New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, Outward Sound and the New Zealand Film Commission. Other examples discussed in the case study include piggybacking upon events (rugby, The Americas Cup and The Lord of the Rings) to place New Zealand on the world stage in order to achieve most coverage for least cost. As the shared goal and cooperation of both the state and corporations is to attract tourists through New Zealand destination marketing, piggybacking has been successful whereby the image exported with merchandise does not deviate from the state goal to attract tourists to New Zealand as occurs in the United States. Furthermore, piggybacking in New Zealand is

199 This is why United States indirect public diplomacy has some problems while New Zealand piggybacking with its closer state and corporate relationship on different events has less room for images to be distorted.
successful by overcoming the pitfalls seen in Britain because of the closer state and corporate relationship.

Piggybacking is an essential technique for public diplomacy. Piggybacking is argued to be particularly effective when correctly executed allowing the campaign to reach a large audience for little cost. In summary, the United States indirect public diplomacy has strong piggybacking, however its success is dependant upon how much the image is altered by corporations. United States direct public diplomacy does not have piggybacking and is thus inefficient. British piggybacking was unsuccessful because its supporters were uncommitted, and New Zealand piggybacking is successful because of its close state and corporate coordination and lack of deviation from the states image. The next criteria essential to public diplomacy is the use of images.

(c) Images

Exported images need to be attractive, realistic and create a unique, positive emotional attachment with both domestic and international audiences in order to be successful. Furthermore, although NSEC campaign images are targeted at an international audience, they also have to be accepted by the domestic audience in order to receive legitimacy. Images also need to be able to extinguish any negative perceptions of the nation-state that the consumer may possess, while having direction and be created to support specific aspects of the nation-state. Public diplomacy campaigns must follow this operandi in order to be successful\(^\text{200}\).

The United States was explained to have a range of influential images stemming from a homogenous belief in heterogeneity derived from democracy which are exported through both direct and indirect public diplomacy. While consumerism, capitalism and freedom are also prevalent in other nation-states, these values play a particularly important role as local variables for the United States because the founding principal of democracy as an identity construct can be argued to be shared with an emotional attachment by all United States citizens. An outline of the history of United States public diplomacy history claims that these democratic values have been used as a soft power in war time since 1917. It has been recognized throughout the direct public diplomacy case study that the international reputation

\(^{200}\) However, it must be recognized that specific images that nation-states could adopt will not be discussed dissertation. The selection of images is for future research to be conducted by the independent panel in consultation with corporations and citizens. Images will also not be presented because this dissertation tries to provide a skeleton that could be applicable to any nation-state rather than focusing on a specific nation-state with specific images.
of the United States has been in demise. However, an analysis of the success of United States direct public diplomacy to extinguish negative images as a response to (e.g.) the post-9/11 war is inconclusive. In terms of indirect public diplomacy, one notable success of images used is that they have been influential and have had strong direction in creating a consumer lifestyle surrounding the campaigns images of freedom and consumerism. United States images have also been successful in that they have excellent synergy capabilities to be used through piggybacking by different corporations. Also from the direct public diplomacy perspective, they have been targeted at particular audiences.

The Cool Britannia campaign has been introduced as an attempt to promote Britain in a new light. In the short term, the “Cool” image was easily adopted and used in a wide rage of PR opportunities. However, this radical change in image meant Britain had to rebuild its identity from scratch. This presented a great challenge that was ultimately insurmountable. Although changing the image of Britain from traditional to “Cool” may have been aimed to be attractive to its audience, because it was not seen as realistic or unique by either its domestic and international audiences, a positive emotional attachment was not formed. Furthermore, image presentation was untargeted as it was unclear what the image was meant to be associated with or who it was to be targeted at. This meant the Cool Britannia campaign has not been successful in extinguishing the negative image associated with traditional Britain and presenting a new image of Britain as “Cool”.

It has been argued that New Zealand’s unique population, resources, and geographic isolation restricts it from having a large impact as other nation-states may enjoy. Subsequently, New Zealand has had to be careful in its selection and application of images in order to make public diplomacy campaigns as efficient as possible. In order to achieve efficiency, campaigns have focused on a specific target audience (Australia, Japan, the USA, the UK, Germany and Singapore) through the promotion of positive unique (e.g. Māori) images. The aim of the promotion of these images is to create unique emotional attachment with consumers, and extinguish any negative perceptions. The choice of images used in public diplomacy campaigns has been successful because their uniqueness makes them easily adaptable for PR opportunities. This is seen for example through the avenue of destination marketing.

In summary, the use of images throughout the different case studies has been mixed. Although the overall success of United States public diplomacy is unknown, the United States has been successful in the exportation of its images. This is firstly because the United States has exported the value of democracy by declaring itself as a world leader to
other nation-states to adopt its values of images of capitalism, consumerism and freedom through of direct and indirect diplomacy. This technique has been successful with indirect public diplomacy because the images are supported through the need to consume the merchandise that reflects these United States values. This results in the consumption of a lifestyle that consumers can integrate into their own nation-state\textsuperscript{201}. United States direct public diplomacy exportation has also been argued to be successful depending on surveys measuring the success of the different mediums used during times of war such as radio and film. The New Zealand destination marketing campaign has been more successful than Britain’s Cool Britannia campaign because of many reasons. New Zealand used convincing and unique imagery aimed at a targeted audience in comparison to the Cool Britannia campaign which was seen as unrealistic by both the domestic and untargeted international audience. Through the use of unique Māori images, an emotional attachment was able to be formed between the nation-state and the consumer. On the other-hand, although the Cool Britannia campaign images were adoptable for PR opportunities, because Britain’s campaign used the image of “Cool”, there was uncertainty as to what this was to represent, and this was further complicated due to the undirected target audience and association of the image.

The next criterion important for the success of a public diplomacy campaign is the relationship between the state, corporation and citizen.

(d) Relationship between state, corporation and citizen

The differing state, corporation and citizen relationships between the United States, Britain and New Zealand have produced a unique type of public diplomacy for each nation-state. Analysis of this area is vital in understanding the creation of a functional and successful public diplomacy campaign. The case studies have presented nation-states that have both strong and weak relationships between these three groups.

The state, corporation and citizen relationship in the United States is discussed from indirect and direct public diplomacy perspectives. In terms of indirect public diplomacy, consumerism impacts upon democracy where it is both exported internationally and reconfirmed to the domestic audience. In particular, the question has been raised if consumerism that is spread through indirect public diplomacy from its original state form has changed the nature of democracy. Here, while the state distances itself from corporations and citizens through deregulation, this deregulation has had a seemingly contradictory impact upon corporate and citizen relationships. While at first it could be thought that deregulation increases citizens freedom to consume independently, and that this would

\textsuperscript{201} With respect to glocalization.
reinforce key values through a lessening of ties between citizen and corporation, it is argued that the reality is different. The reality of the relationship between the citizen as a consumer and corporations is rather closely connected because while citizens as consumers have the deregulated ("freedom") ability to consume, corporations offer a finite number of varied merchandise to choose from. Furthermore, this merchandise is restricted through the dominance of a small number of corporations which are particularly influential through their large budgets for advertising mediums. This results in a reality whereby citizens (consumers) believe they have democracy, but in actual fact are drawn to a limited number of products through strong advertising. Importantly, it is this form of “democracy” that is pushed into indirect public diplomacy images which are consumed locally and around the world. In summary, because deregulation has created a distant relationship between the state and corporations while simultaneously creating a close relationship between corporations and consumers, the message of the United States exported images are changed by corporations from their original form originating from the state. In terms of direct public diplomacy, there is little relationship between the state, corporation and citizen because the state funds and controls the direct public diplomacy outlets. Thus, corporations and citizens have no input. This lack of corporate and citizen support impacts upon the efficiency of direct public diplomacy, whereby the message is not manipulated by other stakeholders. However this is a less cost efficient campaign.

As with the United States, Britain is claimed to have little relationship between state, corporation and citizens due to state deregulation. It is argued that while the British state was traditionally seen as the regulator of corporations, the introduction of Thatcherism decreased the state and corporation relationship by giving corporations more autonomy. A weak relationship between state, corporation and citizen results in the failure of a joint-member public diplomacy campaign when there is a lack of coordination and trust between the different bodies. Labour flexibility can also be seen as decreasing citizens relationship with the state from a civic to market culture (corporate deregulation reduces the ability of the state to protect citizens as workers) and corporations (flexible labor contracts reduces worker ties to a corporation). Public diplomacy requires the interaction between all three members to be most efficient (e.g. allows the use of piggybacking). However, the decreased state, corporation and citizen relationship in Britain has decreased efficiency. This lack of cooperation between state, corporation and citizen is shown through the Cool Britannia case study where the state initiative was supported by corporations only when it was to their advantage, and citizens had little say at all. This was evident when decreased interaction
between these members in a public diplomacy campaign has been shown increase the potential of defection when the campaign does not show signs of success.

Unlike the United States and Britain, New Zealand is explained to have a close relationship between state, corporations and citizens, and this has affected the nature of its public diplomacy. It has been clarified that the state and corporation have a close relationship through the state funding of corporations involved with the exportation of the New Zealand identity. This initiative comes from Prime Minister Clark's urging to support nation-hood and accordingly the New Zealand identity. New Zealand citizens have also been explained to have a close relationship with New Zealand public diplomacy. It has been stated that this relationship is close because citizens are nearer to leaders in a nation-state with a small population size and are subsequently more vocal. Therefore, New Zealand citizens have a strong input concerning the type of public diplomacy used. In the situation where there are local variables of strong support between state, corporations and citizens, corporations and citizens have more influence in the images used in public diplomacy. This close support between groups helps campaigns use corporations to attach images to exported merchandise. In terms of the NSEC campaign, strong support between the different groups also means that the states’ independent panel must increase mediation within different interest groups of corporations and citizens in choosing the NSEC images that are attached to merchandise. While this consultation with citizens may extend the mediation process, it results in a positive outcome as the implemented images are realistic, representative and respect image property rights. Similarly, the state funded independent panel must find a compromise with corporations on images they are willing to attach to merchandise. Here, while it is important that the images attached to merchandise are not manipulated to suit the corporations, consultation and compromise will encourage corporations to participate. Thus in the implementation of a NSEC campaign for New Zealand, it is important that a compromise on running the campaign can be found between state, corporation and citizens to not only make the campaign more efficient, but to make certain that full support of the campaign is gained from each of these groups, while at the same time ensuring that the NSEC images used in the campaign are not manipulated by the corporations that export them.

In summary, a wide variety of state, corporation and citizen relationships exist for each nation-state of the case studies. The relationship between state, corporation and citizen is presented as a crucial area determining the nature of the public diplomacy exported and the efficiency and success of the campaign. Examples show nation-states with strong and weak relationships between state, corporation and citizen. The best balance is argued to
have a strong relationship between groups while ensuring corporations retain the original meaning of the exported image, rather than changing it to suit their immediate needs. The United States relationship between state, corporation and citizen are dependant on the type of public diplomacy. For indirect public diplomacy, a close relationship between members is seen at first because of the state use of corporations who export images through their merchandise that are subsequently consumed by citizens. However, at the same time, this relationship could be seen as false because the images stemming from democracy that are exported by corporations may in fact not be representative of the constitutional ideal of democracy. For direct public diplomacy, it is explained that there is no relationship between corporations, citizens and the state as the state controls the whole public diplomacy process. This form of image exportation is claimed to be inefficient. The little relationship between state, corporation and citizens in Britain has resulted in a more divided public diplomacy. At the other extreme, the relationship between state, corporation and citizen in New Zealand has been presented as reasonably close, and all players have a large stake in the public diplomacy that is exported, but ultimately supports campaigns success. This results in intensive mediation concerning the images which are exported. Now it has been explained how the local variables of the state, corporations and citizens relationship impacts upon public diplomacy campaigns, the nature of the state will also be presented as critical in the type and success of the public diplomacy that is exported.

(e) Nature of the state

The nature of the state plays an influential role in the success of a public diplomacy campaign. As all states are different, the United States, Britain and New Zealand have all had differing levels of success based on the state hindering or supporting campaigns.

The United States successfully exports its images of democracy through consumerism. This exportation has been eased through deregulation. The United States implementation of deregulation supports the exportation of merchandise upon which images are attached, and also makes it easier to consume these images which ultimately supporting public diplomacy campaigns. However, it has also been argued that deregulation allows corporations to distort images in direct public diplomacy campaigns. This results in an inefficiency of the campaign, impinging upon its success. In terms of direct public diplomacy, the United States state does not encourage nation-state coordination in image exportation but rather relies upon its own specific public diplomacy institutions. As already argued, this affects the success of the campaign by making it more expensive to operate, but while exporting undistorted images.
Britain, which has been seen as a world leader in demise has tried to reassert itself, moving from its traditional to modern “Cool” images to become more competitive. Neo-liberal economics introduced by Thatcherism has contributed to public diplomacy campaigns by forcing and allowing Britain to compete on the world stage. This also made it easier to export the “Cool” image while attracting corporations to its shores. However, there was and continues to be a lack of coordination between different British state and institutions in the execution of public diplomacy campaigns, and this nature of the state contributed to the failure of the Cool Britannia campaign.

As with Britain and the United States, economic deregulation has allowed New Zealand to export its public diplomacy images. In New Zealand’s case this also particularly involves exportation to audiences of targeted nation-states. Furthermore, the fore-mentioned state support of different export areas that allows piggybacking has contributed to the success of campaigns. State acknowledgement of local variables of bicultural polity has also contributed to the success of campaigns by overcoming issues with images that may be disputed by the domestic audience.

The nature of the state relates closely to the nation-state character and triggers, which force particular campaigns to exist. Furthermore, the nature of the state in terms of coordination between different institutions and the private/public sphere is also crucial in the success of the campaign. This has allowed the United States, Britain and New Zealand to excel in particular areas of public diplomacy such as promoting itself as a world leader, having inter-institutional and state/corporation coordination or encouraging the consumption of images through different economic policies.

(f) Campaign application
Character and triggers have “forced” nation-states to undertake particular public diplomacy campaigns. All three case studies of public diplomacy have used their campaign to try to change negative perceptions of their nation-state. Cool Britannia was implemented to reverse the image of Britain being dull and boring. The United States has recently used direct and indirect public diplomacy to try to change negative images of itself not only in areas of particular concern such as the Middle East, North Korea and China, but also in areas where the popularity of the United States has taken a dive in recent times such as Germany, France and Spain. Finally, New Zealand has used public diplomacy to try to change images of New Zealand as full with nature and sheep and thus also being quite boring. The operands the different campaigns applied were crucial to their success or failure.
Through indirect public diplomacy, the United States campaign uses the technique of presenting itself as the world leader, so that other many other nation-states follow the images it exports. This is seen through governments that aspire to Capitol Hill and through the consumption of merchandise and adoption of a United States lifestyle by non-United States citizens. Reinforcing the world leader status, campaigns also use techniques of name calling such as “Evil Empire”, “Rogue State”, “Failed State” and “Old Europe” to create images on the world stage of other nation-states it likes or dislikes. Campaigns with techniques such as this must be managed carefully to avoid being labeled negatively. Also, it has already been argued that the consumption of images attached to merchandise supports not only positive image attachment, but also the adoption of a lifestyle. As a result, campaigns supporting the consumption of these images have generated revenue for the United States. Here, corporations are aware that merchandise is often more likely to be consumed if these images are attached. The images attached to merchandise are targeted at specific consumers and therefore are more effective in addressing their audience. Lastly, United States direct public diplomacy campaigns use different mediums such as film and radio to export its image. This is argued to be particularly prevalent during times of war.

The Cool Britannia campaign attempted to make the world aware of “Cool” British images to generate new revenue in areas such as fashion. It was however unsuccessful in its application. The campaign failed when immediate results were demanded rather than waiting for long-term goals. As a result, funding was not made into long-term investment of financing, policy, planning and governance. This contributed to the campaigns failure.

New Zealand has been well aware that images exported in public diplomacy campaigns ultimately generate revenue in areas such as tourism, and that images attached to merchandise can increase the likelihood that the merchandise is consumed. The way New Zealand executed its campaign by focusing on a target audience because of its small budget in comparison to other nation-states was a tactic leading to the campaigns success. Focusing on a target audience supported the campaigns success as it achieved better results from a fewer number of nation-states rather than spreading campaign coverage thinly over all nation-states.

In summary, the success of the United State public diplomacy is complicated and variable depending on the quickly fluctuating international opinion, and the perceived interpretation of images that are exported through merchandise. However, Britain is presented as having an unsuccessful public diplomacy campaign, while New Zealand has.
All nation-states must decide upon many factors for themselves concerning the implementation of a NSEC campaign. This is often because of their local variables and triggers. This need to export an identity is argued to have been forced upon each nation-state for different reasons: Britain in order to be seen as modern, New Zealand to earn tourism dollars by promoting itself as an ideal destination, and the United States to be seen directly in a positive light and indirectly to export its values to other nation-states. However despite having freedom to decide some aspects of the NSEC campaign, the assessment of the case studies illustrates some of the problems and positive outcomes of using different techniques, variables, triggers and relationships. In particular, the way that contemporary globalization, the use of piggybacking, application of images, the relationship between state, corporation and citizens, the nature of the state and application of the public diplomacy campaigns are managed are crucial in determining campaigns success. Furthermore, factors leading to the success or failure of campaigns illustrate the problems or opportunities nation-states have in the application of a NSEC campaign. Thus, a NSEC campaign could be implemented successfully by realizing the potential and overcoming the problems other nation-states have had in their public diplomacy campaigns. The reality of each of the case study nation-states implementing a NSEC campaign will now be examined.
4.7.0 Reality of Each Nation-State Implementing a NSEC Campaign

After comparing the success and failures of the case study public diplomacy campaigns, the reality for the ability of nation-states to implement a NSEC campaign is discussed. This reality-check briefly considers the character of each of the case study nation-states in terms of if they have the requirements needed to implement such a campaign. This aim is to illustrate that while nation-states may want to implement a NSEC campaign, they will not succeed unless they align their policy, polity and stakeholder relationships with the operandi presented in the last section.

Although the NSEC campaign presented in this dissertation is aimed to provide an outline that can be implemented in all nation-states public diplomacy, differences in local variables and triggers have shown that some nation-states would more readily benefit more from a NSEC campaign than others. This is not to rule out that some nation-states should not have a NSEC campaign. Rather, it is claimed that some nation-states local variables and triggers hinder the ability to implement a NSEC campaign in comparison to other nation-states. Each nation-state of the case studies will now be presented as to its reality to execute a NSEC campaign.

**United States**

Indirect public diplomacy conducted by the United States has proven it is aware of using corporations to export NSEC images. There is however one area of concern related to the United States implementing a NSEC campaign, namely that exported images can be manipulated by corporations to serve their advantage rather than the nation-state as a whole. If this manipulation of NSEC images existed, the campaign fails because it exports a false image and does not meet the aim of serving the nation-state as a whole. Lastly, the uniqueness of United States NSEC images stemming from democracy of freedom, capitalism and consumption must also be questioned. This is because such images are easily copied by other nation-states and thus would reduce the image uniqueness and subsequent attachment with consumers.

**Britain**

If Britain implemented a NSEC campaign with the same techniques as the Cool Britannia campaign, it would fail. Even if Britain chose targeted, unique realistic images that could form an emotional attachment to consumers that were supported over a long term by corporations, there is no certainty the British government would provide long-term support.
This is because while the British government has been consistent in providing generous start-up budgets for different projects, it has not done so well in providing long term financial support. Furthermore, it is also possible that Britain would struggle to find a set of NSEC images to use in a NSEC campaign. This is because of Britain's current identity confusion relating to devolution whereby power is moved to regional bodies on the one hand, and transnational regionalism which has shifted governance to the European Union on the other. Another reason why Britain may not be able to implement a NSEC campaign is because of its structural inability to coordinate such an umbrella organization management that the NSEC campaign requires. This was evident in the Cool Britannia campaign and is continued to be seen in succeeding public diplomacy campaigns.

In the current environment, there is also not enough support from corporations to implement a NSEC campaign. The NSEC campaign relies heavily upon corporations to export images through their merchandise. However, Cool Britannia has shown that British corporations only support state campaigns when they see its immediate success. Furthermore, recent surveys show that while British corporations see that public campaigns are necessary, very few are actually willing to invest any money into one. This problem is further compounded by some large British corporations that continue to follow the marketing theory that they should not be identified with Britain when they seek customers from other nation-states.

British triggers that spark the need for public diplomacy may also be contradictory to the NSEC campaign. Here, Britain has been argued to want to create an image as a modern nation-state to get away from its perception as traditional and boring. However, it is Britain’s traditional and boring institutions that create images of Britain on the world stage. Thus a NSEC campaign triggered to promote a modern Britain would have to export images that did not relate to any of Britain’s traditional images. This would be difficult for a NSEC campaign because it would have to create equity in a new set of modern images representative of Britain. Consequently, the exportation of these images would take a long time to see any return, if at all, because it would first have to extinguish traditional perceptions and build a new attachment with consumers. Rather, the NSEC campaign would have a more secure and immediate success by trying not to extinguish images of Britain as traditional, but rather trying to emphasize its positive side.
New Zealand

It has already been explained that New Zealand has been practicing an unofficial form of NSEC exportation since 1917 with Kiwi boot polish\textsuperscript{202}. Kiwi boot polish followed the NSEC theory by exporting a New Zealand image attached to merchandise. In terms of official current public diplomacy, New Zealand has been shown to be successful in destination marketing. Furthermore, because New Zealand is uses piggybacking in its destination marketing, it already has expertise in at least one of the key techniques of the NSEC campaign. For example, it also has the possibility to expand on this success and initiate a NSEC campaign that supports not only tourism, but all New Zealand industries. Although New Zealand continues to construct its identity, it should be able to create NSEC images because of the New Zealand states current interest\textsuperscript{203} in supporting nationhood and identity building. The ease of New Zealand creating NSEC images is also due to New Zealand being a young nation-state and being able to select from a number of traditional symbols and the more recent Kiwiana. Furthermore, New Zealand has also shown ability to respect images that are the cultural property of certain groups. This acknowledgement reduces the possibility of conflict in the mediation of NSEC images to be chosen by the independent panel. Another reason why New Zealand should be able to conduct a NSEC campaign is because the state often supports corporations that export New Zealand images to the world stage. In summary, New Zealand should be able to adopt a NSEC campaign because it is a nation-state with readily exportable images and has experience with different techniques such as piggybacking.

\textsuperscript{202} Be it unofficially and from a corporation not based in New Zealand.
\textsuperscript{203} At this time of writing (2008).
While some nation-states have already implemented public diplomacy very similar to the NSEC campaign, other nation-states must make very careful changes to policy, polity and stakeholder relationships to support and operate public diplomacy. However, if the changes are made, the success of a NSEC campaign will support the nation-state economy for very little cost.

In summary, there are many challenges some nation-states must overcome in order to implement a successful NSEC campaign. It must however be realized that none of these problems are irreconcilable long as campaign managers are committed to the different requirements. The case studies have been compared in terms of their success, and different areas nation-states should be aware of in the campaigns implementation have been identified. The reality of each of the nation-states implementing the NSEC campaign has also been identified. Now conclusions about the problem and hypothesis can be made.
Chapter 5
Results and Conclusion of Analysis

5.1.0 Introduction
This conclusion will summarize the central premises that led to the research structure implemented to answer the central problem and hypothesis. After the problem and hypothesis have been revisited, the implications for this dissertation’s theory will be presented. Here, it is standard procedure in scientific research to recognize pitfalls. No scientific research is perfect, and self-reflection allows the dissertation’s limitations to be realized. The advantage of this recognition is that improvement can be made for future research. The central implication will be concerned with the ability to dismiss theoretical premises that support the need and creation of the NSEC campaign. This will be followed by a discussion of the limitations of the dissertation. Specifically, limitations of the theory, methodology and case studies will be presented. Lastly, in order to overcome these implications, delimitations and limitations, a section on future research will be presented. This section will strengthen the study by suggesting areas of future research of this theoretical contribution as well as the practical application of the NSEC campaign. In summary, this self-reflection will determine the impact for the need and creation of the NSEC campaign as well as outlining the areas for future research.
5.2.0 Conclusion about the Problem and Hypothesis

Globalization has changed, and with it so has the nation-state, its institutions and the groups of people who live within it. Although the state continues to function, under the transformationalist theory it has been challenged by political, economic and technological changes of contemporary globalization. Contemporary globalization has thus produced a problem which the nation-state must learn to adapt to in order to remain internationally competitive.

The two largest changes of contemporary globalization are technological innovation and neo-liberal economics. Technological innovation has reduced corporations and citizens alliance to the state and this has reduced state sovereignty. In particular, technological innovation has reduced time and space distances allowing corporations and citizens to interact with actors outside the nation-state. Neo-liberal economics has also reduced state sovereignty through deregulation to attract economic flows. Deregulation reduces sovereignty as corporations become less tied to the state and citizens become increasingly recognized as workers and consumers. Subsequently, a problem exists for nation-states who are unable to effectively recognize and respond to these changes of contemporary globalization, and their capacity to compete on the world stage is reduced. For these particular nation-states, a reduction in state sovereignty through neo-liberal economics results in a downward spiral where the state must be ever more sensitive to corporate demands and citizen rights are increasingly difficult to protect.

This problem brought about by contemporary globalization is apparent through states increasing need for transnational agreements to control international crime and economy, through a reduction in the ability to create policy independently without domestic or international pressure, and a passing of responsibility to NGOs. Overall, the problem of contemporary globalization can be summarized as the contradiction of the state needing to protect its sovereignty and citizen rights while having an increasing need to please corporations through deregulation.

To deal with these problems the nation-state has two alternatives: Either remove itself from all transnational interactions and become an isolated self-sustained or join the competition by harnessing contemporary globalization and use it to its advantage. Sociology can be used to solve this problem by discovering a method in which the nation-state sovereignty can be protected through harnessing aspects of contemporary globalization to assist both nation-state political autonomy and economic prosperity on the world stage. Accordingly the hypothesis was formed:
It is theoretically conceivable for a diverse range of state subsidized cultural images associated with a nation-state to be attached to corporate merchandise for exportation on the world stage in order to support the sovereignty of the nation-state identity.

Here, it is hypothesized that increased international flows of contemporary globalization can indeed support state sovereignty while simultaneously retaining neo-liberal economics. The key lies in merchandise exportation. Current merchandise exportation provides revenue for the nation-state but does little for nation-state sovereignty. However, the attachment of NSEC images to this exported merchandise creates attention for the nation-state on the world stage. This increased nation-state recognition supports nation-state sovereignty.

This NSEC campaign will be particularly effective because contemporary globalization allows corporations within a nation-state the ability to export merchandise and NSEC images at unprecedented levels. This exportation of images will create an unprecedented relationship between consumers and the NSEC through the COO effect. Increased international recognition of NSEC images subsequently leads to further consumption of merchandise originating from the nation-state. This expanded consumption results in increased revenue and nation-state sovereignty. However, in the implementation of the hypothesis, it has been realized that there are implications that need to be taken into account. These implications will now be presented.
5.3.0 Implications for Theory

Many theoretical premises are presented throughout the dissertation that are essential for the background understanding, existence and function of a NSEC campaign. These theories involve contemporary globalization, the nation-state definition, nation-state culture, the NSEC definition, the existence and transnationalism of NSEC, protectionism, public diplomacy, the COO effect, piggybacking, CSR as well as delimitations. If the premises surrounding these theories are questionable, then the NSEC campaign is also called into question. The possible debate of the different theories thus creates implications. A summary of the debate surrounding these theories will now be concluded.

Contemporary globalization

The transformationalist theory of contemporary globalization has been supported over the global skeptic or hyperglobalist positions. The global skeptic position argues nation-state sovereignty is not threatened, as contemporary globalization is a change in people’s perceptions rather than real a change. The hyperglobalist theory claims nation-state sovereignty is not threatened nor needs to be protected, because the nation-state no longer exists. The transformationalist theory is contrary to the globalist skeptic and hyperglobalist arguments arguing that the nation-state does exist, but that contemporary globalization is threatening its sovereignty and existence. Only by accepting the transformationalist theory, the need for a NSEC campaign within a nation-state that is experiencing a weakening of its sovereignty can be recognized. Here, the implication for the theory is that the transformationalist theory must be applied to implement a NSEC campaign.

204 Modernity has created contemporary globalization as distinct from traditional globalization. These changes are seen as complex and seemingly contradictory where a soft center creates both standardization and difference, affecting both local and global environments. This character of contemporary globalization is mostly attributable to technological innovation and neo-liberal economics which have changed traditional space and time flows. The extent of these changes are split into three camps; the globalist skeptic, hyperglobalist and transformationalist. Burawoy (2000: 340) and Wade (in Burawoy 2000: 395) argue global skeptics see contemporary globalization as a change in perceptions rather than actual changes. Held (in Burawoy 2000: 395) claims hyperglobalists see contemporary globalization as a radical break ending the nation-state and creating a new world order (Ohame & Greider in Burawoy 2000: 395, Fukuyama in Goss et al 2005: 252, Blau 2004: 3, Appadurai in Berking 2003: 254). Transformationalists claim the nation-state continues to exist, but is changing. Ultimately, this dissertation adopts the transformationalist theory using arguments from Castells, Ruggie & Rosenau (in de Vries & Reinicke in Burawoy 2000: 395), Dunning (in de Vries 2001: 402) and De Vries (2001: 402). Changes are occurring under the transformationalist theory that impact upon the nation-state. Citizens are increasingly seen as workers and consumers rather than citizens. The nation-state, while still existing, experiences a weakening of its sovereignty through deteritorialisation. Subsequently, corporations are less restricted by state regulation and its boundaries, and are thus becoming more transnational.
CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS AND CONCLUSION OF ANALYSIS

**Nation-state definition**

Although it is argued that the nation-state exists within contemporary globalization despite its weakening of sovereignty, the exact nature of the nation-state must be defined. There are many different interpretations of the nation-state. This dissertation chooses a definition that emphasizes the nation-states sociopolitical identity rather than concentrating on the identity of the nation-state as a political and/or economic region. The implication of recognizing such a nation-state by emphasizing its socio-cultural identity is that it may be disputed by other theorists. However, this definition was used to set the scene for the existence of NSEC.

**Nation-state culture**

The definition of nation-state culture used in this dissertation has the implication that it is created out of a combination of definitions of the nation-state and culture. The existence of this nation-state culture may be disputed in other theories. However, by asserting this premise, it has allowed for the development of the discussion of the existence of a NSEC which ultimately leads to the ability to have NSEC images for the NSEC campaign.

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205 The nation-state definition has been created from Bourdieu’s Habitus (1990) and Andersons’ Imagined Community (1991). This combination claims the nation-state is a socio-political construction between citizens who share the same imagination and experiences. This differs from other nation-state definitions that emphasize nation-state economic and/or political structures while ignoring its socio-cultural constructs. The socio-political definition of the nation-state recognizes nation-state culture as constructed from the sovereignty, legitimacy and provision of order and territory. Together, the nation and state are a combination of ‘solidarity and authority of socio-political identity within a certain location’ (Bendix in Reis 2004: 252). After its definition, the impact of contemporary globalization upon the nation-state is introduced. Here, different theoretical groups question the nature of the nation-state range between ‘modern vs. post-modern, modernity vs. globality, age-of-the-nation-state vs. an internationalist, post-national world’ (Smelser 2003: 102). To examine different perspectives of the nation-state in relation to contemporary globalization, two main fields are defined: Arguments asserting the weakening of the nation-state and arguments asserting that the nation-state is not becoming weaker. Here, Appaduari (1996a, 1996b in Berking 2003: 248) claims the nation-state time and space becomes weaker through changes in transnational flows that force deterritorialisation. On the other side, Van Kersbergen et al and de Vires theories claim that while the nation-state is becoming less important, it still maintains a significant function in supporting the nation. The argument is taken that contemporary globalization is changing the function of the state to the extent that it threatens its sovereignty. However, the state continues to function. Following this argument a definition of the nation-state is made.

206 The definition of nation-state culture derives from definitions of culture and the nation-state. Definitions of culture have changed over time originating from Taylor in 1871 (Marshall 1994: 104). However, a definition of culture was is made relation to contemporary globalization derived from Castells and Urry. This definition is then implemented into a definition of nation-state culture. Using this definition of culture in combination with the definition of the nation-state derived from Bourdieu’s Habitus and Andersons Imagined Community, the nation-state culture definition was created. Nation-state culture is defined as the unique cultural identity that is a result of shared culture located in the people and institutions of a particular nation-state.
**NSEC definition**

There are two theoretical implications in the definition of NSEC. Firstly, in defining NSEC, a delimitation places emphasis upon popular culture (as the central type of culture used in a NSEC campaign) in comparison to folk or high culture. This ignores high and folk culture for the rest of the dissertation. The second theoretical implication is that particular groups within the nation-state control the production and presentation of NSEC images to an external audience. This has an implication on the NSEC definition as the nature of NSEC is dependant on the artists who create it, and the different groups that filter it. Together, these two implications create the limitation of the affect and extent that NSEC is created and filtered within the nation-state.

**NSEC (existence and transnationalism)**

The existence and transnationalism of NSEC has two implications. Firstly, structure and agency is used to argue against hyperglobalism to claim the nation-state continues to produce a unique NSEC. Secondly, the cores theory is used to claim global homogenization.

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207 NSEC is a subsection of the culture industry which itself is a subsection of nation-state culture. Export culture for the NSEC campaign as a delimitation is concerned with popular culture from the culture industry rather than high or folk culture (although contemporary globalization has made it hard to define high culture). This is because popular culture is easily attached to exported merchandise. This NSEC is argued to be able to be produced and exported at unprecedented levels due to contemporary globalization. Contemporary globalization, in particular technological innovation and neo-liberal economics have changed the way that this merchandise is accessed, consumed and perceived by the consumer. The creation of NSEC is also important when considering its definition. Artists are argued to continue to still have control over its creation. However, groups of citizens, the state and elites who own corporations also have the ability to support conception, execution, transcription, reproduction and circulation. Thus while NSEC is created freely, its exportation is filtered. This control either hinders or supports its ability to be recognized as NSEC. From this analysis of popular culture (in terms of its impact of contemporary globalization on production and filtering), a definition of NSEC is formed.

208 NSEC must exist and be transnational to function in NSEC campaign. It was thus crucial that arguments for and against the existence and transnationalism of NSEC were presented. Hyperglobalism is used to argue against the existence of NSEC. Here, the nation-state is dismissed by claiming that individuals' identity no longer belongs to the nation-state. On the other side, the argument for the existence of NSEC claimed that as the nation-state continues to have a unique structure and agency, it continues to retain distinguishing boundaries. Under structure and agency, citizens are restricted by structures and also work as agents to uphold them. This supports the creation of NSEC.

Arguments for and against the transnationalism of NSEC are then presented by analyzing sending and receiving mechanisms. Arguments against NSEC transnationalism follow the hyperglobalist argument that a regional identity does not exist because the nation-state is obsolete. Arguments for the transnationalism of culture claim that hyperglobalists cultural homogenization does not exist as there is not a dominant global culture or core, but rather many cores. This argues that while the nation-state sovereignty is being threatened, global homogenization does not exist and thus NSEC still has the ability to exist because there are regional cores from which culture can be exported.
does not exist, and that NSEC can be exported transnationally through many cores. These structure and agency and core theories reinforce the argument that NSEC exists and can be exported transnationally. This forced premise supporting existence and transnationalism is a limitation.

**Protectionism**

The theory of protectionism has the implication that it forces a particular methodology in which the NSEC campaign takes place. Here, protectionism determines the methodology that the NSEC campaign only functions by concentrating on NSEC (unlike defense), and that protectionism allowed the campaign to use all types of culture from the nation-state, unlike cultural heritage that only works with culture imbedded in history.

**Public diplomacy**

Implications for public diplomacy concern the use of its modern form in the NSEC campaign. By supporting the modern rather than traditional theory, public diplomacy was able to be used as a tool for state to citizen relations in which the NSEC campaign takes place.

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209 Protectionism is argued to be a tool supporting nation-state sovereignty from the influences of contemporary globalization. Protectionism was defined as the opposite of exposure where there are no protective measures to support nation-state sovereignty. Protection was also compared to defense and cultural heritage. Defense was explained as preventing the Other attacking the Self. Cultural Heritage was explained as protection of a specific culture of historical importance. Defense and cultural heritage differ to protection which is concerned with only protecting (in this case the nation-state culture), from its own side (rather than reaching out to attack the Other) by i.e. using only its own NSEC. The similarity between defense and protection is that they both support the Self in order to withstand attack from the Other. The similarity between cultural heritage and protectionism is that they both have the ability to use protection to preserve.

210 Public diplomacy has two different forms of either traditional or modern. Traditional public diplomacy is more concerned with state to state diplomacy while modern public diplomacy, stemming from Habermas’s theory of communicative action, is more concerned with state to citizen diplomacy. Modern public diplomacy was chosen for the dissertation because it suited the NSEC campaign of state to citizen relations. This form of modern public diplomacy must also be taken into account with contemporary globalizations’ technological innovation and neo-liberalism whereby through different avenues it has the unprecedented ability to reach to a wide audience. Public diplomacy is also distinguishable from PR. PR differs from public diplomacy because it is concerned with an immediate entity such as a corporation, while public diplomacy is run by the state and is concerned with supporting of the nation-state as a whole.
Country of origin effect
The forced premise for COO effect existence is an implication for the dissertation\(^{211}\). This is an implication because it was claimed that if the COO effect did not exist, the NSEC campaign could not create associationism with consumers and thus the campaign would not function. As the function of the COO effect is imperative for the NSEC campaign to function, the COO effect theory had to be accepted.

Piggybacking
The piggybacking theory has the implication that it relies upon the transformationalist theory of contemporary globalization argument in order to function\(^{212}\). In particular technological innovation and neo-liberal economics have increased global flows, supporting the output of NSEC images piggybacking upon merchandise. Thus because of these high flows, images will be able to reach a larger global audience and thus have a larger impact. Ultimately, the implication of piggybacking is its’ reliance on the contemporary globalization transformationalist theory to function.

Corporate social responsibility
CSR is an important factor for the functioning of the NSEC campaign\(^{213}\), as without it there would be less incentive for corporations to allow piggybacking. This has an implication for the theory, for if this tool is dismissed, the ability for NSEC images to be attached to merchandise would be weakened.

\(^{211}\) The COO effect is a theory relating to NSEC images to create a positive convincing, consistent and meaningful affect upon consumers perception of a nation-state. Accordingly, COO is used as a tool for public diplomacy to create a positive or negative associationism between consumers and the NSEC images that they consume. COO associationism affects consumers purchasing decisions. COO associationism functions with NSEC images because consumers are ethnocentric. It is also argued that in the practical application of the COO effect, despite the five different ways that a corporation can be argued to belong to a nation-state, corporations may only support the NSEC campaign when the COO associationism supports the sale of their merchandise.

\(^{212}\) Piggybacking argues that NSEC images piggyback upon exported merchandise. Within contemporary globalization merchandise can be consumed transnationally more effectively, and piggybacking upon this would make the NSEC campaign cost effective.

\(^{213}\) Corporate social responsibility is the theory that corporations work together to satisfy stakeholders beyond the minimum levels set by law. Corporations can also use their support of the NSEC campaign as a form of CSR because the positive results of the campaign will also support the whole nation-state economy. (Aside from CSR, foreign indirect reinvestment brought about through the NSEC campaign would also increase corporate revenue).
Delimitations

Delimitations create implications for the theory as the research focus can block factors considered by others as important for the theory. This implication must therefore be taken into account when considering the theory within the dissertation.

Implications for the theory claim that particular theoretical premises must be accepted for the existence and functioning of the NSEC campaign. The theoretical implications are summarized as following:

1) The transformationist theory of contemporary globalization is used to illustrate a real weakening of nation-state sovereignty.
2) The nation-state is recognized as a socio-political identity.
3) Nation-state culture is a combination of the nation-state and culture.
4) NSEC uses delimitations of popular culture, and this popular culture is controlled in its exportation to an external audience.
5) Structure and agency and the cores theory are used to dispute hyperglobalism to claim NSEC exists and can be exported transnationally.
6) Protectionism determined that the NSEC campaign functions with the exclusive use of NSEC images.
7) For NSEC images to be used within public diplomacy, its modern interpretation must be chosen.
8) The COO effect creates associationism with consumers.
9) Piggybacking relies on the contemporary globalization transformationist theory to function.
10) CSR provides incentive for corporations to accept piggybacking.
11) Delimitations can block theoretical factors considered by others as important for a NSEC campaign.

If these theories are disputed, the need for, existence and functioning of a NSEC campaign will also be brought into question. Aside from theoretical implications discovered in the analysis of the dissertation, there are further limitations of the study which influence the strength of the hypothesis and existence and functioning of a NSEC campaign. These limitations of the study will now be presented.
5.4.0 Limitations of Study

Each of the sections of this dissertation encounters limitations. Self-reflection in recognizing these limitations is important for an overall assessment of the dissertation and can influence future research. The following limitations will be presented with reference to the delimitations, theory, methodology and case studies of this dissertation.

Delimitations

Delimitations are often acknowledged as limitations. Section 1.6.0 recognizes delimitations of the dissertation as a theoretical contribution, definitions used, the use of NSEC as a specific sub-group of nation-state culture, and the use of particular nation-states.

Limitations of the theory

The implications for theory (section 5.3.0) also have limitations. These limitations are associated with the adoption of particular theories that the NSEC campaign is based upon. It has already been explained that the transformationalist, structure and agency and cores theories must be accepted in order for a specific nature of contemporary globalization and piggybacking to exist that allows for a NSEC campaign. Aside from the theory involved with implications, the limitations of the structure, agency and core theories must also be recognized. Structure and agency and cores theories that support the transformationalist position must be accepted against hyperglobalism in order for the NSEC campaign function. The emphasis placed upon these theories may be seen as a limitation, because as with the implications for theory, if any of the premises of the dissertation are disputed, then the need and ability to create a NSEC campaign is brought into question.

The importance placed upon culture throughout this dissertation is another theoretical limitation. In particular, the nation-state has been defined as having a socio-political identity rather than a solely political and/or economic identity. Furthermore, the existence of nation-state culture is defined as a combination of the nation-state and culture. The socio-political nature and definition of nation-state culture are limitations (or delimitations) because they force emphasis to be placed on the value of culture. As the emphasis of this direction can be disputed by changing the argument direction by placing emphasis on other processes (such as the political or economic), the concentration on culture is both a delimitation and limitation.
Aside from these parent theories surrounding contemporary globalization and the nature of the nation-state, limitations are also found in the immediate theories of the dissertation. These limitations concern the theories of protectionism, popular culture, public diplomacy, the COO effect and CSR. Here, these limitations of the theory reflect the implications in section 5.3.0 that the theoretical premises selected for use can be disputed, and their rejection can bring the whole NSEC campaign into question.

In summary, the transformationalist theory of contemporary globalization, structure and agency, cores, the socio-political identity of the nation-state and existence of nation-state culture, protectionism, use of popular culture, modern public diplomacy, the COO effect and CSR are all essential premises in building the need and creation of a NSEC campaign. However, as each of the premises promotes the need and existence of a NSEC campaign, they force the debate to accept particular premises and conclusions. This forcing is a limitation for the dissertation as each of the premises are disputable.

**Limitations of the methodology**

There are two major limitations to the methodology. Firstly, the limitation of the dissertation as a theoretical contribution, and secondly, the limitation of the use of qualitative research methods.

While the aim of this dissertation is to build a theoretical contribution relating to the hypothesis, such a theoretical contribution itself is a limitation in that it does not test the NSEC campaign practically, nor practically analyze the recommended best practice created through an analysis of the case studies. This means that the findings and thus success of the NSEC campaign are uncertain as the success of a campaign can be realized only through later practical application of the NSEC.

A qualitative methodology was chosen for primary and secondary data collection. Limitations of qualitative methodologies are ‘less systematic, research results in generalizations that may not be replicable or widely applicable (Francisco et al 2001: 21). Despite these limitations, it was discussed in section 3.1.0 that a qualitative methodology is chosen for primary source analysis for three reasons: firstly, for reality-constructing and meaning making; secondly, to emphasize interviewees’ narrative; and thirdly, to interpret narratives through patterned linkages (taken from Järvinen 2000: 371). Furthermore, as discussed in more detail in section 3.1.0, a qualitative methodology is also chosen for the secondary sources to expand upon and provide referenced legitimization to the information provided in the interviews.
Limitations of case studies

Limitations concerning the case studies used involve both the nature of the nation-states and their specific case studies. The similarities and differences between the nation-states create a unique environment of analysis, limiting representative findings to these case studies. Furthermore, the case studies within the nation-state also face limitations in that they are only applicable to the nation-state rather than the wider audience that the NSEC campaign theory is created for. This is because of the triggers and local variables discussed in 4.6.0.

Nation-states with fundamental similarities are chosen so that they can be compared without encountering confounding variables. Here, the political and economic similarities between case studies include the reaction to contemporary globalization in terms of their implementation of neo-liberal economic measures influencing how they operate on the world stage. In terms of cultural similarities, the case studies are “western” nation-states based on the English language$^{214}$. This allows clarity through comparison of local variables and influences. However, it also creates a limitation as it impacts on the ability for the dissertation results to be used by other nation-states.

However, despite the case studies similarities, they did have some fundamental differences. The differences between the nation-states chosen include distinguishing characteristics such as geography, population and history. Other differences include how each of the nation-states political and economic structures, access and power concerning exports, and regional partnerships differ. Cultural differences also exist between case studies such as, how New Zealand is based on biculturalism, Britain on a multicultural polity recognizing recent immigration, and the United States also multicultural through the recognition of different rights and identities of its different cultural groups. These differences create limitations in that local variables must be taken into account when the nation-states are compared, limiting the ability to make a direct comparison.

In summary, the use of three nation-states with these particular similarities and differences creates limitations for the study. The central limitation is that as the NSEC campaign theory aims to create a skeleton framework applicable to all nation-states, and this is limited by the distinguishing characteristics (e.g. geography, population and history), local variables and triggers of each of the case studies. The six points deriving from the case

$^{214}$ This means that the nation-states have similar socio-cultural, political and economic institutions and structures in comparison to non-western nation-states. Furthermore, the nation-states are even more similar because their institutions and structures all use the English language. This shared language reduces confounding variables which may occur through comparison.
studies are only fully applicable for New Zealand, Britain and the United States. This however, does not ignore the fact that they are possibly applicable (while not fully) for other nation-states. Furthermore, the case studies used are very specific. For example, while New Zealand may have successful destination marketing, other areas of New Zealand public diplomacy may not be so successful. This is a limitation in that the findings made should not be representative for all of New Zealand.

The central limitation of this dissertation is that the particular delimitations and theories have forced arguments into particular premises requiring the need and creation of a NSEC campaign. This is a limitation because it is possible to disagree with the dissertation's premises and thus the need and existence for a NSEC campaign. The methodological focus on theoretical and qualitative information also limits the dissertation by being unable to quantitatively prove the success of the NSEC campaign through practical analysis. Finally, the criteria required for a successful campaign derived through the case studies are a limitation in that they are applicable only to the nation-states themselves in terms of how they can improve in the application of a NSEC campaign, rather than all nation-states to which the NSEC campaign theory is aimed. Now that theoretical implications and limitations of the dissertation have been presented, areas of this dissertation that could be investigated in future research will be outlined.
5.5.0 Future Research

Future research is split into two groups. The first group is concerned with future research of the dissertation. This concentrates on overcoming drawbacks of the qualitative methodology as well as expanding upon the analysis of the theory and case studies. The second group considers future expansion of the NSEC campaign from theory to reality. This involves the creation of a think tank to analyze local nation-state variables, and the creation of an independent panel to manage the NSEC campaign.

Future research for the dissertation: Supporting the qualitative methodology

All methodological techniques have their drawbacks, as does this dissertation’s qualitative research. Accordingly, future research could aim at supporting the theoretical contribution with statistical evidence. For example, a quantitative methodology surveying consumers could prove that COO effect associationism is related to NSEC images. This would reinforce the credibility of the NSEC campaign.

Future research for the dissertation: Expanding the analysis

Future research could also expand the discussion to areas excluded in this dissertation due to delimitations and limitations. Furthermore, future research could increase the scope of the different theoretical perspectives presented throughout the paper.

Delimitations are the dissertation as a theoretical contribution and concentration upon certain definitions and case studies. Limitations exist within the theory, methodology and case study. Delimitations and limitations create avenues for future research whereby areas ignored may be disputed to be important for analysis by other academics. Here, new variables can be implemented into the study which may result in gaining a more concise or diverse range of results to support or oppose a NSEC campaign. For example, a larger selection of nation-state case studies could be elected for analysis. This wider spectrum may present a more concise analysis of different political, economic and cultural systems that hinder or support the protection of nation-state culture. It could however increase the complexity in the analysis to achieve any comparative conclusion.

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215 Drawbacks of this dissertation methodology have been presented in the methodology section 3.1.0.

216 Delimitations are presented in section 1.6.0.

217 It could however increase the complexity in the analysis to achieve any comparative conclusion.
discover new variations in regional cooperation between different transnational governmental bodies influencing the ability to export NSEC images.

**Future research: Practical development of the NSEC campaign**

This dissertation proposes that the future development of the NSEC campaign requires the employment of a think tank. The think tank will be created within a nation-states public diplomacy division to analyze the local variables involved with the implementation of a NSEC campaign. As local variables are socio-cultural, economic and political, a multidisciplinary team of specialists will need to be employed for this analysis. Among the many tasks of the think tank, there are three that are particularly relevant to this dissertation: Firstly, an in-depth analysis of the particular exporting and receiving nation-states. Secondly, an analysis of the granted corporate subsidies must be made. Thirdly, the think tank must conduct further research concerning the associationism of both sending and receiving nation-states including analysis of their demographic groups.

After the think tank has completed this research, it must create an independent panel for the coordination of the NSEC campaign. Further future research by the think tank will decide how such a panel is created, and how the panel should control the images and corporations involved in the NSEC campaign. Each of these different steps of future research in the practical development of a NSEC campaign will now be discussed in more detail.

Future research of the think tank will require analysis of the nation-states local variables including its economic, socio-cultural and political identities as well as its history, demographics and territorial proximities as conducted in this dissertation. The think tank must also discover the optimal NSEC images to create associationism in terms of its demographic and/or nation-state target groups. However, for these images to create associationism, they will firstly have to be attached to merchandise. Here it is asserted that corporations should receive subsidies to encourage to encourage image attachment. Thus, the think tank needs to decide upon the type of (if any) subsidies to be given to corporations for attaching NSEC images to merchandise. Once the think tank has completed this research, it will support the creation of an independent panel that manages the NSEC campaign.

The independent panel will manage the NSEC campaign by selecting participating images and corporations. It is important the panel is independent because it must choose NSEC images representative of the nation-state and corporations that support the images
positive associationism. Thus, future research will discover how members of such a panel should be chosen for their independence and/or representation of the nation-states socio-cultural interests. The panel needs to represent the socio-cultural interests of the nation-state because it is the socio-cultural images that are being attached to merchandise. For example, in the case of New Zealand, the independent panel may include members that represent its biculturalism. Furthermore, the independent body needs to choose images that creates associationism with the target group. This is a particularly contentious issue for two reasons. Firstly, because of recognition that the cultural diversity of a nation-state needs to be recognized, and secondly, that nation-state culture is a continually evolving phenomenon and that NSEC images are thus not static.

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In summary, there is certainly scope for future research in the theory and analysis of the dissertation itself, as well as the NSEC campaigns’ practical application. Concerning the dissertations theory, future quantitative analysis could be made to support the presented qualitative research. Future research could also be made to expand upon the dissertations delimitations and limitations. Finally, future research in terms of further development of the NSEC campaign needs to analyze the nature of the particular exporting and receiving nation-states, the subsidies granted, different objectives of the think tank, the creation of a representative independent panel and its selection of images and corporations.
Conclusion

A NSEC public diplomacy campaign is one solution to protect nation-state sovereignty from contemporary globalization. This dissertation proposes a NSEC public diplomacy campaign that promotes NSEC images in order to create the COO effect. This campaign protects nation-state sovereignty while working within a neo-liberal economic framework.

A qualitative methodology was implemented to investigate primary and secondary sources. The investigation was conducted in two parts: In the first part a theoretical analysis finds that contemporary globalization reduces nation-state sovereignty and constructs the NSEC campaign to protect it. The second part analyses public diplomacy campaigns of the United States, Britain and New Zealand and critiques them and makes recommendations for the application of a NSEC campaign.

**Contemporary globalization threatens nation-state sovereignty**

Modernity creates a contemporary form of globalization consisting of an intricate network of transnational flows changing the world around us. These transnational flows are characterized by two major factors: technological innovation, which decreases time and space distances, and neo-liberal economic state regulations supporting trade liberalization. These two factors were implemented as a response to economic recession throughout the 1970s in order to restimulate nation-states’ economies. This initiated an era of state liberalization promoting transnationalism. Due to neo-liberal economics and technological innovation, corporations have become less tied to nation-states and have gained increased market penetration. Therefore corporations can be called one of the biggest winners of contemporary globalization.

From a theoretical perspective, transformationalists believe that contemporary globalization has changed capitalist ideals and consumption patterns. Furthermore transformationalists believe contemporary globalization has created new ideas about identity concerning the Self and the Other. These changes weaken the nation-state sovereignty which further increases corporate power. This subsequently reduces the state’s ability to protect its citizens. This transformationalism triggers two problematic responses within the nation-state: Firstly, citizens are increasingly identified as consumers and workers and are therefore less tied to the state. The citizens’ rights that were previously provided by the state are then reduced. Secondly, states find themselves in a balancing act to protect these
citizens’ rights, while simultaneously reducing their sovereignty to make the nation-state attractive for corporations. This puts citizens at further risk.

There seems to be only two possible responses to the weakening of sovereignty created by contemporary globalization: Either, a nation-state can close itself off to competitive trade denying neo-liberal economics and therefore undergoing a weak economy. Alternatively, neo-liberal economics can be accepted to experience reduced sovereignty. However, this dissertation proposes a third alternative that protects sovereignty while remaining within the neo-liberal economic framework.

**Public diplomacy campaigns that use NSEC images can protect nation-state sovereignty from contemporary globalization**

This alternative approach to protect sovereignty while remaining within a neo-liberal economic framework argues the hypothesis that *it is theoretically conceivable for a diverse range of state subsidized cultural images associated with a nation-state to be attached to corporate merchandise for exportation on the world stage in order to support the sovereignty of the nation-state identity. This support of nation-state identity sovereignty takes place within the NSEC campaign.* Here, the field of sociology discovers a path, with respect to particular delimitations, to use contemporary globalization as a tool to the nation-state’s advantage.

NSEC is a part of nation-state culture and falls into the category of banal nationalism. Nation-state culture is a product of the culture industry and it is created by artists and filtered by particular parties such as groups of citizens, government, and elites within corporations. These groups approve or disapprove of the culture created by the artists through their individual powers: citizens’ power of the masses, governments’ law creation and elites’ control of finance and production. NSEC images are particular images from nation-state culture that create a positive representation as well as extinguish negative perceptions of the nation-state.

The NSEC public diplomacy campaign suggested by this dissertation functions by attaching NSEC images to merchandise that is exported. This merchandise serves as a medium to transport the images to an overseas audience. Audiences then consume these images which triggers the COO effect. The COO effect creates positive recognition of the nation-state and leads to higher consumption of merchandise. This positive recognition and increased consumption subsequently increases nation-state sovereignty and supports the nation-state’s economy. The NSEC campaign needs to be managed as a public diplomacy
campaign by a state funded independent panel. This panel manages the image selection that corporations wish to attach to their merchandise.

There are four main benefits of implementing the NSEC campaign: Firstly social cohesion and thus sovereignty is supported through an increased international positive recognition of the nation-state. Secondly, the nation-state economy is supported through increased consumption of merchandise that has NSEC images attached to it. Thirdly, while other campaigns have a problem of using reductionalist slogans, the NSEC campaign avoids this by promoting a variety of NSEC images aimed at particular demographic audiences. Fourthly, the NSEC campaign is particularly effective by working within contemporary globalization because corporations can export their merchandise and thus NSEC images to wider markets than previously possible.

Case studies of public diplomacy campaigns using NSEC images
The practical analysis of this dissertation examines public diplomacy campaigns of the United States, Britain and New Zealand. Each of these nation-states embraced contemporary globalization from the 1970s in order to overcome the economic recession and have since developed individual public diplomacy campaigns. At the same time, these nation-states have their unique characteristics determining their reaction to contemporary globalization which subsequently influenced the aims and triggers of these individual public diplomacy campaigns.

United States case study
United States NSEC derives from democracy that was constituted in the Bill of Rights, in particular in the First Amendment. From this, a homogenous identity is formed that recognizes the right to heterogeneity resulting in a nation of liberal collectivists. As consumerism is controlled by corporations, this heterogeneity is restricted. It is most predominantly controlled through the television, sport and movie industries. These NSEC identities were then used in direct and indirect public diplomacy campaigns.

Analysis of indirect public diplomacy in the United States revealed that NSEC is promoted predominantly through popular culture reflecting ideals of freedom, capitalism and consumerism. The success of this public diplomacy is recognized in two different ways. Firstly, through the adoption of a consumer lifestyle reflecting these images, and secondly, to the extent that corporations not related to the nation-state adopt similar images to sell their merchandise.
Direct public diplomacy in the United States is managed solely by the state without corporate support. In the Cold War, United States public diplomacy was successful against the USSR, but not against Asia. Since 9/11, direct public diplomacy has gained more importance with budget increases for campaigns in nation-states such as Afghanistan and Iraq. The aim of this post-9/11 public diplomacy is to counter against negative images generated by military action.

**British case study**
Prior to the 1970s, British identity was based on its traditional institutions and WWII patriotism. However, after the 1970s British identity became reduced by local government devolution and transnational politics. In particular, Thatcher and New Labours’ neo-liberal economic agenda as a response to a weak industry base and the 1973 oil crisis, reduced nation-state identity by opening Britain to the world stage. Consequently, British identity changed from being based upon traditional institutions and become dominated by two factors: corporations consumer based images and a collective identity brought about by national events.

The Cool Britannia campaign is an outstanding public diplomacy campaign using NSEC images. It was launched by Tony Blair’s Labour government in 1997. The aim of the campaign was to extinguish traditional images such as cricket, tea and the monarchy that presented Britain as traditional and dull. It did this by presenting Britain as a technologically advanced, youthful nation-state. The campaign was initiated by Robin Cook and had large support from Tony Blair, celebrities and corporations who promoted it.

**New Zealand case study**
New Zealand public diplomacy has three different categories of NSEC images it can choose from: Māori images, traditional images and Kiwiana images. There are implications for the use of these images. For Māori images the cultural copyright must be observed and thus the use of Māori in public diplomacy campaigns may not be possible. Kiwiana images have a similar problem as Māori images as they are mostly consumer products and thus also have copyrights. Alternatively, almost all traditional New Zealand symbols are not copyrighted. This is problematic for New Zealand public diplomacy as the images use is not controlled and may be manipulated to the detrimental effect of the campaign.

Despite problems with NSEC images, New Zealand public diplomacy is generally successful. The case study of New Zealand NSEC is analyzed through a sub-field of public
diplomacy, destination marketing. Destination marketing is analyzed because tourism is an important source of export income for the New Zealand economy. The 100% Pure New Zealand campaign has been presented as an example of destination marketing. The campaign uses convincing and unique images in which it communicates to its focused market through a diverse range of mediums.

**Evaluation of the case studies’ public diplomacy campaigns**

The United States is very successful in exporting images of itself as democratic and as a world leader. Analysis of United States indirect and direct public diplomacy has found the United States are strong enough to not only create a COO effect of itself, but also of other nation-states either positively or negatively. The three crucial problems that the United States need to resolve in order to implement a successful NSEC campaign are as follows:

- Corporations may manipulate democratic images to suit their own needs rather than using them to promote the nation-state. Secondly, direct public diplomacy does not use corporations to export their images leading to a more costly campaign.
- Images of freedom, capitalism and consumption can also be used by nation-states other than the United States. This reduces the uniqueness of the images. These problems must be solved for the implementation of a successful NSEC campaign.

Britain’s Cool Britannia campaign was initially successful, but ultimately failed. The campaign failed because it expected quick results, was unfocused, had little support from the corporate sector, had images that were unfocused, unrealistic, unconvincing, and did not form an emotional attachment with the consumer. Furthermore the campaign did not have an equity base to work from, was inapplicable to non-manufacturing sectors and only had short term government financial support. A lack of an umbrella approach in later campaigns illustrates the states failure to resolve core problems from Cool Britannia. Without significant changes to its public diplomacy strategy and organizational composition, Britain will not be able to launch a successful NSEC campaign. Consequently, Britain must not only be very careful about its image selection and use but must undergo structural changes in its campaign management in order to have a successful NSEC campaign.

New Zealand destination marketing public diplomacy is successful for many reasons. State support of nation-hood and identity made it less complicated to promote the New Zealand identity. Furthermore the New Zealand state’s close relationship with corporations and citizens eases identity exportation. Also, identity promotion by piggybacking upon events that capture the world’s attention decreases the cost of destination marketing. The
exportation of a unique niche identity, which is convincing, unique and targeted, also supports the campaign’s success. Further, the restriction of cultural conflict through the recognition of local voices and cultural copyrights is also an important success factor. New Zealand destination marketing has been argued to be successful by measuring cost vs. revenue in comparison with the destination marketing of other nation-states. Finally, while New Zealand has good management of its public diplomacy, it must overcome copyright issues surrounding its images in order for its NSEC campaign to continue its success.

**Results of analysis: Six factors for a successful NSEC campaign**

This dissertation has created a public diplomacy campaign involving the use of NSEC images attached to merchandise. This merchandise is exported to an international audience of consumers and the attached images create the COO effect. This COO effect supports the nation-state sovereignty and economy. An investigation of case studies from the United States, Britain and New Zealand took place to analyze problems associated with public diplomacy campaigns which use NSEC images. This dissertation discovered six areas crucial for a successful public diplomacy campaign. These are:
1) **Contemporary globalization**: The nation-state must embrace neo-liberal economics and technological innovation while avoiding transnational regionalism and local devolution.

2) **Piggybacking**: Piggybacking should be used with long-term state and corporate support to maximize image attention for least cost.

3) **Images**: The NSEC images used must extinguish negative and build positive perceptions through unique, educational, convincing, attractive realistic niche imagery that has direction, is focused, targeted and creates a domestic and international emotional attachment. The images must also create a consumer lifestyle, be used for PR opportunities and piggybacking and be based upon current identity equity.

4) **State, corporation and citizen relationship**: The campaign needs long term commitment from state, corporations and citizens. In this relationship the state must retain decision-making power.

5) **Nature of the state**: The state must have good inter-departmental coordination and support corporations involved in image exportation through economic policies. It must also recognize its unique local variables to reduce friction in image selection.

6) **Campaign application**: Campaign managers should use campaigns to not only promote identity but make economic gains. Managers should await long-term rather than short term results, be aware of local variables and triggers, focus on particular audiences and avoid name-calling as part of the campaign strategy.

Delimitations must be taken into account to understand these findings. Firstly, the dissertations’ theoretical premises must be accepted for the NSEC campaign to be needed and to function. Secondly, while the NSEC campaign is created to be applicable to most nation-states, the practical analysis of its implementation is restricted to three case studies.

It needs to be concluded that, while each nation-state has the potential to profit from the NSEC campaign, some nation-states are more suitable for a NSEC campaign than others. Accordingly, it is not recommended that all nation-states implement such a campaign unless particular institutions and their relationships suit or are altered in line with the recommendations of the dissertation.
In summary, the NSEC campaign is the solution of the hypothesis to protect nation-state sovereignty and support economic revenue within the age of contemporary globalization. The hypothesis and campaign’s success is dependant on theoretical arguments for the need and existence of a campaign, the institutional relationships and character within nation-states as well as the campaign strategy. Thus, the hypothesis is proved theoretically true, but practical analysis has shown that some nation-states may be more suitable to undertake a NSEC campaign than others.

Future research will involve the formation of a multidisciplinary think tank to analyze local variables for the practical implementation of the NSEC campaign as well as associationism of sending and receiving nation-states. This will be followed by the creation of the independent panel to coordinate the NSEC campaign.
Bibliography

Works references throughout the dissertation without pages numbers are from electronic texts (such as websites) where a page number is not available.


Land of Ideas. 2009. Welcome to the Land of Ideas! Retrieved 27.01.09 Website: http://www.land-of-ideas.org/CDA/the_initiative,239,0,,en.html


I. 1.2.0.1 NSEC Campaign

- **Govt. gives subsidies for the attachment of the cultural product**
- **Corporations create product with cultural attachment**
- **Product is exported and consumed**
- **State benefits through higher exports and profit**
- **Corporations benefit through reinvestment**
- **Consumer becomes interested in product and reinvests back into the country**

State benefits through higher exports and profit, which in turn benefits the corporations through reinvestment. The consumer becomes interested in the product and reinvests back into the country. This cycle is supported by the government's subsidies for the attachment of cultural products, allowing corporations to create products that are exported and consumed, benefiting both the state and corporations.
II. 1.2.0.2 Cost of NSEC Campaign

Fig. GDP investment into corporations is ‘free’.
III. 1.3.0.1 Indirect Reinvestment

Consumer a & b interested in cultural image and consumes more of cultural image from another corporation “Foreign Indirect Re-investment”
IV.  1.5.3.1 Relationship between Protectionism, Heritage and Defense with the Other and Self
V. 1.5.3.2 Relationship between Modernity, Traditional and Contemporary Globalization with the Nation-State
VI. 1.5.3.3 Contemporary Globalization Positions

![Diagram showing the spectrum of globalization positions: Globalist Skeptic, Transformationalist, and Hyperglobalist.]
VII. 1.5.3.4 Impact of Globalization upon the Nation-State

(de Vries 2001).
VIII. 1.5.5.1 Export Culture from Nation-State Culture
1.5.5.2 The Exportation of Nation-State Culture through the Cultural Industry Mediums

While the background, makers, creators and contemporary influences of NSEC have been presented through the cultural industries, little has been said about how corporations promote their merchandise and the attached NSEC\(^{218}\). Mediums are the way in which three major groups convince citizens of the cultural images they should consume. In particular, there is a sector which is adept at exporting images. This sector that supports corporations image exportation includes marketing, advertising, public relations, radio and television producers, presenters, magazine journalists, fashion writers, and the helping professions (social workers, marriage counsellors, sex therapists, dieticians, play leaders, etc.) (Cox & Sanderson 1997: 44). All of these areas support corporations’ exportation of the image of their merchandise. The technological revolution has allowed these (and other) corporations to access their consumer markets to advertise merchandise images with increasing ease over wider geographical space than previously possible. This will now be explained in more detail.

Particular mediums are used to transport culture images. For example, Anderson’s imagined communities has discussed how print was a medium that illustrated cultural differences, and that new technological innovation such as radio and television have continued this job in contemporary society (Benson 1991: 644). Technological innovation has allowed small identity niches to exist between different individuals who live in different space and time. Technological innovation has also protected cultures through reinforcement of cultural images and competes with other culture images through increased exposure with the use of these mediums. For example, the media has the ability to impress culture upon people from another particular cultural group. What is important is that consumers are consciously or unconsciously influenced by a wide range of marketing ploys that corporations use to export their image to the consumer. The technological revolution has allowed corporations to implement new ways of advertising – be it through computer or console games, mp3 players and so on.

Hesmondhalgh claims that ‘many media moguls are prepared to push their own political views extremely hard through their cultural-industry interests’ (2002: 164) and presents the example of Silvio Berusconi. Berusconi promoted his political party ‘Forza Italia’ through his different media outlets resulting in his election as Prime Minister of Italy in 1994.

\(^{218}\) Without taking into account the risk ‘that audiences use cultural commodities in highly volatile and unpredictable ways, often in order to express their difference from other people’ (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 18).
and 2001 (Hesmondhalgh 2002: 164). Heath and Potter present another example of how the media is able to influence consumers with the sitcom on television or radio that has background laughter from an audience (2004: 25). The background laughter makes the viewer also laugh – thus representing the impressing effect that media has upon the viewer, the idea of which can be transposed to the adoption of culture. At the same time the media allows other individuals to retain their culture even though they may no longer live within the nation-state borders. This can be seen for example with Mexican television shown in the United States. Television is a commonly used example of a popular consumed medium to which corporations attach their merchandise images. Hesmondhalgh claims that television is a essential medium – and despite the amount of advertising merchandise may have on billboards etc, merchandise needs to have a relatively prime-time slot to legitimise it and bring it success (2002: 158). He then discusses different ways corporations use merchandise placement, first starting with the movie ET (directed by Steven Spielberg, 1982). ET increased a brand of candy/toffee sales by 300 percent (2002: 238). Other examples include *Dawson’s Creek* (J-Crew clothes) and *The Wedding Singer* (all-tempa-cheer clothes detergent) (Andersen in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 238). In summary, contemporary globalization has allowed corporations to use technologically advanced ways of advertising their merchandise through new and different mediums to persuade consumers to consume. This is most obviously seen through television advertising: ‘All the major US networks, for example, have increased the average time per hour they devote to merchandise advertising: ABC from 9 minutes per hour in 1991 to 11:26 in 1996; CBS from 9:10 to 10:29; Fox from 11:03 to 11:40; and NBC from 9:57 to 10:33 (Anderson, in Hesmondhalgh 2002: 238). These mediums describe how corporations have an increased ability to promote their merchandise to their audience. Here, the state also has not only the potential to use contemporary globalization to their advantage the same way corporations have but also to take advantage of corporations increased exportation of images to larger audiences to for the benefit of the whole nation-state. Ultimately it must be realised that mediums transport culture based upon a demand/supply ratio. As Hesmondhalgh claims, the culture that the media displays is dependant upon ‘its audiences’ culturally-shaped desires and expectations’ (2002: 83).
IX. 2.1.0.1 Existence of Nation-State Culture

Transformationalist argument

Nation-state
+ Transformationalist contemporary globalization
= Common identity

= Common nation-state identity
→ = Nation-state culture
→ = Nation-state culture industry
→ = NSEC

Hyperglobalist argument

Nation-state
+ Hyperglobalist contemporary globalization
≠ Common identity

→ ≠ Common nation-state identity
→ ≠ Nation-state culture
→ ≠ Nation-state culture industry
→ ≠ NSEC
1. 2.1.1.1 Country Self Ranking

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(Anholt 2007: 57).
2. **2.1.1.2 Overall Rank Order**

(3rd edition results in brackets)

1 (1) United Kingdom  
2 (5) Switzerland  
3 (9) Canada  
4 (6) Italy  
5 (7) Sweden  
6 (2) Germany  
7 (4) Japan  
8 (8) France  
9 (12) Australia  
10 (3) United States

(Anholt 2007: 44).
### 3. 2.1.1.3 Financial Valuation of National Brands

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Brand value (US$ Billion)</th>
<th>Brand Value/GDP(2004) (%)</th>
<th>Brand Value per head of population</th>
<th>Brand Rating</th>
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(Anholt 2007: 45).
X.  2.1.2.1 Corporations and the COO Effect

(Jaffe et al 2006: 118).
## 4. 2.3.2.4 RISC Survey Results 1992: Associations between Countries and Attributes

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<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Style</td>
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<td>16.4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>12.7</td>
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<td>Attractive Prices</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After sale service</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity</td>
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<td>6.7</td>
<td>70.4</td>
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<td>16.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value for money</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>19.6</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N = 7582

*19.6 percent of respondents selected France as the best country for reliability. Rows add up to more than 100 since multiple answers were possible.

4.1.1.1. Germany as a possible case study

The particular nation-states discussed in the case studies have political, economic and socio-cultural structures that can be compared to each other despite their differences in geography, population and history. Germany could be included in this comparison, because it is relatively similar to the other nation-states to the extent that it would not encounter confounding variables. Further, Germany would be particularly interesting to analyze due to its cultural diversity, EU membership and large volume of exports, even though its neo-liberal economic transformation into contemporary globalization was not as profound as New Zealand, Britain or the United States. However, despite its applicability as a case study, Germany was not included in this dissertation, because its public diplomacy campaigns were either unrelated or too recent to be critiqued.

The following section will expand on reasons why Germany would make an interesting case study. This will be followed by explanation of why Germany was not selected for analysis.

Germany as an interesting case study

Germany would make a fascinating case study for this dissertation, firstly, because of its diverse cultural identity, and secondly, due to the ease that this identity can be exported within the EU and to its other trade partners. These two factors will be outlined in the following.

With its 82.4 million citizens, Germany is a land of cultural contrasts and its diverse identity is continually debated in modern German politics (deriving from Sonderweg). The heart of current debate centres on immigration and what it means to be “German”. An example of this is seen through the German Leitkultur discussion. ‘German Leitkultur means

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219 Perhaps the largest difference in comparison to all of the other case study nation-states is the use of the German language in comparison to their English languages.

220 In comparison to other nation-states such as North Korea.

221 Post-WWII government.
accepting the set of values and norms valid in our country’ (Roensch in Pautz 2005: 46). However, these norms are often hard to perceive due to the diversity of German cultural identity as a result of immigration. Part of this reason is because Germany has geographically close ties with its neighbors. This close interaction is reinforced through job opportunities for guest-worker (Gastarbeiter), a strong infrastructure (e.g. autobahns, air and ship ports), as well as border liberalization (Schengen Agreement). As a result, Germany experiences eased flows of trade, tourists, workers, immigrants and emigrants entering and exiting Germany which creates a culturally diverse nation-state.

Additionally, Germany is not only diverse due to its interaction with external identities, but also internally with different cultural identities deriving from each of the nation-state’s different states. For example, the catholic culture of Bavaria is quite different to that of protestant Saxony. This cultural diversity would be very fascinating to analyze in terms of how it influences the creation of a NSEC that can be used in a public diplomacy campaign.

It will now be explained how the EU has also played a central role in influencing the above factors that create a diverse German identity. Despite being a nation-state well integrated into EU policy (Banchoff 1999: 259), German sovereignty through public diplomacy does not have to be seen as reduced by the EU. ‘EU policy has underscored not only the existence of a European identity, but also the resilience and importance of national, regional, and local identities, each with its own rich history and symbols’ (Pantel 1999: 46). Furthermore, a reduction in border control created by the EU allows for the ability for Germany to export its identity at unprecedented levels. As Germany is one of the largest commodity exporters in the world and can subsequently export a larger volume of images to

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222 Denmark, Poland, the Czech Republic, Austria, Switzerland, France, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands

223 The European identity cannot and should not be compared to any national identity: it is inherently different, just as the EU is a polity inherently different from the nation state. Against this backdrop, the “unity in diversity” strategy is the only one suitable to the creation of a meaningful European identity (Pantel 1999: 60). European identity is unlikely to superecede national identity in the foreseeable future (1999: 180).
a larger audience than many other nation-states, it is a appealing candidate for analysis surrounding the NSEC campaign.

**Germany not chosen as a case study**

This dissertation analyzes public diplomacy campaigns and suggests amendments nation-states should take into consideration when implementing the NSEC campaign. There are two reasons why German public diplomacy campaigns are not applicable. Firstly because the use of public diplomacy campaigns (relative to the NSEC campaign) to support the economy is a new concept in Germany. Secondly, Germany has not yet had a public diplomacy campaign to support its economy that has lasted two years that is applicable to create critique for the NSEC campaign application in Germany. As a result it is too early to judge the success of current campaigns unlike the case studies of this dissertation.

As is explained in chapter 2.1.1 (public diplomacy as a parent discipline), public diplomacy has still not become a concrete concept in Germany. This is evident through the wide variety of names that are used to describe it: “politische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit”, “öffentliche Diplomatie”, “dipломatische Öffentlichkeitssarbeit”, “außenpolitische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit” or “auswärtige Kulturpolitik” (Zoelner 2006: 162). Furthermore, application of public diplomacy is often outsourced to marketing firms such as Scholz & Friends with “Germany, Land of Ideas”, which emphasis it as a marketing rather than public diplomacy campaign (see section 2.1.1).

Currently, there is a wide variety of different state institutions that conduct public diplomacy for Germany. Three of these are state funded institutions that like the NSEC campaign conduct public diplomacy to support the nation-state economy. However each of the following are not applicable to with the NSEC campaign as they are either comparatively uncreative or too new. Firstly, Germany Trade and Invest is a foreign trade and investment...
agency supported by the Federal Ministry of Economics and Technology\textsuperscript{224} and the Federal Ministry of Transport Building and Urban Affairs\textsuperscript{225}. Germany Trade and Invest is involved in industry promotion, but is not involved in campaigns relative to the NSEC campaign. Secondly, the German Chambers of Industry and Commerce\textsuperscript{226} (DIHK) in conjunction with the Chambers of Industry and Commerce (IHK)\textsuperscript{227}, Chambers of Commerce Abroad, German business delegates and representations (AHK)\textsuperscript{228} are involved in public diplomacy supporting German industry through avenues including lobbying, promoting and networking. As with German Trade and Invest, DIHK is not involved in campaigns similar to the NSEC campaign. Thirdly, another example of a state funded institution conducting public diplomacy to support the nation-states economy is The Federation of German Industries (BDI)\textsuperscript{229}. The BDI has conducted a public diplomacy campaign “Germany – Land of Ideas” since 2006\textsuperscript{230}. This campaign runs several projects aimed at supporting the German economy and promote ‘a wealth of positive arguments associated with Germany both within the country and abroad: a nation of science and culture; a land of poets and thinkers; innovative products “made in Germany” (Land of Ideas 2009). However, since this campaign has only existed since 2006, it is still too early to analyze any results.

In brief, there are public diplomacy agencies that exist to support the German economy. However, only one of them has a campaign relative to the NSEC campaign, and because this campaign is recent, it can not be used as a case study to be critiqued.

\textsuperscript{224} Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technik.
\textsuperscript{225} Bundesministerium für Verkehr, Bau und Stadtenwicklung.
\textsuperscript{226} Deutsche Industrie und Handelskammertag.
\textsuperscript{227} Industrie und Handelskammertag.
\textsuperscript{228} Auslandshandelskammer.
\textsuperscript{229} Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie.
\textsuperscript{230} After it was created by Scholz & Friends.
To sum up, Germany’s diverse cultural identity and its ability to export this identity on a large scale due to its EU membership and large volume of exports would make it an interesting case for this dissertation. However, Germany could not be included in this dissertation’s case studies, because its current public diplomacy campaigns are either not relative to the NSEC campaign or are too recent to be commented on. Despite this, as the NSEC campaign has been designed as a skeleton plan that could be implemented by nation-states similar to the case studies, there is no reason why future research could not investigate implementing a NSEC campaign for Germany. Thus, critique of the German public diplomacy campaigns should be left for future research.
XI. 4.2.1.1 Democracy as the Core of United States Identity
XII. 4.3.1.1 International Migration to the UK

5. 4.3.3.1 British Values

![Bar chart](image)

**Figure 3** What is important to your sense of self-identity?
(Leonard 1997: 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘How close do you feel to...’</th>
<th>Very close</th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Not very close</th>
<th>Not close at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>your neighbourhood (or village)</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your town or city</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your county</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Figure 4** Britishness still matters.
XIII. 4.3.3.2 Britain’s Overall Company Image

Sample: 6,000 European business professionals.

(Leonard 1997: 11).
XIV  4.4.1.1 Zealandia

XV. 4.6.1.1 Local Variables and Triggers that Shape Public Diplomacy

Local Variables

New Zealand
- Character: Biculturalism
- Trigger: Capitalizing on Tourism

Britain
- Character: ‘Old’ nation-state
- Trigger: Want to be seen as new

United States
- Character: Consumerism, Capitalism, Democracy
- Trigger: Cold War

Particular type of public diplomacy