

**Constructing a Traitor:
How New Zealand Newspapers Framed Russell
Coutts' Role in the America's Cup 2003**

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CONTENTS

Abstract.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
 Chapter One: Introduction to the Research	
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background and The Case for the Research.....	4
1.2.1 Sport as National Service.....	5
1.2.2 The America’s Cup	10
1.2.3 New Zealand and the America’s Cup.....	12
1.2.4 Russell Coutts and the America’s Cup 2003.....	15
1.3 Nature and Scope of the Research.....	17
1.4 Theoretical Approach and the Research Method.....	21
1.5 Structure of the Thesis	26
 Chapter Two: Literature Review	
2.1 Introduction.....	28
2.2 The Role of Gatekeeper.....	29
2.3 News Values.....	32
2.4 News Framework.....	35
2.5 Objectivity.....	38
2.6 Road to Textual Analysis.....	41
2.7 When a Myth Meets News.....	52
2. 8 Summary.....	59
 Chapter Three: Textual Analysis I: Making the Frame	
3.1 Introduction and Goal of Textual Analysis.....	62

3.2 Sample.....	63
3.3 Methodology.....	65
3.4 Frame for the Hero: Key Words.....	67

Chapter Four: Textual Analysis II: Fitting the Frame

4.1 The Lead: Entering the Story.....	95
4.2 Framing the Story and the Nation.....	107
4.3 Framing the Story and Flirting with Myth.....	114
4.4 Framing the Story of the Hero.....	118
4.5 Framing the Hero’s Character.....	121
4.6 Framing the Roles of the Hero and the Villain.....	128
4.7 Summary.....	132

Chapter Five: Conclusion

5.1 Overview.....	134
5.2 A Nation as a Monopoly.....	137
5.3 A Myth – the Wholly Grail of News.....	140
5.4 Concluding Thoughts.....	144

References.....	148
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Appendices.....	165
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Abstract

This thesis investigates how the news media constructs reality through newspaper representation of the role of a hero in society and a hero's loyalty to the nation. The research is based on a case study of New Zealand newspapers and how they framed Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003.

Russell Coutts was the leading figure of "Team New Zealand" in 1995 and in 2000 when his team won and defended the America's Cup. He was praised by New Zealand newspapers as a hero during the time he led "Team New Zealand" from one victory to another. But, after the victory in 2000, Russell Coutts signed a contract with the rival team "Alinghi" and the framing of his heroic role in the New Zealand press changed. He became a defector from his team and he was framed as a traitor to his own country.

Using discourse studies and semiotics as the main theoretical and methodological background, this thesis analyzes how the process of news framing is influenced by the rules of journalistic practice and by the wider social environment. The thesis explores how news values blend with mythological narrative in journalists' daily routine of producing news stories that both construct reality and reaffirm society's dominant values. The study reveals that the re-presentation of the nation in the news media is a simplified construction of an ideal and transcendental identity. Consequently, the role of the hero is framed as a representation of that ideal, and the hero is framed as a loyal leader – someone who should lead, not challenge, society's rules. The thesis discusses the news media's power to define identity by questioning a prominent individual's loyalty to the nation. The research illustrates that even a hero whose position is firmly established within the particular society can be radically re-defined if that hero is not following the expectations of the press and the rules of the society.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the Research

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores how news media can re-present the loyalty of an individual to society. This issue is one of the main research questions in this thesis. It will be examined through the analysis of the news-framing of a professional sportsman who followed the rules of professionalism instead of patriotism. The case study used in this thesis is the New Zealand newspapers' reporting on Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. Russell Coutts, one of the best yachtsmen in the world, was regarded as a national hero by the New Zealand media until he left the yachting syndicate "Team New Zealand" and signed a contract with the rival team "Alinghi". After that the news media labelled Coutts a defector, a hero-turned foe, or simply a traitor to the whole country. One professional contract signed by one professional sportsman was elevated – with the help of New Zealand newspapers – to a level of importance for the whole country. The slogan that epitomised New Zealand newspapers' frame for this story was a handy moral choice: "Us versus Russ" (Laidlaw 2003). This study will investigate how one non-political, individual act of one person could be framed by the media as an act of treachery that affected the whole country.

The process of framing in the news reports is about providing information to the public, but at the same time giving more than information. The question of how newspapers frame events in the news, and how the news frames wider moral issues in society is related to the question of the dynamic between the individual and the group. Individual freedom is the foundation stone of any society, but reinforced loyalty to a society could suddenly rise as a shadow over the freedom of individual members of a society. When a

society experiences sudden change or faces an event of great importance, the loyalty of its members comes under closer scrutiny. Individuals who are already well known in the society could be even more closely scrutinized than “ordinary” citizens: they are expected to be leaders and to demonstrate an uncompromised loyalty to their society. This thesis uses the case study of the newspapers’ reporting on Russell Coutts to investigate the changes in presentation of a hero in the news media and how it is related to a change in the hero’s position in the public sphere. The analysis reveals that loyalty to the nation can be presented by the news media as more important than a right of an individual to make a free choice. In the case of Russell Coutts’ “betrayal”, as presented in the press, readers face the same dilemma societies face when one’s nationality is the answer to the question “Who am I?” Today, the news media often step in to inform their readers in the face of similar dilemmas, as they have the power to construct reality and to define and construct identities.

This thesis explores questions related to these constructions of identities. It asks how the media and newspapers see and construct the borders between the freedom of an individual to choose, and unconditional loyalty to the country; between loyalty to a profession and loyalty to the nation. The thesis investigates these questions through the analysis of the reports published by five major New Zealand newspapers. It analyzes how these newspapers framed Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003. It will also analyze articles published by the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Sunday Star-Times*, the *Evening Post*, the *Dominion* and *The Press*. In addition, it will analyze articles published by the *Dominion Post*, the successor to the *Evening Post* and the *Dominion*. It is important to underline that this thesis does not investigate how sports journalism influenced the framing of Russell Coutts’ role in the Cup.

By applying the method of discourse analysis, I will investigate how the newspapers framed the story of a hero who suddenly became an anti-hero. As Labov (1972, p. 252) writes “the fundamental problem of discourse analysis is to show how one utterance follows another in a rational, rule-governed manner – in other words, how we understand coherent discourse.” The analysis is focused on the question of coherence in the

newspaper reports of Coutts and the America's Cup 2003. By applying van Dijk's (1985, 1988, 1989, 1991) method of news analysis, the research investigates how the rules of news discourse govern the presentation of an event. I analyze how journalistic practice and news-writing rules influence the framing of a particular news story.

The rules of news reporting dictate how journalists should report events. Rules of the inverted pyramid and "5 Ws + H" (who, what, when, where, why, and how) are there to be respected. Nevertheless answers to these questions could be packed and presented to the public in different ways. New Zealand media in unison regarded Russell Coutts as a hero. The event of the America's Cup was routinely described as a Quest for the Holy Grail of Yachting. Mythological language and mythological symbolism dominated the story of Russell Coutts and the America's Cup 2003. The thesis analyzes the newspapers' narrative and use of mythological language as one of major tools that framed Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. Myth still plays a major role in society. To see fellow countrymen competing and winning could be just another confirmation of the expected, another proof of a country's superiority, a fact that is natural and eternal (Barthes 1988) for myth consumers. The news media, as this analysis shows, use myth as a powerful device to pursue an agenda or to support a frame for the news.

But this is not a one-way process. It can be argued that the news media influence society, but in at same time the media are under the influence of society. Those influences are felt not only through reports on circulation, sale and income from advertising, but also through social and cultural networks, as well as the historical background that people from the same society share. As Manoff (quoted in Stephens 1979, p. 265) states "no story is the inevitable product of the event it reports, no event dictates its own narrative form. News occurs at the conjunction of events and texts, and while events create the story, the story also creates the event." Journalists cannot avoid the influence of "belief systems, social positions, workday routines and professional obligations – all of which affect their selection and presentation of facts" (*Ibid.*). It is necessary to underline these remarks, just as it is necessary to repeat the old rule that applies to any textual analysis:

there is no simple way of reading the text; this thesis, therefore, offers not the only, but one possible, way of looking at the newspapers' reporting on Russell Coutts.

1.2 Background and the Case for the Research

The case study for this thesis is the New Zealand newspapers' framing of Russell Coutts' role during the America's Cup 2003. He was arguably the best yachtsman New Zealand had and one of the best skippers in the history of the America's Cup. Before the America's Cup in 2003, Coutts had already won many yachting competitions around the world including the gold medal at the Olympic Games. It was Russell Coutts who skippered the "Team New Zealand" yacht to the victory in the America's Cup 1995 and again in the America's Cup 2000. After these victories the New Zealand newspapers and other New Zealand media praised him as the hero of the nation.

In 2000, a few months after the America's Cup victory, Russell Coutts left "Team New Zealand" and signed a contract with the rival team "Alinghi". This meant that for the America's Cup 2003 "Team New Zealand" had to compete against its best yachtsman. Brad Butterworth, Simon Daubney, Murray Jones, Warwick Fleury and Dean Phipps also left "Team New Zealand" together with Coutts and signed contracts with "Alinghi". Reaction from New Zealand newspapers was unanimously negative: Russell Coutts was regularly labelled as defector from the team and traitor to the country. And it was not just a case of the newspapers' negative reaction. The same negative reaction came from other media, TV and radio talk-back shows. Ad hoc groups were formed to target Coutts' lack of loyalty, and influential public figures – from members of the New Zealand Parliament to New Zealand celebrities – took part in this unusual ceremony of castigating yesteryear's hero and publicly declaring their own patriotic feelings. But, to understand completely why Coutts' decision to sail for an overseas team provoked such a strong reaction, we need to discuss the role of sport in New Zealand society.

1.2.1 Sport as National Service

According to New Zealand historian James Belich (2001, p. 368) there are “two spheres in which New Zealand has been a world superpower. One is the export of protein. The other is sport.” Belich (*Ibid.*) supports this claim of New Zealand sporting achievements with the statistics showing that “between 1948 and 2000, New Zealand won 7.3 Olympic golds per million people...which may not be the best national sporting record in the world, but in proportion to population it must come very close.” Sport is a very important part of social life in New Zealand. Sinclair (1986), King (2003) and Belich (2001) write about the influence of sport on national identity in New Zealand. Different sports were played in New Zealand from the early years of the arrival of British settlers. Cricket, football, golf, rowing and athletics were among the sports imported from Britain. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, New Zealand had some of most remarkable sportsmen in athletics, boxing, tennis, rowing, cycling, and yachting.

No other sport, however, had such an important role in New Zealand as rugby. Historians and sociologists today agree that “rugby, often called New Zealand greatest religion” (Nauright 1990, p. 220) has a special place in the building of New Zealand national identity. Sinclair (1986, p. 143) writes that *New Zealand Graphic* complained against “‘The Tyranny of Football’, which dominated local conversation.” Brought by British settlers, rugby was first played in the new colony in 1870, and “by 1890 there were nearly 700 clubs and 18 provincial unions in New Zealand” (*Ibid.*). Fougere (1989, p. 111) argues that rugby “served from the end of last century as a mirror to New Zealand society:”

Before there was a well-defined national market in New Zealand, or even a very effective national state, rugby tied together the collection of localities and provinces into a national body, able to organize the selection of a New Zealand-wide team and to send and receive national visiting sides. In an important sense, the New Zealand rugby nation predated, and in part facilitated, the emergence of the New Zealand nation itself (*Ibid.*).

In a settler nation divided into provinces, facing a new environment and very hard work, rugby was a fast-developing social practice within every community or province and a means of communication and identification with those outside of the community. Philips (1987, p. 100) writes that rugby “was adopted with a spontaneous and voluntary enthusiasm because the game fitted so well with the pioneer male culture.” As Philips (*Ibid.*) and Fougere (1989) argue, rugby also provided a chance for the expression of mateship in a male dominant settler culture. From the early years of New Zealand society, sport, especially rugby, was seen as an important part of the development of proper character, personal strength and a sense of duty. Even before urbanization at the turn of the century brought hooliganism and alcoholism as reasons for the concerns about the lack of social order, rugby and other sports were seen in New Zealand as effective tools of moral evangelism to improve the character of (young) people. Rugby as a collective sport and as a compulsory subject in many New Zealand schools was an ideal social practice that combined important elements of the national imagining. Hope (2002, p. 235) estimates that “from about the 1880’s an imagined sense of New Zealand-ness, mass communication, and the game of rugby took shape together. These developments should be conceptualized as a triangulated field of social forces.” It was the beginning of national imagining described by Anderson (1999, p. 35) as “extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption (‘imagining’) of the newspaper – as – fiction.” As Anderson writes, in the home of the world of waved flags there are always sport pages and they are never empty, giving to the millions opportunity to share feelings through defeats and victories.

But rugby as a sport and a social event has become a mode and medium of wider social importance. MacLean (1998, p. 23) argues that rugby in New Zealand expresses “a fundamental component of the maintenance of the national meritocracy.” Individual efforts and egalitarianism as important characteristics of the New Zealand imagined identity are combined with collectivism and team effort. MacLean (*Ibid.* p. 24) argues that “this tension between collectivism and individualism is at heart of New Zealand’s struggles over national identity formation, the traits of that identity and meanings attributed to specific events.”

Fougere (1989, p. 115) states that “thousands of rugby games played in New Zealand every Saturday of the football season” create the same pattern that brings together and blends cultural, religious and racial differences at every level – from local team to provincial team and finally to the national team. Fougere (*Ibid.* p.117) argues that the same principle also organizes spectators: from club partisanship to national unity and forms of collective identity:

If rugby has served, however temporarily, to transmute class and other differences between men into egalitarian mateship and loyalty to community, it has also embodied a particular vision of the nature of New Zealand society. Through the medium of rugby, those aspects of New Zealand that marked it out as most provincial, as most distant from the centres of economic, political and cultural power, could be re-identified as hidden advantages and virtues (*Ibid.*).

In 1905 a New Zealand rugby team left for Britain to compete as a colony on the “Motherland soil.” This event is now arguably one of the most important moments in New Zealand sporting history, the beginning of the legend of the national rugby team, the All Blacks, but the event also marked the beginning of a new narrative of New Zealand identity. Vincent (1997, p. 91) writes that “thus prepared, the All Blacks of 1905 swept their British opponent aside (the Welsh excepted) with dazzling display of skill, and created a paradigm of manhood which was dominant in New Zealand society for the next 70 years” The New Zealand team outscored the British side 801 to 22. Hope (2002, p. 240) writes that this tour “can be seen as a patriotic crusade and as an extension of New Zealand foreign policy.” How important it was for New Zealand can be seen from the fact that the country’s Premier, R.J. Seddon, with his deputy Joseph Ward and opposition leader William Massey officially farewelled the team. Premier Seddon also asked London High Commissioner William Pember Reeves to send back official reports on tour: “Official cablegrams from Reeves were relayed from Wellington to post offices throughout the country. In each provincial town, weekly match results were displayed for expectant crowd” (*Ibid.*). Together with extensive newspaper coverage of the tour, this was a massive collective imagining of New Zealand identity.

The myth of the All Blacks had definitely been born, and the process of narrating and imagining a new nation was thrown wide open. As Hope (2002, p. 236) writes, after this year for New Zealanders “to actually play for the All Blacks was to enter national service.” In coming years, especially with the development of broadcasting, these international matches played by the All Blacks became a ritual of specific significance for the rest of the new nation. “These epic, ritualized events became remembered episodes of national history” (*Ibid.* p. 242).

The importance of sport and especially rugby in New Zealand powerfully emerged in 1981 when the South African national team, the Springboks, toured New Zealand. Sport in New Zealand was seen as one of the social practices that bring together indigenous Maori and other New Zealanders, exactly the opposite of what was the practice in apartheid-dominated South Africa. In 1981 growing opposition to South Africa’s apartheid erupted throughout New Zealand with “more than 200 demonstrations in 28 centres” (Hope 2002, p. 244). It was the strongest expression of public disagreement modern New Zealand society had ever faced. The events of 1981 show how much New Zealand had changed as a society – even the status of the national game did not protect rugby against strong public rejection of apartheid. Fougere (1989, p. 117) writes that an explanation for expression of such deep emotions is in the “cultural freight carried by rugby – its powerful embodiment of particular relationships between men, the forms of identity they carried, and the national ethos they suggested.” Fougere and other academics agree that rugby in New Zealand survived 1981, but at same time its role in New Zealand society changed. As Fougere (*Ibid.* p. 120) concludes: “In a more sophisticated, more diverse society, it no longer serves as a mirror, reflecting its particular image of New Zealand society.” Comparative data from the research done in 1997/98, 1998/99 and 2000/01 (SPARC 2007) shows that of the top five sports played by young boys (5-17 years) in New Zealand, rugby union is in second place after soccer and before swimming, cricket and hockey. Young girls in the same age group participate mostly in swimming, netball, horse riding, tennis and soccer. When adult New Zealanders choose a sport to participate in they choose golf, cricket, tennis or touch

football before rugby union. Women's choice is dominated by netball and tennis, followed by golf, touch football and skiing.

Sports are still one of the most important social practices in New Zealand. According to SPARC – the Crown Entity responsible for sport and recreation in New Zealand – about 68 per cent of young and adult New Zealanders are active – they do at least two-and-a-half hours or more of sport and active leisure per week. The business side also shows the importance of sport and leisure activities in New Zealand. The report prepared for the Hillary Commission (2000) showed that in 2000 the physical leisure sector contributed a total of 40,000 full-time jobs and \$3,632 million to the New Zealand economy.

The position of sport in New Zealand society could also be compared with that in other countries. In 2003 and 2004 an International Social Survey Program was conducted in 33 countries around the world. The questionnaire asked people how proud they were of their country in general and in ten specific domains, from the way democracy works in their country to its achievements in sport. Out of these 33 countries, New Zealand ranked second in its national pride in the country's achievement in sports. (Smith, 2006) On the scale of general national pride, New Zealand ranked eight (Smith & Seokho 2006). Knowing this, it is not surprising that the main New Zealand daily, the *New Zealand Herald*, used national sentiment to introduce the Russell Coutts' story with this line: "Strangely, New Zealanders are always far more emotional about sporting results than economic results, which skews our expectations as to who is responsible for the mood and state of the nation" (Burgham 2000).

1.2.2 The America's Cup

Why did the America's Cup at one period of time became almost as important as rugby in New Zealand? The America's Cup is regarded as "the most famous" (Brooks 1958, p. 3) and "the most exciting in the history of yacht racing" (Illingworth 1968, p. 13). Becht (2002, p. 10) writes that the America's Cup is "an event that stands as the world's oldest and arguably greatest sporting competition." Commenting on the relatively lowly position of yachting in the sporting world, Young (1965, p. 11) writes that the America's Cup is "one astonishing exception...No other sporting event in the world is given so much space in the columns of the English-language Press or commands so prominent a place in the headlines." Wilkins (2000, p. 80) illustrates this importance by stating that "there were 65,000 articles written about the Cup, 2000 hours of television shown in almost 100 countries, and 300 million relevant pages on the Internet"

The history of the America's Cup is as interesting as the competition itself. The name of the competition comes from the schooner *America*, the winner of the first America's Cup, held in 1851 (Illingworth 1968; Rayner 2000; Rousmaniere 1983). The first America's Cup was actually the annual race of the Royal Victoria Yacht Club from Cowes, on England's Isle of Wight (Rousmaniere 1983, p. 15). After the owners of the yacht *America* challenged British yachtsmen, the Royal Victoria Yacht Club invited *America* to take part in their annual regatta. "On August 22, 1851, the *America* triumphed over 14 British boats in a race around the Isle of Wight, winning the trophy, and inspiring the contest that would come to be known as the 'America's Cup'" (www.americascup.com). Legend says that when the Queen Victoria, who was also following the race from the royal yacht, asked which boat was second, the signal-master answered: "Ah, Your Majesty, there is no second" (*Ibid.*). The race around the Isle of Wight happened during the time Britain was still a major naval power and the British had an image of their own yachtsmen as being without equal around the world. The victory of *America* was unexpected and a big surprise on both sides of the Atlantic.

During next 132 years the America's Cup was successfully defended by the yachts from New York Yacht Club. Only in 1983 did the yacht *Australia II* from the Royal Perth Yacht Club, skippered by John Bertrand, win the America's Cup. Rayner (2000, p. 84) writes that the owner of the *Australia II*, Alan Bond, described his experience of the America's Cup 1983 with these words: "This is not sport. It's war!" But the history of the America's Cup changed by impact of a New Zealand yachting team who won the Cup in 1995 and defended it in 2000. It was the first time that a team outside of the USA managed to win and to defend the Cup.

The winner of the America's Cup is awarded the Cup itself. Whiting (2002, p. 7) writes that the trophy, or "the 'Auld Mug' is a bottomless, silver ewer. It weights in at 134 ounces (about 3.8 kilograms) and stands about 27 inches (68 centimetres) high." Brooks (1958, p. 42) writes that the Cup itself was "ordered in 1851 by the Royal Yacht Squadron from the well-known firm of R. and S. Gerard, silversmiths of London." When the Cup was made, it was "valued at 100 guineas (about NZ\$180)." (Rayner 2000, p. 34) The Cup itself is not an expensive prize and for that reason authors distinguish it from other sporting trophies. But as Brooks (1958, p. 3) emphasizes, these imperfections are not important because "the Cup is a symbol and...for symbols men have suffered and fought."

Technology and money influenced and changed the America's Cup over time (Rayner 2000; Whiting 2002; Rousmaniere 1983). Rayner (2000, p. 34) writes that one of the owners of the yacht *America*, John C. Stevens, for the first America's Cup in 1851 "had a sack of gold coins in his cabin." A century and a half later the budgets of the yachting teams for the America's Cup 2003 were estimated between NZ\$80 million for "Team New Zealand" and NZ\$200 million for "Oracle BMW Racing" (Ash 2003). In 1851 the *America* cost about NZ\$45,000 to build (Rayner 2000, p. 34), but in 2003 "only the fibreglass mast on Team New Zealand yacht cost \$900,000" (Tunnah, H. & Ash, J. 2003). The race between long wooden schooners becomes the race between yachts built with the most sophisticated technology. Wilkins (2003, p. 80) reminds us that the America's Cup in 1995 was one of the first sporting events to use Internet to give the

results, and, just four years later, live animation of the race was available on computer screens.

But how different today's America's Cup is from previous Cups is the best illustrated by the salaries of the sailors. Wheatley (1986, p. 7) writes that in 1983 "the crew of 'Australia II', whose win in the promotional and image terms was of literally inestimable value to Alan Bond, were paid A\$15 a day each." Seven years later the *New Zealand Herald* (McFadden, Corbet, & Gardiner 2000) reported that for the America's Cup 2003, sailors from Team New Zealand who won the America's Cup in 2000 were offered by overseas syndicates \$NZ500,000 for one year contract.

But one thing did not change over time and is still characteristic of the America's Cup. The first victory in the America's Cup was both a media and a political event, labelled by using patriotic feelings and mythical symbolism. Colonel James Alexander Hamilton (quoted in Brooks 1958, p. 17), one of the yacht *America's* owners, recorded in his "Reminiscences" a piece of advice from an American who was coming from the World-Exhibition in London: "Well, if you [...] are beaten, you should had better not return to your country." As Rousmaniere (1983, p. 14) writes, the American who warned the *America's* owner was, not surprisingly, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, Horace Greeley, later turned politician and an unsuccessful candidate for the USA presidency. After the victory *America* was immediately glorified in its home country. In one speech delivered to the Massachusetts House of the Representatives, the yacht was described with these words: "Like Jupiter among the Gods, America is first and there is no second" (*Ibid.* p. 18).

1.2.3 New Zealand and the America's Cup

New Zealand was competing in the America's Cup from 1987 when its yacht *KZ7* reached the challengers' final. In 1988 New Zealand entered the campaign with an unusually big boat. In response, American syndicate "Stars & Stripes" led by Dennis

Conner chose to compete with a catamaran instead of a yacht and won the Cup. The battle for the award – America’s Cup ’88 – finished only after the decision of the New York Supreme Court. Rayner (2000, p. 88) writes that the Cup was awarded ”to the ecstatic New Zealanders – but only to be returned, on appeal, to the team from San Diego.”

The regatta in 1992 was another New Zealand attempt to win the America’s Cup. Becht (2002, p. 17) writes that the New Zealand syndicate “moved 140 people to San Diego for 18 months to leave nothing to chance.” Again, the New Zealand team reached the challenger’s final but did not win the Cup. In 1995, however, “Team New Zealand” won the America’s Cup beating “Young America” five-nil in the final series. And it won again in 2000 when “Team New Zealand” became the first team outside of the USA to defend the Cup, beating “Luna Rosa” five- nil. Becht (2003, p. 4) counted that “for all 2850 days the Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron was the guardian of the world’s oldest sporting prize joining the only previous holders the illustrious New York Yacht Club (1851-1983), the Royal Perth Yacht Club (1983-1987) and the San Diego Yacht Club (1987-1995).”

In both campaigns New Zealanders enthusiastically supported the yachting team “Team New Zealand.” Rayner (2000, p. 920) describes atmosphere in New Zealand from the moment when Peter Blake, the leading figure in “Team New Zealand”, donned his lucky red socks for the campaign in 1995. New Zealanders joined him to raise money for “Team New Zealand”:

This led to over 300,000 pairs being sold to his ecstatic countrymen and half the proceeds went straight to their dock in San Diego. Then, as a giant pair were hoisted on the government building in Wellington, a horse named ‘America’s Cup’ ran at Ellerslie, Auckland, wearing red socks.

Recalling those days, the America’s Cup 2003 official programme (p.6) states that “Prime Ministers and priests, captains of industry and cow-cookies, the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker...everybody wore red socks.” Victory in the America’s Cup

1995 was described as “a campaign that was so superior to anything else seen before in America’s Cup history” (Becht 2002, p. 23).

Becht (*Ibid.* p. 10) states that the victories of the America’s Cup in 1995 and in 2000 made New Zealand “the most successful country outside the United States in America’s Cup history.” After the America’s Cup in 2000 Rayner (2000, p. 96) estimated that Team New Zealand was so superior that “the prospect of wresting the Cup from the Kiwis next time look[ed] bleak enough, and for some, daunted by another journey to the far side of the world, the task look[ed] almost impossible.” Writing about New Zealand superiority in designing racing yachts for the America’s Cup, Becht (2002, p. 48) reminds us of ‘quest’ and ‘eternity’: “On its official website Team New Zealand calls it ‘the designer’s constant quest’ and refers to America’s Cup boat design as ‘the eternal paradox.’ Who could disagree?” Mythical dimensions of the Cup emerge which “have left the rest of the world asking: How do they come up with these things? Why can’t we do the same?” (*Ibid.* p. 50).

The America’s Cup 2003 was framed by New Zealand newspapers as an event without parallel.

It is a sport contest like no other. Spy scandals, legal wrangles and the troupe of super rich and famous participants and spectators – Cindy Crawford and Tom Cruise for starters – uphold the intrigue and interest in this 152-year-old event. The match has economic repercussions, too. The cup has pumped hundreds of millions of dollars into New Zealand and taken the Viaduct from a fishing port to a ritzy place to be seen, buzzing with bars and restaurants, all poised for a record-taking week – or two, depending on whose cup theories you overhear over lunch (Bingham & Gamble 2003).

As a country New Zealand benefited greatly from previous victories in the Cup. The report prepared for the Ministry of Tourism of New Zealand shows that the Cup made a significant impact on the New Zealand economy. The America’s Cup in 2000 contributed to New Zealand a “total value” of almost \$640 million dollars (Market Economics 2003c, p. 2). The reports also found that the America’s Cup generated a “significant contribution

to national GDP” (*Ibid.* 2003b, p.1). The report for the Cup held in 2003 (Market Economics 2003a, p. 37) shows that the America’s Cup 2003 economic impact on New Zealand was also impressive: “it equates to 1.1% of the total value added in the Auckland economy in 2003” and “0.4% of total value added in the New Zealand economy in 2003.”

Additional value for New Zealand came from media coverage: “Some 1,297 media personnel were registered in Auckland with the Louis Vuitton Media Centre, including 855 from overseas, and another 995 registered on-line” (Market Economics 2003a, p. 30). In total there were 2,292 accredited media covering the America’s Cup 2003 and simultaneously promoting a New Zealand image. It was another build-up to the country’s already established image of a world-class tourist destination.

The final races for the America’s Cup 2003 confirmed the worst fears of the New Zealand public. Without Coutts and the other sailors who signed for “Alinghi” and other syndicates, “Team New Zealand” was not able to defend the Cup a second time. As the official website for the 32nd America’s Cup pointed out (www.americascup.com) “Alinghi” beat “Team New Zealand” in every race scoring result of 5:0. “Team New Zealand” did not finish the first race: some of the gears on the yacht failed and the yacht took excess amount of water. The second race “Alinghi” won by margin of just 7 seconds. The third race “Alinghi” won by 23 seconds. “Team New Zealand” did not finish the fourth race after the yacht’s mast broke. The fifth race was also accompanied by “Team New Zealand’s” gear failure, and “Alinghi” won by 45 seconds.

1.2.4 Russell Coutts and the America’s Cup 2003

Russell Coutts was only 22 when he won a gold medal in Finn Class at the Olympic Games in 1984. But the peak of his career came with “Team New Zealand’s” victories in the America’s Cup 1995 and in 2000. Coutts was at the helm of the “Team New Zealand” yacht during the first four races against “Prada” in 2000. In the fifth race Coutts gave the

helm to his understudy, Dean Barker, and Barker led the boat to the fifth “Team New Zealand” victory. New Zealand newspapers praised Coutts’ gesture as “a gesture not only of supreme confidence, but of supreme selflessness” (“The Manner of the Winning”, *Evening Post*, 4 March 2000). A similar eulogy to Coutts came from *The Press*:

Would any other international star have vacated the world spotlight to a rival in this fashion? Surely not. Coutts, already in the New Zealand Pantheon because of his supremacy as a yachtsman, now has his name more deeply etched and gilded” (“Primo! Primo! Primo!”, *The Press*, 3 March 2000).

In the *Sunday Star-Times* Coutts’ willingness to give the helm of the yacht to another team member was described as “the most honourable thing” (Johnstone 2000), with “it’s attitude, honesty, integrity and humility” (Taylor 2000). Just two months later the same newspaper’s editorial judged Coutts’ decision to sail for “Alinghi” under the headline “A Nation Betrayed” (*Sunday Star-Times*, 21 May 2000). Yesteryear’s hero, Russell Coutts suddenly became today’s traitor. The editorial concluded that Coutts’ and Butterworth’s “departure to sail as mercenaries for a land-locked country” resulted in “the massive feeling of betrayal experienced this weekend by thousands of New Zealanders” (*Ibid.*).

Coutts’ decision to sail for the opposite side was received by New Zealand newspapers as an act that could have a negative impact not only on the America’s Cup 2003, but on whole country. The *Waikato Times* reported “a strong feeling of resentment at being betrayed by those who sold their services to an opponent.”

The America's Cup hasn't just meant boom times for the boatmakers, sailmakers and servicers of superyachts. It has put this country in a position to pursue a whole range of commercial options that simply wouldn't materialise otherwise. Whatever your view on the ethics or the social relevance of as madcap a sports contest as this one the fact is New Zealand has lots to lose when this gigantic jamboree finally moves on. If that happens this time Coutts and Butterworth will have had a major hand in the deflation of New Zealand and it is something that will be tugging persistently at the tail end of their conscience as the final showdown is played out (Laidlaw 2003).

The shock of the news that Coutts and Butterworth left “Team New Zealand” was compared to that of a coup d’état. As Becht (2002, p. 38) put it: “In Fiji, George Speight was leading an attempted coup but back in Zealand the nation was being shaken by the revelation that skipper Russell Coutts and long-time tactician Brad Butterworth were leaving Team New Zealand to form Ernesto Bertarelli’s team ‘Alinghi.’”

As a leading figure in “Team New Zealand”, Coutts was under closer scrutiny than other New Zealand yachtsmen who signed for rival teams in the America’s Cup 2003. Becht counted (2003, p. 17) that apart from those who signed for “Alinghi”, there were also New Zealand sailors in other syndicates: one in “GBR Challenge”, eleven in “One World Challenge”, nine in “Oracle BMW Racing”, three in “Prada”, and three in “Victory Challenge”. But all accusations of “defection and betrayal” were thrown at Russell Coutts, as the hero who refused to play the role of the leader of the national team and who, by doing that, put the nation’s expectations of another victory in limbo.

1.3 Nature and Scope of the Research

This thesis explores how journalism practice, particularly storytelling – in constructing the coherent meaning of a news story – could intertwine with mythological symbols in evoking national sentiment, national identity and even national unity. The role of news media and the role of the news story in contemporary society will be also explored. I discuss and analyze use of myth and mythological language in contemporary journalism and narrative. In order to explore how journalists make news stories, I will discuss not only the importance of narrative in society, literature and mythmaking, but also the importance of narrative techniques for journalists in presenting an event both as news (new knowledge) and as a story (narrative).

The thesis analyzes how a news story about one sports event could be presented to the public as a revival of the mythic notions of the nation and national unity, and as an unconditional demand of loyalty made of an individual. The thesis explores how

newspapers could frame a sports event not only as a sports competition but also as an event of great importance for the whole nation. As Dayan and Katz (1996) argue, the role of media can serve as an integrating factor of a society giving support to a society's values.

When news is shaped by a narrative such as a national myth, the result is a news story with an ambition that goes beyond just informing or entertaining the public. As Lule (2001, p.21) writes, news and myth "bear the closest social similarities." Stories are fundamental for news (Bell 1991, p. 8; Lule 2001, p.21; Schudson 2003, p. 177; Tunstall 1977, p. 37). Stories connect myths to the people and to the world (Bescom 1984, p.8; Bevan 1993, p.3; Frye 1990, p. 33; Gaster 1984, p.123; Honko 1984, p. 49; Raglan 1949, p.131).

According to Bell (1991, p. 8) "the idea of the story is central to news. Newswriters – journalists, copy editors, and others directly involved in production – do not write articles. They write stories – with structure, order, viewpoint and values." Tunstall (1997, p. 37) writes that "the 'story' element is common to all media" and as the result "the newspaper becomes a mosaic of stories, the journalist story teller." A story continues to follow the rules of narrative after it becomes a part of the news.

A news story is both news and a story. Because it is a story, readers can expect it to have a beginning, a middle, and an end, and to operate by some standard convention of narrative prose. It is purportedly a true story – that is, a story about something that happened. Because it is a true story, it is responsible not only to literary convention but to a faithful rendering and even a verifiable rendering of what really happened (Schudson 2003, p.177).

The news, a story and a myth are organized around the actors in the news story as the "personae dramatis" (Bakhtin 1994a). As a result newspapers could give the reader not just a story, but a news story with mythological connotations. News stories always communicate with the social context. The readers of a news story understand the story not only through the facts and evaluation given by the journalist who wrote the story, but

also through the knowledge they share with the journalist and other members of their community. In that moment, the news story becomes the place where the news media and the public meet. A news story in this research is analyzed in its “dialogic nature” (Bakhtin 1994b, p. 98) as an “idea [that] wants to be heard, understood, and ‘answered’ by other voices from other positions” (*Ibid.*). The news story is not an exclusive product of the media or newspapers, and does not have a life outside of society. As the media and newspapers have an influence on society, society itself, through its own environment, influences the media and newspapers. Every text, whether it is a literary work or a newspaper report, needs to be studied “as intertextuality” (Kristeva 1980a, p. 37). This means that the news writer and the news “Who”-character are not fixed in mechanical, static positions, but in a specific dialogic relationship that is happening inside the text and under the influence of past and present cultural background or context. Therefore, Kristeva reminds us, any text could be seen as “absorption and transformation of another” (*Ibid.* p. 66).

In their daily work, journalists and editors must choose which of a vast number of news stories to report to the public. But, which news is suitable to be reported and which is not important or not attractive enough? By choosing particular news event to report to the public, journalists intervene in the process of the selection of the news. The job of the gatekeeper is not routine-free or values-free (Bleske 1997; White 1999). This thesis explores how newspapers frame news not only by heeding the news values which are a part of journalists’ daily routine, but also by heeding the already established cultural context of the particular society. In order to discuss the questions of the construction of reality by the news media, I attempt an analysis of how the newspapers chose and made a frame for news about the America’s Cup and Russell Coutts. The first step the news media take in the construction of reality is to make a choice “from the available stock of explanatory frameworks and narratives” (Curran & Liebes 1998, p. 5). The represented (constructed) reality is therefore “a triumph of a particular definition” (*Ibid.*).

By analysing how the frame for the news story on Russell Coutts was made, we can gain an insight into the deeper meaning of the messages the news media sent through that

particular news story. The news story is organized as “guided doing” (Goffman 1974, p.23) in order to present the world so that it “looks natural” (Gitlin 1980, p. 6). When yesteryear’s sailing hero Russell Coutts switched sides and signed a contract with the rival team, New Zealand newspapers offered the public reasons for the hero’s unexpected act. This study makes an analysis of news reports on Russell Coutts in an attempt to find answers to questions such as: Could a hero continue to be a national hero even if sailing under the rival’s country flag? Does a hero always compete only for his country’s team? Where is the border between the devotion to one’s profession and to one’s country, between professionalism and patriotism? Which loyalty comes first – loyalty to one’s profession or to one’s country? How did the news media construct a hero’s identity? Which strategies did the news media apply to pursue different agendas? What are the deeper implications of newspaper articles seen as texts that carry messages and ideologies? This thesis examines how New Zealand newspapers framed Russell Coutts’ role within news values but also within the traditional and cultural values of New Zealand society.

News framing is a process of inclusion and exclusion. As Allan (2003, p. 63) writes, the frames are “the heart of this processes of inclusion and exclusion”. What is in and what is out of the news story should be one of the central questions of any news analysis. “Precisely, how a particular news event is ‘framed’ by the journalist claiming to be providing an ‘objective’ or ‘balanced’ account thus takes on a distinct ideological significance” (*Ibid.* p. 63). This thesis is also about power, both the power of ascribing identity and the power to define situations. Aspects of Coutts’ public identity, it is argued, were produced by the news media in line with a set of national myths. As Candlin (1997, p. xi) notes, “people far more often have their identities authored for them than authoring them themselves.” To be in position to frame an event means to have the specific power to define reality as a limited resource. As well, the media produced a particular version of a yacht race, one which left little room for alternatives. As Carey (1992, p. 87) writes, “the fundamental form of power is the power to define, allocate and display this resource.”

1.4 Theoretical Approach and the Research Method

The aim of this research is to analyze how the news media, particularly newspapers, construct reality in the process of framing a news story. The goal of the research influences the choice of main theoretical approach: I will use discourse studies as the theoretical approach to the first part of the textual analysis, which is focused on a news frame. In order to analyze a particular news article, the use of myth, mythological symbols and their role in the construction of reality, I also apply semiotics. Semiotic theories on narrative and intertextuality are the main theoretical frame for the second part of the newspaper analysis, but I will also apply other theories such as those on news and the media, nation and national identity and classical theories on myth and mythology.

The goal of discourse analysis is the study of language, spoken or written, in the context of society. Discourse analysis scrutinises “the organization of language above the sentence, or above the clause” (Stubbs 1983, p. 1). In order to study language, discourse analysis includes a range of disciplines, from linguistics to sociology. Today discourse analysis is widely accepted as a theoretical method for the analysis of relations between writer or speaker and reader or hearer. This thesis focuses on written text – a discourse of newspapers articles – and particularly on the news analysis method developed by van Dijk. How journalists compose news stories and how news stories composed in a specific way can construct or distort reality is one of the main questions and goals of this investigation.

Discourse analysis can help us to understand how and why journalists guide the public through news stories, showing them some details but not others. By analysing structures of sentences within a written text and structures of meaning inside the same text, discourse analysis can reveal deeper implications of the text, such as messages and ideologies. By analysing newspapers articles we are able to identify different strategies used by newspapers or journalists to pursue different agendas. Discourse analysis is also

concerned with analysis of processes, at the level of the psychological reaction of a reader of a written text such as a newspaper article. While presenting a particular news story, a journalist could evoke different connotations by using different narrative techniques. Discourse analysis is a major theoretical tool in identifying a type of processes that could be triggered by news media language. One of the main contributions of discourse analysis is that it goes beyond language into social context, revealing the ideological or social background of a particular written text.

Discourse analysis is very useful for this research because of its openness toward other disciplines. As Stubbs (1983, p. 1) writes “much of the fascination of discourse analysis comes from the realization that language, action and knowledge are inseparable.” To be able to communicate we need not only a language, but also a knowledge that is shared by a particular community or within a particular social environment. In his book *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press* (1988) van Dijk underlines that in order to be able to analyze a news text together with the lexical meanings of the words and their combinations, we need to know the particular culture, have a knowledge of the people from that culture and how they use such knowledge in the interpretation of discourse. Our knowledge is directly related to our understanding of the coherence of the text. We understand a text as coherent if its description of “a possible sequence of events” fits our knowledge and beliefs “about what is possible in the world” (Ibid. p. 12). As van Dijk explains, the media heavily rely on this shared knowledge when making and reporting news. The importance of shared knowledge for news media is seen in the explanation of two semantic categories van Dijk introduces: macrostructure and superstructure. Macrostructure gives the reader the topic of a newspaper’s text together with the text’s upshot or gist. In a newspaper article, macrostructure is usually expressed in the headline and the lead, or the beginning, of the article.

The second term that van Dijk introduces, and one that I will also apply in this analysis, is superstructure as a form of organization: “the overall meaning of macrostructure of a text as a whole” (Ibid. p. 13). Drawing on Labov’s research, van Dijk writes that people

culture share the same basic narrative schema that includes categories such as Summary, Setting, Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Evaluation and Coda. To organize an intelligible news story, journalists use specific news schema that includes categories such as Summary (composed of Headlines and Lead), while the body of the text consists of categories such as Main Events, Backgrounds, Context, History, Verbal Reactions, or Comments. News schema is not only related to general narrative schema, it is also a result of a routine of news production. In other words, the routine of news production dictates the way the categories appear in news schema.

News schema starts with the headline and the lead as the elements of a macrostructure which satisfied news practice and its rule that the most important information must come first in a news story. Journalists and news consumers share the same knowledge and for that reason they both expect that the beginning of the news story consists of the most important information. For journalists, it means that they need to give information at the beginning of the news; for newspapers readers, it means they will look for the main information by reading the headline and the lead of a news story. For the discourse analyst, it means that, together with an analysis of the news schema and macrostructures, it is important to analyze not only the composition of the paragraphs in the newspaper's report, but also the order of the sentences and the order inside the sentences themselves ("where important news actors will tend to occupy first positions") (*Ibid.* p. 16).

I will use van Dijk's model of news schema, especially for the first part of the newspaper analysis, in order to find out how New Zealand newspapers framed Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. Following van Dijk's model, I will analyze the newspapers' reports to find out their macrostructures, the vocabulary used to identify these macrostructures and, finally, the key words from that vocabulary that journalists used to make a frame for a news story on Russell Coutts. I will also follow van Dijk's (*Ibid.* p. 170) method for analyzing the local meanings, or microstructure "consisting of the meanings of words, word groups, clauses, sentences, and sentences connection" of the newspaper articles.

This study will use semiotics to broaden the analysis of the newspaper articles. Semiotics is widely accepted as a discipline that involves the analysis of different texts, from literature to mass media. I will use semiotics as a theoretical approach to newspaper analysis because semiotics see a text and the signs inside a text as tools to communicate different meanings. This method corresponds very well with the nature of journalists' work. A newspaper uses a text to communicate news in order to construct reality, and semiotics analyzes the text (and the signs inside the text) to understand (deconstruct) the meanings or reality made by the same text. In this study, semiotics is helpful in finding the deeper and connotative meanings of a news story. Also, in terms of theories, semiotics is a logical choice to complement discourse analysis.

One note is necessary here. Semiotics is still a discipline that involves different approaches. As Chandler (2005) suggests it is wise to make clear which "particular semiotician's approach is being adopted." Chandler describes two different schools in semiotics: the first, coming out of Saussure's work, includes Hjelmslev, Barthes, Lévi-Strauss, Kristeva, Metz and Baudrillard; the second, which comes from Pierce, includes Morris, Richards, Ogden and Sebeok. Chandler also notes that Eco is the author who bridges these two traditions. In this study I will follow the tradition that comes out of Saussure's work. I will especially follow works of Barthes and Kristeva and their theoretical models of denotation-connotation and intertextuality.

Semantics was defined by Saussure (1974, p. 16), who calls it semiology, from the Greek word *sēmeion* ('sign'). For Saussure (*Ibid.*) language is "system of signs that express ideas" and semiology "a science that studies the life of signs within society." Saussure's critics (Hodge & Kress 1988, p. 17) point to his affirmation of "the social over the individual, but only as an abstract, immobilized version of the social order." For this analysis, Saussure's definition of a linguistic sign as a unity consisting two elements – signifier as a concept (a sound-image, or word) and a signified (a form of the sign) – is especially important. The result of the relationship between the signifier and the signified is the signification. I will use Saussure's model of sign and signification in order to explore how the newspapers use myth in "the processes of signification, the transactions

between signifying systems and structures of reference” (*Ibid.* p. 18) in their reporting on Russell Coutts. This analysis will then draw on two levels of signification – denotation and connotation – further developed by Barthes (1988) in his analysis of myth.

Contemporary semiotics includes other disciplines – from linguistics and anthropology to psychoanalysis. But, still it is concerned with the meanings of signs. Probably the broadest definition of semiotics was given by Eco (1976) in his book *A Theory of Semiotics*. Eco (*Ibid.* p. 7) writes that “semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else.” For Eco (1984, p. 15), a sign can take many forms, from the written word to “any natural event.” Accordingly, semiotics is always a field of interaction, where a sign could trigger a new possibility of reading or understanding and “no interpretant, in adjusting the sign interpreted, fails to change its borders to some degree.” (*Ibid.* p. 44) Eco’s semantics will be used in this research as another theoretical approach to understanding substitutions and meanings in the newspapers’ construction of reality through use of national, mythical and other symbols.

If we follow Eco’s theory, a newspaper’s story (“a text”) can be understood as “the human way to reduce the world to a manageable format, open to an intersubjective interpretative discourse” (*Ibid.* p. 21). According to Eco, this means that it is not possible to decide which reading of a text is “good” but, on the basis of the context, it is possible to decide which one is appropriate. I will apply that approach in this analysis while looking for the answers to how the newspapers made new meanings for contemporary events by using old national or mythological symbols. That approach could give us the answers to questions related to the news media’s role in the construction of reality.

In his *Elements of Semiology* (1972, p. 100, footnote 29) Barthes writes that “a sign is something which, in addition to the substance absorbed by the senses, calls to mind of itself some other things.” But what is more important for this study is Barthes’ model of two systems of expression, which he offers in his *Elements of Semiology* (1972). Barthes writes that any system of signification consists of a plane of expression and a plane of

content, and that the signification corresponds to the relation of these two planes. If we take this system of signification as an element of a second system, we will have two systems of signification. Barthes at this point turns to Saussure and proposes that the first system of signification becomes “the plane of expression, or signifier, of the second system” (*Ibid.* p. 89). Barthes calls the first system “the plane of denotation and the second system (wider than first) the plane of connotation.” Barthes uses this theoretical model to analyze myth not as the traditional product of a culture but as an ideology that influences and constructs reality. Barthes’ theoretical model of significations is a useful tool for the analysis of the news text, especially for the analysis of the use of myth in the media but also for the analysis of the wider aspects of the construction of reality by the news media.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One provides a background for the case study: Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup, the Cup itself, and the New Zealand’s yachting syndicate’s attempts to win the Cup. The chapter gives the nature and scope of the research together with research questions and its goals. This chapter also explains why discourse analysis and semiotics were chosen as the main theoretical approach for this study.

Chapter Two is a literature review. It gives the theoretical background for the study. It reviews theories on news and discusses the role of gatekeeper, news values, the news framework making and journalism norms such as objectivity. This part of the literature review focuses on the role of the news media and the role of news in a society. The chapter also discusses questions of journalism practice in relation to the wider social context, and to nation and nationality. The chapter analyzes how the time of the foundation of New Zealand as a British colony, and after that as an independent state, is related to the development of New Zealand identity. Chapter Two also gives an overview of views on myth and its role not only in the past but also in present society. Furthermore,

the chapter introduces the methods of content and qualitative analysis that will be applied in the thesis.

Chapter Three is the first part of the newspaper analysis. This chapter gives the methodology and the sample for analysis. It focuses on the beginning of the reporting of Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003 as part of the case study. This part of the analysis is concerned with the question of how the newspapers made the frame for this news story. The newspaper analysis is done following discourse analysis and the method of the news analysis developed by van Dijk. The macrostructures are identified in all reports, then the vocabulary used in relation to the macrostructures is identified as well. After that the Key Words used by the newspapers to make the frame are identified.

Chapter Four is the second part of the newspaper analysis. This part of the analysis is focused on revealing the deeper meanings of the newspaper reports. By using semiotics as main theoretical field, language and symbols used in the reports are analyzed in order to identify how the newspapers made particular segments of the news frame. The analysis reveals how the newspapers made a news frame for the whole story, and also how they made the frame for the hero and for the villain, as well as how they framed a nation and used myth and mythological language and symbol.

Chapter Five gives the conclusions of the study. In this chapter I summarise how the newspapers made the frame for Russell Coutts, using myth and mythological language both in the construction of national identity, and in the construction of the hero's identity.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework for the research. It first discusses news as a central product of journalism practice and the role of news in society. Then it gives an overview of different approaches to text and media analysis and concludes with a presentation of theories on myth and a discussion about the connections between myth and news.

The news theories section starts with a discussion of the gatekeeping theory and theories related to the selection of news as a part of journalists' daily routine. Why is a particular news item chosen for publication and another rejected? What are the criteria for that selection and who set them? These questions lead into the next section of the literature review – news framing. How do journalists choose the frame for the news they are going to report, and what is the function of a news frame in relation to news values? I will describe theories related to news values and discuss their role in the news media's construction of reality. The norm of objectivity, one of the crucial principles of journalism practice, will be discussed. All these questions are important and relevant to the analysis of the case study presented in this thesis.

In the second part of this chapter I briefly discuss the method of content analysis. Although not the main method used for analysis in the thesis, content analysis supports its arguments. I then discuss in detail the main theories I use for analysis in this research: discourse analysis and semiotics. These theories provide the main theoretical framework

for a qualitative analysis of the newspapers. At the end of this chapter, I discuss relations between myth and news, especially relations arising from story-telling and narrative principles.

2.2 The Role of Gatekeeper

What we term now as mass media began as a two-volume book, of which less than two hundred copies were printed (Manguel 1996). Historians disagree about the exact year between 1450 and 1455 when Gutenberg printed the Bible (Hanebutt-Benz, 2005; Kilgour 1998, p. 91; Jeep 2001, p. 314). However, they agree that it was not only a very important cultural event by the criteria of that time, but also an event that was about to change the future of the world. The movable type press, which Gutenberg invented, changed the world by changing the way of communication. Briggs and Burke (2003, p. 16) estimate that by the year 1500 similar presses were established in more than 250 places in Europe and “about thirteen million books were circulating by that date in a Europe of 100 million people”. Mass communication was born.

Printing brought another mass medium to the public – the newspaper. During the late sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the early ancestors of the newspaper appeared in different forms – from leaflets, newsletters and pamphlets to journals and gazettes (Stephens 1979). From the first handwritten newsletters to today’s newspapers printed with digital technology, there were constant changes in the form and content of the newspaper. But despite all the changes the newspaper, as mass medium, has experienced throughout its history, there has always had one constant: to spread the news. Quite often, the news was information provided by local or state authorities. The news was also stories about strange events, royal weddings, the end of a war or the death of a sultan (*Ibid.*). People did not regard the news simply as a source of information. As Stephens (*Ibid.* p. 12) writes, people looked for news because “the news is more than a category of information or a form of entertainment; it is an awareness; it provides a kind of security.”

To answer the different needs of their readers, newspaper journalists see and treat the news not only as information but also as a story. Journalists' different approaches to the news lead to different ways of reporting it – and that gives us more than one version of events and more than one version of reality in the media. As Hall (Hall *et al.* 1980, p. 53) writes, the media do not simply transfer newsworthy events to the public: “News is the end-product of a complex process which begins with systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories.”

Newspapers did not immediately start reporting news in the way they do today. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, newspapers just collected information and presented it to their readers. Victorian newspapers in the United Kingdom still “have been able only to *represent* information, while the modern news story *was itself* a piece of information” (Matheson 2000, p. 565, italics in original). Matheson's analysis shows that before the early twentieth century, the news story “had no cultural authority to describe a scene or interpret events (*Ibid.* p. 562).” After that period “the news story stood on its own not just as a self-sufficient form of knowledge about the world but as a form of social intercourse not dependent on the context of its delivery or reading” (*Ibid.* p. 570).

From 1922, when Lippmann stated that “the function of news is to signalize an event” (Lippmann 1947, p. 358), to the moment when, seventy years later, Fowler (1994, p. 4) wrote that news “is not a value-free reflection of ‘facts’”, media theory and the media itself have changed greatly. It is now widely accepted in media theory that the news media in general do not only inform us about the reality but while reporting they are also actively involved in interpreting, reshaping and constructing reality through the news (Allan 2003; Bennett 2003; Bird & Dardenne 1997; Bourdieu 1979; Curran 2002; van Dijk 1988, 1989; Fowler 1994; Gans 2003; Hall *et al.* 1980; Negrine 1994; Shoemaker 1997; Schudson 1995, 2003; Tuchman 1997).

Journalists are not able to simply transfer to the public all events that are happening around the world or around one country. There are too many events happening every day

for it to be physically possible to report all of them. But how do journalists actually decide which event is newsworthy and which is not? To find out the answer to this question, in 1950 David White Manning produced a study “The ‘Gate Keeper’: A Case Study in the Selection of News” (White 1999). Media theory today accepts this study as an iconic text on the selection of news. White was following on from the work of Kurt Lewin, who pointed out that the news travels through communication channels and that some areas of the channels function as “gates”:

Carrying the analogy further, Lewin said that gate sections are governed either by impartial rules or by ‘gatekeepers,’ and in the latter case an individual or group is ‘in power’ for making the decision between ‘in’ or ‘out’ (White 1999, p. 66).

White monitored the work of a wire editor on a morning newspaper in a mid-western city in the United States of America in order to find out which news the editor accepted for publication and which the editor rejected. White (*Ibid.*) found out that “Mr Gates” – as he calls the editor in this study – rejected “almost nine-tenths” of the news. White also found that Mr Gates was “highly subjective” in his decisions about what news to reject. White concluded that this showed how “reliant upon value-judgments based on the ‘gatekeeper’s’ own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations the communication of ‘news’ really is” (*Ibid.* p. 68).

What White found in this study was mainly confirmed in later studies (Bleske 1997; van Dijk 1988; Fowler 1994; Gans 1979; Shoemaker 1997). In all these studies, White’s main conclusion reappears: there is always a gatekeeper who, following a certain set of criteria, decides which news deserves to be published. Thirty years later, Hall (Hall *et al.* 1980, p. 54) concludes that these criteria are “nowhere written down, formally transmitted or codified,” and Fowler (1994, p. 13) notes that these criteria are actually “more or less unconscious in editorial practice”. These criteria are commonly known as news values.

2.3 News Values

Galtung and Ruge (1999, p. 22) in their much celebrated paper “The Structure of Foreign News” offered twelve factors that influence whether an event is actually seen as news. The first factor is frequency: “the more similar the frequency of the event is to the frequency of the news medium, the more probable that it will be recorded as news by that news medium” (*Ibid.*). The second factor is the threshold or amplitude that an event must pass in order to become news. The third factor is unambiguity – the less ambiguous an event is, the bigger are its chances of becoming news. In this list of factors that could transform an event into news, Galtung and Ruge also include meaningfulness (cultural familiarity) and consonance “of the signal with the mental image of what one expects to find” (*Ibid.*). Because of consonance, or the readers’ expectation to find similar events in the paper, what is ‘news’ is, actually, what is predictable and, in that sense, old. Nevertheless an event which is rare or unexpected will have greater chances of becoming news. Galtung and Ruge conclude their list with continuity and composition. They argue that after an event becomes news “it will continue to be defined as news for some time even if the amplitude is drastically reduced” (*Ibid.* p. 24). News is presented with an intention of giving a balanced presentation of a whole event, and because of that, composition is another important factor that turns an event into news.

Galtung and Ruge state that these eight factors are “culture-free”. But they add four more factors which are “culture-bound” (*Ibid.* p. 25). An event has more chances of becoming a news item if it concerns elite nations, elite persons or the action of an individual. Also the more negative an event, the greater are its chances of becoming news. One of their conclusions is that the more of these twelve factors one event satisfies, the more likely it is that that event will be reported as news.

Studies done after Galtung and Ruge confirmed that an event is closer to being considered news if it includes conflict or dramatic elements. Allan (2003) also lists twelve factors that make an event newsworthy. In first place he puts conflict, along with

balance, immediacy, and dramatization. After relevance, timeliness (the event must be recent to be news), and simplification, Allan lists personalization, unexpectedness, continuity and composition. The last factor in Allan's list is similar to that given by Galtung and Ruge: reference to élite or "First World" nations, reference to élite persons, culture specificity, and negativity.

Other authors also see news values in the context of journalists' routine. Gitlin (1980, p. 122-123) in his study emphasizes news values as routine norms of journalism with a tendency to "cover the event, not the condition; the conflict, not the consensus; the fact that 'advances the story', not the one that explains it."

As Johnson-Cartee (2005, p. 125) points out, similar results came from studies done by Golding (1981), Evensen (1997) and Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, and Ranly (1999). Golding's list of news values begins with drama and visual attractiveness, followed by the importance of the event, event size, proximity, brevity, negativity, and recency. Evensen's list of news values has conflict on the top, then the consequence of the event, its prominence, timeliness, proximity and human interest. Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, and Ranly in their study have the impact of an event as the most important news value, then conflict, novelty, prominence, proximity and timeliness.

Other studies referring to news values (Hausman 1998; Negrine 1994; Hal *et al.* 1980) give similar rankings. In 1991 Bleske (1997) made an updated version of the research White did in 1949 on the gatekeeper's role. Instead of Mr Gates from 1949, Bleske choose Ms Gates in 1991. But the main results of the new study showed that the gatekeeper's perceptions of news values had not changed much in forty years: human interest, international politics, and national politics were ranked at the top in both cases. Bleske concludes that "those categories represent 53 per cent of Mr. Gates's output, 60 per cent for Ms. Gates" (*Ibid.* p. 75).

The fact that news values appeared strikingly similar in different studies, different cultures and across time confirms that news values are also the result of journalism

practice (Fowler 1994; Galtung & Ruge 1999; Gitlin 1980; Golding & Elliot 1979; Hall *et al.* 1980) News values actually “provide the criteria in the routine practices of journalism which enable journalists, editors and newsmen to decide routinely and regularly which stories are ‘news-worthy’ and which are not, which stories to run and which to drop” (Hal *et al.* 1980, p.54).

But, despite all the differences in work experiences, in the social or media environment or in personal preferences, the gatekeeper “is not totally free to follow a personal whim; he or she must operate within the constraints of communication routines to do things this way or that” (Shoemaker 1997, p.27). News values help journalists to organize their daily routine and process all the information and news their newspaper receives. For these reasons Bird and Dardene (1997, p. 339) conclude that “in practical terms, news values, rules, and formulas are essential for journalists to do their jobs.”

Confirming the importance of news values for journalists’ daily work and routine, Bell (1991, p. 59) emphasizes “the significant role which pre-existing text can play in newsmen’s judgment.” Bell’s opinion is that “input texts” like press releases “which are already cast in news format and style stand a much better chance of selection than texts which are not appropriately packed” (*Ibid.* p. 59). Bell’s own list of news values is divided in three categories. The first category is related to “content of the news, the nature of its events and actors” (*Ibid.*) and includes negativity, recency, proximity, consonance, unambiguity, unexpectedness, superlativeness, relevance, personalization, eliteness, attribution and facticity. The second category relates to the news process and includes continuity, competition, co-option (a tangentially related story that can be explained in terms of a high-profile continuing story), composition, predictability and prefabrication (ready-made texts like press releases). In the third category, Bell includes qualities of the news text like clarity, brevity and colour.

The process of selecting events that deserve to be reported as news is crucial in the transformation of the world or reality that was seen by the journalist into the reality which is presented to the readership and the public. This means that the newspaper

journalists and indeed the news media in general are in a position to create their own picture of reality by choosing the events and reinterpreting (or reporting) them to the public.

The beginning of this process is benign, or technical. “As Van Dijk argues the production of news is ‘the reconstruction of available discourses’ as journalists seldom witness events themselves” (Poole 2002, p. 175). Berger (1995, p. 64) also agrees that news is a filtrated product. “Gatekeeping theory demonstrates to us that the news we get is, in the final analysis, someone’s view of what is important news or news that will attract and keep the attention of readers or audiences – not necessarily what is important news”(Berger 1995, p. 64). A similar conclusion is offered by Allan: “The problem of defining what counts as an ‘appropriate news story’ is directly tied to journalistic assumptions about what the news audience is interested in knowing” (Allan 2003, p. 66). Hall (Hall *et al.* 1980:54) also states that news must be presented to the audience as an understandable item:

If the world is not to be represented as a jumble of random and chaotic events, then they must be identified (i.e. placed within a frame of meanings familiar to the audience). This process-identification and contextualization is one of the most important through which events are ‘made to mean’ by the media. An event only ‘make sense’ if it can be located within a range of known social and cultural identifications.

2.4 News Framework

After an event is selected as news event it needs to be presented in a particular way to public, to viewers or to the newspaper’s readers. The quote that concludes the previous section points in that direction: news must be reported to the public as a part of the public’s “cultural knowledge” (Hall *et al.* 1980, p. 54). Otherwise the news is not intelligible, clear or understandable to the public.

That is the reason why some media scholars say that news is actually old. This is the news value Galtung and Ruge call the consonance factor, or the expectation that an event will happen. If the news does not “correspond to what one expects to happen – and if they are too far away from the expectation – they will not be registered” (Galtung & Ruge 1999, p. 24). In his study, published two decades earlier, Park (1999, p. 14) delivered a similar conclusion:

The events that have made news in the past, as in the present, are actually the expected things. They are characteristically simple and commonplace matters, like births and deaths, weddings and funerals, the conditions of the crops and of business, war, politics, and the weather. These are expected things, but they are at the same time the unpredictable things. They are the incidents and the chances that turn up in the game of life.

This is telling us that journalists need frames for their news reports; they need a particular context for the news, a context which is organized and understandable to their public. The way of organizing news is called framing the news.

Media theory today mainly follows the framing theory established by Goffman. Goffman (1974) defines a frame as “principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them” (*Ibid.* p. 10-11). According to Goffman, our primary framework allows us to identify and label an unlimited number of events. The result is the transformation of “what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful” (*Ibid.* p. 21). Goffman differentiates a natural framework from a social framework. It is his definition of social framework that appears to be a very useful theoretical tool for media theory. According to Goffman social frameworks

provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, like agency, the chief one being the human being. Such an agency is anything but implacable; it can be coaxed, flattered, affronted, and threatened. What it does can be described as “guided doings” (*Ibid.* p. 23).

Thus, according to Goffman, a natural framework would be “weather given in a report” (*Ibid.* p. 22) and “guided doing” would be “the newscast reporting of the weather”. The conclusion is clear for Goffman: “So one deals here with deeds, not mere events” (*Ibid.*). As Gitlin (1980, p. 6) writes, it is the media frame that makes “the world beyond direct experience look natural.”

Media frames largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their report. Media frames are a persistent pattern of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual (*Ibid.* 6-7).

Media framework theory introduces us not only to the active role of the media in transforming an event into the news but also to the role of journalists in reporting that news to the public. Mass media appears to develop its own logic of occurrences while reconstructing reality by news framing. On one side we have news values developing as the result of the journalistic practice. On the other side we can see media framework appearing as a practical tool journalists need to process and organize information and report the news to the public.

Media theorists (van Dijk 1988; Gitlin 1980; Hall *et al.* 1980; McQuail, 2000) agree that journalists need frames to do their job. Journalists need frames to “process large amount of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences” (Gitlin 1980, p. 7). The reason why journalists need to organize information and news by using the frames can be explored through schemata theory. Graber (1988, p. 28) defines schema on this way:

In a nutshell, a schema is a cognitive structure consisting of organized knowledge about situations and individuals that has been abstracted from prior experiences. It is used for processing new information and retrieving stored information.

As Graber explains, schemata include information about features, situations or about individuals, and relationship between these features. Schemata also include information

related to expected sequences of occurrences or behaviour. Theorists use schemata to explain how people organize information they have, and how, using that information, people see the events, news, and other people's behaviour. "Since schemata, once created, form the mould into which new information is integrated, previous schemata become extremely important" (*Ibid.* p. 254).

So, how do media frameworks meet schemata used by people to organize information? Part of the answer is given by Graber: "When people fail to learn or create appropriate schemata for certain purpose of information, that information cannot be readily absorbed" (*Ibid.* p.244-245). That is the reason why journalists have to take care in framing the news. Journalists have to frame the news in a particular way to report it to a particular public or readership. Otherwise, the news could be ignored or disregarded by the public or the readership as something unimportant, uninteresting, or even not meaningful. In her study, Graber found that readers are not passive receivers of news. The newspaper's readers' reaction is the reduction of "the flood of news to meaningful proportions. When they finish reading their newspapers, two out of every three stories have been excluded" and "only 18 percent of the stories in an average newspaper are read in full" (*Ibid.* p. 249). We can say that it is a rational reaction – people refuse to receive more information than they can digest.

2.5 Objectivity

One of the first obstacles journalists need to overcome if they want their news to be read is to make that news attractive enough for the public to want to read it. Journalists need to assure the public that there is a good reason to read, watch or listen to that particular story, and that the media is not reporting the story just because the journalists personally think it is interesting or important. Even more – the public must be persuaded to trust the news which journalists are delivering. To convince the readers to accept their news stories, newspaper journalists need to emphasise that there is accuracy, fairness and balance, and no subjectivity in their reporting.

Subjectivity in reporting news was not always seen as a disadvantage. Actually, as Schudson (1978, p. 6) points out, “before 1920s, the journalists did not think much about the subjectivity of perception.” Hallin (1994, p. 24) locates the development of the idea of objectivity in journalism “roughly between 1920s and 1950s”. This is the period that saw the rise of commercial newspapers and other media, the period when journalists had to establish their own credibility to keep the confidence of their readership. Journalists were actually following “the sweeping intellectual movement toward scientific detachment and the culturewide separation of fact from value” (Gitlin 1980, p. 273).

The result was the replacement of “a simple faith in facts with an allegiance to rules and procedures.” (Schudson 1978, p. 7) From the early twentieth century, editorials started to be clearly divided from news. “Comment is free, but facts are sacred!” was proclaimed in 1921 by Charles Preston Scott, legendary editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. (C. P. Scott 1984 – 1932 *Making of The Manchester Guardian*, 1946, p. 161) In his editorial “The Manchester Guardian’s First Hundred Years” Scott says:

“Propaganda”, so called, by this means is hateful. The voice of opponents no less than that of friends has right to be heard. Comment also is justly subject to a self-imposed restraint. It is well to be frank; it is even better to be fair. This is an ideal (*Ibid.* p.162).

Commenting on Scott’s dictum, Eliot (Eliot in Boyce *et al.* 1978, p. 183) concluded “powerful factors in the technology and economics of journalism lay behind the drawing of this distinction between comment and fact”. But we could also argue that one of the reasons for the emergence of journalism as a profession was journalists’ quest for objective reporting. “Objectivity, in this sense, means that a person’s statements about the world can be trusted if they are submitted to established rules deemed legitimate by a professional community” (Schudson 1978, p. 7).

For some media theorists, it was how journalists “created for themselves a number of strategic rituals that if followed ensure, they assure us, objectivity” (Johnson-Cartee 2005, p. 210). Following S. F. Moore and Myerhoff, Johnson-Cartee (*Ibid.* p. 210) lists

six “formal characteristics of such secular rituals” that can be applied to journalism as a profession: repetitive acts that imply continuity and consciousness of acting validated by internal and external members of a collectivity that make the acts significant for that collectivity, unique stylization of performance leading to tradition and legitimacy, order and structure leading to predictability and familiarity, performance to attract other members of the collectivity and to increase appreciation and identification of the collectivity through performance.

To ensure objectivity in their reporting, journalists apply sets of rules that should be followed in their daily work and routine (Tuchman 1997). These rules and norms link objectivity to neutrality, factuality, accuracy, completeness, impartiality, and balance (McQuail 2000). But as McQuail (*Ibid.* p. 320) reminds us “answers to the questions Who?, What?, Where?, When, and maybe Why?, and going on from there” are merely the point of entry to a “relatively complex notion” of objectivity.

The meaning of ‘objectivity’ as a word and as a standard in journalism practice has changed from the time when it arose as an imperative for journalism as a profession. Hallin (1994, p. 25) argues that the meaning of objectivity has changed since the nineteenth century when journalists “did not yet radically separate fact and value” and the early twentieth century’s “a faith in ‘facts’” and distrust of ‘values’” (*Ibid.*).

From about the Second World War through the early 1960s, objectivity was assumed most of the time to require strict separation not only between fact and value but between fact and interpretation. This was the heyday of ‘straight’ journalism; news analysis for the most part was restricted to the signed column, and the ordinary reporter was supposed to tell ‘who, what, when, where’ and leave it at that. The naïve realism of ‘straight’ objective journalism was shattered by the political conflict of the 1960s and 1970s, which produced both a credibility gap (a questioning of traditional sources of political information) and a clash of interpretations unknown in the years of wartime and Cold War consensus (*Ibid.* p. 25).

But reliance on the facts as an anchor of objectivity was not so easily relinquished by the journalist, theorist or the public. Discussions of objectivity in journalism from time to time go back to the same arguments journalists used when objectivity appeared to offer a shield of trust in facts. In 1931 C. P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, wrote that the first function of a newspaper is the collection and distribution of news.

But what news? That is a material question. All sort of things happen in the world every day and every hour of the day. It is all a question of selection, whether of the serious, or the frivolous, of the clean, or the unclean, of fact or the fiction” (C. P. Scott 1844 – 1932: *Making of The Manchester Guardian*, 1946, p. 165).

As Hallin (1994, p. 129) writes “‘objective journalism’ in effect requires that the meaning of the story be made to appear as though it emerged from the facts themselves, without the journalist’s intervention.” But, is it possible to extract facts from a process of making a story? Lule (2001, p. 190) writes, “News does not fail from lack of objectivity. News fails from a lack of good story-telling.” This brings us to one of the main dilemmas in journalism studies: what is the relationship between the facts and a story? What is more important – information or explanation? These are the questions that still haunt arguments about objectivity and journalism.

2.6 Road to Textual Analysis

The question this thesis asks is how did the news media construct and represent reality, in this case Russell Coutts’ identity and his role in the America’s Cup 2003? To address this question, different methods of analysis are applied. I briefly use content analysis to support the first part of the textual analysis. I will use content analysis to find out the frequency of words used in the headlines and the leads of the newspapers during the first and the second day of the reporting the story on Russell Coutts.

Content analysis is defined by Berelson (1971) as a research technique that is objective, systematic and quantitative, with the focus on obvious content of communication. This analysis assumes that it is possible to establish a relationship between “content and effect” (*Ibid.* p. 18). Krippendorff (2004) sees content analysis as a technique that includes and cares about context as well. For Krippendorff (*Ibid.* p. 18), most important in content analysis are “replicable and valid inferences from text (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use.” Neuendorf writes (2002, p. 1) that content analysis is “systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics.” Content analysis relies on the possibility of a clear, unambiguous reading of the text. Also, content analysis is based on an assumption that the “numerical balance of elements in the text (such as the number of words or space/time allocated to a set of topics) is a reliable guide to overall meaning” (McQuail 2000, p. 325).

This means that the particular text selected for the content analysis (for example, a newspaper story) needs to be divided into or reduced to the set of units and categories that are going to be analyzed. These categories can be: identifying subject matter (the topic of a research), direction or “pro or con treatment of a subject matter” (Berelson 1971, p. 150), value (the subject’s goals), methods or actions, traits (personal characteristics), actor (who or what is in the central position), authority or sources. The meaning of the text is investigated by analyzing the frequency of these categories or codes. As Berelson (*Ibid.* p. 13) writes: “In the classical sentence identifying the process of communication – “*who says what to whom, how, with what effect*” – communication content is the “*what*”.

Commenting on Berelson’s work with content analysis, Krippendorff (2004, p. 20) argues that Berelson believed that content resides “*inside* a text”. Krippendorff argues that Berelson’s vision of content analysis includes the presumption that “content is *contained* in messages waiting to be separated from its form and described” (*Ibid.* p. 20). Krippendorff is actually pointing to the possibility that an analyst can presuppose a meaning of the message and in that way apply unnecessary pre-selection. Krippendorff thinks that content analysis must be able to “satisfy external criteria” (*Ibid.* p. 19) as well

as its own criteria. Apart from briefly using content analysis in the first part of the newspaper analysis, I will not be using it as a major research technique in this study. Content analysis could be more reductive in the analysis of complex texts than discourse analysis or semiotics. If we want to understand how a particular event is framed in a particular context, we need to include other theoretical approaches and not rely only on content analysis. McQuail writes (2000, p.327) that “interpretative approaches” (like semiotics and structuralism) avoid quantification, and analyze media content through its “deep meaning”. That deep meaning is possible to find out through analysis of the content’s messages and their signs, symbols or codes which all can carry different meanings, not only for those who created the message but also for those who are supposed to receive the message. Consequently, this approach emphasizes that there is no one fixed meaning of the media message, and semiotics, as a theoretical discipline, emphasises this openness towards the text and the symbols it contains.

Saussure (1974) underlines the differences between “language (*langue*)”, “human speech (*langage*)” and “speaking (*parole*)”. Saussure also makes a clear difference between an individual, particular speech, or utterance (*parole*) from language (*langue*) which is a system of rules above the *parole*. A language is self-contained, it is a norm, a system and it is independent from its users. For Saussure (*Ibid.* p. 77) “language is speech less speaking.” This is one of the points in Saussure’s theory which is much analyzed and criticized. Saussure’s semiology later become known as semiotics and today it is widely referred to by that term. Today’s semiotics sees a sign and its function much more widely compared to the way a sign was seen by Saussure.

The critique of Saussure’s work that is much quoted today comes from Valentin Vološinov.¹ Criticizing Saussure’s theory for a lack of flexibility, Vološinov (1994, p. 33) wrote that “what is important for the speaker about a linguistic form is not that it is a stable and always self-equivalent signal, but that it is an always changeable and adaptable

¹ In 1971 Russian linguist Vyacheslav Ivanov claimed that all major works signed by Valentin Vološinov and Pavel Medvedev were, actually, written by Mikhail Bakhtin. Because this issue is still not solved, and Bakhtin himself never confirmed that claim, I quote here Vološinov as the author of this work.

signal.” Vološinov emphasises that, for the speaker, the linguistic form only exists in the context of other utterances and specific ideological context.

In actuality, we never say or hear *words*, we say and hear what is true or false, good or bad, important or unimportant, pleasant or unpleasant, and soon. *Words are always filled with content and meaning drawn from behavior or ideology.* That is the way we understand words, and we can respond only to words that engage us behaviorally or ideologically” (*Ibid.* p. 33 italics in original).

Vološinov stresses that any utterance makes a response to something. From this point Vološinov developed a discussion on dialogue as a crucial part of understanding another person’s utterance. The meaning of the word does not belong to the word as such, writes Vološinov: “Meaning is the effect of interaction between speaker and listener produced via the material of a particular sound complex” (*Ibid.* p. 35).

The theme of dialogue appears in the later work of Mikhail Bakhtin as the one of crucial points of understanding not only the novel and literature, but also people and society. For Bakhtin (1994a, p. 76) the word is born and shaped in dialogue: “every word is directed toward an answer and cannot escape the profound influence of the answering word that it anticipates.” In his writing about Dostoevsky’s poetics, Bakhtin (1994b, p. 98) underlines the dialogic essence of a word and of an idea as well:

The idea is a live event, played out at the point of dialogic meeting between two or several consciousnesses: In this sense the idea is similar to the word, with which it is dialogically united. Like the word, the idea wants to be heard, understood, and ‘answered’ by other voices from other positions. Like the word the idea is by nature dialogic.

The idea of dialogue was further developed by other theorists as an opportunity to analyse a text, not only in terms of symbols or messages but also as a communicative act, an active relationship and interaction between speaker, writer or journalist and the public. This interaction includes a wider social context as a past or present background of culture. While analysing the use of mythological symbols and mythological language in the newspaper reports as an intersection of meanings offered to the readers I will apply this idea of dialogue.

The role of the sign was further investigated in the work of Roland Barthes. Barthes stretched the borders of semiology. In his “Elements of Semiology” (1972) Barthes declared that semiology is inevitably concerned with “a trans-linguistics”, consisting of myth, narrative, journalism, or other objects of our culture. Describing the difference between the linguistic sign and the semiological sign, Barthes says that “as soon as there is society, every usage is converted into a sign itself” (1972, p. 42). Barthes explained this by reminding us that we use a raincoat as the protection from the rain, but the association with rain stays with the raincoat. “Since our society produces only standardized, normalized objects, these objects are unavoidably realizations of a model, the speech of a language, the substances of a significant form” (*Ibid.*). Barthes calls these semiological signs, sign-function.

Developing Saussure’s model of sign, signifier, signified and signification, Barthes introduces the possibility of two orders of signification – the first as the level of expression of the second system. In Barthes’ theory, the first system becomes signifier of the second system: “the first system is then the plane of denotation and the second system (wider than first) the plane of connotation” (1972, p. 89). Denotation is thus the level of clear, evident meaning of the sign, and connotation is wider than denotation: it is related to the level of associated meaning of the sign. In his book “The Fashion System” (1983, p. 28) Barthes introduces the third system of these ensembles “made up of an extra-linguistic code, whose substance is the object of the image.” This third system Barthes called rhetoric. This three-dimensional pattern – sign, signifier, signified – Barthes developed from his analysis of myth. I will apply Barthes’ theoretical framework of connotation-denotation in my analysis of New Zealand newspapers’ writing on Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003.

To be able to analyze mythical systems, Barthes distinguished the level of language from the level of myth. On the level of language, Barthes calls the signifier ‘meaning’. On the level of myth, the signifier becomes a ‘form’. And the signified retains the name ‘concept’. The relationship between signifier and signified in the linguistic system gives

the sign. In myth, Barthes calls the relationship between signifier and signified 'signification'. In the case of myth, the word signification is better justified "since myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us" (1988, p. 117).

Barthes writes that the signifier is an ambiguous element of myth, being at same time "meaning and form" (*Ibid.* p. 117). Barthes explains this with the analysis of the photos on the cover of a *Paris-Match* showing "a young Negro in a French uniform." (*Ibid.* p. 116) Young soldier is saluting and Barthes interprets the photo as a message that glorifies France because

there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors. I am therefore again faced with a greater semiological system: there is a signifier, itself already formed with a previous system (*a black soldier is giving the French salute*); there is a signified (it is here a purposeful mixture of Frenchness and militariness); finally, there is a presence of the signified through the signifier (*Ibid.* p.116, italics in original).

Barthes defines a myth as a speech, a system of communication that is a message. For Barthes, a myth is not presented to the world in the conventional, traditional sense of the word as an object, concept or an idea. Myth is "a mode of signification, a form." (*Ibid.* p. 109) But, form here does not hold back the meaning: "the meaning will be for the form like an instantaneous reserve of history" (*Ibid.* p. 118). According to Barthes, one of the most important characteristics of a myth is to "transform a meaning into form. In other words, myth is always a language-robbery... Myth is depoliticized speech. It has the task of giving an historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal" (*Ibid.* p. 131). Myth is important for society because myth represents a presence of history, but without complexity: myth denies complexity to human acts, myth is exhausted in one stroke and myth is unquestionable. Barthes believes that everything can be a myth, and, "in fact nothing can be safe from myth" (*Ibid.* p. 131). This is because "myth is the most appropriate instrument for the ideological inversion which defines this

society” (*Ibid.* p.142). Discussing why our society is “the privileged field of mythical signification” (*Ibid.* p. 137), Barthes turns to the ideology of bourgeois that spreads over collective images, blurs differentiation of the social classes and empties human acts of their historical background. In the case of a young soldier saluting the French flag, the result has the fabricated quality of colonialism, because without history his saluting is natural, depoliticised and justified.

While Barthes writes that ideology can turn everything into a myth, Eco (1977, p. 22) proposes that “the whole of culture should be studied as a communicative phenomenon based on signification systems.” Eco sees semiotics as a very broad field:

Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be *taken* as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This something else does not necessarily have to exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands in for it. Thus *semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie*. If something cannot be used to tell a lie, conversely it cannot be used to tell the truth: it cannot in fact be used ‘to tell’ at all (*Ibid.* p. 7 italics in original).

This approach to sign assumes an active role by the receiver of the message, or the interpreter of the sign. “Sign always opens up something new. No interpretant, in adjusting the sign interpreted, fails to change its borders to some degree” (Eco 1984, p. 44). This interaction between reader and text Eco further developed by describing differences between open and closed text. In contrast to an open text, a closed text is a text that was made for “an average addressee referred to a given social context” (*Ibid.* p. 8). These types of texts are made with the intention of getting a particular response from the recipient or the reader. But, because the real reader of the text is not the “average one”, these texts are “in fact ‘open’ to every possible ‘aberrant’ decoding” (*Ibid.*). According to Eco, mass media texts are an example of closed texts. Eco’s idea of open and closed text is a useful theoretical approach to the analysis of newspaper reports and I will apply it in this study.

Following the same tradition of dialogic approach to the message or to the literary text, Kristeva (1984) introduced the much prized term intertextuality. Kristeva (*Ibid.* p.59) defines intertextuality as “the passage from one sign system to another.” The new signifying system may be produced with the same “signifying material” or sign systems, or many different ones. As an example Kristeva mentions transposition from narrative to text or from carnival scene, poetry and scholastic system to written text or novel. One sign system is changing into another, becoming a new sign system with new characteristics, open for new reading and new changes. Kristeva (1980b, p. 65) underlines Bakhtin’s “conception of the literary word as an intersection of textual surfaces rather than a point (a fixed meaning), as a dialogue among several writings: that of the writer, the addressee (or the character), and the contemporary or earlier cultural complex.” Any analysis of text has to study the words in relationship with other words in the sentence, and in relationship with the larger sequences of text.

These three dimensions or coordinates of dialogue are writing subject, addressee, and exterior texts. The word’s status is thus defined horizontally (the word in the text belongs to both writing subject and addressee) as well as vertically (the word in the text is oriented toward an anterior or synchronic literary corpus. The addressee, however, is included within a book’s discursive universe only as discourse itself. He thus fuses with this other discourse, this other book, in relation to which the writer has written his own text. Hence horizontal axis (subject-addressee) and vertical axis (text-context) coincide, bringing to light an important fact: each word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read (*Ibid.* p. 66).

Kristeva thinks that text as “productivity” (*Ibid.* p. 36) must be understood as a part of the wider cultural context to which the text belongs and which is also a part of the particular text. The same approach to textual analysis is found in the work of van Dijk and his news analysis. Both of these approaches are applicable to the analysis of newspaper reports because a newspaper article is that sort of intersection of other reports, of character (“Who”) inside the text, the reader and the wider – past and present – social context of the report. Van Dijk (1988) also emphasizes that discourse semantics is not an autonomous discipline. In order to analyze a particular text or media message, we need to

be familiar with the “cognitive and social analysis of what people in a given culture know, and how they use such knowledge in the interpretation of discourse in general and the establishment of coherence in particular” (*Ibid.* p.12).

Van Dijk (*Ibid.* p. 13) reminds us that people organize their knowledge in “special clusters, so-called scripts.” These scripts contain our knowledge about particular events (like civil war, terrorism, voting, revolution) in a schematic, stereotypical type. According to van Dijk, the media rely heavily on that type of knowledge. On the practical level of textual analysis, van Dijk follows several rules. First one is that “the meaning or reference of words, clauses, or sentences is studied as a function of those assigned to previous sentences” (*Ibid.* p. 12). This means that “a text is coherent if it describes a possible sequence of events (acts, situations). Hence, coherence depends on our knowledge and a belief about what is possible in the world” (*Ibid.*). Van Dijk introduces the term “macrostructure” to identify the overall topic of a text. By selection and generalization, the reader is able to identify the main topic from a sequence of sentences. Our shared knowledge of the world, or scripts, helps us to fully understand and include information and headlines from the news. Van Dijk believes that macrostructures and the way they are used are crucial in news production process by editors and reporters. They are also crucial in the later reproduction of news, because the public rely on previous macrostructures for their understanding of forthcoming news. “And finally, macrostructures explain why most readers usually only remember the main topics, that is the higher levels of the macrostructure of a news report” (*Ibid.* p. 14).

The general or complete meaning of the macrostructure of a text is organized by narrative schema and categories like Summary, Setting, Orientation, Complication and Resolution. In news reports, journalists use news schemata with Headline and Lead (for Summary), and Main Event, Background, Context, Verbal Reactions (all found in the body of the news report). Van Dijk points out that news reports do not unfold continuously. In a news story the Headline, “the highest macroproposition” (*Ibid.* p. 15), comes first, followed by Lead, at the top of the macrostructure, and less

important details as “lower macropropositions of the report” (*Ibid.*). For readers and for journalists it means that the beginning of the text has the most important information. This rule also affects “the ordering of the sentences in paragraphs describing an episode and the ordering within the sentences themselves (where important news actors will tend to occupy first positions)” (*Ibid.* p. 16). Van Dijk emphasizes that news production and routines, which put journalists under constant deadline pressure, also heavily influence how news reports are made and presented.

In his analysis of media production, Hall (1980) also wrote that the routine and rules of journalists’ work influence the content of the news. Journalists work under constant deadline pressure and at the same time they want to deliver news which is impartial and objective. According to Hall (*Ibid.* p. 58) that is why media statements are routinely “grounded in ‘objective’ and ‘authoritative’ statements from ‘accredited’ sources”, such as members of parliament, union leaders or employers. Hall calls these sources primary definers and states that primary definers are in a position to give the first, or primary, definition of the event or the topic in the news. The result is that media “tend faithfully and impartially, to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society’s institutional order” (*Ibid.*). The primary definer actually “sets the limit for all subsequent discussion by framing what the problem is” (*Ibid.* p. 59). Hall draws the conclusion that in this way the media actually become subordinate to those who have power in society.

Hall argues that the media are not in a position to make the news, construct reality or just transmit the news, they are in a position to transmit the interpretation of the reality given by primary definers or by “the opinions of the powerful” (*Ibid.* p. 58). Hall’s analysis is actually close to Barthes’ analysis of myth as the product of the ideology of one social class (bourgeois). As Hall points out, the primary definers are in a position to set the limits of later discussions, and Barthes (1988, p.141) writes that “it is the bourgeois ideology itself, the process through which the bourgeoisie transforms the reality of the world into an image of the world, History into Nature.” In terms of the present study, these theories also offer a view that identifies the news frame-makers as the sources of influence on symbolic production in society. Hall’s theory of the primary definers is a

useful theoretical tool for an analysis of the frames the news media choose or make while reporting the news, and I will apply it in this study.

Hall (1980) also gives another model of mass communication. His Encoding/Decoding theory consists of elements of encoding and elements of decoding text. According to Hall, this is not a mechanical action-reaction process, but a process of interaction finishing with three different outcomes. The outcome always depends on the social role or position of the reader of the text or the recipient of the message. Hall terms the first outcome as hegemonic, and in this case the reader accepts the message and ideas from the text. The second outcome is negotiated reading when the reader partially accepts the text's code and its message. If the reader rejects the text's code and the text's message, we have the third, oppositional outcome.

McQuail (2000, p. 313) also emphasizes links between denotative meaning ("universality") and objectivity ("references are true") on one side and connotation and elements of evaluation ("positive or negative direction"). Drawing on Barthes, McQuail writes:

Media content consist of a large number of 'texts' (in the physical sense), often of a standardized and repetitive kind, that are composed on the basis of certain stylized conventions and codes. These often draw on familiar or latent myths and images present in the culture of the makers and receivers of texts (*Ibid.* p. 314).

According to McQuail (*Ibid.* p. 343) journalists cannot avoid "departure from pure objectivity" because they have to give "some interpretation to isolated items of facts."

For the same reason Gitlin (1980, p.7) writes that media frames "organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their report." Other authors (Bennett 2003; Boyle & Haynes 2000; van Dijk 1988; Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Kuypers 2002; McQuail 2000; Rowe 1997) also agree that the frame in which news is organized and presented gives readers not only the facts and the story, but also "instructions" as to how to read the news or the story.

Framing is a way of giving some interpretation to isolated items of facts. It is almost unavoidable for journalists to do this and in so doing departing from pure 'objectivity' and introducing some (albeit unintended) bias. When information is supplied to news media by sources (as much often is), then it often arrives with a built-in frame that suits the purpose of the source and is unlikely to be purely objective" (McQuail 2000, p. 343).

Writing about news framing Kuypers (2002, p. 18) stresses that "frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies." In other words, journalists' practice and journalists' effort to organize daily events in meaningful news for the public results in journalists' direct involvement in the construction of reality through the mass media. Or, as Poole (2002, p. 52) writes, "structure and routine combine with the dominant interpretative frameworks of journalists, resulting in consensual output based on perceptions and assumptions rather than on wilful manipulation."

2.7 When a Myth Meets News

Myth and news have the same crucial and common element: a story. Lule (2001, p. 19) writes that "news and myth thus will be shown to bear the closest social similarities. They offer and repeat stories." The story is the link that connects the myth with the people. The story is the element that makes the myth re-emerge from the past and become reality, a part of people's lives. As Gaster (1984, p. 123) defines a mythological story (or myth) as a "story that gives verbal expression to the Mythic Idea." Removed from its traditional ritualistic functions, the mythological story takes a literary form and becomes part of a narrative that makes us feel "surrounded by that mythological atmosphere which modern man calls "fairy-tale-like" (Kerényi 1963, p. 26). The media now routinely use such narrative.

Eliade (1964, p. 191) also emphasizes that "in modern societies the prose narrative, especially the novel, has taken the place of the recitation of myths" in traditional societies. It is not merely that "mythical" structure, together with mythological themes

and characters, survived inside of certain modern novels. Eliade writes that the modern passion for the novel could be seen as an expression of “the desire to hear the greatest possible number of ‘mythological stories’ desacralized or simply camouflaged under ‘profane’ forms” (*Ibid.*).

In Eliade’s analysis, it is the act of reading that gives an “escape from Time” and “connects the function of literature with that of mythologies”:

But in both cases alike, one “escapes” from historical and personal time and is submerged in a time that is fabulous and trans-historical. The reader is confronted with a strange, imaginary time, whose rhythms vary indefinitely, for each narrative has its own time that is peculiar to it and to it alone (*Ibid.* 192).

What Eliade emphasises is that narrative and literature provide an escape from “historical time” and offer a symbolic entrance into “temporal rhythms” other than those of our daily routine.

Other theories on myth also see strong links between myth and narrative (Bascom 1984, p. 9; Bevan 1993, p. 3; Frye 1990, p. 33; von Hendy 2002, p. 2-3; Schöpflin, 2000, p. 81). Honko (1984, p. 50) writes that “in terms of form a myth is a narrative which provides a verbal account of what is known of sacred origins” (*Ibid.* p. 49). Defining myth as “an extremely complex cultural reality”, Eliade (1964, p. 6) agrees that myth is a narrative about time of the “beginnings”: “In short, myths describe the various and sometimes dramatic breakthroughs of the sacred that really establishes the World and makes it what is today.” Eliade (*Ibid.*) writes that “the myth is regarded as a sacred story, and hence a ‘true history’, because it always deals with realities.” The realities are an inseparable part of the myth, regardless of whether the myth is a part of the people’s past or present. Raglan (1949, p. 131) emphasizes that myth is not just the bridge between past and present, “but actually identifies the present, in its ritual aspect, with a past conceived solely in terms of ritual – a past, that is to say, in which superhuman figures devote themselves to the performance of acts which are the prototypes of the ritual. The stories of their activities, the myth, then perform the dual function of sanctifying and of standardizing the ritual.”

As Eliade (1964, p. 13) points out, for a member of an archaic society, the essential thing is to know the myths. By knowing the myths, and by repeating them, the member is “able to repeat what the Gods, the Heroes, or the Ancestors did *ab origine*.”

To know the myths is to learn the secret of the origin of things. In other words, one learns not only how things came into existence but also where to find them and how to make them reappear when they disappear (*Ibid.*).

That need to bring to life perfect models and situations from the past, and the possibility of doing so, is what keeps the myths alive in the present. Gaster (1984, p. 113) writes that myth presents a situation “in its ideal, transcendental aspect – as something transpiring (rather than occurring) concurrently in eternity.”

Drawing on Barthes, we could say that the primary function of myth is to make extraordinary things look normal or expected. As discussed in detail in Chapter Five, the victories achieved by “Team New Zealand” in 1995 and in 2000 created a new myth of an unbeatable yachting team, a myth of a superior team who will have future victories because it is natural for an unbeatable team to win. Here the function of myth and the myth itself appears as a “presentation of the actual in terms of the ideal” (Gaster 1984, p. 112). The “Team New Zealand” success in the America’s Cup was echoed through the media as a real presentation of the ideal New Zealand.

That ideal side of mythical actors and a mythical story in which the actors are involved holds the connection between myth and society. Honko (1984, p. 51) writes that society needs myths “as examples, as models.” As Schöpflin (2000, p. 80) argues collectivities, especially nations, use myth to “establish and determine the foundations of their own being, their own system of morality and values.” Myth is the symbolical tool that communities use to determine what is acceptable and what is not.

Myth creates an intellectual and cognitive monopoly in that it seeks to establish the sole way of making the world and defining world – views. For the community to exist as a community, this monopoly is vital and the individual members of that community must broadly accept the myth” (*Ibid.*).

When Russell Coutts signed the contract with the opposing team “Alinghi”, he symbolically (and practically) refused to follow the rules of that myth. Coutts’ decision did not show that “kind of loyalty that modern state requires for its functioning.” (Llobera 1996, p. 206) By signing a contract with “Team New Zealand’s” rival, Coutts rejected and broke the rules that the society accepted, established and required individuals to follow. From that moment, he lost his hero status and was framed as traitor by New Zealand press.

Those who do not share in the myth are by definition excluded. All communities recognise a boundary of this kind. Myth is, then, a key element in the creation of closures and in constitution of collectivities. At the heart of this argument is the proposition that myth is vital in the establishment of coherence, in the making of thought-worlds that appear clear and logical, in the maintenance of discourse and generally in making cosmos out of chaos (Schöpflin 2000, p. 80).

The decision of the leader of “Team New Zealand” to change sides and become the leader of the rival team was breaking news for New Zealand news media. This event satisfied all criteria of newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge 1999) necessary to transform an event into news. Still, the raw facts about the event were not enough to tell the full story. Facts need interpretation, and this interpretation is the point where journalism takes off the shield of objective reporting and moves into the field of mythologizing. To inform readers that a national hero had become the main opponent, journalists needed to give an explanation for that change. As van Dijk (1988, p. 197) writes, “news events often require an explanatory framework, in which causes of such events or reasons for actions are specified to enhance comprehension.” The news of national hero’s defection required a corresponding frame and mode of presentation. Thus myth, mythological language and mythical symbolism provided an ideal frame for this hero’s story. Writing on newspaper discourse, Allan (2003, p. 87) suggests “that a newspaper account, far from simply reflecting the reality of news event, is actually working to construct a codified definition of what should count as the reality of the event.” In the case of Russell Coutts, the newspapers presented the reality of the news event as a news story that entailed elements of myth, hero, and a nation. Thus, the news values were not only to represent and

interpret reality, but also to transcend the actual event and merge it with mythical elements to construct a new reality.

Smith (2004, p. 43) argues that “unifying memories and myths, symbols and values” are crucial if new nations are to free themselves from their colonial past. “To become truly a ‘nation’, requires the unifying myths, symbols and memories of pre-modern *ethnies*” (*Ibid.* p. 44). But after the nation is established and confirmed through the state, the nation’s myths continue to live in the nation’s everyday life and reproduce themselves through “continual ‘flagging’ or reminding of nationhood” (Billig 1995, p. 8). At this point a myth, a nation and the media meet each other. What originally emerged from another, supernatural world as a myth or mythical story comes back to present society through the media as new semantics spread through symbolic reminders about unifying values and ideas.

In today’s world it is the news that reports mythical stories. Drawing on Jung and his theory of archetypes, Lule (2001) argues that news actually reports fundamental stories based on mythical archetypal stories. According to Lule, all news stories actually represent seven archetypal stories about the victim, the scapegoat, the hero, the good mother, the trickster, the other world, and the flood.

We have seen that fundamental stories shape storytelling, that editors, reporters, sources, and readers consciously and unconsciously draw upon the universally understood stock of archetypal stories. When these fundamental stories become public, when these stories are told to a people, when these stories are narrated on a social level to render exemplary models and represent shared social values and beliefs, new becomes myth (*Ibid.* 33-34).

Both myth and news share another important element – repetition. Berger (1995, p. 20) writes that as in religion there is also a “ritualistic, repetitive element of media use and the media dependencies that some people develop.” Here we have the element of a rite as in Raglan’s (1949, p. 130) definition of myth as “the form of words which is associated with a rite.” The same conclusion about a repetitive, ritualistic element of news was

reached by Hegel in his famous remark: “Reading the morning paper is the realist’s morning prayer” (Pinkard 2000, p. 242).

The power of myth comes from its repetition. Levi-Strauss (1986, p. 18) concludes that it is the repetitiveness that keeps a myth alive: “When the myth is repeated, the individual listeners are receiving a message that, properly speaking, is coming from nowhere; this is why it is credited with a supernatural origin.” The person who believes in the myth takes the mythical story for granted because that is ‘how it should be.’ The citizen of modern society often accepts the news story for granted, because ‘it was reported in the news.’

As in a myth, repetitiveness also appears in the news. The news cycle confirms how the repetitiveness of the news is an integral element of the news itself. During the 24 hours of the day, there must be news and the news is going to be repeated. Just like a person who keep listening to and becoming more familiar with a myth, a news receiver recognises news with its familiar context and content and its power that comes from repetition.

Much of the mythical quality of news derives from such ‘resonance’ – the feeling that we have written or read the same stories over and over again. The principle of consonance (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) ensures that events that may actually be different are encoded into frameworks that are already understood and anticipated (Bird & Dardenne 1997, p. 338).

Researchers found repetitive elements in other narratives. In his analysis of folktales, Propp (1975, p. 20-21) also finds the “two-fold quality of a tale: its amazing uniformity, picturesqueness, and color, and on the other hand, its no less striking uniformity, its repetition.” Comparing news and myth, Lule (2001, p. 19) suggests that “like myth, news offers the steady repetition of stories, the rhythmic recurrence of themes and events.”

News stories, like myths, do not “tell it like it is”, but rather, “tell it like it means”. Thus news is a particular kind of mythological narrative with its own symbolic codes that are recognized by its audience. We know, when we read or hear a news story, that we are in a particular “narrative situation” (Barthes, 1982) that requires a particular kind of stance to be understood (Bird & Dardenne 1997, p. 337).

But, the repetitive element in news does not function only because of the mechanical repetition of the archetypal themes or stories, nor because of the rhythm in which news is usually presented to the public. It is the semantics of myth that open possibilities for other understandings and communicate the meanings of myth and mythological symbolism. Schöpflin (2000, p. 81) argues that myths are “encoded in rituals, liturgies and symbols”:

It follows that what is not symbolized is either very difficult to communicate or cannot be communicated at all, because it is not a part of the fund of knowledge of the community. The language of symbols, rituals, myths and so on are, consequently, a part of the web of communication shared by any community and are, incidentally, more significant than language itself.

Bird and Dardenne (1997, p. 337) reach the same conclusion about myth which fulfills its own reason only when it is exchanged with others and repeated. But as in news, in myth it is not just a matter of mechanical repetition: “Rather themes are rearticulated and reinterpreted over time, themes that are derived from culture and that feed back into it” (*Ibid.* p. 337). Following Jung’s conclusion that the most we can do about myth is “to dream the myth onwards and give it a modern dress”, Lule (2001, p. 201) underlines that “news offers eternal stories that give meaning and value to life.” News stories give a description of an actual, contemporary event, and at the same time give the public a model of an ideal situation. It is the same with stories which are not news stories: “They are about the different and the particular, which yet represent something universal – just as is news” (Bird & Dardenne 1997, p. 339). News values, “summarized by Chibnall (1981) as ‘rules stressing the relevancy of: The Present, The Unusual, The Dramatic, Simplicity, Actions, Personalization, and Results,’ are just those values that any storyteller uses in creating a tale” (*Ibid.*).

These principles of story-telling are firmly connected to news values used by journalists to create news stories. Bird and Dardenne (*Ibid.*) argue that news values “are culturally specific story-telling codes” which are of crucial importance for journalists in their daily work. In practice, story-telling rules guide media and journalist when reporting news. But

again, it is not all about mechanical repetition or application of the rules: “For while the inverted pyramid is an efficient device for the writer, it may be a disaster for the reader” (*Ibid.* p. 342). The reader responds to information presented in the form of a story. But Bird and Dardenne (*Ibid.* p. 345) also emphasize that assignments – who is hero and who is villain in news story – are not a “question of random selection to fit existing formulas.” Journalists are following existing story-telling patterns but they are also reshaping them. Bird and Dardenne (*Ibid.* p.346) suggest that “media reshaping will be most successful when this can present new information in such a way that it accords with readers’ existing narrative conventions and can be accommodated within them.”

To find a balance between facts and story, between reporting news and reporting news as a story, journalists apply the same rules from different directions to achieve the same goal. As in the mythical story about two faces of the Roman god Janus, the same rules appear once as the broad story-telling rules and again as the news values. The road that leads to contemporary modern myth begins with the news and passes through a good news story. As Park (1999, p. 15) states “news, as a form of knowledge, contributes from its records of events not only to history and to sociology but to folklore and literature; it contributes something not merely to the social sciences but to the humanities.”

2.8 Summary

The role of news is of great importance for society: the news informs but also creates awareness and provides a sense of security. But news is not a free radical that floats around without any control or guidance. The news media and journalist report news, but they also choose which news to report and how to report that news. Since 1950, when White did his famous research, the role of gatekeeper has not changed radically – criteria for newsworthiness are still more in the heads of journalists who practice daily work than in any sacred book consisting of rules that guide the world of news reporting. But, news theories have given us an analysis of news values and explanations of how these values work in journalists’ daily practice. Today journalists use news values not only as a set of

guidelines on how to collect information from different sources but also as crucial criteria in their daily routine which help them to select news for reporting.

The process of selection and presentation of news is the first step in framing the news and in the process of construction of reality. To present an event as intelligible, journalists require an appropriate news frame that will help them to quickly process and present the latest news to the public. News frames help journalist to maintain their routine under the constant pressure of deadline. But news frames are not just natural or schematic patterns that fit any news story; news frames are constructed and chosen by journalists. Who will play the role of hero, and who will be the villain in a news story is not just a random decision. It is media or journalists who allocate the roles that make news actors powerful or weak, good or bad, “ours” or “theirs”. In order to process information and make an event become news, journalists need to follow the principles of the profession, one of the most important of these being objectivity. Through factuality, neutrality, impartiality, accuracy, neutrality and balance, journalists can achieve old dictum proclaimed in 1921 by the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*: “Comment is free, but facts are sacred!”

Various research traditions could be applied to analyse media texts. Content analysis approaches text as an object of systematic and quantitative analysis that looks for relations between content, clear reading of the text and frequency of the analysed words or sequences of texts. Qualitative analysis looks for deeper meanings of the text. Semiotics is concerned with signs and symbols in the text and their meanings, as well as with interaction of text and context. Semiotics offers another reading of media text, especially through analysis of signs and their transformation from one meaning to another new meaning, from one sign system to another. Works of Barthes (1972, 1988), van Dijk (1985, 1988, 1991), Eco (1984, 1985, 1988) and Hall (1980) offer us a new possibility of reading and understanding media texts and news stories as mythological messages, specific news structures or already pre-framed issues. Together with theories that analyse news in relations to story-telling and the use of mythological language (Bird & Dardenne 1997, Lule 2001) it is possible to read news stories as a re-reading of fundamental

archetypical stories. This approach also makes it possible to see how news stories and news values are intertwined with general narrative techniques and story-telling.

CHAPTER THREE

Textual Analysis I: Making the Frame

3.1 Introduction and Goal of Textual Analysis

This thesis analyses how New Zealand newspapers framed Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. The aim of this analysis is to study how the news media choose and make a news frame, and to explore the purpose of the particular frame that newspapers chose for the Russell Coutts' story and the deeper meaning of this particular news frame. News frames are a necessary part of journalists' daily routine, but they are also a manifestation of the interaction between society, and the news media. By analyzing how newspapers framed yesterday's hero as a today's traitor, we can better understand journalism practices, the role of the news media in society, and how the news media construct and reinforce national identity. By comparing the use of language, symbols and meanings in different newspapers, we can trace patterns of journalism practice, patterns that might reveal wider cultural practices.

The analysis of the newspaper articles will be given in two parts. The first part (Chapter Three) is focused on 20 and 21 May 2000 – the first and second day of the reporting of Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. I begin by focusing on the very beginning of the reporting of the news and I discuss the news frame was established.

The second part, presented in Chapter Four, analyses in detail how the newspapers reported Russell Coutts' story in both 2000 and 2003. The objective is to discover if there

was any significant change in the way the newspapers framed Russell Coutts' role through this three-year period of time: how the newspapers framed the role of the hero and the hero's transformation to traitor, the hero's character as the vehicle and the explanation for wrongdoing, allocations and relations of the roles of the hero and the villain, and the roles that a nation and a myth had in this news story. The analysis is carried out by applying discourse analysis, semiotics and analysis of language.

The object of study is the news text "with a view to understand[ing] how it 'works' to produce effects desired by authors and readers" (McQuail 2000, p. 306). By combining semiotics analysis with discourse analysis, I search for buried or hidden meanings in the text. These meanings are related to journalists' practices, news values and news framing, but also to the norm of objectivity and other social practices that are reflected in news. Words and parts of sentences are analyzed as signs and symbols. The connotative and denotative meanings of the texts/news articles are explored, and possible mythical elements of the news story explained. The theory of intertextuality is used in the analysis of news: all newspaper articles are analyzed as texts in the context of other texts, in the context of the particular moment, and in the context of their relationship to cultural codes of the society or culture.

3.2 Sample

In the case study I analyze articles published in five New Zealand daily newspapers and one New Zealand Sunday newspaper. I analyze articles in these New Zealand dailies: the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Evening Post*, the *Dominion* (and the successor to the two latter papers, the *Dominion Post*), and *The Press*. I chose these dailies as they are New Zealand's dailies with the strongest circulation and the New Zealand metropolitan daily papers which cover the most of the country.

The *New Zealand Herald* is published in Auckland by APN (Australian Provincial Newspapers), and it is the country's largest newspaper with a circulation of 204,549 at 31

March 2005 (The New Zealand Audit Bureau of Circulation;<http://www.abc.org.nz/>). Another reason for choosing the *New Zealand Herald* is that the America's Cup 2003 was held in Auckland, and therefore the *New Zealand Herald* covered the event more extensively than any other paper in the country.

The *Dominion Post* is published in Wellington by Fairfax with circulation of 98,232 at 31 March 2005 (*Ibid.*). I chose the *Dominion Post* because Wellington is the capital of New Zealand and the seat of government. The America's Cup 2003 had an impact on the New Zealand economy and the country's image in the rest of the world, and therefore the New Zealand Government was not just a passive spectator of the event. For the case study I had to include the articles published by precursors of the *Dominion Post*: the *Evening Post* and the *Dominion*. These two papers were published by Independent Newspapers Limited (INL) and were purchased by Fairfax in 2003. The *Dominion Post* started on 8 July 2002 as the merger of the *Evening Post* and the *Dominion*. Because the beginning of the newspaper's story of the role of Russell Coutts in the America's Cup 2003 started before the *Dominion Post* emerged, I had to include the writing of its precursors.

The third daily newspaper I included in the case study is *The Press*, the largest daily in New Zealand's South Island with a circulation of 92,458 at 31 May 2005 (*Ibid.*). *The Press* is also owned by Fairfax.

I have included in the case study the *Sunday Star-Times* as the Sunday paper with the strongest circulation in New Zealand. The *Sunday Star-Times* is also published in Auckland by Fairfax and had the circulation of 203,637 at 31 May 2005 (*Ibid.*).

To be as inclusive as possible, the newspaper articles were collected through the database "LexisNexis". This database was chosen because it is easily accessible on-line, it stores full texts of the analyzed newspapers and it is an efficient and methodical way of collecting of data. For the first part of the newspaper analysis, articles were collected for 20 May 2000 and 21 May 2000 – the first and the second day of reporting the news. The key words used in the search were "Russell Coutts" and "America's Cup". The

“LexisNexis” database has sixteen articles for these two dates. (Appendix I of this thesis gives the details regarding the newspaper articles, titles, authors and the date and the number of words.)

For the second part of the textual analysis, given in Chapter Four, newspaper articles were collected during the period of 2000 to 2003. This three-year period was chosen because the news story was published in the newspapers on 20 May 2000 and the event of the America’s Cup 2003 finished in 2003. To check possible changes in news framing, articles from three different periods were analyzed. Three major periods of the America’s Cup were chosen: when the news that Russell Coutts had left Team New Zealand and signed a contract with rival team “Alinghi” was published, when the Louis Vuitton Cup was held, and when the Cup itself was held. The first period covers the announcement that Coutts had signed up with “Alinghi” and responses to this news and includes articles from 20 May 2000 to 9 June 2000. The second period covers the Louis Vuitton Cup and includes articles from 6 January 2003 to 26 January 2003. The third period covers the America’s Cup and includes articles from 11 February 2003 to 3 March 2003.

The key words used in the search for the second part of textual analysis were also “Russell Coutts” and “America’s Cup”. Database “LexisNexis” had altogether 407 articles for these three periods of time. All articles were recorded and analyzed. The References list (pp. 148 - 164) gives details regarding the newspaper articles quoted in the thesis, authors, newspapers and the date of publishing. All data were retrieved during 22 and 23 August 2005 and 1 and 2 September 2005.

3.3 Methodology

The newspaper articles were analyzed in two phases. The first concentrates on newspapers’ frame of Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003. The starting point for this part of the analysis is the assumption that the news media establish a frame for a news story at the time they begin to report it (Entman quoted in Kuypers 2002; Trew 1979). This part of the analysis focuses on the first and second day of reporting – on the

20 and the 21 May 2000 – the days when newspapers made the frame for the Russell Coutts’ story. Following van Dijk’s (1988) method of news analysis, the macrostructure or the topic of each article was identified. After that, the core vocabulary (Stubbs 1983) – phrases, idioms, synonyms, and partial synonyms – used to define and explain the macrostructure was identified. This core vocabulary was then narrowed down following Stubbs’ (1983) and Le’s (2002) analysis until the key words – used to make the frame for this story – were identified. I do not investigate the syntactic level of the sentence, newspaper graphic design, or the use of photographs. I deal with “macro phenomena rather than with micro-organisation of news discourse” (van Dijk 1985, p. 69). It is necessary to underline here again – as I did in Introduction and Conclusion - that there is not only one way of approaching a text, whether it is a literary or newspaper text, and there is not one single definitive summary of a newspaper article, whether it is a news story or an editorial. Topics or macrostructures are analyzed as cognitive units “assigned to the text by a writer or reader” (*Ibid.* p. 76). News themes or topics “represent how the text is understood, what is found important, and how relevancies are stored in memory” (*Ibid.*); summarization of the topic is not just the mechanical action of “leaving out details”, but also includes a process of generalization, where different situations with the same action are generalised, and abstraction, where concepts replace a sequence of a sentences. The result of this analysis is checked by another brief analysis: by applying the journalistic rule of “5 Ws + H” on the analyzed articles. The answers to the “5 Ws + H” in all articles gave us the same key words, which confirmed that the same specific frame was used by the newspapers to inform readers about Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003.

The second phase of the analysis covers articles from the whole sample, including articles published during the first and second day of reporting this news. This part of the analysis was done by applying discourse analysis to the articles published in the *Dominion*, the *Evening Post*, the *New Zealand Herald*, *The Press* and the *Sunday Star-Times*. In this part of the analysis I focus on the relationship between news text and context, as well as the relationship between the rules of narrative and the use of mythological language in these articles. Theories on intertextuality (Kristeva 1980a, 1984) and the dialogic nature of text

(Bakhtin 1994a) support the analysis of the meaning of the language, symbols and signs in these articles. Because discourse analysis still lacks a definitive model of investigation, other theories –as discussed in the Chapter Two – were applied to articles published in these five New Zealand newspapers. Further research on the influence of sports writing on newspapers’ frame of Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 will reveal more insights on the meaning of these articles.

3.4 Frame For the Hero: Key Words

The first part of analysis deals with the articles published on 20 May 2000 and May 21, 2000. These two days were selected because the news that Russell Coutts had left Team New Zealand and signed a contract with rival team “Alinghi” was published in the newspapers on Saturday, 20 May 2000. All articles published in four newspapers were identified and analyzed. There were sixteen articles related to this news. Neither the LexisNexis nor Factiva databases had any articles that were published in *The Press* on these two days. On 20 May 2000 two articles were published in the *Dominion*, three in the *Evening Post* and five in the *New Zealand Herald*. On the second day – Sunday 21 May 2000 – the *Sunday Star-Times* offered the public six articles covering this news story, all in the one issue. The number of articles covering this news is itself an indicator that the analyzed newspapers saw this story as an event of a great importance.

As Trew (1979, p. 42) writes when “an image and set of terms is established...[it] provides a basic model which can be deployed again and again as the organizing theme in a cumulative shaping of social perception.” The frame, established at the beginning of the reporting, helps journalists to further process all the information related to the story. Hall (Hall *et al* 1980) and Fowler (1994) write that the evaluative dimension of a news story comes as a part of journalists’ practice to present a news story as meaningful and communicative. As Fowler (*Ibid.* p. 4) writes “news is a representation of the world in language, because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and

economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks.”

Journalists use specific evaluative vocabulary when they analyze the actions of the news actors and report the news (Entman quoted in Kuypers 2002). This vocabulary is related to the cultural context and to the shared knowledge of the newspaper’s readers. Journalists can frequently use the same, negative or positive, adjectives to describe the news actors’ behaviour. If journalists do that continuously, while reporting the same event, they can frame the news story in a specific way. As van Dijk (1985) writes, news schema organises the topic or macrostructure of the news story. Those interactions also influence the news frame. Kuypers (2002, p. 11), drawing on Entman’s analysis, explains that framing emphasises some ideas over others:

Once established, the frame guides audience and journalistic thinking. Entman called this initial interaction “event-specific schema.” Once in place, event-specific schema encourages journalists to “perceive, process, and report all further information about the event in ways supporting the basic interpretation encoded in the schema.”

Other theorists also see the importance of setting up the news frame at the beginning of reporting the news. In his analysis of “primary definers” and “primary interpretation” Hall (Hall *at al.* 1980, p. 58) writes that after the primary interpretation is established it “commands the field” and is “extremely difficult to alter fundamentally...Effectively, then, the primary definition sets the limit for all subsequent discussion by framing what the problem is. This initial framework then provides the criteria by which all subsequent contributions are labelled as ‘relevant’ to the debate, or ‘irrelevant’-beside the point.” However, while analyzing the framing of Russell Coutts in New Zealand newspapers, I have in mind two important remarks. First is one from Sinclair (2004, p. 68) who reminds us that “there is very little impromptu material in newspapers.” This is to take newspapers’ articles as texts prepared by many people before they are published. The second remark comes from Trew (1979, p. 140) who underlines that making newspapers is a two-way process and that “the newspaper itself is not a self-contained institution, but a site at which the views of various combinations of social forces and practices are

articulated.” These two remarks help me to analyze the newspaper articles, keeping in mind – as Sinclair (2004, p. 84) emphasises – that “the writing and reading of text is a human and not a mechanical activity.”

The following analysis draws upon van Dijk’s (1988) model of macrostructures that “makes explicit the overall topics or themes of a text as well as its upshot or gist.” (*Ibid.* p.13) Accordingly, newspapers use a specific schema – news schema – to “organise the overall meaning of the macrostructure of a text as whole” (*Ibid.* p.13). In everyday life people use narrative schema to make and share stories, and newspapers use news schema to organise news reports. In the newspaper report, first comes the top of the macrostructure: this is the headline, followed by the lead. “For the reader it means that in principle the beginning of the text always contains the most important information.” (*Ibid.* p. 14)

I will now identify the macrostructures, or topics, given to the newspaper readers in the sixteen articles (see Appendix I) published on 20 and 21 May 2000. First I will look for the most important information given to readers of these articles.

The *Evening Post* published two articles on 20 May 2000. The first has the headline “Sail of the century becomes a sell-out” (Morrison 2000). The article is 440 words long and opens with this lead:

Traitor is a hard word, but if the sailing cap fits...

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have jumped ship. They’ve taken their skills and their inside knowledge of Team New Zealand’s secret of success, and done a runner. Pausing only to hold a brief press conference, at which Butterworth said nothing and Coutts didn’t even attend, the dashing duo are heading to Europe.

The reason? Reports say cash. Lots of cash. Swiss francs, probably. Millions of the little blighters. If true, this must rank as one of the most traitorous moves in New Zealand sporting history.

The topic of this article is clear from the headline and from the lead: Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have apparently sold themselves for lots of cash, and, if true, have become traitors.

The second article published in *The Evening Post* is supplied by New Zealand Press Association (NZPA 2000a) and has the headline “Heroes lured by zeros.” This 496-word long article, opens with these sentences:

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have quit Team New Zealand for multimillion-dollar yachting contracts with a Swiss billionaire.

The two America's Cup heroes, who were to have led New Zealand in the 2003 defence, walked out yesterday, reportedly ignoring pleas from the remaining New Zealand syndicate leader, Tom Schnackenberg, for them to stay.

Schnackenberg also tried and failed to convince Swiss-Italian pharmaceutical billionaire Ernesto Bertarelli not to lure Coutts and Butterworth away.

And more may follow. Former syndicate leader Sir Peter Blake said from England last night that three other team members would go with Coutts and Butterworth.

Team NZ were yesterday trying to resurrect a team shocked and angered by the defections.

One of the crew said the remaining team members had felt “stunned and betrayed” when they gathered at an emergency meeting yesterday.

The topic of this article is also clear: Heroes – Coutts and Butterworth – did not resist the money and they betrayed their team members.

The third article in *The Evening Post* is 924 words long and has the headline: “Defence lineup near, says Team NZ head” (McConnell 2000). The article opens with this lead:

Team New Zealand head Tom Schnackenberg is hopeful of having a team for the 2003 America's Cup defence finalised by Friday.

Yesterday's announcement of a \$5.6 million budget allocation by the Government, and the resolution of transfer from the old organisation to the new

was just the tonic needed after the defection of Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth.

The topic we have here informs us that new “Team New Zealand” will be formed, but the Government had to step in to save the situation.

The *Dominion* published two articles related to the news on 20 May 2000. The first article is 501 words long with the headline: “America’s Cup heroes jump ship” (Brockett 2000). The article opens with this leading sentence:

America’s Cup heroes Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have turned their backs on New Zealand for overseas contracts said to be worth between \$5 million and \$10 million.

The topic of this article is that yesteryear’s heroes turned their back on (“betrayed”) New Zealand (not the Team) because of money.

The second article in the *Dominion* is supplied by NZPA (NZPA 2000b). The article is 364 words long and has the headline: “Crew ‘not likely to jump ship’.” It opens with this sentence:

Team New Zealand are confident they will be able to retain most of their successful America’s Cup crew despite the resignations of skipper Russell Coutts and tactician Brad Butterworth yesterday.

This topic tells us that the crew is more loyal than Coutts and Butterworth and will stay with “Team New Zealand.”

The *New Zealand Herald* devoted five articles to this story on 20 May 2000. The first article is 683 words long with the headline: “So much unsaid as Cup heroes sail away” (Calder 2000). The article opens with these sentences:

The last time the same faces had sat behind a table festooned with microphones, they were smiling, full of the pride of America’s Cup victory.

But the men who sat down yesterday in front of a Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron pennant, faced the press grimly.

The smiles, when they came, were wry at best, or forced and sickly. And what was said was so much less eloquent than what was left unsaid.

The man who said the least was Bradley William Butterworth. He sidled in like an afterthought, at first inconspicuous among the suits of commodores and trustees.

For the first time anyone could remember, he was not dressed in the Team New Zealand colours with the logo of the “family of five” sponsors in a line on the breast. Soberly kitted out in a dark suit and a rather hurriedly knotted silver tie, he was there to say he was leaving the family that had brought such pride and pleasure to the nation.

This topic says that everything changed from good to bad after heroes left the Team (“the sense of betrayal was heavy in the air”).

The second article in the *New Zealand Herald* is 705 words long, with the headline: “Crisis at Team NZ after walkout” (McFadden 2000a). The article has this lead:

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have quit Team New Zealand for multimillion-dollar contracts with a Swiss billionaire.

The two America’s Cup heroes, who were to have led New Zealand in the 2003 defence, walked out yesterday, ignoring pleas from the remaining NZ syndicate leader, Tom Schnackenberg, for them to stay.

The article has this topic: “The America’s Cup heroes Coutts and Butterworth cause a crisis at “Team New Zealand”: ignoring pleas from team mates they left because of money.”

The third article in the *New Zealand Herald* is 999 words long and has the headline: “Team NZ: how the ship went down” (Gardiner 2000). The article offers this lead:

“Money doesn’t talk, it swears,” wrote Bob Dylan, and the only printable swear word for Team New Zealand’s sponsors and supporters last night was “bugger.”

The defections of two of the three Team NZ leaders – Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth – to a Swiss syndicate makes a mockery of the supposed orderly handover from the old guard to the new.

The topic here is: the Team's ship is sinking because of the defection ("betrayal", - "mockery") by Coutts and Butterworth and people ("sponsors and supporters") are angry because of that.

The fourth article in the *New Zealand Herald* is a 565-word-long editorial with the headline: "More yachties where they came from". The editorial has this lead:

Just 10 weeks ago, New Zealanders were applauding the teamwork and unity of purpose that underpinned the overwhelmingly successful defence of the America's Cup. At the victory parade, the admiration became mutual when Russell Coutts described the public's enthusiasm as the crucial element in Team New Zealand's success.

Yesterday, the same man broke a nation's heart when it was announced that he and Brad Butterworth were jumping ship. Rather than organising New Zealand's next defence, they will apparently lead an America's Cup challenge from a landlocked nation virtually devoid of yachting tradition. Every man, it is often said, has his price. For Coutts, it was the millions dangled by a Swiss pharmaceutical billionaire.

The topic here is that a two-faced man (Coutts) is hurting New Zealand ("broke a nation's heart") and that he sold out for money.

The fifth article in the *New Zealand Herald* is 359 words long and has the headline: "Tycoon's pedigree right for success" (McFadden 2000). The article opens with this sentence:

The Swiss-Italian billionaire who has stolen Team New Zealand's leaders is a serious yachtsman with big plans for the America's Cup.

The topic here is: Foreigner and billionaire who cheated ("stole Team New Zealand leaders") is very dangerous rival ("tycoon and serious yachtsman").

On Sunday 21 May 2000 the *Sunday Star Times* offered six articles related to this news. The first article is a 232-word editorial with the headline: "A nation betrayed." The editorial opens with this lead:

The massive feeling of betrayal experienced this weekend by thousands of New Zealanders should come as no surprise to Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth. For years people have been asked to reach deep into their pockets to support our America's Cup campaigners. During that time our association with their triumphs – and their disappointments – meant that we also reached deep into our hearts.

The topic in this editorial is that Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth betrayed New Zealand and the New Zealand people.

The second article in the *Sunday Star-Times* is 770 words long with the headline: "Team NZ continues to bleed as Swiss target three more" (Sanders & Chisholm 2000a). The article has this lead:

A pivotal member of the Team New Zealand afterguard, Murray Jones, is poised to be the next to join the shock defection of America's Cup defence syndicate leaders Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth to a cash-rich European syndicate. The likely departure comes despite a Coutts' commitment he would not actively raid Team New Zealand's top sailing talent.

The topic of this article is: The rival team continues to destroy "Team New Zealand" after the defector ("traitor") Coutts promised it will not happen.

The third article in *The Sunday Star-Times* is 456 words long with the headline: "Shocked Fay says don't despair" (Sanders 2000a). The article has this lead:

New Zealand's America's Cup pioneer Sir Michael Fay feels the nation has lost a limb with the shock departure of Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth from the defence syndicate.

"My first reaction was like most Kiwis – that I felt we had had our arm chopped off," he said from his business base in Switzerland.

The topic of this article is: The Cup's legend Sir Michael Fay and other New Zealanders feels that Coutts and Butterworth are damaging the country ("most Kiwis felt...our arm was chopped off"), but there is hope.

The fourth article in the *Sunday Star-Times* is 1248 words long with the headline: “Barker can’t wait to battle yachting stars” (Sanders & Chisholm 2000b). The article opens in this way:

Subheadline 1: “If they have joined with another team, I hope we can kick their arse.” Dean Barker

Subheadline 2: As the country reels from the departure of Team NZ stars Coutts and Butterworth the focus turns to the team members left behind

Lead: Team New Zealand skipper Dean Barker would love to race his old mentor Russell Coutts in the 2004 final of the America's Cup.

The prospect of pupil and teacher clashing has become a reality with the stunning departure of Coutts and former Black Boat tactician Brad Butterworth from the defenders to the challenging syndicate of Swiss billionaire Ernesto Bertarelli.

The topic of this article is: New leader of “Team New Zealand” is angry with Coutts and Butterworth and will punish them (“kick their arse”).

The fifth article in The *Sunday Star-Times* is 309 words long and has this headline: “Departure opens doors for back-up crew” (Revell 2000). The article opens with this lead:

Team New Zealand sailors see the departure of the Black Boat’s biggest heroes as a chance to put the wind in the sails of their own careers.

One back-up crew member said he and other sailors were not bitter Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth were heading overseas with some of the crew.

“While it is sad, it’s just opened up so many huge opportunities for those of us who are still around. Everyone else gets to have a go a lot earlier than they might have been able to,” he said.

The topic of this article is: The heroes of “Team New Zealand” left and other Team members got chance to develop their own career.

The sixth article in The *Sunday Star-Times* is 1747 words long and has this headline: “And then there was one” (Chisholm 2000). The article has two subheadlines.

Subheadline 1: Designer Tom Schnackenberg, until Friday part of a trio heading Team NZ, talks to Donna Chisholm about losing.

Subheadline 2: Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth and the team's determination to look forward, not back.

The body of the text opens with these sentences:

By the time he hung up his mobile from Russell Coutts' call on April 17, the seeds of anxiety were settling in Tom Schnackenberg's gut.

He was driving home from Auckland Airport in the early evening when the phone buzzed. It was Coutts, wanting to come around for a talk.

That's odd, Schnackenberg thought. The two were good friends and talked all the time. This was obviously a different sort of talk.

When Coutts arrived at dinner time, he was clearly a man with a lot on his mind. He didn't waste time on small talk before breaking the news: he had received a big offer from Swiss-Italian billionaire Ernesto Bertarelli to leave Team New Zealand. It wasn't a done deal, but he was seriously considering it, he told Schnackenberg.

"It was an awful lot of money," Schnackenberg recalls. "I didn't ask him exactly how much, but it was a lot. It's fair to say I was shocked, upset and anxious."

The topic in this article is: Coutts left his friend because of money; that made the friend unhappy, but now everyone is looking to the future.

In this part of the analysis, the focus is on the summaries of the news texts. Macrostructures of news reports are usually in form of headline and lead, which function as the summary of the story (van Dijk 1985). These macrostructures are important for both journalists and readers. Journalists are able to quickly process the news story inside one firmly defined frame, by using these macrostructures. For readers, macrostructures are important because the most readers "usually only remember the main topics, that is the higher levels of the macrostructure of a news report" (van Dijk 1988, p. 14). Van Dijk defines the macrostructure of the news report as a higher level than the level of the words, sentences and sentence connections.

It is important to underline that the main theme of a news story is not fixed only to the beginning of the story (the headline and the lead) but re-appears later at lower levels of the news schema. Supported by other news story categories – Background, Reactions, Main and Previous Events, Consequences and Comments – the headline and the lead make the frame for the news story. We also need to have in mind that a news ‘text’ can be presented in different forms – it can be a straight news report, or an editorial on the topic, an interview or a feature, for example. The leading part of a news report is usually written in a different style from the lead to a feature or an editorial. Because of that, after I extracted the macrostructures (theme or topic) of the sixteen articles from the headlines and the opening part of these news stories, I also analyzed the rest of the each story. The semantic devices and the arguments from the news stories supported all the macrostructures I found in the headlines and in the leads (see Table 1) This analysis also gave more data for the next step in the analysis – identification of the Key Words associated with semantic categories.

Table 1 consists of the themes or topics from 16 articles the newspapers published on 20 and 21 May 2000:

Table 1 Macrostructures/Themes/Topics

1	Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have apparently sold themselves (“betrayed” their team and their country) for lots of cash; if this is a true, they have become traitors.
2	Heroes – Coutts and Butterworth – quit because of money, ignoring pleas to stay and team members feel shocked, angry, stunned and betrayed
3	New “Team New Zealand” will be formed, but the Government had to step in to save the team after the defection of Coutts and Butterworth.
4	Yesteryear’s heroes turned their backs on (“betrayed” – not only their team but also) their country – New Zealand; they did it because of money.
5	The crew is more loyal than Coutts and Butterworth; the crew will stay with the “Team New Zealand.”
6	Everything changed from good to bad after the heroes left the Team (“the sense of betrayal was heavy in the air”).
7	America’s Cup heroes Coutts and Butterworth cause a crisis at “Team New Zealand”: ignoring pleas from team mates they left because of money.
8	Team’s ship is sinking because of the defection (“betrayal”, “mockery”) by Coutts and Butterworth, making people (“sponsors and supporters”) angry.
9	Two-faced Coutts is hurting New Zealand (“broke a nation’s heart”) and he sold out (“betrayed” a nation) for money.
10	Foreigner and billionaire who cheated (“stole ‘Team New Zealand’ leaders”) is a very dangerous (“tycoon and serious yachtsman”) rival for the America’s Cup.
11	Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth betrayed New Zealand and New Zealand people.
12	The rival team continues to destroy “Team New Zealand” after the defector (“traitor”) Coutts promised this would not happen.
13	The Cup’s legend Sir Michael Fay and other New Zealanders feel that Coutts and Butterworth are damaging the country (“most Kiwis felt...our arm was chopped off”); but there is hope.
14	New leader of “Team New Zealand” is angry at Coutts and Butterworth and will punish them (“kick their arse”).
15	The heroes of “Team New Zealand” – Coutts and Butterworth – left, and other Team members got a chance to develop their own career.
16	Coutts left the Team and his friend because of money; this made the friend unhappy, but now everyone looks to the future.

Semantic macrostructure according to van Dijk (*Ibid.* p. 13) “makes explicit the overall topics or themes of a text as well as its upshot or gist.” Van Dijk (*Ibid.* p. 13) explains that the reader is able “to derive the topic from a sequence of sentences” because of the scripts or the reader’s previous knowledge of the world. For that reason “macrostructures and cognitive operations in which they are used are crucial in news production process by reporters and editors and for comprehension, storage, memorization, and later reproduction by media users” (*Ibid.* p. 14).

From these sixteen articles and their macrostructures or topics we can see that the frame for the story about Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 was made immediately – during the first day of reporting the news. During the second day of reporting the news, the frame was supported and confirmed by other news reports. We can see that the same “upshot or gist” is appearing again and again in almost all articles: Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth defected and betrayed their team and their country because of money. The language in the headlines and leads is direct and evaluative, giving direction to the readers on how to read the rest of the story and how to understand what the actors in the news story are doing and why. The newspapers quickly introduce the identification of the sporting team “Team New Zealand” with the country of New Zealand. In editorials – “the formulation place for newspapers ideologies” (van Dijk 1989, p 252) – a direct statement of Coutts’ betrayal of country is introduced. As Trew (1979, p. 140) writes:

The editorials are clearly not discrete and self-contained meditations on the events – they are a continuation and expression of social processes in which the newspaper is engaged. The framework of interpretation and selection which characterizes the ideological position of a newspaper is more than a set of terms for report and comment – it involves the valuations of different sources, different connections and links with institutions, groups, campaigns, movements and so on.

The summaries of the articles emphasise that Coutts betrayed team mates and friends, abandoning the principles of mateship – one of the most important enduring aspects of

New Zealand tradition and culture. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the importance of sport as a social practice and the rise of a New Zealand national identity were closely linked. King (2003, p. 230-231) writes of this as a time of colonial experience which laid down “unspoken conventions of New Zealand male culture in the twentieth and twenty-first century.” As Phillips (1997, p. 27) states “to be a mate was to be invested with a certain expectation of loyalty and protection.” These cultural patterns emerge in the identified macropropositions or the topics of the analyzed articles as reminders to Coutts and to the readers that loyalty to the country and mateship should not be abandoned for big overseas money. For the readers these cultural patterns are links or “guided doing” (Goffman 1974, p. 23) that will result in a correct reading of the news story, a reading that matches the reader’s own social environment.

I will now analyze all sixteen articles, looking for the vocabulary that supported the extracted macrostructures, themes or topics. I look at all the semantic devices – phrases, metaphors, allegories, symbols, mythological signs or words, etc. – used in the articles to establish and justify the extracted macrostructures. These semantic devices are “lexical context” (Le 2002) of the macrostructures of these sixteen articles. On that lexical context (hereafter Lexical Context) the newspapers gradually built the frame for this news story. (This analysis is not investigating how the newspapers framed Brad Butterworth’s role in the America’s Cup 2003. The thesis investigates how the newspapers framed Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003.) By investigating the Lexical Context of the macrostructures, I want to achieve two goals. The first is to identify the Lexical Context for the identified macrostructures (Table 1). The Lexical Context will give the semantic background of the macrostructures of the analyzed reports numbered 1-16. The Lexical Context as the semantic background is a semantic environment that gives rise to the upshot or gist of the analyzed reports. At the same time the Lexical Context gives the reader links (scripts, schemata) to the wider social environment. Through these links the reader is able to connect the newspapers reports and their macrostructure to the particular social context of New Zealand. In this way the Lexical Context gives the semantic environment of the news text and the social context of New Zealand. The Lexical Context also “provides” a set of the key words (hereafter Key Words) used by newspaper reporters to make the

frame of Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. Further analysis will reveal that the newspapers, at the beginning of the reporting, described Coutts and Butterworth's "defection" or "betrayal" as a double act, a dual or collective decision, but then quickly turned their attention to Coutts as the leader and therefore the person solely responsible for the "defection".

Table 2 Lexical Context for the macrostructures in the sixteen articles

1	Russell Coutts, traitor, sell-out, jumped ship, they've taken the secret of success and done a runner, "Team New Zealand", lots of cash, millions, New Zealand, one of most traitorous moves, Coutts' arrogance is widely known, patriotic, New Zealanders, America's Cup, the country, favourites for the Order of Whatever The Government Calls A Knighthood These Days, true New Zealanders, faithful to the cause and country, we don't need Butterworth or Coutts, ignore Butterworth and Coutts, goodbye and good riddance.
2	Russell Coutts, betrayed, heroes, zeros, "Team New Zealand", multimillion-dollar, billionaire, New Zealand, shock, anger, defection, money, stunned, disappointment, walked-out, ignored pleas from team leader to stay, they bailed out without saying a word, urged crew to hang in and were first to jump ship, refused to elaborate, bombshell, Sir Peter Blake disappointed, Barker disappointed, fortnight ago Coutts laughed of the rumour that he had been offered \$US8 million.
3	Russell Coutts, defection, more team members to go, "Team New Zealand", America's Cup, millions, billionaire, Government, New Zealand, disappointed, New Zealanders.
4	Russell Coutts, heroes jump ship, America's Cup, heroes turned their backs on New Zealand, millions, "Team New Zealand", big overseas offers, the Government, very concerned.
5	Russell Coutts, resignations, crew 'not likely to jump ship', "Team New Zealand", America's Cup, New Zealand, lucrative offers, new head of the team does not feel betrayed, disappointed, most regrettable, loyalty of new head and new skipper: they will sail for the country and they turned down substantial overseas offers.
6	Russell Coutts, so much unsaid, America's Cup, heroes sail away, grimly, slide in like an afterthought, the first time not dressed in "Team New Zealand" colours, soberly kitted out, hurriedly knotted tie, regret, sadness, staggered, bailed out, the whole country's been behind you, helpless shrug, (new head of the team) did not see it as betrayal, sense of betrayal heavy in the air, New Zealand flag fluttered more limply than before, shame, "Team New Zealand", New Zealanders, New Zealand, the country, big-buck offers, disbelief, money behind the split, greed, loyalty, devastated, stunned.

7	Russell Coutts, quit team for multimillion dollar contract, heroes, ignoring pleas to stay, other members would go, trying to resurrect team, shocked and angered by defection, stunned, betrayed, “Team New Zealand”, billionaire, heroes, New Zealand, promising so much – now they’ve bailed out, not secret they were unhappy, money, disappointed, emergency meeting, Coutts and Butterworth urged crew to “hang in” but were first to jump ship, big money from overseas, bombshell, the Government concerned, Sir Peter really disappointed, fortnight ago Coutts laughed of rumour he had been offered \$US8 million.
8	Russell Coutts, team New Zealand, ship went down, only printable swear word for sponsors and supporters was “bugger”, defection of two leaders makes a mockery, more people may decamp, worry, chill should run down the spines of those who endorsed Coutts’ prediction, open foreign chequebooks, target, the hearth of “Team New Zealand”, greenback rather than Swiss franc talking, billionaires, tensions simmering for years, New Zealanders, complexity and secrecy around companies that own Team and run the Cup, New Zealand, America’s Cup, chequebooks, million, Coutts out of the country, money, boat with a gaping hole in the hull.
9	Russell Coutts, New Zealanders applauding team work, Russell Coutts described public enthusiasm as crucial, Coutts broke nation’s heart, Coutts is jumping ship, every man has his price – for Coutts it was the millions dangled by billionaire, tensions were there before, bombshell, only Coutts conscience can answer, admiral and captain poached, hard cash against loyalty and national pride, earning ire of the nation, they would have done well financially by staying loyal, defection left our defence in the shambolic, Coutts triumvirate, public remain loyal, America’s Cup, “Team New Zealand”, nation, New Zealand, anger, money.
10	Russell Coutts, tycoon, billionaire, stole “Team New Zealand” leaders, serious yachtsman, America’s Cup, on world’s rich list, billions, company worth \$NZ11 billion, style similar to Coutts and Butterworth.
11	Russell Coutts, nation betrayed, massive feeling of betrayal experienced by New Zealanders, people supported America’s Cup campaigners, we reached deep into our hearts, cash from Government gone into quest, children dug into piggy banks to help, they told us their were doing it on behalf of all New Zealanders, they took the money and ran, they may have felt there were no more mountains to climb for their fellow countrymen, their departure to sail as mercenaries, bitter taste in many mouths, we are deeply disappointed.

12	Russell Coutts, “Team New Zealand” bleed, Swiss target three more, shock, defection, America’s Cup, cash-rich, departure despite Coutts’ commitment he would not raid team, commitment easily circumvented, team head and skipper left plugging holes, billionaire, critical week, stave off mega rich magnate, dog-eat-dog world, stunned the nation, New Zealand, nation may not be so forgiving, last year Coutts said he would create “Team New Zealand” Cup dynasty, many people will find it untenable, Barker regarded Coutts as mentor, Barker said he was naïve.
13	Russell Coutts, legend shocked, the nation lost a limb, shock departure, most Kiwis reaction – we had our arm chopped-off, shocked, disappointed, Kiwis will be angry at Coutts and Butterworth but that is not the right reaction, big money tempted, nationality issue lost, multi-million dollar wooing of Coutts and Butterworth, the only place for the Cup to be is in New Zealand, nation, New Zealand, Kiwis shocked, people will see it as setback, people shouldn’t see it as the end of the world.
14	Russell Coutts, yachting stars, kick their arse, the country reels, departure, pupil and teacher clashing, stunning departure, billionaire, everyone would be pro-New Zealand, Coutts and Butterworth jumped ship for huge multimillion-dollar contract, other reasons are behind the move, “Team New Zealand” regard these reasons as window-dressing, devastated, New Zealand, European team of international mercenaries, job for money, Butterworth and Coutts are mercenaries, mercenaries not in pejorative way, money, critical gaps in team, vultures hovering, annoyed when Coutts told him he considering Swiss offer, no point in browbeating.
15	Russell Coutts, departure, the biggest heroes, chance for “Team New Zealand” sailors, sailors not bitter with Coutts and Butterworth, key players departure badly kept secret, pretty shocked, shame – everyone had faith in those guys (Coutts and Butterworth), disappointed, defection, Team New Zealand had hung together, offers still around.
16	Russell Coutts, Coutts call – seeds of anxiety in gut, big offer from billionaire to leave “Team New Zealand”, awful lot of money, shocked, upset, anxious, support of New Zealand people, bombshell news, Coutts and Butterworth sever ties with the team which made them heroes, patriotism, adulation, elevation to near sainthood in the eyes of New Zealanders, being inextricably part of the community, strong sense of being a Kiwi, responsibility to the team, not feeling guilty, looking your neighbour in the eye, New Zealand, friend’s decision didn’t hurt, money, friendship will remain, angry that Coutts and Butterworth will take intellectual property to the Swiss, Coutts taking own ideas, unfounded worries that Coutts and Butterworth’s departure would see “Team New Zealand” turn to custard, stop haemorrhage of other sailors, minimise the damage, team not in disarray.

The Lexical Context of the sixteen articles (numbered 1-16 in Table 2) gives a closer look at the text's own lexical background of macrostructures. We can see that in each news report, the lexical background for the macrostructure reveals strong links, scripts (van Dijk 1985) or schemata (Graber 1988) to New Zealand society and also to its cultural environment. That gives us the possibility of taking another approach to reading these articles – by applying the theories discussed in Chapter Two. For example, the news report with the macrostructure: “Heroes betrayed nation” has much stronger echo if the reading ‘activates’ these ‘scripts’. For example, for the reader, the “scripts” or “schema” activate links to the social context of the news reports and help the reader understand the reports and the macrostructures as an integral part within the wider frame of New Zealand society. In Chapter Four I will expand on some aspects of these interactions to show how the newspapers made particular parts of the frame for reporting Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003.

In his analysis of Hemingway’s story “Cat in the Rain” Stubbs (1983, p. 200) quotes Lodge who writes that although “perfectly coherent and intelligible, the narrative structure itself did not satisfy the reader’s quest for meaning”:

This can be demonstrated by trying to make shorter and shorter summaries of the story. By the time you pare it down to, say, twenty-five words, you will find that in trying to preserve what is essential to the narrative... you have to discard what seems most essential to the meaning of the text as a whole.

Stubbs writes that summary or plot in the narrative “must be semantic concepts. This is so because two plot summaries could be equivalent and yet contain no sentences in common” (*Ibid.* p. 201). Stubbs further explains that “arguably, languages have a core vocabulary and a vocabulary of more peripheral items. Thus *cat* is a core words, whilst *kitty*, *pussy*, *feline* are non-core. Studying words used in summaries can provide one way of identifying this core vocabulary” (*Ibid.* p. 201-202). A similar method is used by Le (2002, p. 376) who identifies three semantic categories “that represent general semantic fields involved in the argumentation” – war, politics, and economics – in the whole

corpus of *Le Monde* editorials that consists of 20 articles with 9800 words in 477 sentences).

Following Stubbs and Le I will now analyze the Lexical Context of sixteen articles in order to find out which words inside it are the Key Words related to already identified macrostructures, themes or topics. For the purpose of this analysis I will construct a list of core words (hereafter Core Vocabulary) used in the sixteen articles. I use the following criteria to identify the Core Vocabulary. First, the word from the Lexical Context must relate to and identify the macrostructure from the article and its upshot or gist. Second, the word from the Lexical Context must relate and identify the direct reaction or consequence of the state or the action revealed in the macrostructure. For example, for the macrostructure “Coutts betrayed the nation” the word “defection” and the phrase “jumped ship” belong to the Core Vocabulary used to identify the macrostructure or the gist of the news article. Likewise, the word “anger”, and the phrase “broke a nation’s heart” will be also included in the Core Vocabulary because they identify a direct reaction or consequence of the action identified by the macrostructure. I will now group all the words from the Lexical Context (Table 2) into one basic list, which I call the Core Vocabulary (Table 3).

Further analysis of the Core Vocabulary reveals the possibility of another, shorter, list of words, the words routinely used and consistently repeated in the sixteen articles. I define these words as the Key Words because all words from the Core Vocabulary are associated with them either as variations, synonyms and partial synonyms, or through phrases or idioms. Table 3 shows the Key Words in the left column and the Core Vocabulary in the right column. Table 3 also shows that the entire Core Vocabulary is actually a new semantic background for only five Key Words: Russell Coutts, America’s Cup, Traitor, Money and New Zealand. The richest Core Vocabulary is behind the Key Words Traitor, Money and Russell Coutts, which also reveals the newspapers focus in framing Russell Coutts’ role.

Table 3 The Key Words and Core Vocabulary from the Lexical Context

Key Words	Core Vocabulary
Russell Coutts	hero, America’s Cup hero, America’s Cup skipper, skipper and supposedly No 1 man in the 2003 defence, experienced sailor, played major role in New Zealand America’s Cup success, admiral, team head, syndicate head, legend, “Team New Zealand” leader, helmsman of the yachts that won and defended the Cup, mentor, yachting star, teacher, leader, key player, Coutts’ arrogance, too important, Black Boat biggest hero.
America’s Cup	the quest for that wonderful Auld Mug, the Cup, supreme prize, the dog-eat-dog world of the America’s Cup, the event, the campaign.
Traitor	traitor, sell out, betrayed, jumped ship, done runner, the dashing duo, most traitorous, defection, walked out, ignored pleas, bailed out, turned their back on New Zealand, resignation, sail away, greed, decamp, broke nation’s heart, mercenaries, cash against loyalty and national pride, commitment circumvented, shame, devastated, mockery, departure, shock, anger, stunned the nation, disappointment, bombshell, regrettable, sadness, staggered, disbelief, every man has his price, bitter taste, ire of the nation, shambolic, left plugging holes, took money and ran, untenable, nation lost limb, our arm chopped off, kick their arse, country reels, annoyed, upset, anxious, sever ties with the team, haemorrhage, worry.
Money	millions of the little blighters, lots of cash, millions, zeros, multimillion dollars, billionaire, money, overseas offers, lucrative offers, big-buck offers, big money, foreign chequebooks, greenback, Swiss franc, hard cash, poached, done well financially, tycoon, world’s rich list, piggy banks, cash-rich, mega rich magnate, big offer, awful lot of money.
New Zealand	“Team New Zealand”, New Zealand, New Zealanders, we, the country, the Government, the team, the people, loyalty, the nation, national pride, our defence, children, us, countrymen, Kiwis, nationality, patriotism.

We can see that after the first two days of reporting, the selection of the Key Words had already been done. For example, the word “resignation” and “walkout” as a description of Russell Coutts’ decision to leave “Team New Zealand” was used on 20 May 2000 by the *Dominion* (Article 5) and by *The New Zealand Herald* (Article 7). The words “resignation” and “walkout” were later replaced in the newspapers by word “defection”. The words “defection” and “defector” (a near synonym for apostate, deserter, recreant, renegade, and traitor) were later used regularly by the newspapers. The words “defection” and “defector”, which newspapers consistently repeated in their articles during 20 and 21 May 2000, were also repeated three years later in reports on the America’s Cup 2003. But apparently even the word “defection” was not evaluative enough, and the newspapers quickly introduced the Key Word “traitor” (in Article 1 it was repeated twice; also the verb “betray” and noun “betrayal” were introduced in Articles 2, 5, 6, 7, and 11).

The specific words journalists use to evaluate the actions of news actors are always related to cultural contexts and to the shared knowledge of the newspapers’ readers. It is the intention of the news media to “construct readers” (Fowler 1991, p. 232), readers who are comfortable with the ideological position of the newspaper. Journalists frequently use the same adjectives (negative or positive) to describe news actors’ behaviour. By doing that continuously, while reporting the same event, journalists can frame the news story in specific way. In the case of the newspapers analyzed here, there is a frequent and routine use of the same Key Words throughout the three-year period. This use is persistent, repetitive and routine. It constructs the crucial part of the news frame that will guide readers’ understanding and lead them to a conclusion that supports the paper’s ideological stance. By use of juxtaposition of words like “defection” and “New Zealand”, or “defection” and “Russell Coutts”, or “betrayed” and “the country”, or “heroes” and “zeros”, newspapers were actually helping readers to form an opinion based on a moral choice.

Table 3 lists the five Key Words the newspapers used to frame this news story. All Key Words used by the newspapers are further emphasized by the Core Vocabulary and by

the Lexical Context. The Core Vocabulary and the Lexical Context bear connotative (Barthes 1972, 1988) meanings linked to the five Key Words. In the final stage (Table 4) we have only five Key Words: Russell Coutts, Traitor, America’s Cup, New Zealand, and Money. These Key Words, as the crucial semantic categories, were used regularly and consistently by the analyzed newspapers in framing the role of Russell Coutts in the America’s Cup 2003.

Table 4 Key Words used by the analyzed newspapers

Key Words Used
Russell Coutts
Traitor
Money
America’s Cup
New Zealand

These five Key Words – and either variations of them, in terms of synonyms and partial synonyms, or phrases or idioms – appear routinely and regularly after the first day of reporting this news in all analyzed newspapers. This applies not only to the articles published in the analyzed newspapers in 2000 but also to the articles related to the America’s Cup published three years later in 2003 in other New Zealand newspapers. A good example is the label “Russ versus Us” that appeared in *Waikato Times* (Laidlaw 2003) with an explanation that “there remains a strong feeling of resentment at being betrayed by those who sold their services to an opponent. And to some extent that is well grounded.” That handy label is then repeated on 25 January 2003 in *The Press*’ the headline “Game on: it’s now Team Russ vs Us” (Coffey 2003c). The same phrase appears again in the *Dominion Post* on March 3, 2003, in a 392 word-long article headlined “Highs, Lows” as a reminder of the events from the Cup: “‘It’s Russ versus Us’ wrote Chris Laidlaw.” The same article then quotes a “Team New Zealand” member: “If you’re going to work for another team, take ideas, or spy for another team you’re a traitor.”

Three years later, newspaper editorials routinely repeated the word “defector.” The *New Zealand Herald*, in the editorial published on 7 January 2003 under the headline

“Patriotism taken too far”, writes about Coutts and Butterworth who defected and “must surely have reckoned on a backlash” experiencing “popular distaste” and “pariah status.” The editorial concludes: “The pair were within their rights to sail for a foreign syndicate but must live with the fact that they were bound to be seen as unpatriotic.” The same approach is demonstrated by the *Dominion Post*. In an editorial published on 7 January 2003, headlined “The ugly face of the America’s Cup”, Coutts is warned that “by taking more money and competing against Team New Zealand, he has within his capable hands the ability to hurt what many of his countrymen believe are the best interests of New Zealand.” Therefore, concludes the editorial, the letters that threatened Coutts’ family are “deplorable, but, sadly, predictable.”

Another article in the *Dominion Post* published on 21 January 2003 under the headline “Hey, it’s our party and we’ll cry foul if we want to” (Johns 2003) reminds readers of the “traitor word” in this way:

Fans of Russell Coutts and his mates hate the traitor word. Professional sailors, they call them. Why shouldn’t they make money while they can? That line misses the point completely, particularly from a sports perspective. Jonah Lomu is a professional sportsman, and good on him for making the bucks he does. He’s likely to head to Europe to play after this year’s World Cup, but you won’t ever see him running out in a Wallabies jersey (more’s the pity, some would say).

Even in pieces not directly related to the America’s Cup, the Key Word traitor appears three years later. For example, on 28 February 2003, under the headline “Profanity, morality – you name it, King does it well”, the *Dominion Post* (Napp 2003) reports on comedian Mike King’s national tour:

He met Russell Coutts in the loo at a restaurant, asked him to pretend to be his friend – and he hasn’t got any these days – when he comes out, to impress his wife. Coutts agrees, comes over to King’s table, says, hi, can I buy you a beer. Answer: “F off, you bloody traitor.

Although in the letters to the editor, as in the *New Zealand Herald* (“Loyal to the best – NZ”, 20 February 2003), there is still a place for expressing feelings about Coutts: “Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth are nothing but traitors,” or “Dean Barker has achieved immortality ... Russell Coutts, infamy.”

It is important to add that the same Key Words – identified in the first part of the analysis – were also routinely and regularly used in the articles supplied by the New Zealand Press Association to all New Zealand newspapers. From the first day of reporting about the America’s Cup 2003, all newspapers across the country were continuously supplied with articles by the New Zealand Press Association not only with the information on the event but also with ready-made opinions on it. In addition, following Trew (1979, p. 142), we could conclude that this way of framing the news led to the further affirmation and support of a “combination of linguistic uniformity and variation” that helps readers to quickly recognise patterns already established through the same news frame. As Halliday (1978, p. 189) writes we can communicate in new situations because we have “access to the semiotic structure of the situation from other sources”:

The linguistic system is organized in such a way that the social context is predictive of the text. This is what makes it possible for a member to make the necessary predictions about meanings that are being exchanged in any situation which he encounters. If we drop in on a gathering, we are able to tune in very quickly, because we size up the field, tenor and mode of the situation and at once form an idea of what is likely to be being meant.

In my case study of the text of specific newspaper reports, together with the Core Vocabulary and the Lexical Context, this familiarity with the social context through the text was further supported and developed with the use and the repetition of the same Key Words in these newspapers and in the articles supplied by the NZPA.

To check the importance of the Key Words used in the newspaper articles, I related all of them to the first rule of the news making – the rule of “5 Ws + H”:

A news story is supposed to answer the questions ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘when’, ‘where’, and ‘why’ about its subject. To understand news as culture, however, requires

asking what categories of person count as a 'who', what kinds of things pass for facts or 'whats', what geography and sense of time is inscribed as 'where' and 'when,' and what counts as an explanation of 'why' (Schudson 2003, p.190).

By using the same set of the Key Words, the newspapers covered all of the "W" questions on the level of symbolic meanings, and also on the level of journalism practice. The newspapers identified the key players in the story, their motives, their decisions, their actions, and the consequences of the actions. Coutts, his act of betrayal, and money he got for that, the America's Cup and the campaign in 2003 and why New Zealand suffered as the result of the betrayal – is all covered by answers to the "5 Ws + H". By using only the five Key Words and consistently repeating them – or their variations, synonyms and partial synonyms, or associated phrases or idioms – the newspapers kept the communication with their readers simple and efficient. As Schudson (*Ibid.* p. 190) – drawing on Carrey – explains "news incorporates certain modes of explanation and rejects or makes subsidiary others. For most news, the primary mode of explanation is 'motives.' Acts have agents, agents have intentions, and intentions explain acts."

The five Key Words – Coutts, Traitor, Money, America's Cup and New Zealand – provide the frame for the news story on Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. All other information regarding Russell Coutts and the America's Cup 2003 were later fitted inside this frame. The same cycle of the questions and answers emerges out of the constant and routine use and repetition of these five Key Words. Within this frame, the writing in the analyzed newspapers is linear and familiar: from the Cup, through the money to the betrayal, with the name of the traitor and the country which is betrayed. All that the news story needs is offered instantly and clearly – the actors, their reasons and the consequences (Keeble 2005; Stovall 2005).

By routinely and consistently repeating the Key Words, the newspapers give readers a specific set of indicators or markers they can use to organize their understanding of the news that Russell Coutts left Team New Zealand and signed a contract with the rival syndicate. These Key Words have the function of van Dijk's "clusters, so-called scripts"

(van Dijk 1988). As Shibutani (1966, p.21) writes, communication and communication channels “consist of shared understandings concerning who may address whom, about what subject, under what circumstances, with what degree of confidence.”

Readers who are given a set of the Key Words inside a news story are more likely to memorize these Key Words and recognize them as ready-made guidelines or boundary-markers of the news story. By framing the news story in this way, newspapers enable the readers to feel more secure and more confident about their understanding of the news story. At the same time the Key Words provide a foundation for understanding and organizing the news in tomorrow’s paper. Used in this way, the Key Words become not only a “framing mechanism” (Tankard, quoted in Cartee 2005, p. 101), but the link or chain connecting and holding together an entire news story from beginning to end. One could say that the Key Words make life easier, not only for journalists but also for newspaper readers. The actors of the news are not considered in this summation.

The importance of the Key Words can be also seen from their frequent use. Appendix II shows word frequency in all sixteen articles, after the full texts of the articles were run through the computer program Hermetic Word Frequency Counter. Appendix III shows word frequency where only the headlines and the leads of the articles were run through this program. As the ranking lists show, variations, synonyms and partial synonyms, and phrases or idioms which could be substitutes for the Key Words also appear in the results. These results support what the first part of the analysis found. For example, in the headlines of the sixteen articles, the most frequent words are Coutts, Zealand, and Russell. The word America is ranked as fifth most frequent, and the word nation as sixteenth. The frequency of variations is also significant: for example billionaire is ranked tenth most frequent word in the headlines and the leads of the sixteen articles; however, million is ranked 26th and multimillion-dollar 51st. This shows that the Key Words frequently appear in the newspaper articles as variations, synonyms, partial synonyms, or in phrases or idioms. Similar results were given when full texts of the sixteen articles were run through this program. Because content analysis is not the primary method of analysis used for this study, I give these results in Appendix II and

Appendix III simply as additional support for this part of my analysis. Further analysis of word frequency would be needed in order to have a complete picture of word frequency use in these sixteen articles.

CHAPTER FOUR

Textual Analysis II: Fitting the Frame

4.1 The Lead: Entering the Story

I will now analyze the arguments the newspapers used to support the frame established at the beginning of the reporting the news that Russell Coutts had signed a contract with “Alinghi.” The arguments used by the newspapers were presented to readers through the journalistic techniques used in news writing and reporting. The techniques differ according to whether the task is writing editorials or feature writing or reporting news. What unified the reporting across all newspapers was the news frame that was established by routinely and consistently using a set of Key Words. The analyzed newspapers did not only use these Key Words as a simple mechanical device to keep the “framing mechanism” running, but also as an integral part of other journalistic techniques in news writing.

On the first day of reporting the news – May 20, 2000 – the *Dominion* (Brocket 2000) published an article under the headline “America’s Cup Heroes Jump Ship”. The story opens with this leading sentence:

America’s Cup heroes Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have turned their backs on New Zealand for overseas contracts said to be worth between \$5 million and \$10 million.

In just one sentence, the first in the article, we have all crucial information about Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003. This sentence includes all the Key Words which

are going to be consistently repeated in stories about Russell Coutts during the rest of 2000 and through into 2003. The quoted sentence informs readers that the news is about *America's Cup heroes* ("Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth") who *turned their back on* ("rejected", "betrayed", "defected") *their own country* ("New Zealand") *for foreigners* ("overseas contract"), and they did it only for one reason – *because of money* ("between 5 and 10 million New Zealand dollars").

Answering the question "what constitutes the minimal, well-formed, modern news text?" Bell (1991, p. 174) writes: "The answer is straightforward: a one-sentence story." As Trew (1979, p. 136) writes in similar statements: "Coming all at once in one short text they are almost like an incantation and have a kind of axiomatic, tautological effect that forecloses all discussions."

The story frame now makes a direct link between New Zealand as a country/nation and disloyalty ("defection", "betrayal") to the country/nation by Russell Coutts. The headline informs readers that "the heroes" did something that heroes are not supposed to do – they jumped ship. Instead of staying loyal and competing for "Team New Zealand", "the heroes" (Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth) signed a contract to compete for another ("overseas") team. But the newspaper is not only giving that information to the readers. It is telling the readership that "the heroes" actually "turned their back on New Zealand". By so doing, the *Dominion*, in the first sentence of the first article which reported the news, established a firm identification between "Team New Zealand" the sporting team and New Zealand as a country/nation.

I will show in further analysis that all analyzed newspapers consistently did the same: they identified "Team New Zealand" the sporting team with New Zealand as a country or a nation. By making this identification, the newspapers created a new context in which they reported, analyzed and commented on Russell Coutts' decision to leave "Team New Zealand" and compete in the rival team. This technique constructs a new reality in which the sporting team "Team New Zealand" is identified with New Zealand as a country and as a nation. Consequently, any member of "Team New Zealand" who leaves the Team,

leaves the Country/Nation at the same time. In this new context, Coutts' decision becomes an act of disloyalty to country and nation. My analysis will show how some of the newspaper articles stretched this chain of identification from "Team New Zealand" to New Zealand further and presented the act of signing a professional sporting contract with rival team as the act of betrayal of the country.

In the case of the *Evening Post*, the framing of this news story was also done on the first day of reporting and in the first sentence of the first article. On the page one, under the headline: "Sail of the century becomes a sell-out" (Morrison 2000) the lead opens with these sentences:

Traitor is a hard word, but if the sailing cap fits...

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have jumped ship. They've taken their skills and their inside knowledge of Team New Zealand's secret of success, and done a runner. Pausing only to hold a brief press conference, at which Butterworth said nothing and Coutts didn't even attend, the dashing duo are heading to Europe.

The reason? Reports say cash. Lots of cash. Swiss francs, probably. Millions of the little blighters. If true, this must rank as one of the most traitorous moves in New Zealand sporting history.

Coutts' arrogance is widely known – although ignored by a New Zealand media which fell in love with him during the recent victories in the Hauraki Gulf, where television and newspaper coverage was too patriotic and shallow – and his non-appearance yesterday wasn't a surprise. He didn't bother turning up at the press conference after the first final race, either. He was too important.

Here the *Evening Post* goes even further than the *Dominion*. The *Dominion* characterized Russell Coutts' and Brad Butterworth's decision to compete for a team other than Team New Zealand as their decision to "turn their back on New Zealand". The *Evening Post* chooses the word "traitor". The *Evening Post* did not write that the "heroes" are traitors; instead the newspaper chose to use a rhetorical device – at the same time as it uses the word traitor, it distances itself from it by

giving readers the impression that whether or not Coutts is a traitor is for them to decide. “Traitor is a hard word, but if...” By spreading suspicion with the ‘if-true’ way of reasoning, the newspaper is following what American journalist Joseph Kraft (quoted in Johnson-Cartee 2005, p. 276) recognized as the assumption that “behind every story there is a secret, and behind every secret there is a dirty secret.”

The search for the “if”, or proof of betrayal, continues in the following sentences, which answer the “Five W” questions. What did Coutts and Butterworth do? They “have *jumped ship*.” (They are not with us any more!) We might ask: why is that wrong? The answer is: “they” have taken “*inside knowledge* of Team New Zealand.” Because it is “*inside knowledge*”, it is not supposed to belong to anyone other than “Team New Zealand.” Moreover, that knowledge is not any ordinary knowledge: it is “Team New Zealand’s *secret* of success.”

Rowe (2001, p. 111) writes that sports news follows the rules of media text and the rules of news values.

These include ‘personification’ (the reduction of large-scale, perhaps abstract events to the action and motives of recognizable people); ‘elite status’ (the use of celebrity and, when it is not present, connections made to it); ‘consonance’ (the events and their treatment are easily fitted into reader’s everyday framework and expectations when confronting a sport news story); and ‘negativity’ (the established media wisdom that, on balance, bad news is more newsworthy than good...).

Rowe (*Ibid.* p. 111) argues that when these rules are transformed into news values, even “the most brief, formulaic and modest print media sport text” is capable of reaching a wide spectrum beyond itself, including the ability to draw other issues or myths into this spectrum. In the case I analyze, we have a simple circle of truth: two people were part of a team; those two people knew the team’s secret, and sold that secret to the opposing team. Then, the secret was used against their own country. This theme – “against their own country” was repeatedly used in writing in the analyzed newspapers. (For example see Boland 2003, “Sir Michael to wear red socks for Team NZ”, *Dominion Post*, 15

February; or editorial: “Let’s keep spirit of the Cup alive”, *New Zealand Herald*, 3 March 2003.)

How wrongful this act was we can see from the next sentence of the same article, which informs us about Coutts’ and Butterworth’s wrongdoing. Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth are labelled in this same sentence as “the dashing duo” who are “heading to Europe”.

Why they did they do all these bad things? The answer is in the next sentences: “The Reason? Reports say cash. Lots of cash. Swiss francs, probably. Millions of the little blighters.” The answer is so simple – they did it because of money. What is the story telling us? The answer to this question comes in the next sentence: “If true, this must rank as one of the most traitorous moves in New Zealand sporting history.” Again we see how the newspaper rhetorically distances itself with “if true”. Here we have an implicit evaluation of an action (Coutts’ and Butterworth’s). As van Dijk (1988, p. 13) writes in his analysis of the news, “negative evaluations are usually more subtle and indirect”:

A key property of discourse semantics is implicitness. Only part of the information must be expressed in the text itself. Writers can leave most inferences to the reader. ... [T]his means that negative implications or associations need not be expressed. In fact, in many cases such implications are not directly obvious to an uncritical reader (*Ibid.* p. 193).

In this case, the *Evening Post* made a direct connection between a treachery and two persons who, for money, took the team’s secret, and ‘did runner’ by ‘jumping the ship’. Then the newspaper uses the word ‘traitor’ for the second time in its lead, this time proclaiming the possibility that the act of Coutts and Butterworth could be “one of the most traitorous moves in New Zealand sporting history.” The article then explains Coutts’ and Butterworth’s act of “jumping the ship” in the context of the whole history of New Zealand sport. The choice to invoke this aspect of New Zealand history is a deliberate one: as I discussed in Chapter One, sport and sports history is one of the focal points of national imagining in New Zealand.

The next sentence of this article switches the focus from the two team members to only one of them: Russell Coutts. Following the statement that Russell “Coutts’ arrogance is widely known”, the article reminds that his arrogance was “ignored by a New Zealand media”. As a result of Coutts’ involvement in “recent victories”, New Zealand media “fell in love with him” and became “too patriotic and shallow.” Here the *Evening Post* is introducing another important part of this news story. By focusing only on Russell Coutts and his character (“arrogance widely known”) the newspaper is offering the discovery of the main force behind (“if true”) “one of the most traitorous moves in New Zealand sporting history.”

During the America’s Cup 2003, together with Coutts six other members of “Team New Zealand” left the team and signed new contracts with “Alinghi”. Some members of “Team New Zealand” signed new contracts with other syndicates involved in the America’s Cup 2003. Nevertheless, all analyzed newspapers consistently focused on one name – Russell Coutts. By doing so, the newspapers simplified and personified the explanation of the reasons of the split inside “Team New Zealand.” It is not only introduction of personalization as one of the most important news values (Galtung & Ruge 1999). Fowler (1991, p. 16) writes that “the obsession with persons, and the media’s use of them as symbols, avoids serious discussion and explanation of underlying social and economic factors.” Thus the newspapers in the case study avoid discussion of underlying problems by personalising the problems and the news. As Fowler (*Ibid.*) argues it is clear that personalisation is a creative aspect of ideology.

At the end of this article, the newspaper refers readers to another article in the same issue: “See Heroes page 51”. That article has the headline “Heroes lured by zeros” (NZPA, 2000a) and opens with these sentences:

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have quit Team New Zealand for multimillion-dollar yachting contracts with a Swiss billionaire.

The two America’s Cup heroes, who were to have led New Zealand in the 2003 defence, walked out yesterday, reportedly ignoring pleas from the remaining New Zealand syndicate leader, Tom Schnackenberg, for them to stay.

Schnackenberg also tried and failed to convince Swiss-Italian pharmaceutical billionaire Ernesto Bertarelli not to lure Coutts and Butterworth away.

And more may follow. Former syndicate leader Sir Peter Blake said from England last night that three other team members would go with Coutts and Butterworth.

Team NZ were yesterday trying to resurrect a team shocked and angered by the defections.

One of the crew said the remaining team members had felt “stunned and betrayed” when they gathered at an emergency meeting yesterday.

In this article we have again all the Key Words and the crucial information given in the headline and the lead. The headline says that “heroes” could not resist money (“zeros”). The word play with the rhyming of the words “hero” and “zero” is implicit but clear: could a real hero be tempted by money? Are they the same: “heroes” and “zeros”? Rhyme and juxtaposition is used here to emphasise the heroes’ wrongdoing, their betrayal.

In the second sentence the newspaper offers additional information about the “heroes”: they “walked out yesterday, reportedly ignoring pleas...for them to stay.” Here we have another revelation of the character of the “heroes”: they ignored pleas from their team mate and “remaining team leader.” The following sentences tell us that Coutts and Butterworth will damage “Team New Zealand” even further because “three other team members would go” with them. Finally, we have a clear reaction from the rest of the team: they are shocked, angered; they felt stunned and betrayed.

This article, published in the *Evening Post*, is also one of the previously mentioned examples supplied by the NZPA to all New Zealand newspapers. That is why this article is incorporated as the first part of another article and published the same day – 20 May 2000 – in the *New Zealand Herald*. This time, the article’s headline is “Crisis at Team NZ after walkout” (McFadden 2000a). Thus the *New Zealand Herald* changes the headline but keeps the same lead for the news story, which means that the structure of the

news story is the same as in the previously analyzed articles in the *Dominion* and *Evening Post*.

The *New Zealand Herald* also published on 20 May 2000 a report from the press conference held by Brad Butterworth. (Calder 2000, “So much unsaid as Cup heroes sail away”) The *New Zealand Herald* reports what was “unsaid” by describing atmosphere at the press conference: a seated Brad Butterworth “faced the press grimly”, having “sidled in like an afterthought, at first inconspicuous among the suits of commodores and trustees”. For the first time “anyone could remember” he was not in the uniform of “Team New Zealand” but “soberly kitted out in a dark suit and a rather hurriedly knotted silver tie.” He read the statement “head-down, in a monotone, stumbling slightly over the words”, and when asked the questions “Butterworth spread his hands in a helpless shrug and kept his own counsel.”

Describing the reaction to the news, the *New Zealand Herald* (*Ibid.*) writes:

No one wanted to use the B-word, but the sense of betrayal was heavy in the air. Onward and upward, the men in suits were saying. The cameras swivelled towards them and Butterworth – who had had the courage to front and the grit to stay seated after he had said his piece – stole furtive glances round the room. Outside, the New Zealand flag, raised high on the Harbour Bridge at the height of the cup defence, fluttered in the evening breeze. But it was hard to escape the impression that it did so heavily, a little more limply than before.

At the end of the report the *New Zealand Herald* describes how “Aucklanders greeted the news with disbelief”, explaining that they were “devastated” or “stunned” because of the lack of “loyalty”, expressing their disappointment because “key men” were lost, and believing that “money” and “greed” were the reasons for the split. This report again uses the same Key Words: betrayal (“Traitor”), Money, Country, Coutts and the Cup. As Billig (1995) writes, banal nationalism could make a national flag hanging on public place without being noticed. But this report identifies signs and symbols the national flag sends – fluttering a little more limply than before – to the New Zealand public. Isn’t that a strong enough sign to the readers that this is a day of shame for the nation?

The fourth newspaper, the *Sunday Star-Times*, published its coverage of the same event on the day after the main news broke. The main news had already been delivered to the readers by the other dailies the day before, and radio and TV also covered the news extensively. The *Sunday Star-Times* published on 21 May an editorial under the headline “A nation betrayed.” The editorial consists of 237 words in only eleven sentences and opens with this lead:

The massive feeling of betrayal experienced this weekend by thousands of New Zealanders should come as no surprise to Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth.

For years people have been asked to reach deep into their pockets to support our America’s Cup campaigners. During that time our association with their triumphs – and their disappointments – meant that we also reached deep into our hearts.

The article moves from “thousands” to “people” to “we”, eliding the difference, so that the whole nation is represented as experiencing these emotions. In the next three paragraphs (six sentences), the editorial explains that money (“cash”) was given by the Government and by other New Zealanders (“children as well as their parents dug deep into piggy banks”) to support “America’s Cup campaigners”. New Zealanders’ (“our”) support came because the people (“we”) believed that the “quest for that wonderful Auld Mug” was “on behalf of all New Zealanders.” In exchange, Coutts and Butterworth took “the money and [ran]” to “sail as mercenaries for a land-locked country.” The conclusion is that Coutts and Butterworth should not be surprised by “backlash they will experience” because what they did would leave deep disappointment and a “bitter taste in many mouths for months to come.”

The editorial headline at once evaluates Coutts’ and Butterworth’s decision to leave “Team New Zealand” as a betrayal of the nation. Thus the *Sunday Star-Times* immediately gives the main point and evaluation of the entire news story: Coutts and Butterworth betrayed New Zealand. Explaining the importance of the headline in the news story Bell (1991, p. 150) writes that “The headline is an abstract of the abstract. The lead pares the story back to its essential point, and the headline abstracts the lead itself.”

That is the reason why the statement about the “feeling of betrayal experienced this weekend by thousands of New Zealanders” in the lead is cut down to “A Nation Betrayed” in the headline.

To emphasize the distance from Coutts and Butterworth, the editorial underlines its own position as that of the whole country. In eleven sentences, the editorial repeats a variation of the personal pronoun “we” nine times. Mixing the first person plural – pronoun “we” – with words “nation”, “New Zealanders”, “people”, “countrymen”, the newspaper draw a clear dividing line between two opposite sides, those who felt betrayed (“New Zealanders” or “us”) and those (“mercenaries”) who betrayed the rest of the country. The function of this collective “we” is to address the nation while speaking for that nation, or as Fowler and Kress (1979, p. 204) put it: “[address] the group, ostensibly from inside the group”, and at the same time emphasizing that there is no difference between the members of the nation and between the nation and the newspaper (“coercively eliminating any potential antagonism between speaker and addressee” (*Ibid.*)).

The importance of constructing the headline and the lead in this way is directly connected to their positions inside the text. As van Dijk (1988, p. 189) writes “since headlines and leads are often the only information read or memorized, they play an important role in further information processing and possible effects of news.”

What is the characteristic that all these articles published on the first day of reporting the news that Russell Coutts left “Team New Zealand” share? This way of developing the story arises from two important rules of professional journalism. The first is connected with the structure of news as an inverted pyramid: the most important information must come first, and after that the journalist will give less important information. Explaining the analysis of news, van Dijk (1988, p. 12) emphasizes the rule of “local or sequential coherence”:

A simplified basic rule of coherence is that sentence A is coherent with sentence B, if A refers to a situation or an event that is a possible (probable, necessary) condition of the situation or an event referred to by B (or vice-

versa)...A text is coherent if it describes a possible sequence of events (acts, situations). Hence, coherence depends on our knowledge and beliefs about what is possible in the world (*Ibid.*).

This means that, together with the lexical meanings of the words, we need to know the particular cultural environment and have a knowledge of the people from the particular culture in order to analyze news text. Van Dijk writes that such knowledge is organised in “clusters, so-called scripts” (*Ibid.*). In any culture people share these scripts about daily events – from birthday parties to demonstrations. Van Dijk argues that the media rely heavily on such shared knowledge. As discussed previously, the same approach to news analysis is used by Graber (1988, p. 28) who also emphasizes that our knowledge is organized in specific schema or schemata.

For that reason the news lead is crucially important in framing the news story. The leading sentences give the information to the readers. In addition, the leading sentences also prepare the readers for the next (today’s or tomorrow’s) news that belongs to the same news story. While reading the next news story about the same event, the reader can recall the information and ready – made guidelines from the previous news. Graber (*Ibid.* p. 244-245) explains that “when people fail to learn or create appropriate schemata for a certain purpose of information, that information cannot be readily absorbed.” The leading sentences we analyze here provide the foundation on which the newspapers will later build up the rest of the coverage of the event.

The lead paragraph is a nucleus of evaluation, because the function of the lead is not merely to summarize the main action. The lead focuses the story in a particular direction. It forms the lens through which the remainder of the story is viewed. (Bell 1991, p. 152)

The lead answers the first question every news reader asks. “What is it that’s going on here?” is the same question Goffman (1974, p. 9) mentions while building the foundation for framing theory. With “background understanding” of the event provided, the newspaper gives meaning to the event. By doing this the newspaper is transforming the event into a controlled, “guided doing” (*Ibid.* p. 23). As Gitlin (1980, p. 275) writes once established the “dominant frames are taken for granted by media practitioners, and

reproduced and defended by them.” That “power of the media frame to identify the issue in the first place preserves for the framers an important power over the very terms of public life” (*Ibid.* p. 142).

Even when the newspapers mention other influences related to this news story, they are just noticed and not analyzed as an important part of the story. Previous conflicts inside “Team New Zealand” are not clearly presented, with the emphasis continuing to fall on the Coutts’ role in the split (see for example Gaynor 2003). Even while commenting on the influence of professionalism, the *Dominion Post* editorial “The brave new world of globalised sport”, published on 23 May 2000, refers to “accusations of betrayal and treachery”, “shock and anger”, and agrees that “the bitter feelings are understandable” and that it is hardly surprising that the public should regard Coutts and Butterworth’s “defection as traitorous – the more so because their motivation appears entirely mercenary.” Only in the last paragraph does the editorial remind us that international sport has been globalised, and as a consequence “loyalty which was once unquestionably owed to one’s home country is now a buyable commodity.” To indicate the newspaper’s opinion, this and other editorials label professional sportsmen like Coutts “mercenaries”. (See for example the editorial “Few loyal to footloose sports pros” published on 3 June 2000 in the *New Zealand Herald*. In its seven paragraphs, the editorial uses word mercenary five times.)

These techniques are not necessarily apparent to the person reading a story in a newspaper. This is because journalists take care not to overload the lead with too many details, keeping it as simple as possible. The media market is highly competitive and newspapers readers can be overwhelmed by news broadcasts 24 hours of the day. Journalists know that the newspapers readers will make selection of the news they are offered. Hughes (1981, p. 56) writes that “editors appreciate news solely for its immediate interest.” Graber (1988, p.249) found that people “process stories that seem interesting, simple to understand, and believable.” But selecting what news to read is not only selecting that newspapers readers do. They also select information within each particular story they decide to read. This perhaps explains why the newspapers presented

the news story of the Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003 in plain language, giving the most important information immediately, in the first few sentences. This is why the newspapers gave a simple description of the main actors, the reason for their actions, and the logical consequences of it in the lead of the article. As Gitlin (1980, p. 146) writes, personalisation is still "at the heart of news reporting" together with the routine of covering the event, not the condition or providing an explanation. "The power of the media frame to identify the issue in the first place preserves for the framers an important power over the very terms of public life" (Ibid, p. 142).

4. 2 Framing the Story and the Nation

The America's Cup 2003 was framed in New Zealand newspapers as an event of national importance. From the first day of reporting news on the Cup, the newspapers in this case study routinely and consistently identified "Team New Zealand" with New Zealand, the sports team with the whole country, the syndicate involved in the competition and the nation regarded as a single entity. "Team New Zealand's" position was different from that of other syndicates involved in the America's Cup 2003 because the New Zealand Government financially supported the Team. The newspapers reported that "Team New Zealand's" budget for the Cup 2003 was between NZ\$80 and 85 million. (Sanders 2003d, Gray 2003a), of which NZ\$5.9 to 8.6 million was allocated by the Government (Espiner 2003). The New Zealand Government's direct involvement in this competition could be seen as one of the factors that influenced the newspapers in deciding how to frame the whole event and particularly the position of "Team New Zealand" and its members. However, further analysis of these New Zealand newspapers would be necessary to investigate this thoroughly.

The *New Zealand Herald* (McFadden 2000) quoted New Zealand Sports Minister Trevor Mallard announcing that the Government would financially support "Team New Zealand": "Clearly we are concerned that we could lose more team members and that is why we've made the announcement now. I hope we can stem the flow." In the two

sentences that explain and identify the position of the Government as the country's representative and "Team New Zealand" as the Cup's competitor, the Minister uses the pronoun "we" four times. National "we" (Billig 1995) is now overshadowing the America's Cup 2003 as the sport event, "Team New Zealand", the Country and the Government, all bounded together. This bond was further strengthened by a statement from the highest level of the New Zealand Government. Explaining why the Government "should be financing a yacht race" New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark said that the America's Cup "has been beneficial to New Zealand. And if it's beneficial we tend to look for some way to be associated with it" ("Clark promises tax money for new cup bid", the *Dominion Post*, 4 March, 2003). Realpolitik, expressed through the Prime Minister's words (and action) is overriding all other principles. In his famous lecture given at the Sorbonne on March 11, 1882 Renan (1990, p.19) emphasizes that a nation is a soul, a spiritual principle: "A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is perpetual affirmation of life" (*Ibid.*). Renan argues that "a nation has no more right than a king does to say to a province: 'You belong to me, I am seizing you'" (*Ibid.*). A province is its inhabitants, says Renan, and the inhabitants of the province should be consulted in such affair.

One of the indicators that "Team New Zealand's" involvement in the America's Cup 2003 was seen as the matter of national importance was discussion about it in the New Zealand Parliament. (NZPA, 2000c) Among the campaigns launched in support of "Team New Zealand" was the campaign "Loyal" to counter Russell Coutts' "disloyalty". Throughout New Zealand, shops sold caps, T-shirts, flags, posters, badges and banners with the motto "Loyal". Moreover, as the *New Zealand Herald* reported in its article "*Off Course: The Warehouse loyal to China?*" published on 26 February 2003, being loyal extended even to the nationality of the manufacturer of the campaign's merchandise. For that reason Green Party Member of Parliament Mike Ward criticized the retailer "Warehouse" for offering "Loyal" flags manufactured in China and not in New Zealand.

Another campaign was organized under the name "BlackHeart" and constantly attacked Russell Coutts (and Brad Butterworth) for disloyalty to the country. This campaign was

supported by a number of prominent New Zealand personalities. The *New Zealand Herald* article “BlackHeart sailed off course”, published on 19 January 2003, reports that the supporters of the “BlackHeart” campaign were MP later Minister of the Foreign Affairs Winston Peters, ex-National Party President Michelle Boag, journalist and later chief of TV New Zealand news and current affairs Bill Ralston, broadcaster and journalist Murray Deaker, comedian Mike King, Dame Susan Devoy, business people and sport stars. This campaign, also targeting Russell Coutts, culminated with threatening letters sent to the “Alinghi” team. The letters, from the “Teach the Traitors a Lesson” group, consisted of phrases similar to those on “BlackHeart’s” website and threatened Coutts, Butterworth and their family members. Winston Peters, leader of the New Zealand First Party, and one of the prominent supporters of the “BlackHeart” campaign, claimed in Parliament that the letters “originated from within the [“Alinghi”] team itself” (Coffey 2003f). The *New Zealand Herald* (Wall 2003) reports on the threatening letters were in the same vein (“has heard claims that the letters were fakes”) without quoting the source of the news.

Even the Prime Minister of New Zealand had to discuss this threat. After the threatening letters were received, Ernesto Bertarelli, the owner of the “Alinghi” syndicate, wrote to the New Zealand Prime Minister asking her to intervene and protect his team (Alley 2003). The Prime Minister answered:

Ernesto Bertarelli would be a little naive if he thought he could come in, buy the top people from the (New Zealand) team and not have a little bit of ill feeling about it. Sure he writes to the prime minister, it’s a democracy, he got some sort of reply from the acting prime minister. Life went on. (NZPA, 2003)

The Government’s involvement in the America’s Cup 2003 was justified in terms of the economic benefit New Zealand got from the America’s Cup 2000. The America’s Cup 2000 made New Zealand a profit of NZ\$640 million. It was expected that in 2003 the economic benefit would be much higher and Auckland alone was expected to earn about NZ\$750 million (Coffey 2003g).

The newspapers present the defending the Cup again as directly linked to the country's wellbeing, economic growth and stability. The *Sunday Star-Times* quoted an expert – “Macquarie Equities” investment director Arthur Lim – who linked the possible loss of the Cup to a “negative effect on sharemarket” and raised the possibility that a negative result for Team New Zealand would “make investors nervous” (Stuart & Clarke 2003).

The link between the America's Cup 2003 and the New Zealand economy is frequently drawn in the analyzed newspapers. As a result, the articles about the America's Cup regularly appeared not only on the front pages and in the sport's section, but also in the business sections of newspapers. The *New Zealand Herald* (Roughan 2000) commented that the “Cup is an uncanny barometer of the national condition.” According to that newspaper “the America's Cup has bobbed like a buoy on the crests and troughs of economic confidence.” And after “defections of Captain Coutts and his first mate” came the result: “The dollar has taken a slide, business confidence has dropped and the spirit of Team New Zealand has taken a hammering” (*Ibid.*). The motto – “Russ against Us” – reappears as a handy phrase as the final stage of the America's Cup 2003 approached. (See for example Coffey 2003a; Coffey 2003b; Coffey 2003c; Gray 2003a; or article “BlackHeart sunk”, the *Sunday Star-Times*, 19 January 2003.)

Explaining the unavoidability of identifying the country with the Team, the *Dominion Post* writes that “strictly speaking, Team New Zealand (TNZ), or any of the cup hopefuls, are not national teams, they're syndicates, and business syndicates at that. But the size of this country means TNZ must be treated exactly like a national team” (Johns 2003a). The same approach was supported by the *New Zealand Herald*: “Team New Zealand is a national effort rather than a commercial syndicate, said the source” (Bingham & Gardiner 2003a).

This approach led to a black-and-white simplification of the entire news story about Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003. The newspapers present Coutts' decision to leave “Team New Zealand” as his decision against “Team New Zealand” and, consequently, against New Zealand the country. For example, in just four days the

Evening Post published two articles analyzing Coutts' and Butterworth's decision to leave "Team New Zealand", presenting it as a betrayal of the country. As discussed in detail above, the first article, published on 20 May 2000 has this lead:

Traitor is a hard word, but if the sailing cap fits . . .

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have jumped ship. They've taken their skills and their inside knowledge of Team New Zealand's secret of success, and done a runner. Pausing only to hold a brief press conference, at which Butterworth said nothing and Coutts didn't even attend, the dashing duo are heading to Europe.

The reason? Reports say cash. Lots of cash. Swiss francs, probably. Millions of the little blighters. If true, this must rank as one of the most traitorous moves in New Zealand sporting history (Morrison 2000).

Four days later, on 24 May 2000 the *Evening Post* published another article with this lead:

Traitor is a harsh word to describe yachties Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth, but it is justified. It's not so long ago hundreds of thousands of people were in the streets, applauding the America's Cup winning yachties in a parade.

One wonders what Coutts and Butterworth thought of that. Did they imagine the people were all actors employed in the latest public relations stunt arranged by the Team New Zealand spin doctors?

People went out to welcome the yachties because they identified with them as New Zealanders. We felt some reflected glory from the Team New Zealand win. (Bedford 2000a)

In just four days, the newspaper went from analyzing the possibility of betrayal ("if true") to stating that the description of Coutts and Butterworth as traitors is "justified". As discussed before, the newspaper articles constantly mixed the identities of the Team and the Country. The article would begin with a reference to "Team New Zealand" and, in the next sentence, or in the next paragraph, would use the country's name – New Zealand –

instead of “Team New Zealand.” The *New Zealand Herald*, for example, published on 20 May 2000 the article “Crisis at Team NZ after walkout” with this lead:

Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have quit Team New Zealand for multimillion-dollar contracts with a Swiss billionaire.

The two America’s Cup heroes, who were to have led New Zealand in the 2003 defence, walked out yesterday, ignoring pleas from the remaining NZ syndicate leader, Tom Schnackenberg, for them to stay (McFadden 2000a).

The same approach is used in New Zealand Press Association article published in the *Evening Post*” (NZPA 2000a) and also by the *Dominion*” (NZPA, 2000b). It is also used in an unattributed article published in the *New Zealand Herald* on 2 March 2003, under the headline: “New Zealand says goodbye to the Cup.”

This mixing of the team and the country produced a further simplification: the newspapers identify “Team New Zealand’s” supporters as the whole population. By applying this rationale, the newspapers gave the impression that the whole country reacted as one to the news that Russell Coutts left “Team New Zealand.” For example, the *Sunday Star-Times*, in an editorial headlined “A Nation Betrayed” (by Coutts and Butterworth) writes on 21 May 2000 about “the massive feeling of betrayal experienced this weekend by thousands of New Zealanders.”

The newspaper presents Russell Coutts’ decision to leave “Team New Zealand” as an act that directly affected the whole of New Zealand. And because of that, the nation – in the newspaper’s report – reacts in unison. In its editorial “More yachties where they came from”, the *New Zealand Herald* says “Yesterday, the same man broke a nation’s heart”, referring to Coutts’ decision of 20 May 2000 to leave his team.

Two days later, in its article “David leaves the team for Goliath” (Burgham 2000), the same newspaper again analyses Coutts’ decision to leave “Team New Zealand.” It concludes that the effects of that decision on “the mood and state of the nation” are very negative: “Canvassing opinion, three themes emerge – devastation, disappointment and depression”. In this article alone, journalist used the words “New Zealand”, “we”, “the

nation”, and “the country” as synonyms 51 times. In every one of the article’s fifteen paragraphs, one of these words is repeated an average of 3.4 times. Almost every fourteenth word, in the 710-word article, is “New Zealand” or one of its synonyms. Clearly this is a rhetorical effort to strengthen the synonymic links between these words. Or, as Fowler (1991, p.85) explains, it is a case of “over-lexicalization, which is the existence of an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture’s discourse.”

The newspaper reports about the country’s reaction are similarly written, giving the impression that the country reacted instinctively, as a living organism. “A string of mini shakes foreshadowed the Russell Coutts’ yachting earthquake which rocked a nation”, reports the *Sunday Star-Times* (Sanders 2000b). The newspaper reports that Coutts’ decision to leave Team New Zealand “shocked” and “stunned the nation.” These phrases are regularly used in all analyzed newspapers (see for example the editorial “Sailing into sunset “, the *Dominion*, 26 May 2000, or Sanders & Chisholm 2000a). All three newspapers – the *Dominion Post* (NZPA, 2003b, “Team NZ prepares to ward off poachers”), the *Press* (NZPA 2003a, “Plain to foil poachers”), and the *New Zealand Herald* (Tunnah 2003a, “Team NZ to fend off poaching raids”) – published on 18 January 2003 the same report supplied by the New Zealand Press Association claiming that “Coutts and Butterworth shocked New Zealanders when they left for the Swiss team Alinghi.” The newspapers also report that even the New Zealand Navy was behind “Team New Zealand.” The *New Zealand Herald* reports how “A huge Loyal flag has been flying from the mainmast of the Navy frigate Te Mana as it prepares to patrol the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Oman looking for terrorists” (“Off course”, the *New Zealand Herald*, 23 February 2003).

As the competition drew nearer, the newspapers continued reporting that the country was united in its response. But now that response was much intensified. After Team New Zealand lost the second race, the *Dominion Post* reported that “the nation could not mask its fears” (Gray 2003b). Informing readers about Team New Zealand’s withdrawal during the first race, the *Saturday Star-Times* refers to “a horrified nation” (Johnstone 2003a).

The nation is seen again as a living organism, able to feel horror when it senses that it is being harmed by one of its parts. Writing about the issues of morality and how a crowd feels when attacked from within its own ranks, Canetti (1984, p.23) outlines the position of an individual in similar situation:

Everyone belonging to such a crowd carries within him a small traitor who wants to eat, drink, make love and be left alone. As long as he does all this on the quiet and does not make too much fuss about it, the crowd allows him to proceed. But, as soon as he makes a noise about it, it starts to hate and to fear him. It knows then that he has been listening to the enticements of the enemy.

The nation as an active actor is constantly involved in the reports of the New Zealand newspapers. The newspapers explain that “Team New Zealand” itself “has become a national icon” (McFadenn 2000b), and because of that “New Zealand America’s Cup pioneer Sir Michael Fay feels the nation has lost a limb with the shock departure of Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth” (Sanders 2000a). According to the newspapers, the result was expected – Coutts knows that “the sentiment of his own nation will be against him” (“Coutts divided in his allegiances”, *The Press*, 22 January 2003; the same theme appears in Sanders & Chisholm 2000a). The end of the story is typical for all stories about a nation in turbulent times – there is someone who will proudly fight for it: “The black boat carrying a nation’s hopes will cruise into battle today painted with a discreet mark of respect and inspiration” (Bingham & Gamble 2003a).

4. 3 Framing the Story and Flirting with a Myth

In covering the America’s Cup 2003, the newspapers openly use myth, and the rhetoric and symbols of myth. They constantly refer to the mythical dimension of the event through the use of metaphor and comparison to holiness, heroism, divinity, Greek myths, and biblical stories. The analyzed newspapers use the America’s Cup 2003 as a bridge to connect one present event with the events from the (mythical) past, and – in the case of the possible victory – with a bright future. The America’s Cup appears in the analyzed

newspaper not only as an important sporting or yachting competition, but as an event with mythical power as well. Consequently the roles of the main competitors, the most famous yachting champions involved in the America's Cup 2003, are not only the roles of the sportsmen. The analyzed newspapers present these sportsmen in the role of heroes, players with power to influence or even to change the present and the future course of their own countries.

Accordingly, the newspapers present the America's Cup trophy not as an ordinary sporting prize but as the mythical "Holy Grail." The articles refer to the Cup not only as the "ultimate achievement" but also as a symbol "for an object of search far-off, mysterious, out of reach" (Dhira 2000, p. 1). Thus the America's Cup became "yachting's Holy Grail." For Team New Zealand, there was only one goal – to "defend yachting's Holy Grail" (Coffey 2003c). For their opponent, "Alinghi's" owner Bertarelli, it meant spending "\$120 million to win yachting's 'Holy Grail'" ("Alinghi win 5–0", the *New Zealand Herald*, 2 March 2003). "The Holy Grail" theme is also used in other articles (see Coffey 2003b; also in Gray 2003c).

The desire to win "yachting's Holy Grail" is stronger than the disappointment associated with its loss. After his team "Oracle" lost the competition in which he invested almost one hundred million US dollars, Larry Ellison "was gracious in defeat and when asked if he would be back for another tilt at yachting's Holy Grail unhesitatingly answered, 'Absolutely'" (Coffey 2003a).

As in the religious myth, we have here both forces that Kennedy (2000, p. 293) described: the will of the men who search for the Grail and the "unattainable nature of the object of the Quest." The whole event of the America's Cup is actually "the quest for that wonderful Auld Mug" ("A nation betrayed", the *Sunday Star-Times*, 21 May 2000). The "quest" theme is used in other analyzed articles (Coffey 2003b; Sanders 2003a).

As Dhira (2000) writes, the search for Holy Grail is not an ordinary mission – it is a quest. The essence of the quest for the Holy Grail has not changed, the quest is still

surrounded with mythical symbols, as the *New Zealand Herald* writes about the Cup: “It happens in bright colour now, on television with computer graphics, but it still depends on the old mystique” (Roughan 2003). Drawing on Dhira (2000, p. 1) we could say that the Cup competitors, as the real heroes, set out on “the quest that drives men (for it is traditionally men who search) unstintingly.” The quest for the America’s Cup 2003 is an extraordinary journey: “The quest to win the cup began more than 10 years earlier and we seem to have been living on the fortunes of tall yachts for the best part of a generation” (“Let’s keep spirit of the Cup alive”, the *New Zealand Herald*, 3 March 2003).

But to complete the quest and reach the Holy Grail the heroes must go through all stages of the mythical story, in reality and in front of the spectators and in front of the nation. They “will be following their fortunes” (*Ibid.*). They have to go through “yachting’s fairytale” (Knight 2000a). They will see “the apprentice mixing his magic with the sorcerer” (Coffey 2003d). And they will witness “a maritime miracle” (Coffey 2003e). Heroes will confirm how dangerous the quest for the Cup is:

It has broken so many hearts and damaged the health and lives of so many, anyone has to be careful it doesn’t somehow bite them... [S]oon after financing Australia’s successful challenge in 1983, entrepreneur Alan Bond lost his financial empire and in recent years has been jailed. And Italian magnate, Raul Gardini, who was the backer of Il Moro, which beat New Zealand in 1992 for the Louis Vuitton Cup, soon after committed suicide (Knight 2000a).

The quest for “yachting’s Holy Grail” is seen as being overshadowed by mythical forces. Journalists show empathy for the heroes who must face their own “nemesis” (Stuart & Clarke 2003). The quest is threatened by dark forces coming out of “a marriage made in Mammon” (“Blinded by single-minded attitude”, the *New Zealand Herald*, 25 January 2003). And above all, the heroes cannot avoid meeting the “sport’s devil incarnate” (Stuart 2003). The mythical aspect of the story includes destiny, and whatever “happened on the fateful day” should be accepted (Sanders 2003b). When things go wrong and heroes feel strong hand of fate, they turn to God: “Former America’s Cup winner Dennis

Conner, asked on radio if Team NZ could win, replied: ‘God willing ... God is a Kiwi and we can come back out of this’” (Tunnah 2003c).

But myths have more than one god and we can see that “the yachting gods blew dirty weather down on us, and Alinghi sailed serenely away” (“Hoping history repeats”, the *Sunday Star-Times*; 16 February 2003). When something like this happened, a newspaper could cry in despair: “heaven forbid!” (“Pray for a fair wind and faster boat”, the *New Zealand Herald*, 15 February 2003). Heroes, even in a desperate situation, do not give up and we see “a lot of gremlins on the boat” (Johnstone 2003a). Thus after all the challenges and struggle there will be “a boat called New Zealand” (Roughan 2000). That boat and those heroes will sail again because “hope springs eternal” (“We can’t blame the deserters for that”, the *New Zealand Herald*, 1 March 2003).

Yes, there are some sceptics, some of them are also the newspapers’ potential readers, who see all the events of the America’s Cup 2003 differently. One editorial dismisses the critics of the Cup as short-sighted and not being able to understand the real, historical dimension that was emerging from the Cup: “They would have objected in the Middle Ages to the construction of elaborate cathedrals or to the money lavished on fine art collections” (“Pray for a fair wind and faster boat”, the *New Zealand Herald*, 15 February, 2003).

The newspapers use mythological language and narrative to construct another reality, a reality with identities and events that belong to myth and at the same time to our everyday world. The heroes are mythical identities involved in a heroic, mythical event. But they are also representatives of “our” nation, and as professional sportsmen they are commodities involved in a sporting event which results in big business of importance to the whole nation. Therefore, the America’s Cup 2003 is constructed and presented by the newspapers as an event transferred from the mythical past to present-day New Zealand.

4. 4 Framing the Story of the Hero

New Zealand newspapers analysed in the case study did not only frame the role of Russell Coutts and other “Team New Zealand” members who won the America’s Cup in 1995 and in 2000 only as professional sportsmen but also as heroes. The first news about a split within “Team New Zealand” published by the *Dominion* has the title “America’s Cup heroes jump ship” (Brockett 2000). In this article the “hero-theme” is repeated in the first sentence of the first paragraph: “America’s Cup heroes Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth have turned their backs on New Zealand for overseas contracts said to be worth between \$5 million and \$10 million.” The same pattern is used by the *Evening Post* and the *New Zealand Herald* as well. On the same day, 20 May 2000, the *Evening Post* published news with the headline: “Heroes lured by zeros.” The headline in the *New Zealand Herald* is: “So much unsaid as Cup heroes sail away” (Calder 2000).

The “hero-theme” is routinely and consistently used during the period from May 2000 to February-March 2003. (For example see articles from 2000: Chisholm 2000; Coffey 2000; Knight 2000b; McFadden 2000c, and articles from 2003: “Charting a course for cup success”, *Dominion Post*, 15 February 2003; or Bingham & Gardiner 2003; Coffey 2003d; or Sanders 2003c)

The repetitive pattern of the hero-story is constantly emphasized in the newspaper. The journalist quoted below, for example, helps readers to recognise the hero by pointing to early clues to his destiny:

As a 5-year-old he would watch his brothers racing their yachts, shunning his bucket and spade so he could watch intently what his siblings were doing. The other kids would play in the sand, but Russell would sit down beside me for the whole race and ask questions the entire time, his father Allan said as Coutts helped win the America's Cup in 1995. His brothers would tease him – as soon

as we got home he would go to his bedroom, get out his little rulebooks and relive the whole race again (Tunnah 2003b).

The *New Zealand Herald* reports that even when he was a teenager “Coutts knew winning was about more than just sailing well” (Corbett 2003). To confirm this statement the newspaper quotes a witness who “recalls how 14-year-old Coutts would engage in psychological tactics against competitors too, openly suggesting, for example, that there was something wrong with their boat” (*Ibid.*). The hero’s development is natural, reports the same newspaper: “There was never any doubt he would be an Olympian, and aged just 22 [...] – a gold medal was swinging around his neck” (Tunnah 2003b). Nevertheless, as in other mythical stories, the hero’s life is not just about epic achievements. Readers can see the work of “compacts” – the rules that Frye (1990, p. 166) describes as “conspiracies formed by the hero’s society”, or as “the commonest devices for bringing about the comic discovery” in the hero’s life. In its portrait of Russell Coutts, the *Sunday Star-Times* presents us with this intimate detail from the hero’s life: “On his way to winning Olympic gold, he suffered nasty boils on his bottom. At one stage in the Los Angeles regatta, they became so painful he was forced to wear nappies” (Sanders 2000b). The importance of this “compact” is underlined by fact that the same “boils-on-bottom” theme appears in other articles published in other analyzed newspapers (see for example Coffey 2003d, or Tunnah 2003b).

In his study on heroes Raglan (1949, p.190) listed twenty-two “well marked features and incidents” that separate a hero’s biography from those of ordinary men. Raglan (*Ibid.* p.190) argues that all these episodes from a hero’s life suggest a pattern of ritual:

the incidents fall definitely into three groups – those connected with the hero’s birth, those connected with his accession to the throne, and those connected with his death. They thus correspond to the three principal *rites de passage*, that is to say, the rites of birth, at initiation, and at death.

That pattern is seen in the description of other key-competitors involved in the America’s Cup 2003. Early marks of heroic figures are present in the life of the key-actors involved in the America’s Cup 2003 Coutts and his successor Barker. (The same pattern is applied

to a portrait of “Team New Zealand arch-enemy – Alinghi’s owner Bartarelli”; see Stuart 2003)

In its portrait of Dean Barker, the *Press* (Coffey 2003d) describes how he got a “tiny Optimist” from his father. In this news story “nine-year-old Barker...was soon at the mercy of fluctuating and frightening windshifts, and could not regain the shore. The terrified youngster had to be rescued... But it was not long before Dean Barker was winning national and international age-group championships” (*Ibid*). Another portrait of Barker, published by the *New Zealand Herald*, says that “he was 11 when he won his first national title, and by 15 had snared the P-class’ prized Tauranga and Tanner Cups, and won the world youth Laser championship in 1990. Now he’s looking ahead” (Gamble 2003).

After the hero passes the first tests and the initiation, he is widely recognized and accepted. For example, Russell Coutts is not only “the most focused and talented of sailors”, but he “has a tremendous ability to focus and a unique ability to raise his game when it gets the most difficult. The greater the challenge, the more intense and focused he becomes. He’s unique for that” (Corbett 2003). “Russell Coutts is a sailor in a million,” he is “one of the world’s great sailors,” “he has been decorated three times by his country” (Tunnah 2003b).

The hero’s career is “remarkable”: “Coutts is a master. He has upheld the tradition of a proud sailing nation by simply being the best” (Maddaford 2003; see also readers’ letter of support for Dean Barker under the headline “Loyal to the best” in the *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 2003) No one can match the hero’s achievements; he ranks second to none in the nation’s history: “Russell Coutts is the best sailor this country has ever produced” (Tunnah 2003c).

From these narrative patterns, we can see that the newspapers’ construction of the hero and the hero’s role work on two levels. The first is focused on the construction of the news story as a heroic story with signs, symbols and language from classical mythology.

On this level, the newspapers report the news story as the story of a hero – an extraordinary achiever, a person from the ordinary walks of life but with outstanding abilities. On this first level, the hero could be seen as just another sports celebrity providing the press with what Whannel (quoted in Boyle & Haynes, 2000, p. 91) describes as a ‘threefold function’ of sport celebrities: “as a star they are bearers of the entertainment value of performance; as personalities they provide the individualisation and personalisation through which audiences are won and held; and as characters they are the bearers of the sporting narratives.” Constructed in this way, the hero and the hero’s role are taken to the next level where they are contextualised in order to finally be transmitted and transformed into a new mythical symbol that will function at the level of pure semantics. Portraying the hero against a background of the nation (“we”, “us”) and nation’s (“people’s”) expectations, the newspapers give the reader the context that will provide proper (“loyal”) readings and meanings of the story, the story’s narrative and its symbolic force. As Barthes (1988) writes, myth is a system of communication, a message, and that message needs a form. In the analyzed newspapers, the message takes the form of a news story about a hero, his achievement and his apparent fall.

“The hero comes out of eternity,” writes Von Hendy (2002, p. 64); “his claim on allegiance cannot be established by fact, but only by the operation of a hermeneutical circle; belief creates him, and he creates belief.” As in Frye’s (1990, p. 33) classification of fiction, the hero is superior to “other men and to the environment of other men” and because of that “the hero is a divine being, and the story about him will be a myth.” As the *New Zealand Herald* said about the America’s Cup 2003: “There’s some serious history going on here” (Corbett 2003).

4.5 Framing the Hero’s Character

Why do newspapers call professional sportsmen heroes? Carlyle (1912, p. 17) writes that “society is founded on Hero-worship.” Lule (2001, p. 2) argues that archetypal myth can be found every day with national reports, international correspondence, sports columns, human interest, and obituaries.” Actor of a news story can achieve an extraordinary

achievement and leave behind a story to be retold. As Frye (1990, p. 188) writes, it depends on the hero's power of action; in the myth proper a hero is divine, but in the romance proper a hero suddenly becomes just – human: “The reason for the greater profundity of canonical myth is not solely tradition, but the result of the greater degree of metaphorical identification that is possible in myth.”

In the newspapers analyzed for this study, the hero is presented like Campbell's (1973) hero with a thousand faces. Sometimes he is “the syndicate's hero” (Bingham & Gamble 2003a). Sometimes he is one of the “America's Cup heroes” (McFadden 2000a). Outside of the battlefield he is the “modest hero” (Coffey 2003d), or even the “unsung hero” (Sanders 2003c). In the *Evening Post* the heroes are “yachting heroes” (“The brave world of globalised sport”, *The Evening Post*, 24 January 2000). In the *New Zealand Herald* of 22 May 2000 (Burgham 2000) they became “national heroes because they won.” On the same day the *Dominion* reported about “the heroes of both the 1995 victory and this year's defence” (Knight 2000a).

As Raglan (1949, p. 131) states myth “not merely links the ritual of the present with the ritual of the past, but actually identifies the present, in its ritual aspect, with a past conceived solely in terms of ritual.” Thus the stories of a hero's achievements function to sanctify and standardise the ritual.

Newspapers need a hero-role as a part of the news story for several reasons. In his study on news and myth, Lule (2001, p. 2) indicates that “ancient myths have taken modern form on the front page,” and that “heroes remind people that they can succeed, that they can achieve greatness” (*Ibid.* p. 23). He also suggests that newspapers have a strong reason for using a hero myth: “The Hero may be humanity's most enduring archetype and the basis for its most pervasive myth. Every society likely has dramatized and personified its core values and ideals in stories of a hero” (*Ibid.* p. 177). In the case of the newspaper reports on the America's Cup 2003, the sporting aspect also influenced the choice of a hero-role.

Sports have been inextricably entwined with the Hero myth. Sports provide fine raw material for the myth. They offer drama and conflict. They often are performed on a public stage. They evoke binary oppositions, which are often found at a heart of myth, such as winning and losing, success and failure. They recur, often daily, allowing myths to be retold as myths must be. For these reasons, myths have celebrated sports heroes since the time of the ancient Greeks. (*Ibid.* p. 83)

Another reason for the use of the hero-role in the newspaper writing is that story-telling (narrative) techniques are used in news stories. “A narrative requires a hero,” writes Hallin (1994, p.127). It is not a mythological narrative *per se* that will result in stories that “deal with vicious quarrelling gods and weeping heroes” (Bremer 1969, p. 4). As Aristotle explains, the writer (“poet”) should take care over the object of writing and over the context to avoid possible contradiction in regard to what the poet says and “what a sensible person might assume” (Hardison 1981, p. 50). In other words, constructing a hero’s character and presenting it though a news story is a matter of choosing an understandable, intelligible narrative that will produce intelligible meanings and adequate connotative responses for the readers. For these reasons, the newspapers’ reminders of the nation’s past, its sporting history or national unity function to contextualize the hero’s role and the rest of the story.

But as in Greek mythology, the hero and the hero’s fortune are subject to change.. Indeed, if the hero fails to do something or if he does something negative, his role can change dramatically. In the case of Russell Coutts, the newspapers suddenly started reporting that the national heroes were “the heroes of yesteryear” (“Pray for a fair wind and faster boat”, *New Zealand Herald*, 15 February 2003). Russell Coutts, once celebrated as a national hero is now presented to the public as “Coutts, who went from hero to zero” (Coffey 2003a). Another article states that national hero Russell Coutts is actually “Russell Coutts, a hero-turned-foe” (Bingham & Gamble 2003a). Even that is not the worst transformation: in another story the same hero becomes a real “villain” (Coffey 2003b).

Why and how did Russell Coutts' role change so dramatically in the newspaper articles? Why did the same newspapers present Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup as that of a hero and then as a villain and a traitor? The simple answer is that it all happened because Coutts switched sides:

Russell Coutts, a hero when he brought the America's Cup from San Diego to New Zealand in 1995, will next month become the villain who tries to take sport's oldest and most costly trophy away again (*Ibid.*).

But why would he overturn his own hero status? The answer to this question is to be found in the analysis of the newspapers' representation of Russell Coutts' personality and his character.

One week after the news that Russell Coutts had left "Team New Zealand" the *Sunday Star-Times* published an article that "gave an insight into the Coutts psyche" (Sanders 2000b *passim*). The article says that "a maxim which epitomises Coutts [is] being his own man", and that Coutts "possesses a fierce and at times tunnelled focus – more than most he considers options without worrying about surrounding 'fluff'." But, unfortunately, "everyone has his price and Bertarelli obviously hit the jackpot numbers for Coutts." For this newspaper, Coutts' decision to accept the offer was not a surprise: "It wasn't the first instance of Coutts, in a mixture of being his own man and self interest, bucking expectations." The article then refers to his "self-centred" decision when in the America's Cup 1992 he refused to be tactician ("the No 2 job") instead of skipper. "The affair showed Coutts' penchant for going his own way," the article continues, adding that Coutts, "the syndicate's most identifiable person", did not attend press conferences or sign autographs with the rest of the team. Again, explains the article, it was "Russell being Russell and doing things his way". The article praises Coutts as "one of the world's greatest sailors", but that compliment does not hide the fact that Coutts "has always given the impression he is quite happy to live without the adulation which has accompanied his yachting achievements". And Coutts did not co-operate with the media enough: "If he didn't want to discuss a subject, he simply wouldn't."

Another detailed portrait of Coutts is given in an article published by the *New Zealand Herald* under the headline: "Russell Coutts – sailor of fortune" (Corbett 2003, *passim*).

The article – 2205 words long – begins with a list of similarities between Switzerland and Coutts: “They both enjoy a long history of excellence and respect that has given them an unfortunate, obnoxious arrogance and insensitivity to other country’s feelings.” Why Switzerland and Coutts are examples of “obnoxious arrogance and insensitivity to other country’s feelings” the newspaper does not explain nor how a country (Switzerland) can have feelings. It continues the list of similarities between Switzerland and Coutts: “They are both technically skilled, almost obsessive about the minutiae of machinery and design.” It also remarks on Switzerland’s past: that it “survived through a policy of neutrality that some may interpret as running with the hares and hunting with the hounds.” And, continues the article, neither Switzerland nor Coutts “can shake off the aura of being just a tiny bit dull. Dare we say, boring?”

After this the newspaper turns to Coutts with the conclusion that “it seems doubtful [...] that Coutts would have ever joined that exclusive club” of the country’s league of “national heroes.” Briefly stating that he earned plenty of trophies, the newspaper says that “Russell Coutts still seems like a goofy teenager from, well, Switzerland.” To support its own remarks on Coutts’ portrait, the newspaper turns to an expert – public relations consultant Jenny Raynish:

Attaining national hero status requires two things, she adds: winning, then sharing that win with the public.

Coutts may have waved from the back of trucks during ticker-tape parades, may have hoisted the America’s Cup high in front of the cheering crowds at the Viaduct Basin, and raised Dean Barker’s arm with his but, says Raynish, you never really felt he was truly sharing his victory with the public or that he wanted us to be part of his success.

Instead, all she sees in his tight-jawed, cold-eyed expression are the virtues of a mercenary (*Ibid.*).

Here we have the same negative assessment that the *Sunday Star-Times* gave us – Coutts did not front up, did not share his emotions with the public. Altogether, writes the *New Zealand Herald*, “Russell Coutts is indeed a closed book”. All that the *Herald*’s expert sees in Coutts is his “tight-jawed, cold-eyed expression” as the “virtue of a mercenary.”

Why this is “a virtue of a mercenary” expert Raynish does not explain, nor does the newspaper’s journalist. But, from the previous quote, it is obvious that Coutts broke some taboos. As King (2003, p.509) writes: “a myriad of echoes of old New Zealand still resonate within the contemporary culture.” One of the echoes is a symbolic construction of a frontier man: rough but honest, a good achiever but always modest (Crump 1974). King (*Ibid.* p. 511) describes how Sir Edmund Hillary, the first person who climbed Mount Everest, epitomises all these characteristics with his modesty, laconic comments and simplicity: “These things alone, combined with his climbing success, were sufficient to make him a hero at home for the rest of his life and beyond.” That modesty of “an ordinary bloke” was missing piece from expert Raynish’s portrait of Coutts, and it made him “a closed book.”

Harney (1993, p. 198) describes the distancing of the super hero from society as a “dualistic role”. Super heroes are “orphaned saviours – either literally or metaphorically – who, while occasionally serving the community, conceive their mission chiefly as an intervention in personal problems, as an unremitting deliverance of preternatural innocence from secular evil.” Raglan (1949, p. 275) writes that the

hero must perform his feats alone, since it is by them that he demonstrates his fitness for the throne; he must perform them in public, since the public, or the required portion of it, must be satisfied as to his fitness. This result is attained by placing the hero on a stage or within an enclosure where he is separated from the spectators, but in full view and hearing of them.

But placed on the stage, the hero refuses to behave like others. Frye (1990, p. 208) writes that “those who attract most devotion from others are those who are best able to suggest in their manner that they have no need of it.” Drawing on Yeats, Frye (*Ibid.*) concludes that “the center of tragedy is in the hero’s isolation, not in a villain’s betrayal, even when the villain is, as he often is, a part of the hero himself.”

Aristotle writes that the tragic hero does not fail from the fame he achieved because he becomes depraved or immoral but because of *hamartia*: the hero’s miscalculation, the hero’s error. In well-constructed plot, a hero’s fortune should not change from good

fortune to misery, but from good fortune to bad. Commenting how Aristotle solved the problem of a tragic hero's failing, Hardison (1981, p. 182) writes that the hero "must fail for some reason, otherwise the plot will be a ... plot lacking in necessity and/or probability." That was the problem the newspapers needed to solve: to find *hamartia*, the hero's great error, the error that could not be avoided because it was part of the hero's character. Coutts was the hero (a national hero) yesterday, glorified by some newspapers that now needed to present him in a completely opposite way. The narrative of the newspaper stories therefore had to combine both arguments for the hero's dismissal: first, not being loyal and not following the collective; and second, for stepping outside of the hero's role. As a result, the narrative turns to the hero's character as the cause of the all problems. Readers are familiar with that narrative pattern: a hero is able to achieve everything, but is not able to avoid the destiny that is determined by his character. There are many causes of this news event but pity and fear will come from the hero's characters. Following Aristotle, the poet (or journalist/newspaper) knows that a "particular tragic pleasure" (Potts, 1953, p. 35) for the audience or readership comes from creating pity and fear. "And clearly, since pleasure coming from pity and fear has to be produced by imitation, it is by his handling of the incidents that the poet must create it" (*Ibid.*). The poet, says Aristotle must create pity and fear, those terrible and lamentable circumstances "between friends, or enemies, or neither" (*Ibid.*).

For these reasons, the newspaper reminds readers that Coutts did not share his emotions and his success with the public, that "we never really thought he was ours anyway" and "he hasn't felt like a New Zealander for some time either." Yes, the article continues, Coutts "won the America's Cup for New Zealand twice", but "does he remember that without public funding and goodwill, he never would have been an America's Cup skipper at all?" Yes, says newspaper, Coutts did some good things for his old school, and his old training ground "but his legacy for ever more will be that he betrayed New Zealand" (Corbett 2003). Summarising the position of the fallen hero the *Sunday Star-Times* concludes that "Coutts must have felt like the loneliest man in New Zealand" (Johnstone 2003b).

Even though he was once regarded as a national hero, Coutts is not allowed to play against rules that are common and taken for granted. He did not behave according to the expectations of the community and he is excluded. The community, through the newspapers and an expert analysis, is fighting back, trying to keep everything inside the community in order. The role of the hero is not enough to protect Coutts: the myth is stronger than the hero. The hero's error is tragically united with the community's society's reaction:

Those who do not share in the myth are by definition excluded. All communities recognise a boundary of this kind. Myth is, then, a key element in the creation of closures and in the constitution of collectivities. At the heart of this argument is the proposition that myth is vital in the establishment of coherence, in the making of thought-worlds that appear clear and logical, in the maintenance of discourses and generally in making cosmos out of chaos (Schöpflin 2000, p. 80).

4.6 Framing the Roles of the Hero and the Villain

Russell Coutts' decision to leave "Team New Zealand" turned his hero-role into an anti-hero position in the newspapers. Coutts' decision to sign a contract with the rival team "Alinghi" was a "transgressive act [that] is necessary to initiate the story" (Sparks 1992, p. 32). From that moment, the newspapers did a U-turn in framing Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003: his role becomes that of the ex-hero-turned-foe, in a story about the hero who went "to zero" and became a traitor. A new hero must therefore be found: "In Dean Barker, the newly crowned world match-racing champion, it has the ideal replacement for Coutts" ("Few loyal to footloose sports pros", the *New Zealand Herald*, 3 June 2000).

The way the newspapers changed the frame for Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003 and developed a new one reminds us of Frye's remarks about the interaction of social context and literary form. In his study of literature Frye (1994, p. 52) describes how social context rather than literary form can change a story: "Myths of gods merge

into legends of heroes; legends of heroes merge into plots of tragedies and comedies; plots of tragedies and comedies merge into plots of more or less realistic fiction.” What remain constant, writes Frye, are the constructive principles of story-telling.

In the analyzed newspapers we have another narrative technique – the inclusion of the bad side (the villain) as the opposite of the good side (the hero). Bird and Dardenne (1997, p. 345) in their work on myth in news recall Sperry’s argument that in a heroic tale there must be a protagonist and an antagonist: “It is not political favouritism but simply a formulaic understanding of how the world operates.” The answer to the question of why the media need personalized news is offered by Galtung and Ruge (1999). Galtung and Ruge argue that Western culture sees individuals as free people who, through their own will and their own actions, create their own life and destiny and take responsibility for that. According to Bird and Dardenne (1997, p. 345) that is the reason why journalists “have to fit new situations into old definitions.” It is in the journalist’s “power to place people and events into existing categories of hero, villain, good and bad, and thus to invest their stories with the authority of mythological truth” (*Ibid.*). The result is a news story with players with whom the public can easily identify. Bad guys and good guys are characters very easily recognized in almost every news story.

The analyzed newspapers followed this pattern and allocated good and bad roles to the competitors during the America’s Cup 2003. Because of this narrative pattern the role of Russell Coutts changes in the newspaper stories from that of hero/ good character to of anti-hero/bad character. In the analyzed newspapers this change happens immediately after Russell Coutts left “Team New Zealand” and signed a contract with “Alinghi”, the main opponent of “Team New Zealand”. The role of good-story-character is now allocated to Dean Barker, who takes Russell Coutts’ place and becomes the new hero of “Team New Zealand”: “In Dean Barker, the newly crowned world match-racing champion, it [“Team New Zealand”] has the ideal replacement for Coutts” (“Few loyal to footloose sports pros”, *New Zealand Herald*, 3 June 2000).

To heighten the dramatic impact of the role-change from Coutts to Barker, the analyzed newspapers draw upon old schema of teacher-pupil “It could be straight out of a movie – experienced mentor imparts knowledge to young apprentice, then in a dramatic finale they battle against one another” (*Dominion Post* 21 January 2003). The mentor-student schema as a prototype of a non-equal relationship was used often by the analyzed newspapers, with the relationship variously described as “sorcerer v apprentice” (Leggat 2003), “protege against mentor” (“Hoping history repeats”, the *Sunday Star-Times*, 16 February 2003), or “Pupil and teacher” (Sanders & Chisholm 2000b).

By switching the hero’s roles from Russell Coutts to Dean Barker, the newspapers kept a personalized and simplified picture of the event. For the newspapers, the Cup became a struggle between Coutts and Barker, a struggle between everything that each personified: “The sorcerer versus the apprentice. Right versus wrong. Good versus evil” (Gray 2003). The same theme “showdown between evil and good” was played in other analyzed articles. (See for example Coffey 2003c.) The Cup itself, in terms of this black-white perspective, became “a contest that pitted protégé against mentor, of ‘loyalty’ against ‘defection’, of good guys against the Swiss money bags” (“Hoping history repeats”, the *Sunday Star-Times*, 16 February 2003).

This sharp and final division between fallen hero and today’s real hero, between loyalty and defection could be read as the newspapers offering readers a moral choice. To help make readers’ choice easier, reports were published about the New Zealand Government’s choice: “The Government was right behind skipper Dean Barker” (Brockett 2000). Further confirmation of what the right choice is comes through the newspapers from the greatest sporting legend of New Zealand: “Sir Edmund Hillary phoned Dean Barker to give his words of advice” (“*Off Course*: No parade if Alinghi win”, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 2003.).

Writing about the myth of the Holy Grail and heroes’ quest for it, Kennedy (2000, p. 293) emphasizes the fact that in cyclic romance “the main hero fails at the greatest adventure and never surmounts this failure.” But, after that, the hero “is displaced for the Grail

branch by another hero, his son” (*Ibid.*). This cyclic displacement of heroes happened not only inside “Team New Zealand” but also on the pages of the newspapers. Confidence renewed, the newspapers predict that “a new generation of yachting heroes will rise to the challenge” (“The brave new world of globalised sport”, *Evening Post*, 23 May 2000). A new hero knows his goal. And, as a true hero, he is confident he can achieve it. Through the newspapers, the new hero sends his message to the people that he is ready to repeat what previous heroes did: “Holy grail not lost – Barker” (Gray 2003c). Thus, in the analyzed newspapers, Dean Barker becomes the one who has to carry the “hopes of nation on his shoulders as Team New Zealand defends yachting’s Holy Grail” (Van Beynen 2003.). As a new hero Barker – instead of Coutts – leads not only “Team New Zealand” but the whole nation as “the front man for a team of nearly four million people” (Letters to the editor, “Loyal to the best – NZ”, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 2003). That completes the mythical story because a new hero “Dean Barker has achieved immortality...Russell Coutts, infamy” (*Ibid.*).

The narrative line in the newspapers is not primarily focused on factual side of the story any more: Coutts won the America’s Cup, but he is not going to be celebrated as a hero in New Zealand newspapers. The newspapers will report that he won the sporting race but the emphasis is on another frame of the story, important enough to be constructed and reported: he lost his fame and heroic role. The mythical power of Coutts’ victories is now diminished by a new context, the context of his lack of loyalty, of the ruthless professionalism that removed his heroic aura and revealed an ordinary sporting mercenary. Without a context of the nation imagined and its great national sporting history yesteryear’s hero’s story is no longer attractive as a news story. The story of the fallen hero is now entering a new level of reading, a symbolic one where the roles, the names and the actions are a part of new mythological symbolism and language: “Once upon the time there was a hero...” The story of loyalty, constructed through the newspapers’ narrative, has reached the end of a cycle – the ex-hero is leaving the scene and a new hero is coming on stage.

4.7 Summary

This textual analysis has shown that the frame for the news story on Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003 was made at the beginning of the reporting of this event. The analysis has also shown that the newspapers framed Russell Coutts' role as a person without loyalty to his country rather than as a professional sportsman. The first part of the analysis looked at sixteen articles published during the first two days of reporting. Following van Dijk's (1988) method of news analysis, topics or macrostructures were identified in all articles together with the Lexical Context, the semantic background of the macrostructures or themes given in the articles, and the Core Vocabulary of the Lexical Context. The first part of the textual analysis revealed that the frame for the news was made by the utilization of five Key Words or their variations, synonyms, partial synonyms, or phrases or idioms. These five Key Words are: Russell Coutts, the America's Cup, Traitor, Money and New Zealand. This frame constructed Coutts' role as the main actor juxtaposed with New Zealand as a nation/a country. Coutts' decision to sign a contract with the rival team and compete against "Team New Zealand" was framed as an act of disloyalty, even treachery, to his own country. Used as the pillars for the news frame, these five Key Words were consistently and routinely applied in the newspapers' articles from 2000 to 2003.

The second part of the textual analysis was focused on journalists' techniques used in making particular segments of the news frame. By applying news analysis and discourse analysis together with semantics, I looked at the deeper meanings of signs and symbols used in the newspaper articles published during 2000 and also three years later in 2003. The analysis revealed that news frame did not change during this time. Russell Coutts' role was framed in the context of loyalty to the nation, with the use of mythological signs, symbols, and mythological language invoking mythical as well as national symbolism. The analysis shows that the newspapers were following a particular narrative pattern in

order to construct a portrait of a tragic, disloyal and fallen hero whose mistakes caused harm to the country/nation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

5. 1 Overview

This thesis has found that New Zealand newspapers framed Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003 more as that of a hero who defected from his own team and betrayed his own country rather than as a professional sportsman competing for a rival team. The newspapers routinely used national and mythical symbolism and mythological language in order to contextualise the event of the America's Cup 2003 and the actors involved in it. The textual analysis confirms that the newspapers followed a particular narrative pattern in order to construct Coutts' identity as a tragic, fallen hero in the context of the New Zealand nation imagined as a mythical unity.

The research reveals that New Zealand newspapers routinely and consistently mixed the presentation of the yachting syndicate "Team New Zealand" with New Zealand the country. By doing so, the newspapers identified the Team with the Country. The members of "Team New Zealand" were framed in the newspapers as a part of New Zealand's identity and not as individual professional sportsmen competing together as a team – the yachting syndicate with name of "Team New Zealand." By applying this frame, the newspapers constructed Russell Coutts' identity not as a professional sportsman involved in a sports competition but as an individual who should be loyal and responsible to his country.

As the analysis of the newspapers shows, this way of framing led to the presentation of Russell Coutts not as the sportsman who left the yachting syndicate “Team New Zealand” but as a person who left (“defected from”, “betrayed”) his Country, or New Zealand. This thesis did not explore how New Zealand newspapers presented the America’s Cup as a sports event or how sports-news writing influenced the framing of Russell Coutts’ role in the Cup. Further research would be needed to investigate relationships in this area.

The study found that the news frame of Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 was established and applied immediately after Coutts signed the contract with the rival team “Alinghi”. The analysis found that New Zealand newspapers introduced the frame of Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 on the first day of reporting the news, and maintained the same frame on the second day. The news frame of Russell Coutts as a defector and as a traitor was applied throughout the newspapers reporting on the America’s Cup 2003 – from 20 May 2000, the day when the news was first published until 2 March 2003 when “Team New Zealand” lost the America’s Cup.

The newspapers established this frame by applying principles of news writing, where the most important information is given in the lead – the headline and the beginning of a news article. The analysis in Chapter Three shows that the New Zealand newspapers framed Russell Coutts’ role by using only five Key Words: Russell Coutts, America’s Cup, Traitor, Money and New Zealand. The newspaper articles routinely used and consistently repeated these Key Words, either as their variations, synonyms or partial synonyms, or through metaphors or idioms. These Key Words transformed the news frame into a “guided doing” (Gofman 1974, p. 23), whose purpose is to orient the readers towards reading the reports in a particular way.

From the point of view of the analysed newspapers, the use of these five Key Words was justified by the first rule of news writing: to answer the “Five Ws and H”. As Shudson (2003, p. 190) writes “a news story is supposed to answer the questions ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘when’, ‘where’, and ‘why’ about its subject.” The newspapers covered all “Five Ws and

H” by framing the story with word-boundaries as semantic devices: Russell Coutts, Traitor, the America’s Cup, New Zealand, and Money. Technically the newspapers completed the job of news reporting by identifying the actors in the story, their actions, motives and the consequences.

The importance of the “Five Ws and H” in news reporting overlaps in the newspaper articles with another important principle of news writing, the inverted pyramid: the most important information should be placed at the beginning of the news article. Studies of news (Bell 1991; van Dijk 1988; Graber 1988) confirm that news readers read and memorise mainly beginning of the news text, namely the headline and the lead of the news story. This is one of the reasons why the newspapers needed to establish a clear news frame by using the five Key Words at the beginning of the articles.

The analysis in Chapter Three shows that the newspapers achieved both goals in reporting on Russell Coutts role in the America’s Cup 2003: first, to give the most important information in the leading part of the articles and second, to establish the frame for the news story on the first day of reporting. As Bell (1991) writes, the news lead, as an essential part of the story, gives “a lens” through which the reader can ‘see’ the story. The story stays inside the frame established at the beginning of reporting and later “guides audience and journalist thinking” (Kuypers 2002, p. 11). The frame that the newspapers established on the first day of reporting was maintained on the second day of reporting. The analysis in Chapter Three and Four shows that the same frame, established in May 2000, was used by the newspapers repeatedly and very frequently during the whole period of reporting on the America’s Cup 2003 until it finished in March 2003.

This thesis found that an important international sports competition could be presented by the media as an event which reaches far beyond sport as a competition or sport as a profession. When the media and politicians regard a sports competition as an event of great importance for the country’s prestige, image and economy, the sports event can be framed by the news media as a unique occasion for an expression of national unity. This thesis shows that New Zealand newspapers framed the America’s Cup 2003 as an event

of a great importance for New Zealand. Accordingly, New Zealand newspapers framed this event as an occasion for New Zealand professional yachtsmen to demonstrate unconditional loyalty to their country. Loyalty to the country was presented by New Zealand newspapers as more important for professional sportsmen than loyalty to their own profession and to the sport itself. The research found that even the nationally recognized image and status of a professional sportsman like Russell Coutts can be questioned by the news media if the sportsman is not ready to unconditionally demonstrate loyalty to the country.

5. 2 A Nation as a Monopoly

This thesis shows that the America's Cup 2003 was presented by New Zealand newspapers as an event of great importance for New Zealand. The report prepared for the New Zealand Ministry of Tourism (Market Economics 2003c) shows that the previous America's Cup event in 2000 contributed almost NZ\$640 million to the New Zealand economy. The America's Cup 2000 also created for New Zealand huge media promotion as the world's top tourist destination. For the America's Cup 2003, expectations in New Zealand were similar – that the event would again bring big profits to the country. Yachting syndicate “Team New Zealand” was seen by the New Zealand media, the public and by yachting experts as the strongest candidate to win the America's Cup 2003, and would thus win the race three times in row.

But in May 2000 Russell Coutts, leader of “Team New Zealand”, signed a contract with rival team “Alinghi” and left “Team New Zealand.” As analyses in Chapter Three and Chapter Four show, Coutts' decision to lead the rival team in the America's Cup 2003 against “Team New Zealand” was framed by New Zealand newspaper as an act of defection from and treachery against New Zealand as a country. The newspapers were extremely judgmental in evaluating Russell Coutts' decision to leave “Team New Zealand.” The articles were quick in applying a simplified version of McIntyre's (quoted in Viroli 1995, p. 177) remark that “patriotism has to be a loyalty that is in some respects

unconditional.” This thesis did not explore wider relations between the importance of the America’s Cup as an international sports event and the perspective on patriotism and loyalty within New Zealand society. Further research would be needed to provide a deeper insight into the position of individual sports professionals in New Zealand versus loyalty to the Country.

From the first day of reporting on the America’s Cup 2003, the analyzed newspapers identified the yachting syndicate “Team New Zealand” with New Zealand as a country. The America’s Cup 2003 was at the same time presented by the newspapers not only as a sports competition, but as a test of loyalty to the country. Technically, the newspapers would start a news report on “Team New Zealand” and continue the story by writing on New Zealand. The Team was identified with the Nation and with the Country. As the narrative of the event was unfolded on a mythic plane, the reports were openly expecting that “the hero sacrifices all to the republic” (Viroli 1995, p. 185). When the New Zealand Minister of Sport was asked about the Government’s reaction to Russell Coutts’ decision to leave Team New Zealand, the Minister instantly switched to the first person plural: in his two-sentence answer, he used the pronoun “We” four times. The Government, the Team, the Nation and the Country were all framed by the same “We” (see Chapter Four). Two days later the *New Zealand Herald* published the 710-word comment under the headline “David leaves the Team for Goliath” (Burgham 2000). In this article, the journalist used the word “New Zealand”, “the country”, “the nation, and “we” as synonyms – 51 times. As Billig (1995) and Anderson (1999) write “We” appears as national “We”, or as a natural, moral order. As Glover (quoted in Kashti 1996, p. 161) describes it, inside of that frame a person’s fundamental characteristic of being her/his “own interpreter” is almost totally lost.”

The textual analysis in Chapter Three and Chapter Four shows that in the reality constructed by the newspapers, the Team and the Nation became one and the same entity. The Nation became a part of symbolic code used by the newspapers in order to contextualise Russell Coutts’ role. As a result of this framing and contextualization, anyone who wanted to leave the Team was actually leaving the Nation as well. And

anyone who wanted to leave the Nation at such an important moment for the Nation, was, therefore, framed as another defector, or traitor. It is the approach described by Durkhem (1976, p. 208) as “the very violence with which society reacts, by way of blame or material suppression, against every attempted dissidence, contributes to strengthening its empire by manifesting the common conviction through this burst of ardour.”

This study revealed that the newspapers reported on Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 by using a simplified cycle of arguments: “Team New Zealand” is the same as New Zealand, New Zealand is facing an extremely important event and everyone who is New Zealander must show loyalty to the country or become a defector, or traitor. As van Dijk (1988, p. 12) explains in his news analysis a “basic rule of coherence is that sentence A is coherent with sentence B, if A refers to a situation or an event that is a possible (probable, necessary) condition of the situation or an event referred to by B (or vice-versa).” As this study shows, this identification of the Team with the Nation was openly supported by the New Zealand Government as well. The Government supported “Team New Zealand” with money. The Government was indirectly involved in framing Russell Coutts’ role in New Zealand newspapers and other media through Government officials’ interviews, statements and the appearance of officials at various times before and during the Cup. Further research would be necessary to gain a clear picture of the role the Government had in the process of framing this news.

In the newspaper articles, the New Zealand nation appears as a united entity that reacts as a living organism. The newspapers wrote about “the mood and state of the nation”, the “nation’s fears”, and the “string of mini shakes...which rocked a nation”. In these reports the nation is “horrified”, “shocked”, or “stunned”. Why did the nation react in this way? The study shows that the newspapers gave a straightforward answer: because Russell Coutts left “Team New Zealand.” As the *New Zealand Herald* (Roughan 2000) reported on 27 May 2000, the America’s Cup 2003 “is an uncanny barometer of the national condition.” The title of the article said it all: “A boat called New Zealand.” One might ask the same question Carlyle (1912, p. 104) asked: “If Hero means sincere man, why may not every one of us be a Hero?”

As the analysis shows, the newspapers took that approach to the story: Russell Coutts left the Nation's boat and was framed by New Zealand newspapers as a traitor. "A nation betrayed" is the headline of the *Sunday Star-Times* editorial published on 21 May 2000, the day after the news that Coutts had left Team New Zealand was published. The *Evening Post* claimed that to call Russell Coutts and Brad Butterworth traitors was "harsh" but "justified" (Bedford 2000a). Analyzing the monopolization of patriotism, Bar-Tal (1996, p. 257) writes that "the first consequence of monopolizing patriotism is the delegitimization of those who are branded as nonpatriots. Furthermore, the monopolization of patriotism may lead to their scapegoating, blaming them for the nation's real and imagined misfortunes." As this thesis shows, in the analyzed newspapers "the label nonpatriot is often used as a synonym for 'traitor', implying that 'nonpatriots' may harm their own group or act as agents of another hostile group." (*Ibid.* p. 258)

5. 3 A Myth – the Holy Grail of News

The thesis shows that the newspapers constantly referred to mythical side of the America's Cup 2003 and the mythical roles of its competitors. As the analysis in Chapter Three and Chapter Four shows, the language in the newspaper articles is saturated with signs, symbols, metaphors and direct references related to myth, heroism, holiness, divinity, biblical stories, and ancient-world characters. The America's Cup 2003 itself was presented as an episode in a continuous mythical story. Accordingly the competitors involved in the America's Cup 2003 were presented not only as professional sportsmen, but as heroes or actors in a mythical story.

What the newspapers did with national symbolic codes they did with myth and mythical symbols as well: myth, mythical symbols and mythological language were used in order to contextualise Coutts' role. The analysis found that the way in which the newspapers framed the news is closely related to the narrative technique used in the storytelling.

Analysis in Chapter Four shows that the narrative of the newspaper reports on the Cup is the result of the mythological frame that the newspapers chose for this event. Authors on myth agree that myth itself is a narrative, as media scholars agree that news is a story. (Bird & Dardenne 1997; Eco 1985; Fairclough 1995; Lule 2001; Propp 1975; Schöpflin 2000; Schudson 2003) Drawing on Barthes, Bird and Dardenne (1997, p. 337) write that “news is a particular kind of mythological narrative with its own symbolic codes that are recognized by its audience.” Analysis in Chapter Three and Chapter Four shows that the frame established at the beginning of reporting “dictated” the narrative for the news story on the heroes involved in it. This thesis shows that the news story on Russell Coutts and his role in the America’s Cup 2003 was framed in line with a conclusion that “media narrative must be reconciled with the timeless story structure of the myth” (Lule 2001, p. 102). The theoretical framework set up in Chapter Two was confirmed through the analysis in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, showing that the newspapers framed Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 by using mythological narrative for the news story. As Aristotle writes, in a well-constructed plot, the hero’s fortune must not change from bad to good, but from good to bad, and the cause should be not an ordinary depravity or vice but a great error on the part of the hero, who is not utterly evil but in fact has more good qualities than bad ones (Hardison 1981; Potts 1953). It is a narrative that seeks to invoke pity and fear as the essence of a tragedy and a tragic plot.

The newspapers framed the America’s Cup 2003 as a yachting or sports competition whose meaning went beyond sport: in the newspaper articles, the prize – the America’s Cup itself – became the Holy Grail and the event of the America’s Cup became the Quest for the Holy Grail. The newspapers routinely used the phrase “yachting’s Holy Grail” as a synonym for the prize – the America’s Cup trophy – and “the Quest” as a synonym for the whole period of the build-up to and the competition for the America’s Cup. As the textual analysis shows, the New Zealand newspapers framed the Cup as an object charged with strong mythical powers that changed its role and the meaning from a sporting trophy to a symbol described by Dhira (2000, p. 10) as “an object of search far-off, mysterious, out of reach.” As the newspapers reported, the mythical power of the Cup “has broken so many hearts and damaged the health and lives of so many, anyone

has to be careful it doesn't somehow bite them" (Knight 2000a). The analysis reveals that other, mythical symbols of the Cup also appeared in the newspaper articles: nemesis together with Mammon, sport's devil, Gods and heaven. They all tried to influence the Heroes and their Quest for the Holy Grail.

To be able to resist to such power, to master it and conquer it, one cannot be an ordinary person, but a character who also has mythical powers. For that reason, the newspapers introduced a hero and a hero's intentions as "the axis of the narrative" (Propp 1975, p. 50). For that reason too, the hero cannot be an ordinary actor in the story, but a character who should be "pure" (Dhira 2000, p.2), strong enough to complete the Quest and bring back the Holy Grail of yachting. In the analyzed newspapers, the competitors of the America's Cup 2003 become heroes. As Caillois (1961, p. 120) writes, the worshipping of stars and heroes in modern society "may in all justice be regarded as inevitable in a world in which sports and the movies are so dominant." But, in the newspaper articles, the heroes involved in the America's Cup 2003 were of more importance than sports or movie stars.

The analysis of the newspapers shows that key competitors in the America's Cup 2003 were presented in terms of the same mythological narrative. The two most recognized actors were Russell Coutts, the leader of the "Team New Zealand", who won the Cup in 1995 and defended it in 2000, and Dean Barker, the new leader of "Team New Zealand." Both were presented through a narrative that constructed their identities as heroes going through the phases of a mythical story or "rites de passage" (Raglan 1949, p. 190). They were presented by the newspapers as heroes whose early signs of a heroic destiny were perceived by other people. Coutts and Barker – according to the analysed newspapers – had very early in their life a great challenge at sea and were frightened but survived as they went through their own initiation. And both reached the top, surviving the toughest challenge before they were celebrated by their fellow citizens for their heroic achievements. Hallin (1994, p. 127) writes that "a narrative requires a hero" and the newspapers presented the heroes to the public during the reporting of the America's Cup 2003.

Analysis in this study revealed that narrative structure of the articles in the newspapers constructed other segments of the America's Cup 2003, again through a mythological pattern of a hero story. The two-fold (Propp 1975) quality of the story in these articles is evident – the story of the America's Cup 2003 as told in the newspapers is at the same time expressive and repetitive. As Propp (*Ibid.*) writes that in the structure of the folktale, the name of “dramatis personae” could change to give more colour to the story, but the “functions”, or actions of the characters are limited and that makes the story repetitive. The mythological side of the news story about the America's Cup 2003 is always repetitive when it is describing the actions or “functions” of the actors. The hero named Coutts is lonely, detached from the society and described by the newspapers as “his own man.” Raglan (1949, p. 275) writes that “hero must perform his feats alone”, but in the analyzed newspapers, that is beginning of the hero's departure from his admirers. In these newspapers, yesteryear's hero, named Russell Coutts, suddenly becomes the villain, and is described as someone who is not a national hero any more but “hero-turned-foe”, a mercenary with a “tight-jawed, cold-eyed expression.” Arguing that those who are admired by others are “the best able to suggest in their manner that they have no need of it”, Frye (1990, p. 208) writes that “the center of tragedy is in the hero's isolation, not in villain's betrayal, even when the villain is, as he often is, a part of the hero himself.”

Chapter Four shows that the pattern of mythological narrative in the analysed newspapers continued presenting the same mythical character, the hero Russell Coutts, after he left his Team. But the hero's role, as described in the newspapers, suddenly changed. As the analysis shows, after he left the team the newspapers framed Russell Coutts as an anti-hero, or a “false-hero” (Propp 1975). The fallen hero becomes a “traitor”. The news story and the frame for Russell Coutts' role again are set up according the rules of narrative. As Eco (1985) states, this way of telling stories reveals not only its own construction of a narrative plot but also the pedagogical principles that rule the society. These principles were demonstrated by the newspapers' narrative in the allocating of Russell Coutts' hero-role to a new hero – Dean Barker. Kristeva (1980a, p. 38) writes that this exclusion of opposition is typical for “mythical thought that operates within the sphere of the symbol

(as in the epic, folk tales, *chanson de geste*, et cetera) through symbolic units-*units of restriction* in relation to the symbolized universals ('heroism,' 'courage,' 'nobility,' 'virtue,' 'fear,' 'treason,' etc.)." Kristeva (*Ibid.* p. 38-39) continues that for these reasons "the good and bad are incompatible – as are the raw and the cooked, honey and ashes, et cetera. The contradiction, once it appears, immediately demands resolution. It is thus concealed, 'resolved', and therefore put aside." As the analysis shows, the newspapers' frame for Barker was ready – he was the "ideal replacement for Coutts", ready to carry "hopes of the nation on his shoulders." Yesteryear's hero was definitely rejected for his "treason" and a new hero was chosen. Mythological distribution of roles completes its own narrative cycle and the newspapers report that a new hero has proclaimed that the "Holy Grail is not lost." A New Quest for the Holy Grail can begin.

5. 4 Concluding Thoughts

As I wrote previously, I have accepted Stubbs' (1983) warning that a complete or exhaustive analysis of the meaning of text is not possible and new levels of meaning can be always found in language. In following such advice, this study offers one possible reading of the analyzed newspapers. Further analysis should be done in order to reveal other meanings of the newspaper articles from the point of view of sports writing or the role of the celebrity in modern society as well as the influence politics and society have on the news media.

This thesis found that New Zealand newspapers framed Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup by applying mythological narrative in writing a news story. That narrative was incorporated in the journalistic rule of news-story writing – the inverted pyramid, and the lead as the most important part of the news. As a result, the frame for the Russell Coutts' role in the America's Cup 2003 was made and then transmitted to the next level of reading and meaning –as a symbolic story of a hero in the context of a nation imagined as a mythical unity. Both levels of narrative function inside a news story. The first narrative presents facts in a news report. The second constructs another symbolical,

mythical identity of a fallen hero and a united, imagined nation. As this research shows, journalism – with its principle of objectivity – could easily finish engaging in mythologizing. Bhabha (1995, p.1) writes that the threshold of the image of the nation and its boundaries “is a particular ambivalence that haunts idea of the nation, the language of those who write of it and the lives of those who live it.” The newspapers’ construction and presentation of Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 shows that the news media can perform a powerful integrative role during a time when national identity and national ideology are challenged. But integration is usually followed by the exclusion of those who are rejected for being outside of the proclaimed national boundaries. Russell Coutts was rejected by the newspapers for being not patriotic enough. That rejection was further emphasised by the fact that he was the nation’s hero, one of “us” who should not be outside of the nation, with “them.” The newspapers’ reading of Coutts’ role did not accept that “‘other’ is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse, when we think we speak most intimately and indigenously ‘between ourselves’” (*Ibid.* p. 4).

At the mythological level, the news story narrative on Russell Coutts and the America’s Cup was the end and the beginning of a heroic myth. When “Team New Zealand” won the America’s Cup in 1995, the myth of a new sailing team was created. A new world (Jung and Kerényi 1963) was born with new heroes and it was the beginning of a new era in New Zealand yachting history. After “Team New Zealand” defended the America’s Cup in 2000, the myth of America’s Cup heroes was confirmed and, through the New Zealand media, transformed into the daily mythology of New Zealand society. “Team New Zealand” was praised in the New Zealand media (and in international media) as the best yachting team in the world. Drawing on Barthes (1957), we could say that the extraordinary victories of “Team New Zealand” in the America’s Cup in 1995 and again in 2000 looked normal and expected, just as the forthcoming America’s Cup in 2003 looked as if it would be another routine victory for the team of New Zealand yachting heroes. The New Zealand yachting hero Russell Coutts was one of them, heroes who “do not belong to the everyday world” (Eliade 1964, p. 11).

Each time, the country itself experienced the same results from these “Team New Zealand” heroic achievements: millions of dollars of profit came to New Zealand as the results of the victories in 1995 and in 2000, thousands of permanent jobs were created, and a large part of Auckland’s port and waterfront was rebuilt. And the confidence of a proud maritime country was confirmed. New Zealand media generously helped the public to feel they had an active part in the myth. The story of the forthcoming America’s Cup 2003 was presented to the New Zealand public as a chance that the country should not miss.

But, in May 2000 Russell Coutts left Team New Zealand and became the leader of the rival team “Alinghi”. He was about to lead the rival team against his own former team. Russell Coutts practically and symbolically refused to follow the rule of the myth. He rejected the hero role that had already been assigned to him. He challenged other myths of New Zealand society as well – the myth of mateship, the myth of modest Kiwi hero who achieved extraordinary feats but remained the ordinary bloke who sticks with the New Zealand flag and who follows the path already established by other New Zealand sporting heroes. By signing the contract with the rival team, he rejected and broke the rules that society accepted, established and required him to follow. In the analyzed New Zealand newspapers, the frame of yesteryear’s hero was dropped and the frame of today’s traitor was introduced. “Those who do not share in the myth are by definition excluded,” writes Schöpflin (2000, p. 80) and Coutts found himself excluded from heroic actors of (Team) New Zealand. New Zealand newspapers framed his action as defection and treachery – not against “Team New Zealand” but as treachery against the whole country of New Zealand. The newspapers accused Coutts not only of causing the potential loss of the America’s Cup, but also for causing the country’s economic loss, the decline in business confidence, even the possible fall in the value of the New Zealand dollar.

The frame that New Zealand newspapers made for Russell Coutts’ role in the America’s Cup 2003 was the first step in constructing the identity of a tragic hero who failed his mates and his country. As Lule (2001) writes, news actually reports variations of fundamental stories based on mythical archetypal stories: when these stories are told to

the people and become public, news becomes myth. The connection with a news story ends and the hero's story becomes just another myth from daily life that helps us to put together the puzzle of a wider ideology. As Barthes (1988, p. 131) writes, myth is communication, but it also is "a language - robbery." One hero failed the nation but a new hero was born to confirm that the imagined nation is strong enough to see the revival of the same myth again. Tomorrow's news will report it.

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APPENDIX I: Articles Analysed in Chapter Three

Date	Newspapers	Title	Author	Words
20 May 2000	The Evening Post	Sail of the century becomes a sell-out	Angus Morrison	440
20 May 2000	The Evening Post	Heroes lured by zeros	New Zealand Press Association (NZPA)	496
20 May 2000	The Evening Post	Defence lineup near, says Team NZ head	Lynn McConnell	924
20 May 2000	The Dominion	America's Cup heroes jump ship	Matthew Brockett	501
20 May 2000	The Dominion	Crew 'not likely to jump ship'	NZPA	364
20 May 2000	The New Zealand Herald	So much unsaid as Cup heroes sail away	Peter Calder	683
20 May 2000	The New Zealand Herald	Crisis at Team NZ after walkout	Suzanne McFadden	705
20 May 2000	The New Zealand Herald	Team NZ: how the ship went down	James Gardiner	999
20 May 2000	The New Zealand Herald	More yachties where they came from	Editorial:	565
20 May 2000	The New Zealand Herald	Tycoon's pedigree right for success	Suzanne McFadden	359
21 May 2000	The Sunday Star Times	A nation betrayed	Editorial:	232
21 May 2000	The Sunday Star Times	Team NZ continues to bleed as Swiss target three more	Andrew Sanders, Donna Chisholm	770
21 May 2000	The Sunday Star Times	Shocked Fay says don't despair	Andrew Sanders	456
21 May 2000	The Sunday Star Times	Barker can't wait to battle yachting stars	Andrew Sanders Donna Chisholm	1248
21 May 2000	The Sunday Star Times	Departure opens doors for back-up crew	Fleur Revell	309
21 May 2000	The Sunday Star Times	And then there was one	Donna Chisholm	1747

APPENDIX II: Word Frequency-All 16 Articles

Rank	Freq	Word
1	105	coutts
2	86	zealand
3	78	butterworth
4	63	schnackenberg
5	54	would
6	45	defense
7	42	syndicate
8	36	barker
9	36	russell
10	33	america's
11	33	their
12	32	there
13	32	yesterday
14	27	about
15	26	people
16	23	member
17	22	after
18	21	decision
19	20	sailors
20	19	money
21	19	trustees
22	18	going
23	18	swiss
25	18	zealand's
25	17	could
26	16	think
27	15	bertarelli
28	15	departure
29	15	other
...
35	13	offers
50	11	million
53	11	zealanders
56	10	billionaire
68	9	disappointed

Hermetic Word Frequency Counter/23 January 2007.

Words with fewer than two occurrences, with fewer than five and more than fifty characters were ignored. Number of words in the full result list – 1615. Total number of words – 10,895. Number of words excluded – 404. Number of occurrences – 4353.

APPENDIX III: Word Frequency-Headlines and Leads

Rank	Feq	Word
1	24	coutts
2	22	zealand
3	19	butterworth
4	15	russell
5	9	america
6	9	schnackenberg
7	9	their
8	8	defense
9	8	syndicate
10	7	billionaire
11	7	heroes
12	7	swiss
13	7	yesterday
14	6	departure
15	5	america's
16	5	nation
17	3	barker
18	3	bertarelli
19	3	contracts
20	3	ernesto
21	3	first
22	3	heading
23	3	leader
24	3	leaders
25	3	members
26	3	million
27	3	remaining
28	3	shocked
29	3	success
...
51	2	multimillion- dollar
54	2	overseas
62	2	shock

Hermetic Word Frequency Counter/23 January 2007.

Words with fewer than two occurrences, with fewer than five and more than fifty characters were ignored. Number of words in the full result list – 357. Total number of words – 1432. Number of words excluded – 182. Number of occurrences – 581.