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Regional Legacies of the U20 World Cup. A case study in New Plymouth, New Zealand.

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science in
Geography, the University of Auckland, 2016.

Abstract

The FIFA U20 World Cup is the second largest football tournament in the FIFA calendar. The 2015 edition of the tournament was held in New Zealand. The city of New Plymouth in the Taranaki province is a small provincial city was the host of six games. The aim of the project was to understand the impacts that hosting a major tournament has on small provincial cities. Interviews, crowd participation, news articles, and official documents were analysed to see what sort of impacts were felt in this case study. The research was guided with Chappelet and Junod's (2006) five types of legacy (infrastructure, social, economic, urban, and sporting) and situated within placemaking literature.

Placemaking is an important concept. Using the global exposure given from this tournament, there is a push to reimagine Taranaki as an events destination, and develop it accordingly. This can be seen in the types of legacies left from the tournament.

There was evidence of all five legacies, with defined examples coming from social, economic, and infrastructure. Sporting and urban legacies were found to be attached to all different types of legacy. It was found that there was a key focus on youth in this tournament. This promises to have further positive effects in both the local community, but also the football community. Economically, there is a push to capitalise on this and push to host more events. Infrastructural legacies related to the creation of new football pitches for the local community. Helps build social and sporting legacies as well. These interacting legacy-making and place-making processes are co-constitutive, and the economic development win-win narrative plays a significant role in this co-constitutiveness. The stadium is important in all of this, as is the sporting culture of the region and the boosterist effects of successful hosting experiences.

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Glossary

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| FIFA | Fédération Internationale de Football Association |
| NPDC | New Plymouth District Council |
| TRC | Taranaki Regional Council |
| Venture Taranaki | Economic development agency in Taranaki |
| World Cup | Refers to the U20 World Cup games held in New Plymouth. Also called U20 World Cup in the document. |
| Football | Refers to Association Football. Also known as Soccer. |

Note. New Plymouth and Taranaki are used interchangeably throughout most of the thesis. This is because the event host is marketed as the Taranaki region, and there is a strong focus on regional development, not just the city.

Introduction

Mega events are one of the world's biggest spectacles. For a short period while the event is happening, there is intense media coverage in the region hosting the event. The bigger the event is, the bigger the exposure to the media the region has. Hosting these events, invariably has impacts on the region hosting it. Football in general, is historically one of the world's great cultural institutions (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 2001), and speaks on a global level. Hosting major football tournament, attracts attention from around the world.

The FIFA Men's U20 World Cup is the second largest FIFA tournament in the world, and was hosted in New Zealand in 2015. The tournament is watched closely around the world as it features some of the most promising talents from across the globe. Most of the players involved play professionally in top leagues around the world. In New Zealand it offered the rare opportunity to view football at one of the highest levels. The city of New Plymouth, played host to six games in the tournament including hosting Group E, which traditional powerhouses Brazil, and Nigeria.

Key Concepts

Placemaking.

Placemaking is an interesting geographic concept. It is an important facet of cultural geography, and it has been the subject of many academic studies. I find this to be a central theme to my research, and use it as a guide. Placemaking in the events context is well documented, as it is a way of promoting a region to wide audience (Waitt, 2001). Cities often use events as a way of attaching meaning to themselves, and then leverage the audience to promote the message to them. This has been seen in several examples around the world (Herstein & Berger, 2014), and I saw how this was in play in New Plymouth. I found that there was indeed an aspiration to become known as a 'world class event destination', and there were clear intentions to host further events.

Legacies.

If placemaking was outcome, legacies, is the process that I focused on that drives placemaking. Legacies is an important, albeit poorly understood term in the event literature, in particular sporting events. Sporting events are expensive to host, so legacies are an important consideration that prospective hosts think about. These are referred as what is left after the tournament is finished, and includes tangible, and intangible effects. It includes aspects like infrastructure, changes in the urban centre, economic effects, as well as social implications. I focus the five legacies that J. Chappelet and Junod (2006) outline, as a guide to understanding legacies, and ultimately finding what legacies are left from the tournament in New Plymouth. There were signs of these legacies in New Plymouth, in particular economic, social, and infrastructure legacies. Economic legacies stem from hosting the event, and further aspirations to host more events. Socially, the tournament had a strong focus on youth, and youth development of football in the country and region. There was special infrastructure built to accommodate the tournament, specifically new football pitches were constructed. The legacies also all interact with one another. For example, stadium infrastructure was a critical reason why New Plymouth was a host, but because of that, it leads into economic legacies. It is a way for New Plymouth to be known as an events destination. Similarly, the new football pitches, means that there is more opportunity to increase football in the region, one of the key social legacies that they aim for. This all builds on sporting legacies. Sporting and urban legacies are interspersed throughout the different legacies. It shows that it is a complex and intricate weave of different processes that all work together.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to examine the impact of ‘mega-events’ on small regions. This will be done by a case study that examines the impact of the Under 20 World Cup Pool hosted in New Plymouth in 2015. I aim to use qualitative approaches to evaluate claims made about

the regional impact of the tournament in its immediate aftermath. The event is a major event in the global sporting calendar and covered widely by the global media. Also there has been a recent push for these international events to be hosted in New Zealand, with a new focus on the regions. The study fits into broader debates of the geographical construction of events, and into the emerging field of sports geography, which addresses the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of sporting activity in relation to broader geographical questions (Bale 2003). The centrality of sport in New Zealand cultural economy makes this an important field of geographical inquiry. My study will contribute insights to debates about the cultural role of sports in particular places, the role of mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup in the social understanding and reproduction of cultural diversity, and the economic and political impacts of these events on place.

Rationale

The rationale for the study is three-fold. First, current evaluations of such events tend to be conducted by management consultancies and to focus narrowly on financial questions. This study will have a broader cultural and political-economy focus. Second, events of this nature are rare in regional centres, and this study will offer rare insights at a time when sports organisations as well as local and national government are seeking to focus this sort of international tournament in regional settings. There are interesting questions to do with regional development opportunities to be discussed. And third, New Plymouth is my home city, such that I have a situated interest in the way in which a major tournament might effect the city and wider Taranaki region.

Aims

The aim of the project is to provide insights into the impact of these events on smaller regional centres in their immediate aftermath, when some of the socio-cultural and political effects are

likely to be most apparent, while looking forward to what legacies can be left from the tournament.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 2: Literature Review.

Here I review the relevant literature associated with this project. These come from a wide background. The sporting geography literature is an emerging one, that is getting more popular. However, this means that there is not a wealth of information on the topic at this time, so I looked further. Subject such as Tourism, Sociology, and Marketing have looked at sports, events, and how they work together for a long time. I found some main themes running across the literature, and applied this to the geographic concept of placemaking. Literatures focusing on the aftermath of tournaments mentioned *legacy* often, and this became a focus of further literature, and my discussion. Themes like civic boosterism, social effects, and regional development.

Chapter 3: Context.

In this chapter, I outline the case study that I am researching. I begin with an outline of the tournament, then I situate it within the global scale that it operates. This shows how massive an event can be, and why it is important to pay attention to them. I follow this with a cultural context of football in New Zealand. This is important to understand why the tournament is important in the region. Sport plays a central role in New Zealand, and economic development around sport is a focus of the government. Lastly, I outline the host city, New Plymouth, and the context in which it is operating in there.

Chapter 4: Methodology.

Here I outline the methodology for the research. I used qualitative methods, and had several sources of primary and secondary data. The project was conducted by analysing documents associated with the hosting of the event, monitoring and analysing media reports. There was

also period of participant observation in the region during the tournament in which I participated as an interested spectator. I also conducted an interview with staff in the local district council. They were one of the main organisers of the tournament in the region.

Chapter 5: Data.

Here I documented the data that I obtained. I created a table to outline my experience as a participant observer at the tournament. Here I outlined the experiences I had during the games, and also in my stay in New Plymouth. I shared documents I had found, as well as new articles. The results of enquiries to local football clubs and data from my interview are also written up.

Chapter 6: Discussion.

I discuss the data and try to make sense of what I have found. I offer a few points of discussion and explore them, situating them in the literature, and broader theories. Placemaking offered a central role in what I had found, and this situated within a legacies framework. Using Chappelet and Junod's (2006) five legacies, I found there to be evidence of these in New Plymouth. I situate these in broader debates about placemaking.

Literature review

Sporting events have been covered in many different forms of the literature. The sheer scale of mega events in today's world make it impossible to ignore their effects. Sports mega events are some of the world's best known events. They command global attention, and Maurice Roche (2000 pg. 1) defines them as a 'large- scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance'. This large scale nature of the event means that the areas hosting them are subject to global media coverage (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). Horne and Mazonreiter go on to say that because of this massive nature of sports, it is surprising that sport studies haven't been taken more seriously before now. While there has been a great deal of depth in the economics of mega events, the research of sports by social scientists has been usually very limited, and there are very few that would suggest that sports is their specialty (Bale, 1988; Maguire, 1994). Hosting mega events have a massive effect on the community. It is often used a catalyst for regional development, and a way of promoting the region to a global audience. It has both physical and social implications. Physically, most commonly, new and existing infrastructure is developed to meet the demands of the event. This can have a lasting effect on the city, as it could pave the way for much needed improvements to services such as public transport, and redevelopment of existing areas. Socially, events also impact communities. It can serve as a unifier, and increase civic pride bringing together cities, in a process known as civic boosterism (Waite, 2001). It can also be detrimental to communities, as it can have negative effects on the surrounding communities. Local neighbourhoods might be torn up in order to accommodate the event, noise and nuisance can effect the residents both during the event and in the build-up when major construction takes place. It can also be used as a form of social control, to pass strict public laws, such as outlawing gatherings or increased surveillance in the name of

security (Black & Van Der Westhuizen, 2004; Bob & Swart, 2009; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Jones, 2001; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Lorde, Greenidge, & Devonish, 2011; Waitt, 2001).

Sports Geography

Though there is a limited discussion of sports, by social scientists, it has a long fragmented history, with periods of work appearing in clumps. The first instances of sport in geography occurred in 1879, when Elisée Réclus mentioned cricket in a report. A few years later (1919) *National Geographic Magazine* published an article entitled *The Geography of Games* (Bale & Dejonghe, 2008) (for a comprehensive list of instances of sport appearing in geography literature see Bale and Dejonghe, 2008). Along with these, sport geography has also had a presence in various geography association conferences around the world, and the recent *Association of American Geographers* conference in 2015 had an item of sports geography in its programme (Association of American Geographers, 2015). Possibly the most prominent current sports geographer, Bale (1988) has identified five basic approaches to sports geography since these early works. These are an “identification of temporal and regional variations in different sports attributes”, “modelling and analysis of the migration patterns of elite athletes”, “the locational dynamics of sports club relocation and movement”, “Externality and multiplier effects of sports events”, and “humanistic and cultural-geographic perspective concerned with sport and the cultural landscape” (pg. 508-509). While Bale has said these are the five main methods, he later states in 2008 (Bale & Dejonghe, 2008) that most early sports geography work focused heavily on mapping things. Ley (1985) was critical of this method, as it failed to take into account ‘social facts’.

The rise of cultural geography in the 1980’s (Waitt & Gibson, 2009) has meant that geographers focusing on sports have started to take a humanistic approach. This approach has been embraced by authors like John Bale as well as sociologists, such as John Horne have also delved into the idea of a broader cultural impacts of sports. However, most of the work

surrounding social impacts of mega events comes from tourism researchers (Burgan & Mules, 1992; Jones, 2001; Kim & Petrick, 2005; C.-K. Lee & Taylor, 2005; Lorde et al., 2011). Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) in particular identifies that there are several issues of modern social science in the analysis of sports events, such as power relations, media business connections, and ‘cultural productions of ideologies’ for when these events occur. Horne and Manzenreiter (2006) understand the importance of this, when they say that mega events such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup can provide a ‘cultural resource for reflecting upon identity, and enacting agency’ (p.1). The authors show here that they understand the importance of studying the human effects that mega events have on society. While some researchers have seen that sports is part of the culture, Bale and Dejonghe (2008) states that most of these have seeing the links between sports teams, and their location and community, through the idea of ‘topophilia’ .

Sports and topophilia is a well discussed phenomenon. Topophilia, or the love of place, refers to ideas of strong sense of place, and being attached to that place (Tuan, 2013). Sports inherently is connected with place. Sports teams often have a sense of place attached to them, with clubs often being named after places. Similarly, games are often classed as ‘home’ or ‘away’ further adding to the idea of having a ‘home’ ground (Van Houtum & Van Dam, 2002). The idea of sports and topophilia, can also be extended to stadia.

Cronin (1998) argues that the stadium is constructed as places of immense attachment. He states that stadium are places of community identity and memory. He suggests that

“The stadium’s sense of history is expressed, irrespective of the physical nature of the buildings, through the lived history of the nation, prolonged by the sustained traditions and myths which are an integral part of stadium culture and which are reinforced by the celebration of a successful political enterprise.” (p. 94)

Bale and Moen (1995) goes on to say that stadiums can be situated within topophilia, in the way they are constructed as sacred, scenic, home, tourist, and patriotic spaces. Sacred spaces involve stadiums of joy or tragedy, such as the *Hillsborough disaster*. Stadiums are also tourist attractions. Even when stadiums are not being used, famous stadiums such as the Melbourne Cricket Ground have paid tours of the grounds.

Sport and economic development / growth

Economic impacts of sports are huge. An average impact of US\$32.2 million is expected from hosting a major sporting event, while in Canada the sport tourism industry is reported to be worth over CAD\$2 billion (C.-K. Lee & Taylor, 2005). Tourism associated with events can come in two forms. Firstly, is the tourists going to attend the event, secondly is the tourists that come after event as a result of the event. Tourism is perceived to bring positive economic influences into the area. The increased number of tourists is a reason given for why governments want to host these events (Bale & Dejonghe, 2008; Bob & Swart, 2009; J.-L. Chappelet, 2012; Cornelissen, 2007; Gibson, 1998; Gratton & Preuss, 2008; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Preuss, 2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2014). These events can bring large amounts of money. For example, the 1976 Tall Ships event in Rhode Island generated visitor spending of around USD\$15 million, making it the 'single most important short term tourist spending in Rhode Island's history (C.-K. Lee & Taylor, 2005 pg. 596)'.

Tourism is a major source of income for many countries, and there is evidence that there is boost in tourism even after a event has been held (Hiller, 2000). The global exposure received from the event means that there during the event there will be an increased awareness of the area, and most likely afterwards as well. For example, Calgary, host of the 1988 Winter Olympic Games, was studied by Ritchie and Smith (1991). They found that the games had indeed increased awareness of the city, and this awareness remained fairly constant up to a year after the event. However, they went on to say that image decay is a problem likely to face

Calgary soon. This was probably extended from the movie '*Cool Runnings*' (Turteltaub, Steel, Siefert, Candy, & Walt Disney Pictures, 1992) that was released a year after Ritchie and Smith's research. Movies have been proven to indeed boost tourism numbers and place awareness (Riley, Baker, & Doren, 1998). This shows that the awareness generated from the event can be on going due to external factors, such as movies.

Events are dressed up as spectacles to try and entice tourists to visit the occasion. Duffy (2009) states that 'festivals are recognised as a means to make a unique and valuable contribution to a community's culture, attracting local, national, and even international audiences' (p. 95). An example of using events to market a spectacle is the 'Golden Decade of Sport' coined by the British Government. This is to describe the decade between 2010 and 2019, where a large number of mega events are being hosted by the United Kingdom, such as the 2011 and 2013 Champions League Final, 2012 London Summer Olympics, 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games, 2015 Rugby World Cup, 2018 Hockey World Cup, and the 2019 Cricket World Cup (Walters, 2008). Mega events serve as a method of demonstrating certain places as important sites within global economic and cultural networks (Duffy, 2009).

Place awareness from the events can lead into place making by policy makers in order to promote their region. Place branding is important. The views of a place can be significant in the tourists attitude towards the place (Duffy, 2009). For example, the long term economic impacts of the 1994 Winter Olympic Games was studied by (Spilling, 1998) showed that there were some long term impacts in some areas. This is due to the development of new infrastructure, tourism attractions, and sporting facilities. The Lillehammer region is quite small, so huge effects were not predicted to take place. However, it is allowed the region to market itself as a regional centre for winter sports. Tourism and population growth in the area grew significantly above the national average. This growth, has, however come at the cost that

resources were reallocated from different parts of the country, so the bigger country wide impact is very marginal. It shows how regions use sport as a marketing tool.

Sporting events and civic boosterism

Pursuing major sporting events for their economic development potential has thus become a significant dimension of urban and regional development policy. It has also been connected more widely to talk geographers have called civic boosterism. Civic or urban boosterism is a projection of a positive image in order to raise the profile of the city (Kong, 2007). Boosterism is used to gain an advantage over rival or neighbouring cities and create a sense of civic pride amongst the community (Boyle, 1997). This is done as there is often a goal for cities to be considered world class, and globally competitive (Whitson & Macintosh, 1993). To do this, cities need to differentiate themselves from others, and one way this is done through the idea of urban spectacles. Cities as an urban spectacle is a major strand of urban geography (Waitt, 2001). Boosterism projects, are part of this spectacle, to try and draw attention to the city, and cast in a positive light. This is done both towards local and global audiences. The urban spectacle can arise from different urban projects, such as unique buildings, and hall-mark events (Boyle, 1997; Duffy, 2009; Kong, 2007; Waitt, 2001; Walters, 2008; Whitson & Macintosh, 1993). Sports can be part of this spectacle too. Mega sports events are an example of a hall-mark event. Mega events hosted by cities, are global events with a far reaching audience. As such, places that host these events are often viewed as global cities, or cities with aspirations to be included in this category. This link between mega events and boosterism has been well noted by academics such as Boyle (1997); Hiller (2000); Jones (2001); Olds (1998); Waitt (2001); Whitson and Macintosh (1993).

Social Impacts

In addition to physical, and economic impacts of the hosting events, there are social impacts too. It is impossible to avoid these as they impact the communities that host the events.

Mega events can impart positive social impacts. Hosting these events can result in resident happiness, the completion of overdue projects, and providing sources of employment (Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Hiller, 2000). Hosting events can add to a community's sense of self-worth. Sports events are generally assumed to encourage greater participation of that sport (Jones, 2001). Most studies into social impacts look into resident perceptions of the event (Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Lorde et al., 2011; Waitt, 2003). Event organisers can often overlook cultural and social impacts, rather focusing on the economic benefits instead (Kim & Petrick, 2005). Sport can be seen to positive impacts on a local community. In a study of Barbados during the 2007 CWC, found that residents before the event had higher overall expectations of negative effects, then of positive impacts. After the events, this had reversed (Lorde et al., 2011). However, it is important to remember that perceptions of impact are likely to vary across socio-demographic profiles, because each group will have different opinions on how the event has affected them (Waitt, 2003). Impacts such as community cohesion are widely reported in studies impacts of hosting events. For example, during the 2002 FIFA World Cup, it was estimated that 88% of Seoul's population gathered in the streets to celebrate the South Korean team's seven games. Residents were found to respond overwhelmingly positively on the impacts of the World Cup. There were also large numbers of respondents that showed intentions of participating in the sport, and also wishing to travel to the location of the next World Cup (Kim & Petrick, 2005). This shows that the events can have some sort of positive social impacts on the local community that is hosting them. However, not all social impacts are positive.

When mega events go bad: A critical geography of impact.

Social impacts can also be negative on the local population. In the pursuit of hosting the event, local organisers sometimes overlook local groups, and the impacts that hosting the events can have socially (Kim & Petrick, 2005). One such example is the displacement of groups that are living in the area where the event will take place. For instance, Kris Old's (1998) study on Canadian housing evictions to allow for the construction of infrastructure of large events, the Expo '86 in Vancouver, and 1988 Calgary Winter Olympic Games. In the lead up Expo '86, Olds found that 500-900 people were dislocated, due to the impact of expo accommodation, pushing up rents in those areas. For the preparations of the 1988 Calgary Games, 740 apartment dwellers were evicted from their complexes, and 1450 students were displaced from residences in two Calgary educational institutions. It is important to note here, that those affected were given assistance, and incentives to move on, even there was no legal choice for the residents under local laws. This highlights the issue of housing rights in the light of mega events. These sorts of evictions are commonplace when constructing the infrastructure for hosting the events. Most of the events are based in poorer areas of the town, in order to 'revitalise' the place (Olds, 1998). It shows that marginalised groups can often be pushed aside to create the spectacle. Residents also have to deal with the discomfort of the construction period before the events. Residents are inconvenienced by road closures, construction noise, and dust before the event. For example, before the 1999 Rugby World Cup, in Cardiff, the construction, for over a year before the tournament would affect the local residents. Delays in the construction also meant that 24 hour periods of working were common place which would have annoyed the local residents (Jones, 2001). It shows what local groups have to go through in order to host events. These sorts effects are never seen by the media, so outside of the locality, the idea that this inconvenience exists is not thought of. This shows a social cost that must be paid in return for hosting the events.

Place making

Each of the various concerns of the sports geography literature, such as legacies, economic development, social impacts, and boosterism can be interpreted as ‘place making’, in particular around events, is that of the idea of place-making. Tied in through the literature, many reasons given to host these events centres around the marketability of hosts to the greater public (Bale & Dejonghe, 2008; Green & Chalip, 1998; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). The idea of place-making is simple in concept – to make a place through various means, but in reality is complex mess with many different actors trying to achieve different outcomes.

The idea of place-making is central to all geographers, both cultural and physical (Tuan, 1991). Cultural geographers study the socially constructed ideas of place, and how human factors such as economic, political, technological, etc. shape the human world. The term place itself has connotations attached to it. Cresswell (2009), states that ‘location became place when it became meaningful.’ (pg. 169). This shows that in order to make places in a social context, it is vital to give them meanings. It is how these meanings are made, that is important to geographers. In the case of events, meanings are attempted to be attached to the event. This goes back to the initial ideas of place and placemaking.

Placemaking goes back to Lefebvre’s (1991) initial three types of space. Placemaking is associated with these ideas of place, as it involves taking spaces and giving it meanings. This falls into his ideas of representations of space, and how people try to attach meaning to spaces. Attaching meaning to place is widespread now in order to bring attention to the city in the context of the ‘place wars’ (Waite, 2001). Wu (2000) uses the example of Shanghai, which has undergone changes from the increased global connections of China. One part of this is the use of urban planning, to try and make the city known as a world city. This is done through the promotion of Shanghai as a global place. Recent building booms, and the allowing of foreign investment has meant that many new, unique structures have been built. This follows the ideas

of the urban spectacle, and how planning changes has meant that the city can be built as a spectacular place. These ‘high imageability’ spaces is argued to draw attention to cities, and give them significance (Tuan, 1979). Mega Events fall into this category. For example, one of the reasons given for hosting the Sydney Olympic Games, was that the games were an “imperative part of securing Sydney’s status as an Asia-Pacific regional headquarter and international tourist destination” (Waite, 2001 pg. 252). It shows the importance placed on these events, and how it can be seen as a way to share the image of the city with a global audience.

Legacy

These multiple dimensions of the sporting event are increasingly becoming understood as ‘legacy’. According to Horne and Manzenreiter (2006), the most attractive aspect of hosting events is the ‘legacies’ that it leaves behind. Despite a growing body of work looking at legacies of sporting events, there is no agreed upon definition of legacy (Cornelissen, Bob, & Swart, 2011; Gratton & Preuss, 2008; Preuss, 2007b, 2014). While there is no agreed upon definition, it is useful to look at the work of Preuss (2007a) who says

Irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself (p. 211).

Using this definition of legacies, it can be seen that idea of a legacy seems to be ‘all that remains’ (J.-L. Chappelet, 2012 pg. 78) from the hosting of an event. The legacies that the authors talk about can come in different forms (Bale & Dejonghe, 2008; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). The idea of legacies has also been started to be used by organisers. For example, in 1991, the organising committee of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games mentioned that it would like to ‘leave a positive physical and spiritual *legacy*.’ (Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, 1997 pg.20). Legacy became a term used more often in official publications, and was present in a brochure about the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, 2008 Beijing Olympic

Games, and the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympic Games (J.-L. Chappelet, 2012). This increased focus on legacies was recognised through two main examples. Firstly, the International Olympic Committee Charter was changed in 2003 to add a fourteenth mission: “To promote a positive *legacy* from the Olympic Games to the host cities and the host countries” (rule 2.140) (J.-L. Chappelet, 2012 pg. 77). The 2012 London Olympic Games showed the most use of the term legacy, and this was identified in its ‘*Legacy Action Plan (LAP)*’, a document that was a type of mission statement from the organisers of the games (J.-L. Chappelet, 2012). It showed the importance that organisers were putting into the future impacts of hosting events, and the significance of the LAP demonstrated that considering the legacies left behind were becoming paramount in being awarded the events. London was the first host city in the Olympic Games to have actively considered legacy in its bidding (Preuss, 2014). This showed an awareness from the main sporting bodies of the impact that the events were having in the host locations (Preuss, 2007a).

Another definition of legacies is the work of J. Chappelet and Junod (2006), who try to define legacies further by splitting them into five different categories. There is sporting, urban, infrastructure, economic, and social. Cornelissen et al. (2011) adapt J. Chappelet and Junod (2006) five legacies to help further define the different types of legacy as:

- Sporting legacy. This refers to sporting facilities built or renovated for an event and which will serve some purpose after the event has concluded. These sporting infrastructures often become ‘emblematic symbols’ for the host city and depict its link with sports. They may also play a role in changing local sporting culture, since the availability of a new venue may increase people’s participation in sport, new and different types of sport may be introduced to the area, and more mega-events may be organised on a regular basis.
- Urban legacy. This refers to buildings erected for the mega-event but which serve no sporting purpose, and also changes made to the structure of the host city and the development of new urban districts and specialised areas.

- **Infrastructural legacy.** This refers to the various networks, ranging from transport to telecommunications, which are renovated or developed for a mega-event and maintained after the event is complete. New access routes by air, water, road or rail are part of this legacy.
- **Economic legacy.** Mega-events are often associated with increases in the number of tourists to a host city. Although it is difficult to determine the impact of tourism in the long term, the tourist legacy needs to be evaluated by measuring the number of tourists over a longer period. The economic legacy also includes the ‘setting up of non-tourism orientated companies that were attracted to the host region by its dynamism’; that is, leveraging investment opportunities. Other indicators of this legacy are changes in the number of permanent jobs created and in the unemployment rate of the host region or city.
- **Social legacy.** Mega-events are symbolic in nature and thus often lead to the creation of many stories and myths. These form part of the term the ‘collective memory’ of an event. This term refers to local residents’ memories of the mega event and can also include the skills and experience they gain through their direct or indirect involvement. An essential part of the social legacy of mega events is the change in local residents’ perceptions of the host city or region.

(p. 309-310)

Starting with the most obvious legacy left behind from these events is ones associated with building things (Jones, 2001). These include stadiums, roads, hotels, railways etc. and can be associated with the idea of urban, infrastructure, and some sporting legacies. These are most often associated with events, because of the large scale development that occurs to host the events (Jones, 2001; Kim & Petrick, 2005) such as meet requirements set out by organisers, and to deal with the large influx of people that would be attending the event. Cities usually change slowly, but extensive restructuring is required for the events, and development is sped up by around ten years (Preuss, 2004). For the biggest events, new stadiums, and complementing infrastructure are often constructed (Bale & Dejonghe, 2008; Black & Van Der

Westhuizen, 2004; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Jones, 2001; Preuss, 2007b) quickly and outside of usual plans (Jones, 2001). This means that infrastructure projects are quickly pushed through in order to be ready for games, with little input from those affected (Olds, 1998). These physical developments are used as arguments for hosting these events, such as the Atlanta Olympic Games (1996), which promoted the construction of a new stadium, horse park, shooting range, rowing course, dormitories, and new athletic facilities (Humphreys & Plummer, 1992).

New infrastructure is usually built at great cost to host the events, in an attempt to first, create a world class environment to host the event, and secondly to leave lasting marks in the urban fabric. For example, the South Korean government in the lead up to the 2002 FIFA World Cup spent US\$250 million on the construction of ten brand new stadiums, which were part of a total of 188 projects that were required to be completed before the World Cup (Kim & Petrick, 2005), while in preparation for the 2007 International Cricket Council (ICC) Cricket World Cup (CWC), the host islands spent vast sums of money to construct new and upgrade old facilities to host matches and cater for tourists. Five new stadia, and seven existing ones were upgraded at an estimated cost of \$250 million, while expenditure on infrastructure and technology is estimated at double that figure (Lorde et al., 2011). This infrastructure investment is used to create an image to the rest of the world that the host is modern developed place to visit. As most footage of the events would be from within the stadium, this explains why hosts often build extravagant, expensive stadiums.

These infrastructure legacies can go beyond new stadia, and can affect the whole city. Barcelona '92 is often named the ideal example (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). The construction of infrastructure associated with the Olympic Games, is attributed to changing perceptions of Barcelona as a city (Brunet, 1995). The Olympic Village opened up the waterfront, and the city capitalised on the new exposure to promote itself as an attractive

destination for the location of head offices (Brunet, 1995). Brunet also goes on to say that there was the creation of 20,000 extra jobs, which was invaluable at a time as it insulated Barcelona from the same challenges that the rest of Spain, and Europe were facing. However, these claims have been contested, especially about the quality and duration of the jobs, most of which were found to be temporary, and low quality and low paying (Malfas, Houlihan, & Theodoraki, 2004). This sort of investment into the city is not limited to Barcelona. Almost all event hosting regions need to develop some sort of infrastructure to meet the demands of the event. These events act as a catalyst for urban development. The construction of new villages, transport links, and city beautifications are a part of the process of hosting mega events (Hiller, 2000).

The 'allure of global games' (Black & Van Der Westhuizen, 2004) can prove to be a drawcard for hosts, and to establish a brand that can be used to promote them further. As discussed before, the global reach of these events can be a powerful platform to build the brand, and demonstrates the economic rationale that hosts give for the hosting of the event (Malfas et al., 2004). Malfas et al. go on to say

The economic contribution of mega-sporting events is primarily thought of in terms of the possibilities they provide of increasing the awareness of the city or region as a tourism destination and the knowledge concerning the potential for investment and commercial activity in the region. Therefore, they can attract more investment and visitors, and consequently create new jobs and contribute to the economic growth of the city or region (p. 212).

The physical legacies left behind can be used by hosts to promote themselves as destinations. These 'high profile sporting events have been critically positioned in the marketing, decision-making, and strategy development of tourism destinations' (C.-K. Lee & Taylor, 2005 pg. 595). The legacies left behind are usually regarded as the most important and the primary reason why governments bid for the events (Cornelissen et al., 2011). These mega events draw large

numbers of domestic and international tourists. As discussed earlier, the platform of which the host can market itself is huge. The global audience of most mega events cover a large portion of the world. Jones (2001) talks about the idea cities and countries taking a 'short cut towards global audience' (p. 241) which has led to the increased amount of developing countries looking to become players on the global events calendar. For example, the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa was designed to be a stage to market South Africa to the rest of the world as a modern developed country (Bob & Swart, 2009). Throughout the process, from bidding to hosting, emphasis was put on the 'development and transformation of the post-apartheid society' (Cornelissen, 2007 pg. 257). The FIFA World Cup was used to promote South Africa, as it displayed a once in a life-time opportunity that would leave significant legacies for South African for years to come (Bob & Swart, 2009; Cornelissen, 2007). Lefebvre (1991) use this example, along with the 2010 Commonwealth Games in New Delhi, as instances of places trying to market itself as a global, world class city. Regions such as these are trying to increase visibility due to the perceived benefits that comes from hosting mega events.

Conclusion – an as yet underdeveloped literature

Sporting events as they have been treated in geography falls between a set of geographical literatures, specifically placemaking. Creating a city brand is a complex task that is hard to get right, but one way that is often used is to create an image of the city, and associate it with something. In the literature, this comes down to ideas such as boosterism, tourism, place marketing, and regional development.

The main takeaway from the literature, is that cities are using events as a way of marketing themselves as destinations. Cities that choose to host mega events, do so with a long term view in mind, and what sort of image is created by hosting the event. Events are just the beginning,

as mega events are often hosted with long term goals to attract more tourists to the destination (Herstein & Berger, 2014).

While placemaking is the central theme to events literature, this comes in different forms. Boosterism literature looks at the way events are used as civic boosterism. This involves creating a positive image of the city, and this can be seen in the events literature. Creating a positive image of the city is one of the main goals of those hosting the event. This is because they want to host further events, and attract more tourists to the destination. This falls under tourism literature, and as such, there is a lot of research around events in the tourism literature. This also ties into place marketing. Marketing of the city is important to attract more tourists. There is no point in hosting these events, if there is no leverage applied afterwards to make the most of the marketing opportunities offered by hosting these events.

These events can also act as catalysts for regional development. Hosting the events usually requires special infrastructure, such as stadiums, accommodation, transport, and hospitability. This can have both negative and positive effects on the city in many different ways including socially. This itself can lead to development of the region, but also the other development projects can occur as well associated with it. City development projects can happen in conjunction with the event, and this is associated with presenting the city in the best possible way to the wider audience.

The literatures are all tied together through the commonality of placemaking. All of the individual process link together to create placemaking processes. This is usually the end goal of the host, to create a destination that is made through the event.

While most studies look at the effects, there have also been calls to study the broader picture. Authors such as Hiller (2000) and Roche (2000) argue that going beyond looking at impacts will help understand better what processes help turn the visions of mega events into reality.

Hiller (1998) says that there are many linkages through the event, running forward to the future, backwards which shows reasons behind why an event was hosted, and parallel linkages which are linked to the event, but not directly. Roche (1994) calls for the search of explanation to guide mega event research, not a trying to find what has been impacted.

Context

This thesis sits in the broader context of placemaking. Placemaking is widely considered to be assigning meanings to place (Cresswell, 2009), and this demonstrates in the context in which the tournament is sitting in. A basic theory is that events function as a placemaking activity. They help create and publicise cultural landscapes (Duffy, 2009). The FIFA U20 World Cup in New Plymouth offers this in four key contexts. Firstly, scale. The tournament operates at a massive scale. Mega events have huge global exposure, especially through the modern reach of television, and the internet. Secondly, in the New Zealand context, sport plays an important role in the economic strategy of the country. Thirdly, in New Plymouth, sport plays a major role in the cultural life. Sport, and in particular, the value of rugby to the region has been discussed in reports, and highlights its importance to the community. Lastly, Taranaki is relatively less known as a destination, but rather known for its resource based economy, and engineering industry.

The Tournament

The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Under 20 World Cup (FIFA World Youth Championship till 2005) is a tournament for men's national Under 20 Teams. It is FIFA's second largest tournament (FIFA, 2015d). It has been held biennially since the first tournament in 1977. The tournament has a reputation of showcasing the best young footballers on the planet. The tournament is a stepping stone to senior football, with 694 participants going on to play in the senior FIFA World Cup (FIFA, 2015a).

Scale.

To understand why mega events are studied, it is important to grasp the sheer scale on which these events operate. Economically, mega events are wanted by cities and countries because of the mass attention that it brings to the region. This mass exposure to the world can be a huge opportunity for cities to promote themselves, to bring investment to them through tourism and

business (Black & Van Der Westhuizen, 2004; Burgan & Mules, 1992; Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006; Jones, 2001; Kim & Petrick, 2005; C.-K. Lee & Taylor, 2005; Malfas et al., 2004; Olds, 1998; Preuss, 2007b). According to Jones (2001) the staging of a mega event has become increasingly important in to attract tourists. He calls it a ‘shortcut’ to global awareness. This is because the area is focused on over a long period of time. The decision to award a place with an event can take place several years before the event. This means that the location of the event is under scrutiny for a prolonged period of time, and during the event itself, awareness of the place increases.

The exposure that the region receives can be massive. For example, the 2004 Athens Olympic Games had a cumulative TV audience of 40 billion over 35,000 hours of media coverage. The 2002 FIFA World Cup held in South Korea and Japan, had an audience of 28.8 billion spread across 213 countries (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). While these two are the pinnacle of mega events, even drawing a fraction of these number would have an enormous coverage for other events. Coupled with an advances in technology such as broadcasting on the Internet has meant that the audience for these events have grown further (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006). These television audiences lead to huge figures in terms of sponsorship, and television rights fees. In Horne and Mazonreiter’s introduction to mega events, they detail the vast sums of money that TV networks and sponsors pay. The Olympic Games for example received US\$2.229 billion in TV rights, and around US\$1.459 billion from sponsorship in the years 2001 – 2004.

New Zealand

In this edition of the tournament, 24 national teams are playing across 52 games in seven host cities in New Zealand (Tourism New Zealand, 2015). The FIFA U-20 World Cup is the largest football tournament held in New Zealand and the tournament was awarded to New Zealand in 2010 (Harvie & Kelland, 2015). Aside from some Oceania Confederation tournaments, the

only international tournaments held in New Zealand are the 1999 FIFA Under 17 World Cup, and the 2008 FIFA Under 17 Women's World Cup.

Football in New Zealand has had a long history, with the game being played from the 1850's, with the first recorded game played in Christchurch in 1854 (Guoth, 2006). A national football association was formed in 1891 (Ruane, 2015). Even though football has been present in New Zealand for a long time, it has failed to capture the imagination of the public, the way that rugby has. As such, football has taken a peripheral role to rugby, which New Zealand has become one of the world's best sides. The fascination with rugby is so great, it has become a key identifier of New Zealand culture (Cox & Thompson, 2003; Little, 2002), in the same way Brazil and football, or France and wine are linked together (Bale, 2002).

Football in New Zealand has had some key moments when it was thrust to a more mainstream sport in society. This was the qualification of the 'All Whites' (the New Zealand national football team) to the 1982 FIFA World Cup finals. This is central to football in New Zealand, and this led to the first academic publication of the sport in New Zealand (Little, 2002). The second time this occurred, was during for 2010 FIFA World Cup Finals. This combined with a historically good season by the Wellington Phoenix (New Zealand's only professional football team), meant that football's popularity in New Zealand was at an all-time high (Ruane, 2015). Even though rugby is the most widely followed sport in New Zealand, in terms of participation, football has the highest numbers of registered players across all range groups, with numbers rising ten per cent from 2010 to 2014 for junior (ages 4-10) and seven per cent for youth (ages 13-18) (Easton, 2012; Mathers, 2014).

Sporting events and economic development in NZ

Sporting events play a major role in the economic strategy of New Zealand. Major Events are targeted by the government as a way of increasing exposure of New Zealand, as a destination to the rest of the world (Ministry of Economic Development, 2007). There has been a recent

push to host more of these events, and so far, many large events have been held, or are planning to be held, such as the 2011 Rugby World Cup, 2015 Cricket World Cup (co-hosted with Australia), and the 2017 World Master Games. Post event policy in sporting events are also used to help development after the conclusion of the event. For example, the 2000 America's Cup Regatta in Auckland led to the development of the Viaduct Basin, which is now used as an entertainment precinct. The use of mega events to develop lasting effects is clear, in the way it is set out by the government. Lasting impacts is a goal that the government set out to achieve when bidding for major events (Economic Growth and Infrastructure Committee, 2009).

New Plymouth

New Plymouth is the main city of the Taranaki region on the west coast of the North Island approximately half way between Auckland and Wellington (figure 1). It is a small regional centre with a with a population of 74,000 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

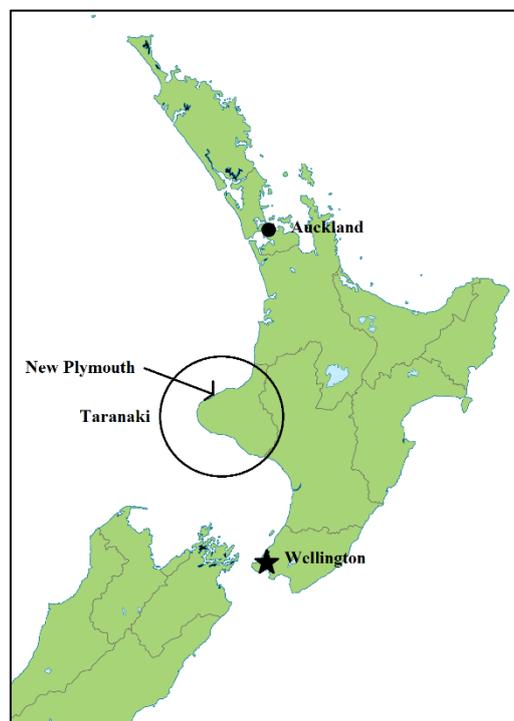


Figure 1. Location of New Plymouth

Sports is an important part of Taranaki society. Taranaki has had a long history with sports, especially rugby. For instance, a 2009 report stated that ‘rugby has, and continues to play, a crucial role in the fabric and development of Taranaki society’ (Venture Taranaki & Taranaki Rugby, 2009 p. 44). Taranaki routinely does well in national competitions, such as winning the ITM Cup (national rugby championship) in 2014. Average attendance for home games is one of the highest in the country, while it also has the cheapest tickets, this encourages fans to go to games (H. Lee, 2015).

Taranaki has an abundance of natural resources and its economy is based on oil and gas production, as well as dairy farming. It is New Zealand’s only oil and gas producing region, and as such is a hub for associated activities. As a result, it is a centre of heavy engineering in New Zealand. For example, the Major Regional Initiative scheme, saw Taranaki invest its allocated money into forming the Centre of Applied Engineering of New Zealand (Venture Taranaki, 2004) or the Motunui Methanol Plant, built in the 1980’s as a synthetic petrol plant (Gregg & Walrond, 2013). Engineering applications are also used in dairy production. The region is home to a major milk processing plant, and cheese making facility. As such, recent growth strategies have been centred around using the engineering expertise to grow into markets around these, such as yacht building, and alternative energy (Venture Taranaki, 2010). There is also mention of using the natural environment to help foster tourism growth like the planned upgraded Pouakai Crossing (Wilkinson, 2016). The use of sporting events has also been said to be a part of this tourism push, with the latest growth strategy wanting to capitalise on the success of the 2011 Rugby World Cup (Venture Taranaki, 2010).

New Plymouth has had a long association with hosting major events. It has previously been a host in mega events, such as the 2011 Rugby World Cup, and the 2005 British and Irish Lions Tour of New Zealand. New Plymouth also annually hosts the annual TSB Bank Festival of Lights, and WOMAD (World of Music, Arts, and Dance) (New Plymouth District Council,

2015c). As a result, it has the infrastructure in place to be a host, such as a modern stadium, plentiful accommodation, and entertainment options.

Football in Taranaki is not as big as rugby. There are currently thirteen senior clubs, which compete in three senior men, and one women's league. There is also a strong presence in junior leagues, with over 180 teams from clubs and schools (FIFA, 2015c).

New Plymouth plays host to Group E of the tournament. This group has teams from Brazil, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (Korea DPR), Hungary, and Nigeria. As well as this, it is also the host to one Round of 16 Knockout game. It hosts six games in total over a period of eleven days. All the games are played at Stadium Taranaki. This is a modern stadium with a capacity of 22,300 people, however during the event, it will be running at a reduced capacity of 10,200

Methodology

In this thesis, I used several different methods of data collection. These were wide ranging and utilised both primary, and secondary sources. The methods were chosen in order to try and encompass as much information as possible about the subject. Considerations towards ethics was given and approval from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee was obtained in June 2015.

Research Design

The research itself is qualitative as it seeks meaning and understanding rather than focused on outcomes of processes. Because of this myself, as the researcher is the primary data collector and analyst (Merriam, 1998). I was focusing on themes running across stories that I found, rather than finding outcomes from the tournament. This meant that rather than looking at numbers and figures as my primary data source, I use these to complement the research as examples, and an indicator of trends. Quantitative studies of events have been used before to prove the effectiveness of events, but they do not show why or how it is effective.

I am using three main methods of investigation.

1. Participant observation in regionally based games.
2. Interviews with key informants at the completion of the event.
3. Collation and analysis of media reports and documents.

Crowd Participation.

Crowd Participation was an important part of the research. Mair, Whitford, and Mackellar (2013) recognise participation research as a form of gathering data “through the recording of behaviour, conversation, and experience *in situ* (pg. 57)”. They go on to say that participation is well suited to event research, where there is a “need or desire to explore aspects of audience behaviour (pg. 57)”. This allows the researcher to take part in the activity in a way to not disrupt the behaviour of others in the audience. Spradley (1980) shows five different forms of

participant research on a continuum of involvement, (1) complete, (2) active, (3) moderate, (4) passive, and (5) non-participation. (1) complete being full participation in an event e.g. taking part in a marathon when researching one. Mair et al. (2013) suggest (3) moderate as a good involvement in an event, as it allows both insider involvement (purchasing tickets, sitting with spectators, being involved in the spectator scene) as well as outsider behaviour (observing spectator behaviour).

For this thesis it meant being in New Plymouth during the build-up and the duration of the event. For crowd participation, it involved me attending the six games held in New Plymouth at Stadium Taranaki. In addition to this, I also attended open training sessions, local events, fan zones, and any other events run in association with the World Cup open to the public. During these, I conversed with other attendees, to gauge their views and hear about what drew them to the event and what they thought about it. This involved talking to fans, volunteers, and other people that were present at the events I attended.

In total I attended all six games held, and three of the open training sessions. I also went into the CBD before all match days to see the festivities being held. During off days, I wandered around the town and attended the local fan zone to see differences between match days and non-match days.

The games I attended were all part of Group E of the tournament, as well as a Round of 16 Knockout Game.

| Team 1 | Team 2 | Type of Game | Date |
|------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| Brazil | Nigeria | Group Game | 01/06/2015 |
| Korea DPR | Hungary | Group Game | 01/06/2015 |
| Nigeria | Korea DPR | Group Game | 04/06/2015 |
| Brazil | Hungary | Group Game | 04/06/2015 |
| Nigeria | Hungary | Group Game | 07/06/2015 |

| | | | |
|---------------|---------|-------------|------------|
| Brazil | Uruguay | Round of 16 | 11/06/2015 |
|---------------|---------|-------------|------------|

Table 1. Games Attended

There were two match days with two games each, and two other match days with a single game each. For each game, I attempted to buy tickets as close to or inside a supporters' area. These were sections of seating for supporters of the teams, and there was one for each team playing. I managed to get into a supporters' area for the opening day, and also the last day of play.

Before the start of the games, I would go to the fan zone setup in the CBD, called "*Fever Pitch*". This was a hub for all the entertainment associated with the tournament (New Plymouth District Council, 2015d). The fan zone was set up at Puke Ariki, a main town square in the CBD. Here I would find fans to talk to. I also talked with fans at the stadium, as well as volunteers. I also talked to people attending open training sessions. I went to three of the open training sessions.

| Team | Date |
|----------------|------------|
| Nigeria | 29/05/2015 |
| Hungary | 03/06/2015 |
| Uruguay | 09/06/2015 |
| Brazil | 10/06/2015 |

Table 2. Training sessions attended

The training sessions were held across the Northern Taranaki Region, and were advertised in advance to allow people to come along.

In addition to attending these, I also went to events organised in association with the tournament such as signings, and various competitions designed to generate interest in the event. The opening weekend of the event played host to 'Football Fever', an opening event to kick off the tournament in New Plymouth. This included a range of activities such as face painting, bouncy castles, appearances by the mascot, and also cuisine from the teams that were

playing there. Another one of the events that I attended were a fan signing session with the Nigerian team on the afternoon of the 3rd of June held in the central fan zone. I also went to the fan zone before all the games, to see what festivities were being held there in the build up to the games.

Interviews.

I participated in an interview with a council official. It was a semi structured interview, taken via email exchange. It consisted of eight questions, mainly based on organisation, and preparation of the tournament. The set of questions created were to understand how the council works in securing the events, and reasons behind them.

To do the interview, emails were exchanged, between myself and the interviewee. This was done mainly because the time to undertake a face to face or phone interview could not be found. Times where the interviewee would be free, and when I was able to did not match up. Because of this, I decided to email the questions to the interviewee, and they were able to respond in their own time.

Some advantages of this are, the time taken. It can be broken up into smaller chunks enabling it to be filled in when the informant had time to answer questions. It also meant the answers were clear, and there was no ambiguity in what was being said. It is also a fairly reliable source of communication. Phone calls, and meetings are difficult to schedule, so email offers the chance for the interviewee to reply, and for me to ask questions when ever.

Some disadvantages of this method were, the lack of connection. This meant that I could not create a good rapport, where I would feel comfortable discussing topics outside of the interview schedule. It also meant that it was difficult to follow up on particular statements made, as in a conversational interview, it is possible to ask the interviewee to elaborate on a point, or discuss another point easily.

Club Enquiries.

I also rang around local football clubs to ask them about registrations this year, and whether that they had seen an increase from last year. I then asked them if they think this is related to the fact kids had been exposed to the World Cup last year. I contacted a total of twenty clubs and received answers from twelve of them. To find the clubs, I went to the Central Football web page and found contacts there. I didn't ask for specific numbers, but rather just if they had seen an increase, and about if they had heard people talking if the numbers were higher because of the World Cup.

Media and Documents.

Another method I used was to keep an eye on media releases before, during, and after the tournament. I focused mainly on the local newspaper, the Taranaki Daily News, as it had the most relevant stories. I also looked through the paper archives back to when the tournament was awarded to New Zealand, to see the reaction then, and how the tournament evolved over the years when it was announced that New Plymouth would be a host city.

To do this, I kept a copy of articles published in the paper as the event took place, and for periods that I was outside the region, I looked through the digital archive for articles. I used news sources as a secondary source of information. I used the articles to complement my primary research, and to add depth to the some of the finding I had found.

I also looked at key reports and strategies from different departments. I found these from reports mentioned in interviews, along with those found online that were related. These were from local and central government sources, as well as reports done directly done as a result of the tournament.

Analysis

Data analysis involved finding themes consistent across the various data sources, and using them to form narratives to explore further.

Data from the crowd participation, and interviews were used to create narratives to discuss. The narratives were then lined up with theories in the literature, especially Chappelet and Junod's (2006) sporting event legacies. This formed the basis of the discussion. Major narratives about the tournament fell into these categories, so it was easy to spread them out through them. This was then placed in placemaking theory, to deduct conclusions. Reports and media documents such as newspaper articles were used to find other evidence of the narratives created.

Relationships

It is important to consider the relationship between the researcher, and the researched. This may influence the results given. It highlights the importance of recognising ones position, as well as of the researched, and how this can reflect in the research.

In qualitative research, the researcher plays a close role to the data collection, and analysis. Researchers often move between insider, and outsider roles throughout the research process, and it is important to remember this when conducting the research. This is especially prevalent to me, as an aspect of the research was crowd participation.

Relationships fall into two categories. One being in the interview, and the other from crowd participation.

In the interviews, I was interviewing someone in a professional role. This meant that there was the expectation that the interviewer would remain in the position of power. It was their decision whether to take part in the study or not, and that they could leave at any time. This is fairly straightforward, and is what most students would find themselves in whenever they are

interviewing a professional. I am comfortable in this situation, as it something I have had to do before in my schooling.

Secondly, the crowd participation was a more complex relationship. As I was attending the games as both a fan, and as a researcher, it was important that I looked at the tournament through two different sets of eyes. As a football fan in general, it is easy to get caught up in the moment, and not look through critical eyes. This could be both a positive, and negative, as I could experience the experience that fans did, but I could also miss the involvement that non-fans have.

Talking to fans, I initially introduced myself as a fellow fan watching the games, and this was fine for sitting next to other fans and talking about the game, the city, and just general chat. However, I introduced myself as a masters student to some of the supporters of particular teams. I did this with the Nigerian, and the Brazilian supporter, as I would constantly see them around the tournament. This made it easier to ask more questions that may have seemed weird if they thought they were talking to some other football fan.

Results

The results section would include mainly the crowd participant that I was involved in. This is best set out in the results as report. Throughout this I will refer to media reports, and newspaper articles that I saw. These were usually published in the Taranaki Daily News, the local newspaper.

Crowd Participation

Training Day 1: 29th May 2015.

This was the first of a series of open training sessions that I attended during the duration of the tournament. This was a training session for Nigeria, and was held at 1pm at Manukorihi Park in Waitara, a small town 15 minutes drive from New Plymouth. The weather that day was fine, but cold.

When I got there, there were four people there. This built up steadily as the training session progressed. I stayed the session for an hour, and during the time there was a group of Nigerian supporters who arrived to watch their national team train. The park where the training session was held, is located next to a school, so it meant that school children would come watch the session as well. There were two class groups that came. I talked to a few of the children, and they were excited by the tournament, and that there were sports stars at their school.

There were also some reporters, and scouts attending the training session. There really wasn't a lot going on other than that. The cold weather would be off putting, and since it was a school day, students would not be able to attend.

Match Day 1: 1st June 2015

First day of games in New Plymouth. The first game was at 1pm between Nigeria and Brazil, with Hungary playing against North Korea later that day at 4pm. This is Queen's Birthday Weekend in New Zealand, so it meant that it was a long weekend. Prior to the day's games, I went to the fan zone in the centre of town to see what festivities were happening. There were some activities such as face painting, foosball, as well as a Brazilian DJ, along with Nigerian drummers. There was a small crowd of around 80-100 people there, and most were waiting for the bus that went to the stadium from there. The majority of people taking part in the activities were children. The weather that weekend was quite poor, with rain, and cold temperatures. This probably put people off from attending the fan zone before the game, as well affecting walk up numbers.



Figure 2. "Fever Pitch" the official fan zone in the CBD

Nigeria vs. Brazil.

This is the first group game to be held in New Plymouth. During the build up to the tournament, this was promoted as one of the biggest group games to watch (Smith, 2015). Both nations are famous for their football successes, and both were considered to be a favourite to win the tournament. This was considered a coup for New Plymouth to host this game, and the media used this as a way of promoting the tournament.

The game itself lived up to its billing, with a thrilling encounter won by the Brazilians 4-2. The crowd attendance was put at 6,778, which is about $\frac{2}{3}$ rds full. At the game there was a large group of Nigerian, and Brazilian fans. I was fortunate enough to be sitting in the Nigerian fan area, so this meant that I was able to talk to the fans during the game. All the people I talked to said they were from Auckland, and had travelled down to watch the game. They said that it was a rare occasion to watch football in New Zealand, and even rarer to watch their national team play. This feeling was also evident amongst the Brazilian fans that I talked to. They mentioned how much of a cultural part of life, football is for them, like how rugby is revered in New Zealand. Again, the Brazilians I talked to were from Auckland, and this was also picked up by media reports in the days before the tournament.

The crowd atmosphere at the game was vibrant and loud. Sitting in the Nigerian fan section meant that I was at a centre of noise, so this may have skewed my perception somewhat. Local fans sitting in the area also commented on the atmosphere at the stadium, comparing it favourably to other events. Most people seemed to enjoy the chanting and singing that the Nigerian, and Brazilian fans were doing, with many others joining in once they worked out the words. Most of the Nigerian, and Brazilian fans seemed to enjoy this enthusiasm, and were more than happy to show off their culture at football games. In addition to the fans, there was also a small marching band playing music. This was popular among fans, as this band was there for the whole tournament, as well local rugby games after the tournament finished.

Hungary vs. Korea DPR (North Korea).

The second game of the day, and of the games hosted by New Plymouth saw Hungary play against North Korea. The match started about an hour after the conclusion of the Nigeria – Brazil game, and the later kick off saw crowd numbers rise to 8,153. This was about 80% of the stadium's capacity, and is similar to crowd numbers for a provincial rugby game. In contrast to the previous game, this was a dull affair that the Hungarians won easily 5-1. Most of the fans from the previous game stayed on to watch this game. There was a small Hungarian supporters group, but I didn't get the chance to talk to them at this match. There were also no North Korean supporters that I could see.

In comparison with the first game, there was not as much build up, or atmosphere created. Despite a fuller stadium, it was more quiet as there was not the same amount of fanaticism that the Brazilian and Nigerian fans showed during their game. It was also getting colder, and rain started falling during this game, leaving a more miserable atmosphere. At the end of the game, and the day's proceedings most people left quickly, and there were no after match celebrations at the stadium. I returned to the city centre to see if there was anything going on there, but it was fairly quiet.

Training Day 2 :3rd June 2015.

This was the second training session that I attended. This training session was for Hungary. I came to know of this training session as it was advertised in the newspaper. The training session was held at the stadium, on the main field. While it was advertised as an open training session, it was not actually one, and the stadium remained closed throughout. Several people turned up wanting to watch, even though it was not open for the public.

Match Day 2: 4th June 2015.

This match day was another with two games being held. The first game Nigeria vs. North Korea at 4pm followed by Hungary vs. Brazil at 7pm. Again, the weather was quite poor, with similar conditions of cold and intermittent rain throughout the evening. Like the previous match day, I started at the fan zone to see what activities was on offer before the games. There were less activities on offer this evening, with no live music like the previous day. This was also on a work day, as well as a school day meaning that not many people would have the time to attend the event before the games.

Nigeria vs. North Korea.

This was the third game to be played in New Plymouth. The game itself was mildly interesting, with Nigeria winning 4-0. There was a small crowd at this game of 1,115. This meant the stadium was very empty, which gave me the opportunity to walk around and talk to different people. There were some of the Nigerian supporters left from their first game. About half of them had left, but the other half were remaining for the rest of the pool play. They were just as loud as last time despite them being less in number. They also were trying to get the few other local fans involved by handing out flags, and teaching them words to their chants.

Local fans that I saw were mainly primary school aged children along with a parent. Most of these children seemed to be enjoying the games that they had been to. One family that was sitting next to me said that their son was a football fanatic, and that they were going to every game. They also mentioned that the tickets were surprisingly, reasonably priced given the large nature of the tournament. This meant that it was affordable to go to a number of games.

Hungary vs. Brazil.

This was one of the more exciting games played, with Brazil winning 2-1. The crowd had steadily built up from the game before to just over 4,000. The crowd building up added to the atmosphere of the game as it was crucial for both teams to win to secure qualification to the

knock out rounds. This added a tension to the crowd, and in particular the supporters of the Brazilians, and the Hungarians.

A number of Brazilian fans stayed from earlier on the week to watch this game, and also a number of Hungarian fans were present at this game. I managed to talk to some Hungarian supporters at this game, and like the rest of the fans that I had met, were from New Zealand. Most of them were from Auckland, but three were from elsewhere. Like the fans I had met earlier, they too had travelled to watch their national team play, as it was rare for Hungary to be represented at an event in New Zealand.

Match Day 3: 7th June 2015.

Hungary vs. Nigeria.

This was the last group game to be played in New Plymouth and is the first time a single game was played on a day as well. A win for either team in this game would give them automatic qualification to the knock out stages, so once again tensions were high at the start of the game. 3,184 people attended the game. The weather for this game was the best it had been all tournament in New Plymouth, but was still very cold. I once again started the day's proceedings at the fan zone in the city centre. It was the busiest I had seen it, and this probably had to do with the good weather forecast, as well as it falling on a weekend. There were activities set up, aimed towards children, like face painting, foosball, and also various give aways and contests. At the game I ran into the same Nigerian group from the previous days. There was also a small group of Hungarian supporters different to the ones that I saw on the previous day. Local fans were once again mainly families with children.

Training Day 3: 9th June 2015.

This was the third training session I attended. This was for the Uruguay team, and was held at Manukorihi Park, like the first session. This was held two days before their match, and during the session, many people turned up to watch. Because it was held at next to a school, there were several class groups that came to watch, as well as other members of the public. There were also a number of Uruguayan supporters that came to watch, and I found out later that there was a sizeable Uruguayan population living in Taranaki. These supporters were welcomed by the team, and a lot of them were speaking to members of staff. The Uruguayan team looked pleased to have Uruguayan supporters at the training, and it was probably something that they were not expecting.



Figure 3. Uruguay Training Session

Training Day 4: 10th June 2015.

This was the fourth and final training session that I attended. It was for Brazil, and was held at TET Stadium, in Inglewood, another small town, about 10min drive from New Plymouth. This training session was also extended to the football teams of two local high schools. This meant that there was already a large group spectating, as some parents of the children taking part were there as well. In addition to them, there was not many more at the session. While it was an open session, it was clear that this was more a session for the school kids to have a chance to train alongside professional footballers.

Match Day 4: 11th June 2015.***Brazil vs. Uruguay.***

The final match to be held in New Plymouth was a Round of 16 Knock out between Brazil and Uruguay, with Brazil winning the game with a penalty shootout. The match was held in the evening at 7.30pm on the 11th of June. There was a lot of build-up in the local media about this game, with articles published almost daily between the final group game and the day of this game. On the day, 4,358 people attended the game, and the weather was similar to Match Day 3.

As before, before the game I went to the fan zone in the city centre. It was once again, similar to the other days, with activities, competitions, and give aways mainly catering towards small children. There were also a few Brazilian and Uruguayan supporters here too.

Most of the Brazilian supporters were the ones that had been here all tournament. Uruguay also was a new team to New Plymouth, so it meant the opportunity to meet new fan groups. In the local newspaper in the days leading up to the event, it ran a story about a large number of Uruguayans living in Taranaki (Shaskey, 2015b). This probably explained the large numbers

of Uruguayans at the game. I did not however, have the opportunity to talk to them as they were on the other side of the stadium.

General Observations

While I was in New Plymouth I saw many things associated with the tournament for the duration of my stay.

The CBD, for example, was split into four quarters, and each quarter was assigned a team to support. This meant that team colours were displayed in shop windows (fig. 2)

There were also other signs of support around the city. I saw a flag pole on a house with a Hungarian flag hoisted up it (fig. 5)



Figure 4. Shop front on main street



Figure 6. Hungarian Flag in New Plymouth

There were also more signs around town promoting the tournament. Most people that I talked to while I was in New Plymouth were aware that the tournament was happening and that New Plymouth was a host city.



Figure 5. Sign at the Airport welcoming visitors to the region

As mentioned in Match Day 2, most of the fans were children. This was consistent across the entire tournament, with a strong family focus catering towards children. Ticket prices were set relatively low compared to other sporting events, with children's tickets costing about \$8, while adults were slightly more expensive from about \$18. Children's ticket prices were mostly consistent across tiers of seating, compared to adults which widely varied depending on game,

and what category of seating. This was most likely intended, and led to the large numbers of children at the games.

The newspaper in the days prior to, and during the tournament had articles about the world cup running most days. These were usually in the form of local interest articles, or interviews with fans. Most of these involved young fans, that were looking forward to the tournament. Occasionally there would be interviews with expats, such as the Uruguayan community, as well as one about the Hungarian team (Shaskey, 2015a), as well as the Brazilian and Nigerian teams as well (Keith, 2015a).

There were also reports of teams in the community. The Nigerian team for example visited schools and a children's ward at the hospital. The Brazilian team were seen wandering around the city, as well as making appearances at local schools (Martin, 2015).

The notable exception to all this was the North Korean team. There were hardly any mentions about them in the media, and there was no anecdotal evidence about their involvement in the community, or even them being seen around. They also had no open training sessions, and the only chance I got to see them was at the games. This is most likely linked to their countries reputation of being highly isolated in the global sphere.

Club Enquiries

In total I contacted twenty local football clubs. I got a response from twelve of these clubs.

Out of the twelve clubs, eleven had seen they had seen an increase in playing numbers this year, three of which said that it was a large increase, not similar to normal increase of numbers.

Half of the clubs had said they heard people talking about the world cup, but could not say if the increased participation was due to children going to the world cup and being inspired.

It suggests that people that went to the world cup games, were most likely already interested in football to begin with, and they most likely already played, or were considering playing football.

| Question | Number |
|--|--------|
| Increase in numbers playing this year? | 11 |
| Was it a significant increase? | 3 |
| Do have you heard of people talking about the world cup/ Do you think that hosting the world cup was a reason for the increase in numbers? | 6 |

Table 3. Answers from club enquiries

Interviews

I completed an interview with an events manager at the New Plymouth District Council. This gave insight into the processes that occurred to allow New Plymouth to host this event.

The major focus was on hosting the event. As an events manager, the informant knew the processes behind hosting the event.

To begin with, the bidding process. This is the bidding by individual regions to host games of the world cup. This is done after the tournament is awarded to New Zealand. Invitations are extended to all the different regional bodies to bid for hosting the games. Regions then consider negatives, and positives and decide whether they want to bid for games or not. This depends on the regions facilities, costs, and impacts.

In New Plymouth, a group called 'Team Taranaki' is the body that makes bids for events. This group is a combination of staff from the constituent district councils of the Taranaki Region, The Taranaki Regional Council, Venture Taranaki, and some other community groups, and business organisations. This body also runs the local side of the event. Aside from hosting the

game, it is responsible for providing all entertainment associated with the tournament, liaise with the teams for community appearances, work with local business to prepare for the tournament, and set up the stadium fit for the games.

All the local work is undertaken by this group, and is overseen by the 'Local Organising Group' (LOC). This group is the national body that looks after the tournament, and is organised by FIFA. The LOC also is the group that awards games to hosts.

Team Taranaki, is a group that works together for major events, so it has experience in organising major events. In the case of New Plymouth and the U-20 World Cup, a decision to bid to host the games was done due to the necessary infrastructure present to host games, as well as a desire to host more events in order build a reputation of being a good events host. They also have to consider impacts in tourism, local business, security, and also how regulations associated with the tournament would impact the region. For example, the FIFA regulations, have a policy of not having any advertisements not from a FIFA sponsor within a 2km radius of the stadium, as well as having relevant signage put up within the tournament. This creates challenges in hosting different events in the build-up, and after the tournament, as all events usually have their own signs and advertisements put up.

The Team Taranaki group works alongside relevant groups in the region to prepare for the tournament. They have regular meetings with local business organisations to help them prepare for the tournament. One example of this that I noticed, and also was told to me, was assigning different parts of the CBD to different teams, and shops were given items in those teams colours to display in the shop fronts. This was done to create a welcoming atmosphere for visitors, as well as a sense of occasion. They would also talk to the hospitality association, in order for them to prepare for the influx of visitors. This helped spread the word of the tournament among the business, and also to locals.

Media and Official Documentation

Reports and documents.

I collected several different reports from before and after the tournament. These were the:

| Report | Description |
|--|--|
| FIFA U-20 World Cup New Zealand 2015: Leverage and Legacy Plan | <p>This plan was created before the tournament. It includes a series of objectives that the organisers want to meet after the event. These are all considered ‘legacies’ of the tournament. It focused on 4 main components;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This mainly focused on having an increase of people playing football. It is targeted towards youth players, and has a goal of 10% more player in the under 20 bracket by 2016. • It also talks about increasing the amount fans of football in New Zealand by 200,000. 2. Diversity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is to support the increase of cultures in New Zealand during the tournament. An increase of international fans means that there will be more exposure to different cultures from around the world. • Also promote ethnic football in the country, and assist different tournaments that are considered ‘ethnic’. 3. Capability <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the capability of football in New Zealand. • New infrastructure, such as new or improved playing fields across the country. • New support for the game, such as administrators, coaches, referees. 4. Tourism and Trade <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased opportunity for tourism and trade in the country relating to the tournament. |

| | |
|---|---|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical aim to enhance New Zealand's reputation as a major events destination. |
| Impact of the FIFA U20 World Cup 2015 on New Zealand | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A summary report created after the tournament. Focuses on economic details of the tournament. Has figures such as visitor spending, visitor nights. • 3,690 international visitors. • Added approximately \$30 million to the GDP of the country. |
| 2014/2015 New Plymouth District Council Annual Report | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual report highlighting the year. • Has a section on the U-20 World Cup, as it was a major event hosted. |
| New Plymouth District Council Major Events Strategy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Events strategy that outlines the plan to attract major events to the region. • Has reasoning behind the push to attract events to the region. • Explains the vision, and methods they use. |
| New Plymouth District Council Economic Development Strategy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategy to develop the economy. • Major events are a targeted source of economic development, and as such is featured in the report. |
| Yarrow Stadium Strategic Plan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stadium which hosted games. • Outlines vision it has in terms of development, and how this interacts with the major events strategy. |
| FIFA U-20 World Cup New Zealand 2015 Audience Report | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report completed after the event, with television audience numbers. • Showed the reach of the event. • Had an audience reach of just over 100 million viewers worldwide. • Almost 37 million in the South American region, about 18 million from Brazil. |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| New Zealand Major Events Strategy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outlines the plan from central government to attract major events to the country. • Similar to New Plymouth, it aims to promote New Zealand as an events destination. |
|-----------------------------------|--|

Table 4. Table of reports and descriptions

These provided me with additional information, and statistics.

Media.

Media reports were looked at to complement the other findings. During the tournament, I kept a track of articles in the local newspaper. There were several articles that were relevant. Stories about the tournament were run almost every day that the tournament was on. These were usually general interest articles about the tournament, as well as information about games, and what events were on.

General interest articles included stories about teams, and fans. There were some stories which were pieces about fans. These usually involved an interview with the fan or group of fans, and had information about them. From here I found out about some of the different fan groups present at the tournament, such as a large expat Uruguayan population living in Taranaki. Stories about the teams usually involved a look at the team, and had interviews with managers or coaches, but not as many players. These involved asking them what they thought about New Plymouth.

Discussion

The purpose of this research is to examine the impacts of ‘mega-events’ on small regions. This chapter discusses some of the legacies of the World Cup and some key place-making processes revealed by the case.

Legacies

Chappelet and Junod (2006) refer to five types of legacies. Their classification offers a guide for the different stories that I uncovered of place making through mega events. The classification focuses attention on the widespread concern in the literature with economic legacies, but allows for the extension of interest to social, infrastructure and sporting legacies and to intersections among them. The classification helps to show how hosting mega events can impact on these. Sporting and urban legacies can be found throughout all the stories. Sporting legacies play a crucial role in the formation of legacies as do conceptions of a particular form of the urban, the small regional city.

Economic Legacy

Major events always have an economic legacy. These are often considered to be the most important legacies left behind, and a major reason to why councils and governments bid for these events (Cornelissen et al., 2011). Major tournaments have huge economic value. These economic values, are not limited to hosting the tournament, as a major part of the legacy, is what is done afterwards. The tournaments can act as a springboard for further development and a global stage, for the host to promote itself. Future growth strategies can be based around the exposure that is achieved from the tournament (C.-K. Lee & Taylor, 2005).

Major events play a large role in the economic strategy of New Plymouth and Taranaki as a region. These events are part of the future plans of not only New Plymouth, but also New Zealand. This can be seen through the creation of major event strategies for both these regions.

Both the Government Major Event Strategy (2004) and the New Plymouth District Council Major Events Strategy (2010) show this. Both these strategies revolve around making New Zealand, and New Plymouth a place known for hosting major events. It is a core component to future plans that are set out for New Plymouth. The hosting of events can be seen in most of the future plans and strategies of the New Plymouth District Council, notably in both the long term plan (2015b) and the economic development strategy (2014). The economic development strategy identifies major and community events, such as sporting events as “important contributors to our local economy (New Plymouth District Council, 2014; pg. 35)”. Its importance is seen as it has its own section *Recreation and Events* (New Plymouth District Council, 2015b; pg. 118) in the long term plan. This highlights the significance of events to regional economic planning. On the major events strategy, it lists the highly aspirational goal that New Plymouth become known as a “world-class destination (pg. 8).”

These documents direct investment income, at least in the form of promotional activity, and structure local regulation to construct the region as an events region. They are placemaking in aspiration and effect. The hosting of ‘mega-events’ brings television coverage and a host of promotional opportunities and platforms. They can draw attention to the city for an extended period in the lead up to an event, and shift perceptions of a city by outsiders and those living in the region. For secondary cities, effects can be significant before and after a mega-event, as Richie and Smith demonstrate in the case of the Calgary Winter Olympic Games Ritchie and Smith (1991). Like New Plymouth, Calgary is a provincial city with a natural resource economy. While the FIFA tournament was branded ‘New Zealand’ rather than by city, the New Plymouth City Council sought to generate similar recognitional gains from the FIFA tournament. Particularly for visitors, my research findings suggest that this goal was achieved. Out-of-town football fans, claimed to have known little if anything about the city and region before the tournament and that it was low on their list of places to visit in New Zealand and

that they would not have visited otherwise. Some of the fans went on to say, that they enjoyed what the region had to offer, and would recommend it to others if asked. It is these local effects that are most prominent in the New Plymouth case, and that are often ignored in both planning documents and the wider academic literature.

The allure of global events, however, remains global. It was the global nature of the tournament that drew New Plymouth to host games. The aim was to create a brand for the city. The increased exposure of the region to global audiences, offered an opportunity to market the region globally. With Brazil based in New Plymouth for opening rounds, a growing and increasingly targeted tourism market and the largest global television audience for the tournament (FIFA, 2015b), New Plymouth received extensive and potentially fruitful coverage. This exposure is one of the main reasons New Plymouth decided to host the tournament (New Plymouth District Council, 2010, 2014; Taranaki Regional Council, 2015; Venture Taranaki, 2010). The successful coverage has been celebrated in the region, and increasing tourism to the region attributed to it (Coster, 2015; Utiger, 2016; Venture Taranaki, 2015a; Wilkinson, 2016). These tourism gains are narrated into wider concerns about diversification away from over-reliance on the oil and gas and dairy industries in the region.

Although the Council and other local commentators point to the exposure as generating a rise in international tourists to the region, it was the global coverage of a global game that attracted the majority of tourists to the event itself. This global-local-global effect attracted domestic New Zealanders, tourists already in New Zealand and young people on working holidays to the city; most notably those within the country with connections to the countries playing there. Even if the longer term effects become muted by time and the City has to keep attracting mega-events to sustain this exposure and its promotional advantages, it gained significant shorter term economic gains from the New Zealand based visitors who attended the games. This building of connections with a domestic tourism market and cementing the platform for further

events (demonstrating again the city's capability in hosting mega-events) may be the most significant economic legacy. That is, there will be other short terms, and the organisers are now better informed about the value of targeting domestic visitors and better prepared for the challenges of hosting future events. The Council has laid out its aspirations, built local support for the strategy, and demonstrated its capability to other future event organisers. A platform for New Plymouth as an events centre for New Zealand and further afield has been built.

These economic legacies can also impact upon the urban legacies left behind. The development associated with becoming a destination can impact on the urban form of the city. While not directly associated with the world cup, there has recently been the construction of several new accommodation facilities in New Plymouth (Reive, 2015), with an increase in accommodation capacity of 4.4 percent from February 2015 to February 2016 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016). Calls for an increase of accommodation options have been seen since 2009 when the local newspaper ran stories about the lack of accommodation places in New Plymouth, and the need to increase them to cater for increased number of tourists associated with event tourism (Maetzig, 2009). This means that to cope with the increase of numbers of people visiting the region, new infrastructure built, can impact the city. Hotels, motels, and other infrastructure to cater for tourists impact the built form of the city. Construction of new accommodation options, suggest that there is an increase in tourist numbers, and this further backed up by tourism data, which shows a 1.4 percent increase of visitor arrivals to the region compared with June 2014 to June 2015. While it may seem like a low increase, over the period there was increased visitor arrivals due to major oil and gas projects taking place, which had an influx of out of town workers (Venture Taranaki, 2015a). This shows that there is indeed an increase of numbers, and this could be attributed to events hosted. The experience aligns with Cornelissen, Bob, and Swart's (2011; pg. 309), expansion of Chappelet and Junod's (2006) explanation of economic

legacies, and there is good reason to expect a longer term increase in tourist numbers to the region. Certainly promotion centred on successful hosting of the event continues.

Social legacies.

Social legacies are those that affect the people in the community. These can be negative or positive. It is impossible to host an event of this size without affecting the community, yet organisers of mega-events have only recently come to pay attention to effects on communities (Kim & Petrick, 2005). In the build up to this event, organisers paid attention to how this tournament might impact upon the community in the future. Football is widely regarded as a means to foster cultural diversity, a claim regularly made by FIFA. Many of the community initiatives centred on youth and on developing youth football in particular, an approach consistent with the age-group nature of the tournament. FIFA's Legacy and Leverage Plan emphasised the promotion of the world cup to local schools and clubs (FIFA, 2014). The players themselves were all young and community leaders were quick to highlight the rapport they established with Taranaki youth.

The focus on youth was led by the local Council as well as tournament organisers. The Council organised visits for the teams to schools, and hospitals, as well as public appearances. These all had a youth focus. The Brazilian team, for instance, visited a local school, and played football with the children there. They also attended fan signing sessions and at the last open training session, and invited two local high school football teams to join them. The Nigerian team also visited local schools, and also visited the children's ward at the local hospital (Martin, 2015). In these organisers, were community leaders, who were able to make much of hosting an age-group event, where children saw the sportspeople as stars of the present and future, idols made even more attractive by their youthful enthusiasm and greater accessibility.

FIFA's Legacy and Leverage Plan (FIFA, 2014) pays close attention to legacies, especially the development of youth football. It states that "Our target age group is 5-20 and in particular the

13-19 age group (pg. 5).” The report recognises that the tournament presents a huge opportunity to grow the game of football in New Zealand. This is important in a regional New Zealand context where football culture is under-developed and the game is a fringe sport, despite being the most popular team sport globally (Cox & Thompson, 2003; Guoth, 2006; Little, 2002). The promotional challenge was significant and the Leverage and Legacy Plan for the event set targets of increasing player numbers by 10% in the under 20 age group, and an increase of 200,000 new fans across the country (FIFA, 2014 pg. 5). The plan paid particular attention to keeping players in the game in their mid-late teenage years. The New Plymouth section of the plan emphasised the need to increase player, coach, and referee numbers across the region. Jones (2001) states that there is a link with hosting these events, and the increase of players playing the game. Casual conversation with crowd members at the games often strayed to the impact of the tournament on the local popularity of the game, with comparisons made to increased participation in youth cricket after the 1992 Cricket World Cup was held in New Zealand. Anecdotes included reference to the strain this then put on resources at local and national levels. My enquiries to local football clubs this year, showed that there were some clubs that had a significant increase in player numbers, but it was hard to tell if it was down to the world cup. However, for the football community itself, the tournament was very much a validation of their interests and an opportunity to express their football identities; identities that are commonly tied up with the home countries of first-third generation migrant New Zealanders.

A second emphasis of the Legacy plan was the desire to celebrate global cultural diversity and the cultural diversity of New Zealand itself. As a world cup, it will expose the country to several different cultures and ethnicities from around the world. Football is widely understood as a global language, a claim made in the Legacy Plan. Its spread across the world makes it a generative platform for celebrating cultural diversity and inviting diverse cultures to come

together in celebration of the game. In New Zealand, many football teams in local leagues are organised along ethnic or nationalist lines. In Taranaki, I discovered that there is a large Uruguayan population, which has created a football team that competes in the local competition there which includes other South American expats (Shaskey, 2015b). The tournament drew attention to the team in the media and wider community and gave the Uruguayans a rare identity affirming opportunity to celebrate their heritage with Uruguayans from their home country and elsewhere in New Zealand (Kim & Petrick, 2005; Waitt, 2003). For them the tournament was a two-week festival that allowed them to mix referents from their heritage and new home, celebrate their own multi-culturalism, build a wider multi-culturalism in a 'kiwi' farming town steeped in monolithic settler and contemporary bi-cultural identities, and extend migrant support networks. This is important, as New Zealand has high numbers of migrants to the country, and trying to settle them is a difficult task. This is also apparent in the case of New Plymouth, as there is a push to attract new residents to the region. The use of something that is familiar to them, such as football, could be beneficial, as it would expose them to other members of the community. This would help them form relationships in their new home. Secondly, it could also introduce them to others from the same place. This could help them form support networks, and finding someone that reminds them of where they are from. Sport also plays an important role in both New Zealand, and Taranaki, and participating in this would help obtain a sense of belonging.

Another social legacy being built through the tournament, is a strong culture of volunteerism and with it a strengthened spirit of community. Volunteers are crucial to hosting these events. Mega events rely on members of the community to volunteer in roles such as ushers, and wardens. These people are vital to the running of the event. In the case of this world cup, I spoke to ushers who had volunteered for tournaments/events before and said they would happily volunteer in the future for events. Opportunities to volunteer at the tournament and

become part of it in a meaningful way are important rewards for those whose volunteer labour supports football and other sport on an on-going basis and provides for a celebration of their volunteering on a bigger stage. This volunteering is bound up with the extension of the youth development work of the tournament beyond the end of the tournament, much of which is dependent on volunteering. Local football, and all sports, require volunteers to run the local tournaments, games, and be coaches and managers. They also require volunteers on match days, to be umpires and other officials. Some other volunteers there echoed this, and two that I spoke to also said that they are coaches for their children's sports teams. Without that volunteer effort, the work going into youth development would not work. This is recognised in the Legacy Plan, one of the objectives of which is to foster growth of volunteers from roles within the tournament into administrators, referees, and coaches.

The social legacies that are being built involve the future of football in the community, and the future of community through football. This can be seen through the development work that is put in to promote the game to the youth. There was wide exposure of the tournament to children, and introducing them to the star players, is hoped to inspire them to play football. The game can also be used as a powerful social tool, and there are plans to use football as a way of celebrating the cultural diversity that exists in New Zealand. In addition, there is also a push to help develop the less glamorous administrative side. Using a network of volunteers, the organiser use this resource to try and build future administrators of the local game. There is a strong community focus on the tournament, and there are ambitious social goals built into the plan. These are some of the social legacies aimed to be left after the tournament.

Infrastructure Legacies

Infrastructure legacies refer to the various networks put into place to support the tournament. In the case of New Plymouth, there was not much new infrastructure needed as there already is most of the required infrastructure in place. It also highlights the importance of this

infrastructure as a tool to secure events. Stadiums can be used as tools of civic boosterism, and in this case it shows an advantage over other regional cities in New Zealand, which lack the same infrastructure required to host large events. It also leaves little pieces of urban legacies, and these can be seen throughout the city.

No new buildings or transport infrastructure had to be built for the U-20 Cup. Existing airport facilities and air and road transport connections served the city well for the event. While not directly associated with the World Cup, several new accommodation facilities have been built in New Plymouth to cater for the increased number of tourists associated with event tourism (Maetzig, 2009; Reive, 2015). The U-20 tournament could draw on this accommodation infrastructure, while at the same time justifying the investments made in it. What was built was extensive new ‘soft’ or organisational infrastructure. Council emphasises the new organisational capability built through the tournament, knowledge, connections and understandings of how to organise and cater for such events – from accommodating media demands to building promotional campaigns, securing accommodation over an extended period, and mobilising community events.

New Plymouth has rich sporting facilities for a small region. Yarrow Stadium (Stadium Taranaki during the tournament) is considered to be one of the best stadiums in New Zealand and able to meet international standards for staging such events (New Plymouth District Council, 2015e). Hosting such events is easy from this perspective. The recent push by central government for New Zealand to host more of these events makes New Plymouth a candidate to host other events. Indeed, little new infrastructure was needed to host the tournament. The stadium underwent a major renovation to bring it up to international quality standards to host games during the 2011 Rugby World Cup (RWC). The only changes to the stadium required for the U-20 World Cup were upgrades to the roof to help protect against wind, and new signage with relevant sponsors (Taranaki Regional Council, 2014). The only other sporting

infrastructural spending was on three local club football fields, which were upgraded extensively to serve as training pitches.

The stadium in New Plymouth, is part of the strategy to build an events based tourism network. Having a stadium with the facilities to host top level games means that New Plymouth as a host, can attract 'big' games and tournaments to the province. Commitments to events tourism in the future include continuous stadium upgrades and planned investments in renovations (Utiger, 2015a). The stadium's own strategic plan outlines an ambitious array of events it wants to attract, including more international football and rugby, as well as more club football, and rugby matches from nationally significant clubs (New Plymouth District Council, 2015e). For example, after the conclusion of the world cup, it was announced that the city would host a football game between the Wellington Phoenix, and the New Zealand A football team (Keith, 2015b). Local Council and football authorities could point to the success of the U-20 World Cup in terms of both organisation and attendance to convince NZ Football and the Phoenix management team to take the game to New Plymouth.

All this is a form of contemporary civic boosterism as well as events tourism Boyle (1997). Hosting the U-20 World Cup was used to fuel civic pride and is increasingly used to position the city competitively relative to rival or neighbouring cities. Council officials 'boost' the virtues of the stadium and the success of the tournament in media reports and in formal documents, constantly claiming it to be one of the highest rated sports grounds outside of the main centres. This is highlighted in the praise for 'Team Taranaki' (the city, the stadium, the organisation, and the community) that echoes through reports and media releases (FIFA, 2014). The strategy is to produce a whole-of-region commitment that can be narrated into future competitive bids.

Stadiums are often the most prominent piece of infrastructure left behind after a tournament (Bob & Swart, 2009; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Lorde et al., 2011; Tuan, 2013). This is often

connected to criticisms of white elephant facilities, local government debt, costs of maintenance and so on. However, in this case, the stadium was built prior to the tournament, and little was spent on upgrading it in order to host the event. Rather the tournament made use of renovations made for the 2011 RWC. The U-20 tournament was a smaller event than the World Cup, Olympic and Commonwealth Games that often require major new expenditure and which are criticised in the literature. Rather, the stadium is a high quality regional asset that is used in regional activities and will be maintained at a high standard to host events over a longer time period. The upgrading of local pitches to be used as training grounds has left local clubs with much improved facilities, which should see the standards of local football improve over time. As discussed in the social legacies section, these upgraded pitches will help develop players, especially young players, who would use the new surfaces.

The infrastructure legacies bleed into other urban legacies. The city displays banners that show past events that it hosted. The signage welcoming people to the region for the World Cup (figure 6) is still hanging at the airport. These add character to the city and represent a civic pride. Other markers still remain around the city. One example of this is the blue line from the fan zone to the stadium designed for those walking to the stadium to follow. This was put in during the Rugby World Cup, and parts of the footpath that had it painted still have remnants of it. These signs and markers create a heritage from the history of hosting events and create imprints on the urban fabric that act as little reminders of what has been before.

The infrastructural legacy of the tournament is not substantial, but still relevant. While the tournament itself did not require significant investment in new or redeveloped infrastructure, it highlighted the current infrastructure in New Plymouth. It showed how valuable these sort of facilities is when a city is wanting to attract more events. It showed an advantage held by New Plymouth over other cities in New Zealand, as there was already infrastructure of an international quality in place. Infrastructure can also play a role in the urban legacies of events.

While not major, two examples in New Plymouth showed that even small markers can have a place to show the city's history.

An intersection of legacies.

These different legacies have discrete dimensions, but also produce co-constitutive legacies. Most significantly New Plymouth is building an imaginary of itself as an events city, with supporting soft and hard infrastructure and new capabilities to bid for and host new events. Commitments by local government to events as a development plan are built on how these legacies work together. The positive community effects can also be narrated into local imaginaries and stories designed to celebrate the region as a destination and to bid competitively against others. They also offer lessons for those seeking to improve experiences and target investment and organisational efforts next time around. Hosting events that are not commonly held in the region, extend the region's repertoire and alter its sense of regional self – its identity.

Prior to the tournament, the roof at the stadium was changed for safety reasons (Taranaki Regional Council, 2014), but the spending was underpinned by a drive to remain competitive as a destination for major events. The council's press release about the roof maintenance reveals its strategy of emphasising win-win:

If we had to cancel one of these high-profile international fixtures because of public safety concerns in extreme winds, the consequences wouldn't bear thinking about, Future high-profile international events would be just about impossible to secure. The stadium's reputation would be in tatters.

The stadium is a pivotal piece of regional development infrastructure, but also of local and regional social infrastructure. It is described as the "heart of team sports in Taranaki (Venture Taranaki, 2015b), a platform on which to market the city as an events centre (Kim & Petrick,

2005). It is celebrated as a multipurpose venue, whilst it was until recently understood as a rugby ground and home to regional rugby. Again the remaking of the stadium as a regional development asset has fostered a more inclusive and diverse regional culture. More sports have begun to be played at the ground, and the stadium is also now the home ground of the region's representative football team (Reive, 2016). Cricket was also played there, and the city hosted the finals of the domestic T20 cricket competition. This was the first time that cricket had been played at the stadium since 2004, and there are hopes that this would be a long term event (Utiger, 2015b). Many of these events are televised nationally. Diversifying the events hosted at the stadium is creating a different region, whilst at the same time increasing the potential for further exposure.

The intersection between sports, community, and economic success is a well-established feature of cities like New Plymouth. Sports plays a big role in Taranaki culture (Venture Taranaki & Taranaki Rugby, 2009). Because of this, sporting legacies left behind would have an impact on the social legacies. Sports facilities become 'emblematic symbols' of cities Cornelissen et al. (2011) (pg. 309), especially in the legacies created by mega-events. New sporting infrastructures can

play a role in changing local sporting culture, since the availability of a new venue may increase people's participation in sport, new and different types of sport may be introduced to the area, and more mega-events may be organised on a regular basis (pg. 309).

In New Plymouth, the effect is more subtle. The predominantly rugby-playing region has been subtly reworked. The tournament highlighted the way that in terms of youth participation, football is by far the bigger sport (FIFA, 2015c). Playing football and now cricket in the stadium is creating a wider sense of the regional sporting identity. While the stadium is not a

new piece of infrastructure, it is used for new things – and there were football grounds redeveloped to a higher standard. Their new surfaces have the potential to shift the sporting culture and increasing the numbers of players playing football and at higher standards.

These interacting legacy-making and place-making processes are co-constitutive, and the economic development win-win narrative plays a significant role in this co-constitutiveness. They work with one another to help form the different types of legacies. The process behind economic legacies, in particular, the desire to host more events, has implications across the different legacies. In terms of infrastructure, it means that there is an increased need to build and maintain infrastructure. In addition to this, hosting events according to Cornelissen et al. (2011) means that there is an increased presence of that sport, and in turn this could lead to cultural shifts that change sports culture in the region. There is already some evidence of their further statements regarding being exposed to more of the same sport in the future. While these legacies can come about, it is important to remember that the event hosting is acting as a catalyst in these scenarios. This is important, as a city's image can be built around hosting events. The stadium is important in all of this, as is the sporting culture of the region and the boosterist effects of successful hosting experiences. All are place-making.

Placemaking effects, and how are they linked?

The theme of placemaking echoes through all of this. Placemaking involves associating spaces with meaning. Cities compete with one another (Waite, 2001), partly on the basis of image (Tuan, 1979; Wu, 2000). The U-20 World Cup was designed to fit into the re-image the Taranaki region for a global audience. The links between hosting events, civic boosterism and place-making are well-rehearsed in the literature (Ahlert & Preuss, 2010; Bale, 2002; Bale & Dejonghe, 2008; Black & Van Der Westhuizen, 2004; Brunet, 1995; Burgan & Mules, 1992; J.-L. Chappelet, 2012; Cornelissen, 2007; Cornelissen et al., 2011; Gibson, 1998; Green &

Chalip, 1998; Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Hiller, 2000; Humphreys & Plummer, 1992; Jones, 2001; Kim & Petrick, 2005; Malfas et al., 2004; Matheson, 2002; Olds, 1998; Preuss, 2004, 2014; Ritchie & Smith, 1991; Waitt, 2003; Walters, 2008; Wu, 2000). The aim to become a 'world class' events host echoes through local media reports about the tournament and comments from outsiders about how the event was hosted successfully, and that the city has the right foundations to become a global events host, in light of competition from other cities around the world (Coster, 2015). The challenge for those seeking to imagineer the city formally is to brand it to take advantage of these associations.

Using the past experiences of hosting events, helped New Plymouth secure games for the U-20 World Cup. One of the aspects of New Plymouth, is that it has hosted mega events in the past, most notably, the 2011 Rugby World Cup. This was explained to me as a big reason of getting U-20 games, as it showed the organisers that there was the right infrastructure in place, and that the city would be able to host the event. It displayed that place awareness is an important part of placemaking. The literature Spilling (1998) talks about the place-making impacts of hosting events on regions such as Lillehammer after hosting the 1994 Winter Olympic Games. It showed that there was a lasting impact on the region's image, and that it is now considered a venue for hosting winter events. Lillehammer is a small region, with a population of about half of New Plymouth and has become an events centre. It offers something of a model for New Plymouth, and demonstrates that smaller cities can also become known as global events hosts if they leverage reputational and other legacies for future development.

The drive to become an events host is a major tourism strategy for many regions, which then work to create themselves in this image. Sports and sports tourism are growing development interests (Kurtzman & Zauhar, 2003). In New Zealand alone, sports and recreation is considered to worth around \$3.8 billion to the economy (Dalziel, 2011). In the case of New Plymouth, officials seek to translate events tourism into attracting new residents to the region.

Event tourism is being used to attract people to visit and live in the region (New Plymouth District Council, 2010). Creating a new image of place (cultural diversity, events, excitement, infrastructure and so on). New residents promise growth and a virtuous circle of excitement and image building.

Events tourism is creating meanings within the region; it is place-making. The use of the event as a promotional vehicle is well-established. Using these events to keep up a legacy after the event is completed, however, is another task and a less well-recognised part of the events tourism phenomenon.

Implications

The study itself shows how event tourism becomes place-making and how cities use placemaking initiatives to market itself as an attractive destination. Mega-events tourism is less common in a regional setting, but U-20 tournament offers an opportunity to see how it can work. The case points to the importance of leveraging events-legacies to make a vibrant, inclusive events-place, something that is manageable at a scale such as New Plymouth. Because New Plymouth has already hosted several major events, it gives the opportunity to see how they use this to create a destination. While, small regional centres in the past have created an image of itself in events, these are usually niche areas, with special natural features, or geographic reasons. What is happening in New Plymouth, is a more ambitious approach to attract events that might normally visit a major centre and to create place around events rather than to exploit dimensions of place to underwrite a particular bid. There is something here about the opportunity for small centres to compete and to support national scale bids, where multiple events-centred place images can be configured into a broader competitive strategy.

The legacies can have implications for the region that transcend this competitiveness and its associated boosterism. The focus on youth as a key legacy of the tournament promises positive impacts further along in time for the local community but also for the local and national football

communities more broadly. So too could the celebration of cultural and ethnic diversity among different migrant communities and a wider range of sports. New Plymouth, was, over the course of the tournament, a meeting ground for culturally diverse groups of New Zealanders, who came together and created a festive city whilst also building new links and reaffirming old ones among their particular communities as they celebrated the national identities of their home countries through football. There is all manner of social gains from this effect, gains that were not anticipated by organisers and rarely recognised by the literature. Football in New Zealand is currently marginalised, which is strange considering the large migrant population, and the global reach of the sport of football.

Limitations and further study

It is too early to assess the impact of the tournament on the local community and the regional economy. It is possible to highlight immediate effects and even to cite estimates of economic impacts made by economists, but the key thing are the legacies of the event and the way they are built into trajectories of social and economic change. It is thus too early to assess the changes, and trying to understand what is left after one year is difficult. Rather, we can see plans, altered spatial imaginaries, and a range of possibilities, all of which are inter-related.

This research offers something of a pilot study for further research on mega-events. Ideally the research design would have incorporated longer periods with one or two fan groups, and more formally structured interviews with a wider range of informants. This would have allowed for a sharper focus on the fans – where they came from, why they were there, the ways that they were performing displaced national identities, and the extent to which they engaged with each other, with the local community, with the players, visiting fans from overseas, and so on. I only managed to derive glimpses of their behaviour and community engagements and my knowledge of their backgrounds was only patchy. Instead I relied on observation and serendipitous encounter. As with the nature of the weather, the choice of New Plymouth as a

study site rather than another regional centre, the accident of the tournament draw and many other contingencies, it is impossible to know what would otherwise have been different. I like to regard this as open-ended or research, which opens possibilities rather than tying them down to prior assumptions about what might be important (see Fitzherbet & Lewis, 2011).

The U-20 World Cup is a large event in its own right, but it is incomparable to events such as the Olympics or the Senior World Cup. It has particular features – the accent on youth, the forward focus of the sub-plots (which players might go on to become superstars, which teams might stray together to form cores of future senior national teams and so on), the greater focus on families a travelling supporters and so on. However, it is as big a football tournament as New Zealand is ever likely to host.

Further study is valuable, particularly on longer-term legacies. Perhaps even going back to New Plymouth in 2-3 years would yield some interesting results. Further study of the events themselves would also be valuable, but might take a more explicitly ethnographic approach. The surprise finding of the way that expatriate migrant national groups adopted the event and provided a familiar (even familial) atmosphere for the young players and performed and reinforced their identities offers a promising field for more sharply focused future research. Further exploration of the phenomenon of provincial city events based tourism would be a profitable line of research, maybe even comparative work across cities and types of event. This would redress some of the concentration bigger centres or established tourism centres in this form of tourism research, as well as answering questions about the economic development potential and local community impacts of what is often seen as something of development panacea.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the way the FIFA U20 World Cup has impacted the city of New Plymouth, New Zealand. It has focused on gaining an understanding on the implications of hosting such a large event in small regional city.

Summary

The main findings have been addressed in the previous chapters. In summary, there were several impacts on the community through hosting the events. These are known as *legacies* of the tournament. This is one of the key concepts that is understood to be associated with events and is widely reported in the literature (J.-L. Chappelet, 2012; J. Chappelet & Junod, 2006; Cornelissen, 2007; Cornelissen et al., 2011; Gratton & Preuss, 2008; Preuss, 2007a, 2007b, 2014). The findings show that this case study aligns with the literature in this.

Using Chappelet and Junod's (2006) five legacies, I uncovered stories that fall within these. Legacies was an important part of the U20 World Cup. These included social, infrastructure, economic, urban, and sporting. These all had distinct legacies, but also intersected to show the complex nature of these processes. Economic legacies were at the heart of this, and there was plans to leverage the global exposure from the tournament, to promote New Plymouth as an events destination. Social legacies were also an important component. The development of youth football is something that was focused on highly. The constant focus on youth throughout the tournament was a demonstration of this. There are also ways of using football as way have cohesive communities, and provide an inclusive community. In terms of infrastructure, the major work done for the tournament, involved the construction of new high quality football pitches for local use. These legacies also intersect, and this can be seen examples such as the intersection of new pitches, and youth development.

Key takeaways

The first key point is that legacies are an important part of the event process. These are generally what the tournament's success is judged on in the aftermath. It is important to plan legacies, and how these impacts can be leveraged. In the case study, there was evidence of this, as there were plans made before the tournament that considered legacies specifically and how to leverage them. The legacies in the case of New Plymouth are being leveraged in a way that aligns itself with the placemaking process.

The second key point is that these legacies were a part of the placemaking process. Events as a placemaking tool, has been studied before, but not in a small regional context. This study showed how a small regional centre, plans to use events it hosts to leverage itself as a tourism destination. There was evidence of this, and clearly showed a strategy to do this. Events tourism is creating meanings within the region; it is place-making. The use of the event as a promotional vehicle is well-established. Using these events to keep up a legacy after the event is completed, however, is another task and a less well-recognised part of the events tourism phenomenon.

Final remarks

This research thesis set out to explore the impacts of the U20 World Cup. It did this to explore the effects a tournament of this size would have on a regional setting. Current studies into impacts, are usually done by consultancies, and have a narrow financial focus. I aimed to have a broader focus, and through this, I found how legacies are implemented in the tournament. Sport is an important part of life in New Zealand, and also New Plymouth. It is a popular hobby for many people, and contributes \$3.8 billion towards the economy every year (Dalziel, 2011). Because of this, sporting events are popular in New Zealand, and there is a push to host even more. Because New Zealand is a small country, with many regional cities, there are strong possibilities that these cities can host events. This means it is important to understand how these events impact the cities that host them, especially smaller ones.

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