

ADIDAS, THE ALL BLACKS, AND MĀORI CULTURE: GLOBALIZATION AND  
THE REFORMATION OF LOCAL IDENTITIES

by

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## THESIS ABSTRACT

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As corporations transcend international borders new questions arise concerning the formation of identities. This study looks at adidas advertising campaigns “Bonded by Blood” and “Of This Earth” and how they represent and commodify Māori culture. “The Making” of “Bonded by Blood” is the video component for that campaign. The “Of This Earth” file is the TV commercial from 2007. Furthermore, this study looked at whether or not these advertisements are in fact reaffirming already established stereotypes about indigeneity and “Otherness.” This thesis is informed by Stuart Hall’s article the Spectacle of the Other as well as works by other scholars, that discuss ideologies of Otherness, globalization, glocalization, mobility, and corporate sports sponsorship. The posters of each campaign as well as the video components were analyzed through textual analysis. The results show that patterns of cultural appropriation and reaffirmation of stereotypes do occur in the posters and videos of those campaigns.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In 2007 a *New York Times* article written by Louise Story commented that according to the market research firm Yankelovich, “a person living in a city 20 years ago saw up to 2,000 ad messages a day, compared with up to 5,000 today.” So then how can one advertisement, or an entire campaign, gain the attention of consumers when competing against so many others? Andrews (2008) argues that, “within advanced consumer societies, advertising discourse is clearly a routine element of everyday life. Moreover, and specifically when looking to appeal to the populist sensibilities of the mass market, advertising is a cultural field constituted by, and a constituent of, the forces and sensibilities shaping society in general” (p. 42).

The product must somehow be different, one of a kind and available only through a particular supplier. This is adidas’ role. The New Zealand All Blacks, the country’s national rugby team, falls exactly into this category. They are unique, different, and tied to a rich history that resonates deeply with the local community, and manages to gain the attention of global audiences as well. “The All Blacks offered more than just access to a market of 4 million consumers and one of, if not, the most successful sport teams in history – the embodied a mystique, some of which can be linked to Māori culture. In short, the All Blacks offered adidas something new, unique and exotic through which to communicate their brand” (Jackson, 2013, p. 106).

The purpose of this project is to look at the representation of the Māori people through globalization via adidas advertising campaigns of the New Zealand rugby team, the All Blacks. Rugby has helped shape the identity of New Zealand within the realm of

sports. Not only is the activity influential within the local New Zealand culture, which includes both, Pākehā, white New Zealanders, and Māori, but it has also played a significant role within sports globalization and has helped in the reformation of Māori identity to international audiences. This particular team, although not the only one known for its use of indigenous cultural elements, has gained a large international fan base because of its exposure via adidas's advertising campaigns and promotional materials and because of their impressive game record.

The visibility of New Zealand rugby, and more specifically the All Blacks, has developed and grown immensely in conjunction with technology and the rise of globalization through the help of adidas and large advertising and media corporations such as Saatchi & Saatchi and various television networks. This global exposure via the processes of globalization and glocalization revolves around ideologies of culture, nationalism, colonialism and last but not least capitalism, the primary driving force behind the advertising, corporate sports, and media business. The corporate sporting industry alone is a multi-billion dollar business and, in the case of the All Blacks, it isn't just the sport that's being sold. It is a multifaceted process that involves economic, political and cultural factors. As Sage (2010) argues that the "economic and political perspectives of globalization cannot be examined apart from the cultural sphere, primarily because the economy, polity, and culture are overlapping and fully integrated in modern societies" (p. 13).

In fact, adidas is selling not just a product, but the past, present and future of the team because as the national sporting symbol of New Zealand, the All Blacks represent more than just rugby. They are a brand and a commodity that relies on specific 'authentic'

cultural representations of Māori elements in order to continue gaining the loyalty of local New Zealanders while at the same time engaging global counterparts. The global spread of the All Blacks exists to the extent that it currently does because of the marketing and advertising strategies used to commercialize their team and the products they have to offer. The All Blacks are New Zealand's prized sport commodity and contained within their commodification are elements that act to produce a cultural commodification of Māori indigenesness.

This study is significant to the field of Media Studies because advertising is a powerful tool of communication and adidas is an influential athletic sporting apparel company utilizing cultural appropriation to increase their consumer base as well as to integrate themselves into New Zealand's national identity. In 2012 alone, adidas's net sales were approximately 11, 344 million Euros, approximately \$14, 674, 598.40 US dollars (Bloomberg.com). Globalism and glocalization are key components of today's media industry and are helping to reshape and recreate the identities of entire groups of people. adidas is one of the many players within the globalization game. This project will focus on the relationship between adidas, their advertising campaigns and the All Blacks, and how this relationship has globalized the team as well as helped to reconstruct the local identities of the Māori people, and at what cost to the Māori culture.

This study will look at two specific adidas campaigns that ran from 2006-2007 and from 2007-2008. These campaigns were shown at the time of the Rugby World Cup of 2007. The advertisements used imagery and rhetoric that relied heavily on the past traditions and histories of the game of rugby in New Zealand, the All Black team as a national symbol of pride, and served as a means for adidas to build a positive rapport

with the people of New Zealand. The main focus of this study is to look at the process of globalization and the reformation of local identities through the use of such advertising campaigns. The primary research questions are:

RQ1: How does adidas represent and commodify the New Zealand All Blacks and Māori culture in the “Bonded by Blood” and “Of This Earth” campaigns?

RQ2: How do these representations play into already established stereotypes about indigeneity and Otherness in New Zealand?

The following chapters further discuss theoretical literature used to inform this study as well as the methodology used to do the analysis of the visual texts. It is then followed by findings, analysis and discussion, and a conclusion.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

As previously mentioned, the driving forces behind the branding and global exposure of the All Blacks revolves around several processes: globalization, colonialism, nationalism and glocalization.

Globalization is a term that has a variety of definitions. Rothenberg (2002-2003) defines it as “the acceleration and the intensification of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations” (p. 2). This includes national cultures and identities of those involved. The emphasis of this project is to look at the commercial and cultural aspects of globalization as they relate to New Zealand rugby and the All Blacks specifically. Globalization and with it commercialization are the very processes that have facilitated the branding of the All Blacks franchise. This has allowed for the exposure of New Zealand rugby to other parts of the world. Scherer & Jackson (2010) reminds us that, “What needs to be emphasized here, however, is that national cultures are no longer solely associated with their places of origin (If they ever were), and that the bonds between culture and place are being stretched like never before” (p. 17). Globalization has changed what can be commercialized, what constitutes commerce, and who can have access to these products. For example, people, places, and things, all of which constitute culture, can be commodified, globalized and sold to others who have never had prior exposure to the product. This revolves around the concept of mobility and access. Massey (1991) argues that “the current speed-up may be strongly determined by economic force, but it is not the economy alone which determines our experience of space and place” (p. 24), it also has to do with the relationships among

those within these new means of mobility. Actors who don't have a physical presence within that culture are now shaping the articulation of local culture. This means that culture ebbs and flows due to the decisions of entities we can't see.

As Sage (2010) has argued about globalization, you can't separate the economic, from the political, or the cultural aspects within globalization: all are interconnected. For example, the development of communication technologies, satellites, cable television and internet streaming, allows for thousands of people to have access to All Black games in New Zealand and elsewhere. Fans no longer have to be in the country in order to watch their favorite team play, all they need are a few gadgets and they can enjoy a rugby match from the comfort of their home. Globalization is by no means anything new and in fact New Zealand has always relied on importing goods from other countries, but because of the development of television and its technology they are able to export their own goods inexpensively while still helping to expand their borders internationally (Jackson, 2013). So in a sense this does mean that New Zealanders, both Pākehā and Māori, are, in fact, mobile. Their culture is mobile because crosses boundaries and travels to new places. Massey (1991) further argues

Different social groups have distinct relationships to this any-way differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it (p. 26)

The prime example here would be the extent to which New Zealand rugby exposure has grown because of the role of the media and the industry. All Blacks games can be broadcast internationally allowing more fans access to the games. Commercialized sport has transformed from just an event for social gathering and viewing and has become something multifaceted. “Commercialization [of] sport [has] penetrated into many levels of the business world: fashion, mass media, transportation, communication, advertising and a variety of marginal enterprises that profit from commercial sport” (Sage, 2010, p. 105).

Sports in general is an industry that can easily be capitalized, globalized, and exploited because it’s one of the cheapest ways to entertain audiences. Broadcasting sports games is a much cheaper endeavor than investing money on a film, soap opera, or news broadcasts because you don’t have to pay screenwriters to make a plot (MacClancy, 1996). These broadcasts provide a way to make money quickly and cheaply and many major media and broadcasting companies jumped at the opportunity to broadcast sports games that would bring in high viewer ratings as well as a constant flow of cash. This process has contributed to the change rugby from being an amateur sport in New Zealand, into one of the major cash cows of the country. Scherer and Jackson (2010) further argue



It is within this context that various consumer choices are being increasingly delocalized thanks to substantive developments in communications technology – most notably satellite television and the rapid expansion of new media – that enable brands, image, and other messages to spill over national territories and across cultural borders (p. 37).

This system further contributes to the argument put forth by Phillips & Nauright (1996) where the All Blacks appear on television surrounded by elements of so called ‘New Zealand-ness’. The ability of television networks to broadcast these games internationally allows for this New Zealand-ness to be shown to consumers who don’t know anything about New Zealand. This acts as a prominent form of knowledge building about New Zealand to non-New Zealanders, acting to construct an assumed ‘accurate’ representation of New Zealand that in fact rests on problematic understandings of cultural appropriation and ethnicity. Not only that, but the very media companies broadcasting these games are the major game players because they get to pick and choose what audiences get to see. They are the mediators and gatekeepers as well. “The global flows of the current globalization are produced and directed by global media empires with power, wealth, and communication technologies that enable them to dominate communication worldwide” (Sage, 2010, p. 16).

But how and why globalization impacted New Zealand rugby and the All Blacks has to do with the initial processes of colonization, which introduced rugby in the process. The Polynesian group, the Māori, settled New Zealand in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century European settlers began to make their presence felt within

New Zealand, and impacted the way of life of these peoples. The country itself wasn't founded until the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840, which was signed between the British crown and Māori tribal chiefs. The treaty called for the preservation of Māori authority under new British sovereignty. However, this eventually led to war between the groups due to different interpretations of the treaty as well as land redistribution issues. The intent of the British crown was to colonize New Zealand while also trying to eliminate the Māori culture and way of life.

Rugby was introduced through British colonial practices. Colonialism typically applies to the relationship between a European state over non-European land or people (Bennett, Grossberg, & Morris, 2005). The process of colonialism includes both political and economic domination as well as hegemonic cultural systems of power. The original role of rugby in the culture of colonized people was not how modern society views it today. The original intent of the sport was to aid in the facilitation of colonialism and to help gain control over the indigenous people. The introduction of rugby was meant to break down Māori society as well as to assimilate Māori people into white British society. As Calabro's (2012) dissertation contends

[Rugby] was initially meant to educate, in moral and physical terms, the Maori [who] were supposed to form the local male elite and help the British settlers governing the colony up to the time when the 'Maori race' would extinguish" (p. 164-65).

The Māori were able to take rugby and change it from a form of oppression to a game of self-identification and expression. They incorporated the use of hakas before their matches, and it is these unique and traditional practices of the Māori that continue to be practiced the game of New Zealand rugby. The haka was traditionally a war cry, chant, or dance used on battlefields as well as when tribes would come together in unity (newzealand.com). This is significant because it broke the rules of traditional rugby games established by European settlers and the tradition of performing hakas became part of the game, taking a permanent role within all of New Zealand rugby culture. These references and the strong emotional ties to the sport have helped to establish a strong sense of nationalism amongst both Pākehā and Māori peoples. This has to do primarily with the strong cultural attachment to the game and the representation of both parties within New Zealand Rugby. “National culture and identity are...represented by an emphasis on origins, continuity, tradition, and timelessness” (Macguire, 1999, p. 178), and this is the defining factor of sports nationalism in New Zealand. “Sport is sociologically important to nationalism because it constitutes a charged interaction ritual out of which imagined national communities arise” (King, 2006, p. 251).

In fact in the case of the All Blacks one of the primary reasons for their sponsorship via adidas was “the link between rugby and national identity...adidas CEO Robert Lous-Dreyfus suggested that outside soccer-crazy Brazil, ‘no other country links with sport as New Zealand does with rugby and the All Blacks’” (Scherer and Jackson, 2010, p. 213). This link is surrounded by the myth of unification and is seated within the deep emotions that the country has for the sport (Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe, 1999). The myth of unification is based upon a false sense of unity within the country,

meaning a belief that racial tensions no longer exist between white New Zealanders, Pākehā, and Māori, when in fact there is still racial inequality and disparity amongst the two groups. For example, the All Blacks rugby team is one of the highlights on the New Zealand tourism website which claims, “From grass roots to international super-teams, rugby forms the sporting backbone of New Zealand, and Kiwis are proud and passionate rugby fans” (newzealand.com).

The idea of rugby as a unifying factor within New Zealand, and as something timeless is problematic because the narrative negates its origins and many who are not New Zealanders don't realize what it's original intentions were: a means for colonial domination of an indigenous group. Māori and Pākehā men began playing rugby side by side during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hope (2002) states that between 1905 until about the 1960s, rugby gained so much momentum that a rugby union was established. This “was a defining feature of regional identity and New Zealand national consciousness” (p. 236). The New Zealand Rugby Union became the main organization responsible for the management of all of the national teams as well as setting up regional competitions. Rugby as a unifying force amongst Māori and Pākehā and as a cultural practice that changed from being a method of control via colonialism into a major part of Māori everyday life is a story rarely ever told in the advertising campaigns. Instead, by creating a country that came ‘together’ because of the sport connotes that rugby has always been a positive part of New Zealand culture, helping to obscure the fact that it was originally meant as a method of control against Māori people. Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe (1999) argue that

Dominant myths depoliticize social relations by ignoring the voted interests surrounding whose stories become ascendant in a given culture. Critically, myths disavow or deny their own conditions of existence; they are forms of speech that derive from specific sites and power relations but are passed off as natural and eternal verities. National sporting myths lend themselves particularly well to this apparent timelessness fashioned out of the ‘intention of tradition’ (p. 121).

It is this myth of unification via nationalism that has been successful in the branding of the All Blacks. Nationalism has played a significant role within the New Zealand rugby community, but it also allowed for the exploitation of certain indigenous cultural elements of the Māori during rugby games. In today’s world of commercialized sports, rugby thoroughly represents “one of the most visible sports in media promotions of New Zealand national identity...appearing on television surrounded by supposed elements of New Zealand-ness and with patriotic music, expropriated Māori symbolism among other images” (Phillips & Nauright, 1996, p. 233). Because of televised games, rugby has received more exposure than ever, allowing for the global exposure of New Zealand rugby outside of its original space. It initially began by allowing free public broadcasting of All Black Games across the country. As the team began playing internationally, they then received exposure via those television outlets in other countries during away games, allowing global audiences access. By international audiences viewing the All Blacks in elements of New Zealand-ness and being able to see the performance of the haka, there is an implicit representation of New Zealand as a whole via this team.

The All Blacks representation of their country and as a national symbol of pride in the sports world has become one of the most prominent themes within the adidas advertising campaigns of the New Zealand All Blacks. adidas embeds narratives of New Zealand nationalism within their advertisements in order to both construct a global brand and enmesh themselves in local processes. This process of transnational localization has been theorized as glocalization in the globalization literature. The process of glocalization exists exclusively because of the processes of globalization and colonialism. Glocalization is the focus of corporations on both global and local markets. Robertson (1994) argues

The idea of glocalisation in its business sense is closely related to what in some contexts is called, in more straightforwardly economic terms, “micro-marketing”: the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets (p. 36)

He even goes as far as to say that glocalization

involves the construction of increasingly differentiated consumers, the ‘invention’ of ‘consumer traditions’ (of which tourism, arguably the biggest ‘industry’ of the contemporary world, is undoubtedly the most clear-cut example). To put it very simply diversity sells. On the other hand the consumer’s point of view it is an important basis of cultural capital formation (p. 37).

This seems to be where many corporations are headed because although their intent is to draw in global audiences, it is becoming even more common to focus on the local audiences instead. In fact King (2006) argues, “the locale...has become a means by which corporate capital has disguised its increasingly anonymous and globalized operations” (p. 252). Corporations as big as adidas are able to exploit niche markets that weren't possible to attract prior to this switch in the globalization and commercial game, and this allows for them to appear slightly different by tapping into the unique culture of those particular places.

A sense of locality is communicated “from above” – has to be a standardized form of the local (whether it be a neighborhood, a city, a country, or even a world region). An ‘international’ TV enterprise like CNN produces and reproduces a particular pattern of relations between localities, a pattern which depends on a kind of recipe of locality. This standardization renders meaningful the very idea of locality, but at the same time diminishes the notion that localities are ‘things in themselves’ (Robertson, 1994, p. 38).

In the case of adidas, in order to gain the trust of the New Zealand public, the company had to refer to the historic past that both rugby and the All Blacks have to country. Tomlinson (2005) emphasizes that, “many sports rooted in particular histories, traditions and cultures, and in many cases seen as the embodiment of political values and a national identity, were remade in the image of a burgeoning international economy and a rapidly expanding global communications infrastructure” (p. 35).

Furthermore, Andrews (2008) states

Transnational brand strategies increasingly use locally resonant sport practices, teams, spectacles, and celebrities as a means of engaging local consumers and markets. This is because the dominant, and even residual, sporting culture of a nation represents compelling cultural shorthand for the nation itself (p. 44)

Capitalism's role in this process of glocalization is to help create a product and an image that can be sold to local audiences while also managing to appeal to international consumers. But in order to do so there must be an authentic uniqueness, there must be something of the 'other' to differentiate the All Blacks from other rugby teams. Māori cultural references present in team advertisements through branding have been used to accomplish this process of 'Othering'. Otherness revolves around the ideology of difference. Stuart Hall (2001) argues that "the marking of 'difference' is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture" (p. 236). In the case of the All Blacks, and more specifically Māori players on the team, what helps to create this difference has to do with two factors: their physical appearance as well as the cultural elements of Māoridom. Hall (2001) claims that "The body itself and its differences [are] visible for all to see, and thus provide... the 'incontrovertible evidence' for a naturalization of racial difference" (p. 244). Furthermore,



The logic of naturalization is simple. If the differences between black [the Other] and white people are ‘cultural’, then they are open to modification and change. But if they are ‘natural’...then they are beyond history, permanent and fixed. ‘Naturalization’ is therefore a representational strategy designed to fix ‘difference’, and thus secure it forever. It is an attempt to halt the inevitable ‘slide of meaning, to secure discursive or ideological ‘closure’ (Hall, 2001, p. 245).

To be Māori is to be an indigenous New Zealander, regardless of if they are on the All Blacks rugby team. In fact it is the Māoridom of these players that helps to distinguish the All Blacks from other teams, and reinforces this brand of Otherness.

Those who seek to brand their otherness, to profit from what makes them different, find themselves having to do so in the universally recognizable terms in which difference is represented, merchandised, rendered negotiable by means of the abstract instruments of the market: money, the commodity, commensuration, the calculus of supply and demand, price, branding (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, p. 24).

The introduction of adidas as the commercial vendor to the All Blacks is an interesting yet complicated process. In 1997, the All Blacks came to the attention of adidas. By then the All Blacks had gained much notoriety for having a strong game record, just when adidas happened to be on the lookout for a new sponsorship deal. The energy and power of the players and their unique fan base made them a very promising

candidate, but of course there was the money factor as well. “By expanding beyond New Zealand’s limited business and consumer base, the game, the All Blacks, and their followers would see a huge world of money” (Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe, 1999, p. 28). The NZRU is the main organization receiving the bulk of the profits generated by the All Blacks, because they handle all of the sponsorship contracts of the All Blacks. Prior to the involvement of adidas, the All Blacks were sponsored by an established New Zealand brand, Canterbury International, a company that had handled the team’s merchandising since 1905, but could not financially compete against such a large corporation as adidas, nor reach global audiences to the extent that adidas could. In November of 1997 it was announced that adidas would be taking over the All Blacks apparel (Motion, Leitch, Brodie, 2003). This was their chance to access a small market as well as turn the All Blacks into a global brand, which could rake in millions for adidas. Although rugby administrators rejoiced at the increased marketability of the team, there were concerns within certain sectors of New Zealand about how a foreign company was going to handle the nation’s treasured commodity, the All Blacks (Jackson, 2004; Scherer, 2008).

adidas was the catalyst in launching a global advertising and marketing campaign to further the popularity of the All Blacks. But it was the “incorporation of rugby within global media economies during the 1990s that fundamentally reshaped-and indeed challenged – the longstanding structure, ethos, and presentation of the game” (Falcous, 2007, p. 379). The problem with bringing in a foreign company to handle the representation of the team was that those corporate individuals lacked the cultural knowledge of not only New Zealand culture and history but of the Māori culture and the

role that rugby played within the social structure of the nation (Scherer, 2008). The other issue was that the team was simultaneously morphing into a fetishized commodity and they were no longer just an amateur team. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) argue that, “While the incorporation of identity and the commodification of culture – or, at least, elements of both – predate the present moment, their maturation... as we know it today, is intimately linked to the contemporary history of capital” (p. 141). The primary intent was to take the All Blacks and transform them from being the national symbol of New Zealand within rugby to something bigger and grander. They would become a brand of their own, having similar “sign-value of Manchester United and Brazil in soccer and Chicago in basketball, a value that transcends the material coordinates of their particular sports to stand for something else, known and appreciated by those who would not profess to know or appreciate soccer or basketball” (Miller, Lawrence, McKay and Rowe, 1999, p. 27).

As they succeeded in rugby internationally and gained a larger fan base, the All Blacks’ identity changed. No longer were they representing New Zealand national identity or Māori indigenous identity, they were also representing an international conglomerate corporation, but in doing so they were becoming delocalized and spread to other parts of the globe. More people would be exposed to parts of Māori culture because of the global influence that adidas has in the sporting world. adidas is a for profit company that exists to create products for athletes and fans, while at the same time representing teams, like the All Blacks, on an international level. Jackson and Scherer (2010) argue that

The sheer power of culture industries and transnational sporting corporations to actively promote sports teams like the All Blacks who now arguably transcend the game of rugby as an internally recognized brand in parts of the world in which they have little or no history (p. 75).

The team is now not just a national symbol of New Zealand but it's very own brand, and this is the ultimate goal, glocalization. The All Blacks have an authentic rugby history and an 'authentic' indigenous cultural history, which distinguishes them from other rugby teams. These elements allow for adidas to create more products that can contribute to the globalization of the All Blacks, all the while still focusing on creating financial capital for the company and maintaining local audiences as well. "It is precisely these sorts of global marketing ambitions and merchandising objectives that are increasingly framing fan affinities as consumer choices, thereby facilitating the globalization of sports consumption" (Scherer & Jackson, 2010, p. 75). It is key to note that the success of adidas sponsoring the All Blacks is because of the strong ties to nationalism used in the marketing process. The brand relies on "the history, tradition, and culture of the All Blacks" and this "investment in the national sport provided privileged access to the past, present, and future meaning of not only the game but also the nation" (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002, p. 126-27). All of this has helped to reshape and build the national identity of New Zealand, as well as the identity of Māori peoples on a global level.

With advertising as the primary vehicle for the globalization and glocalization of the All Blacks brand, corporations rely heavily on catchy and interesting ads that appeal

to New Zealand and international audiences alike. “Within New Zealand specifically, the link between sport and nationalism combined with the structure and scale of the national economy make advertising a particularly powerful force in the construction and visualization of the national identity” (Jackson, 2004, p. 17). adidas is then taking things of obvious otherness from Māori culture and blending them with the images and videos of the All Blacks to create something local but also something that can be global while recognizably from New Zealand. Stuart Hall (2001) argues that this “is a strategy for having-it both-ways: for representing and not-representing the tabooed, dangerous or forbidden” and “it allows a double focus to be maintained – looking and not looking – an ambivalent desire to be satisfied. What is declared to be different, hideous, ‘primitive’, deformed, is at the same time being obsessively enjoyed and lingered over because it is strange, ‘different’, exotic” (p. 268). “The global and the local often operate simultaneously, sometimes negotiating, sometimes negating, the local” (Grainger, Newman, and Andrews, 2005, p. 90). It is this dynamic that constitutes the relationships within glocalization and the processes that have helped to reshape the identity of Māori culture and its peoples. And in the case of the All Blacks marketing strategy “the process of ‘global localization’ entailed the indigenization of marketing and sponsorship campaigns, and the product itself” (Grainger, Newman, and Andrews, 2005, p. 92).

The complexity of the relationship between adidas and the All Blacks and its influence on the local and global demographic is worth investigating because it impacts and helps to reform the local identities of Māori. Furthermore, the processes involved that helped to establish this relationship are constantly in motion and continue to fluctuate. As of 2012 adidas renewed its sponsorship contract with the All Blacks, extending the

partnership until 2019. This topic continues to be relevant, because adidas will continue creating advertisements for the All Blacks, and playing a significant role in the representation of not only the players but the people of New Zealand as well.

Media content is a site in which current societal debates and representations are played out. Producers of media texts can act as cultural intermediaries reverberating cultural trends within audiences and bringing them to the forefront of the debate (Fürsich, 2009, p. 245).

Thus, my research questions inquire about the affects that processes such as glocalization have on a global and local demographic.

RQ1: How does adidas represent and commodify Māori culture in the “Bonded by Blood” and “Of This Earth” campaigns?

RQ2: How do these representations play into already established stereotypes about indigeneity and Otherness in New Zealand?

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

This study will examine two major adidas campaigns from 2006 and 2007. The first, “Bonded by Blood,” was an advertising campaign that was developed for the commemorative poster that adidas prints annually to honor the top rugby squad. This campaign was different than those made in the past because this time the company would be using the All Blacks team members blood as part of the ink in order to print the posters. Previous campaigns had created annual posters for the All Blacks that were aesthetically pleasing but the incorporation of a physical part of the team, and their blood at that, created much hype and buzz amongst fans and advertising gurus. Furthermore the symbolic meaning behind the drawing of the players’ blood and giving a part of that to the fans was innovative and new. There were a limited number of posters printed, 8,000 out of 45,000, with a certificate of authentication (see **Figure 1**), and the only way fans



**Figure 1** - Certificate of Authenticity for "Bonded By Blood" poster

could acquire a print was by purchasing the new team jerseys. In addition to the poster, there was also a video titled “The Making” which was shown throughout adidas apparel stores, depicting the process of making the

blood into ink in a laboratory and why the posters had such significant value for New Zealand All Blacks fans. These posters would be the first of their kind and would “physically” connect fans with their favorite rugby team. According to adidas marketing manager, Craig Waugh this poster “reflect[ed] the depth of support All Blacks fans give to their team – hence the limited release of the ‘Bonded by Blood’ poster” (*The New Zealand Herald*, 2006). I will be examining the poster as well as the video that was produced by adidas. The “Bonded by Blood” campaign received the Cannes Lion Promo Grand Prix Award in 2007, and gained global attention for its originality.

The second campaign, “Of This Earth,” was developed in 2007. This campaign also had a poster release as well as a television advertisement. This campaign also won the Cannes Lion Promo Bronze award in 2008 and received exposure both nationally and globally. Both campaigns were developed by advertising agencies 180 Amsterdam and Whybin TBWA NZ.

adidas’s annual report from 2007 shows that on September 7<sup>th</sup>, adidas became “an official supplier to the 6<sup>th</sup> Rugby World Cup in France, as well as [the] Principal Sponsor of the rugby federations of New Zealand and Argentina.” This is the same year that these two advertisement campaigns overlapped, and adidas saw an increase in sales for All Blacks apparel. The company’s corporate statement of 2007 can be found in **Figure 2**. Their niche markets are in countries that have strong ties to specific sports, in the case of New Zealand that market is rugby.



CORPORATE MISSION STATEMENT  
THE ADIDAS GROUP STRIVES  
TO BE THE GLOBAL LEADER IN THE  
SPORTING GOODS INDUSTRY WITH  
SPORTS BRANDS BUILT ON A PASSION  
FOR SPORTS AND A SPORTING LIFESTYLE

WE ARE CONSUMER FOCUSED

and therefore we continuously improve the quality, look, feel and image of our products and our organizational structures to match and exceed consumer expectations and to provide them with the highest value.

WE ARE INNOVATION AND DESIGN LEADERS

who seek to help athletes of all skill levels achieve peak performance with every product we bring to market.

WE ARE A GLOBAL ORGANIZATION

that is socially and environmentally responsible, creative and financially rewarding for our employees and shareholders.

WE ARE COMMITTED

to continuously strengthening our brands and products to improve our competitive position.

WE ARE DEDICATED

to consistently delivering outstanding financial results.

**Figure 2** - adidas corporate mission statement

For this particular study, a textual analysis will be the method of analysis. The reason for choosing textual analysis for this project is because my materials constitute visual texts that carry a narrative within them. Fürsich (2009) argues that, “only independent textual analysis can elucidate the narrative structure, symbolic arrangements, and ideological potential of media content” (p. 240). Textual analysis allows for the “researcher to discern latent meaning, but also implicit patterns, assumptions and omissions of a text” (Fürsich, 2009, p. 241). Overall, my decision for choosing textual analysis for this thesis comes down to breaking down the visual texts within the advertisements and understanding the hidden narratives within them in relation to the context in which it was produced and shown to audiences.

I will be looking at both posters as well as the two promotional videos that were produced to correspond with these images. I will be looking at the characteristics within posters, the position of the players, foreground, background objects as well as the cultural elements. I will compile a list of similarities and differences between the two posters. With the video pieces I will be looking also at reoccurring patterns between the two, taking into account which All Black team members are shown on camera, their clothing, and the kind of music or cultural elements also incorporated into the pieces. I will be taking a look at various aspects of the posters and videos from these campaigns. My reasoning for analyzing these aspects of the posters and videos is because they all help to establish a visual narrative. The positions of the players and their physical environments can connote very specific meanings about the significance of the players, their bodies and what they are in fact representing. The incorporation of other factors such as lighting and audio also play a role in helping to establish a tone to the images or the videos.

These two campaigns were chosen for two particular reasons. First and foremost, they were created at the time of the Rugby World Cup. In fact, the “Of This Earth” campaign was made to help promote the World Cup in France. The second reason for choosing these two campaigns was because few other studies have focused on the content of these promotional materials. Most studies have focused on the materials from 2000, when adidas first took over sponsorship of the All Blacks. These materials were more relevant to this study through their use of indigenous cultural elements, while these two particular campaigns did not rely on such blatant tactics to relate the advertisements back to the local community.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

“Bonded by Blood” was the first campaign of its kind, but also relied on some of the many ideological ideas utilized when adidas first sponsored the All Blacks in 2000. While conducting my textual analysis I found interesting elements between both the poster and “The Making” video. The poster (see **Figure 3**) is composed of the entire All Blacks team from the 2006 season. Each player is wearing the official adidas All Blacks uniform and is in a squatting stance with his hands at his hips. The players’ mouths are slightly ajar and it looks like they are shouting or perhaps chanting. The environment is a jungle setting, with ferns, vines, and dense foliage. The lighting is done in jungle hues, with blues, greens, and shades of grey. The only source of light is coming from behind



**Figure 3** - "Bonded by Blood" commemorative poster

the team directly above their heads from an opening in the trees. Behind the team are also several large shadows in the same stance as the players but these shadows are too large to

be the shadows of the players themselves. These shadows were originally taken from adidas's 2005 Stand In Black campaign, and were well known as a trademark of the All Blacks for quite some time. They are meant to be a manifestation of Māori ancestors. It logically doesn't make sense, because the light source is behind the players not in front of them so the shadows cannot be those of the players. There is a mist behind the team that helps to create a certain historical, dreamy tone to the image. The viewpoint of the poster is from someone as though he or she were looking out onto the team from a cave. At the bottom of the poster are the adidas logo on the left hand corner and the All Blacks fern on the right hand corner. In the center of the poster at the very bottom it says, "Bonded by blood. The poster that contains the DNA of the 2006 All Blacks."

"The Making" video (See **Supplemental Files**), which was shown in adidas apparel stores in New Zealand, documents the process from the photo shoot of the poster to the drawing of the team players blood, to the printing of the posters. This time we see the preliminary drawings and sketches of what the creators want to incorporate into the final poster product. The video begins providing basic information on how the process begins on May 31, 2006. The initial scenes show the setting up of the photo shoot area, with the time sped up faster than real time. We see the lights go up, as well as the white sheets and the fake green turf. The video then cuts to showing the players getting off of their charter bus, and then with them in a changing room area. The camera then cuts and shows the men being prepped for the shoot, and they are now wearing their official adidas uniform. The video then cuts and shows a man holding the initial sketch of what the poster will look like to several of the team players and staff of the team. The team then passes around the prototype and each of them gets a chance to look at the design.

The video then cuts to showing how the background of the poster will be digitally enhanced in order to portray what the creative directors want. Then the players are shown laughing and joking in the photo shoot area getting ready to start. The camera then cuts and shows the players squatting and they yell a chant, what would typically be the beginning of the haka during a rugby game. They are squatted and in the exact pose used in the poster. The scene then cuts and we see the poster on the computer screen again and watch as the players are digitally placed in their positions on the digitally enhanced jungle background. It then cuts back to seeing the players in the photo shoot room, and there is a lot of laughter and talking. Again we see the players' yell and squat from a different angle of the camera, and they have their hands on their hips. The camera then cuts again and we can see the finished product on the computer screen with the entire All Black team now superimposed into the poster. It cuts back to show a midshot of the players high fiving each other, smiling while walking away from the photo shoot area. The camera then cuts again to the final product of the poster on the computer screen. Text then follows, explaining the following scenes about why the All Blacks are having blood drawn, while explaining that it would then be used for the limited edition posters. The camera then cuts to show someone putting on latex gloves, followed by a player sitting in a chair with his arm on a table, preparing to have his blood taken. Then we see the player's arm with a green tourniquet and watch the latex covered hand poking flesh, trying to find the vein. The audience then hears the All Blacks captain Ritchie McCaw's reaction to the project. During the short interview clip we also get to watch as the needle gets poked into McCaw's arm and see his reaction when it happens. It then cuts to another player getting poked in the finger. The camera cuts away and then shows a close

up of his finger with that of the nurse's hand and the device used to draw the blood. The nurse then pulls the device away and squeezes his finger, allowing the camera to see the blood come up from the small wound. The following scenes show various players sitting in the same chair getting poked and prodded for their blood (see **Figure 4**).



**Figure 4** - Scene from "The Making" of players having blood drawn

What makes this sequence compelling are the men's reactions to the needles poking them and their audio reactions of pain. This scene ends with a close-up of the adidas logo on a jersey and it then cuts to a car transporting the valuable DNA to a laboratory for processing.

The following sequence begins with a shot of the blood vials in a hazardous material (HAZMAT) bag lying on table. The screen then cuts to someone in a lab coat wearing latex gloves taking the vials and transferring them into a larger container labeled All Blacks 2006. The audience then sees the lab technician take the blood and place it in a sanitation machine. The screen then fades to black and fades back to color to show buttons, a yellow one that says exhaust and a blue one that says sterile. The blue button

lights up as a buzzer sounds off indicating that the blood sample is now completely sterilized.

The next major shift shows the blood being mixed with ink in another facility. Following this is a text slide explaining how many posters are made as well as noting that the DNA of the team will be used to help make these posters. A large container is shown with the label Bonded by Blood, All Blacks, 2006; the container has a hose attached to it. The camera cuts and shows the ink substance running through plastic piping. The camera then documents the printing machine being prepped and we see a stack of papers. The following scenes are a montage of the physical process of the printing machines. The camera then cuts to show a close-up of the poster itself, panning across it, showing the faces of the rugby players. At the same time the background audio changes from that of the printing machine to the All Blacks beginning chant of the haka, from the original photo shoot. A black text slide then explains the certificate that comes with the poster, followed by a shot of what the serial number looks like on the certificate. The camera then cuts out and shows an image of the entire document, cutting then to show the poster. There is another black text slide that follows that says “Rugby. It runs through your veins.” The background audio is again the chanting of the rugby players in Māori. The video then closes with the words “Stand in Black. It’s in our Blood,” the adidas logo, and the All Blacks fern logo. Also shown is the shadow figure from the poster to the left side of the Stand In Black lettering. Then a disclaimer is shown explaining that the blood of the players was properly sterilized via heat and was safe to use in the printmaking process. The purpose of the video is help the audience understand the significance of the “Bonded by Blood” poster. By putting together a short documentary about the process of

the poster, it allows for the audience to in some way feel a sense of interaction with the All Black team and players that are interviewed in the video. Posters are a common form of media but the limited edition “Bonded by Blood” poster was different for a reason. It contained DNA of the All Blacks squad of 2006, and the video showed that. If the limited edition poster was given to consumers, without any information about the context of its production, its very possible that adidas would not have received as much attention for their campaign that year.

The “Of This Earth” campaign, on the other hand went in a different direction. A year after the release of “Bonded by Blood,” adidas developed the campaign that would coincide with the Rugby World Cup of 2007. Once again the advertising company 180 Amsterdam and TWBA was commissioned to do the work. This campaign won the Cannes Lions 2008 Promo Bronze award for Best Integrated Campaign.

Again, just like the “Bonded by Blood” poster, in the “Of This Earth” poster (see **Figure 5**) the All Black team is the central focus of the image. The players are dressed in the official adidas All Black uniform and they are again in a squatting position. Their arms are raised and their mouths are parted as if they are yelling or chanting. The physical environment is a desolate area that seems to be far from modern society or any kind of human civilization. The background is a mountain and the team is standing on the edge of a cliff. Beneath their feet is cracked earth and rising dust. As you look further down the poster you begin to see what look like intricate and very tribal designs etched into the cliffs layers. Towards the center and all the way at the bottom of the poster appears a very tribal and fierce face. One can only assume that this tribal figure was taken from the Maori culture, as well as the intricate designs surrounding it. Within the designs





**Figure 5** - "Of This Earth" poster

there is also steam escaping from the earth and soil. At the bottom of the poster on the left hand side is the adidas logo. In the center is the title "Of This Earth" and on the far right side is the All Blacks fern logo. It is important to note that this area is the brightest of the entire poster, and it seems as though this is the beginning of the magma layer of the planet. The overall colors and tones used are very neutral and the entire poster is primarily dark.

The video commercial also focuses on a connection to the motherland, New Zealand. The opening scene is a field that is covered in mist and fog. Everything is muted in color and gray. There is one rugby player on the field, Dan Carter. Bagpipes

play in the background. The first shots show Carter kicking a rugby ball into the mist-covered field. As he kicks, a male narrator begins to speak, identifying the location of the rugby field as Southbridge in Canterbury. The narrator says, "Two All Blacks." The camera cuts from the sequences of show Carter kicking the ball to Carter using a shovel to dig up part of the playing field. The video then shows a rugby player in a car looking out the window. We see a huddle in a locker room and the men are yelling. The bagpipes continue playing in the background. The scene then changes to a very intense game of rugby. The camera cuts between the players, the fans, and the running feet on the field. You then see that there is a square patch of grass missing from the field as the feet are

running over it. At that moment the narrator informs the audience that these are the Counties-Manukau fields, followed by “17 All Blacks.”

The scene changes once again and we see what looks like a stadium with its field lights on. The camera cuts to show another patch of missing grass and three players walking towards it. The narrator then says “Wellington, 153 All Blacks.” We see that the three players are wearing official All Blacks uniforms. They are walking side by side towards the camera.

The following sequence shows the face of a rugby player covered in mud, followed by shots of two opposing teams rushing each other. The camera then cuts to their feet, and we see another missing patch of grass. There’s yelling as well as continuous bagpipe music. This time the scene takes place in Waikato, the birthplace of 55 All Black players.

This following scene shows an empty rugby field, with a brown square patch where the grass used to be. In the background are rolling hills and some trees. At that moment we hear the narrator again, “Kuwai, two All Blacks.” The screen then cuts to show a few camera shots of an All Black player running. It’s difficult to see his face because the sun is very bright so the majority of the time all you can see is his silhouette.

We then cut again to see another rugby game an older gentleman on the sidelines wearing adidas apparel. We are now in Wairarapa Bush, the home of 29 All Black players. The scene cuts to a long shot to show what the entire rugby field looks like. As the players walk off the field, we can only see the lower half of their bodies, and they are walking over the missing patch of grass from this stadium as well.

The scene changes once more and now we see an All Blacks player in his adidas uniform holding up a huge square of grass (see **Figure 6**). You can see both the adidas and All

Black fern logos on his jersey.

The narrator says, “Opunake, three All Blacks.” It is also key

to note that on the field behind the rugby player the audience

can see where the player got

the square patch of grass,



**Figure 6** - Scene from "Of This Earth" advertisement

a brown square on the lush playing grounds.

From here the scene changes dramatically and we see an ocean and landscape. We then see an All Blacks player laying down a patch of grass. The narrator begins to speak. “New Zealand, 1,071 All Blacks.” Now we hear not only the bagpipes and the narrator, but also the All Black team beginning to chant in Māori. The players are dressed in their official uniform and are preparing to do the haka. The camera zooms in to get a close-up image of the All Blacks fern. At the end of the commercial the camera zooms out and the field on which the team is standing on is made up of patches of turf of very different colors. One can only assume the patches are from the different fields seen throughout the entire video.

They are standing on a field comprised of turf from the hometowns of the entire All Blacks team. We then see the words “Impossible is Nothing” followed by “France 2007.” The All Blacks end by squatting on the field (see **Figure 7**). The closing image is of the adidas logo.



**Figure 7** - Closing scene from "Of This Earth" advertisement

## CHAPTER V

### ANALYSIS/DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

At the beginning of adidas's sponsorship of the All Blacks, the German athletic company received much backlash for their campaign designs that appropriated Māori culture. This is important to note, because both of these campaigns incorporated similar elements even after the negative responses from local Māori tribes. In 2000 one of the first videos created for adidas titled "Black," shows use of the moko, traditional Maori tattoos (see **Figure 8**), and the Ka Mate haka. This video has been analyzed over and over again because of the appropriation of Māori culture and the stereotypical



**Figure 8** - "Black" poster

representations presented within the commercial. The argument of Māori locals was that "it is not intended for commercial use;

rather the moko symbolically displays aspects of the tribal heritage of the person wearing it" (Jackson, Grainger, Batty, 2001, p. 217).

This backlash shows "the complexity and success of the global/local nexus in New Zealand" (Scherer and Jackson, 2007, p. 217). Despite this, adidas continued to appropriate and utilize Māori cultural elements in their advertisements the following

years. They also repeatedly alluded to false ideologies about multiculturalism and unity between Pākehā and Māori peoples, which will be further discussed in the analysis.

We can begin by discussing the primary similarities between the posters. First and foremost, the one commonality between the two images is that the main focus is on the All Blacks squad of those particular years, 2006 and 2007. In both posters the team is dressed in the official adidas All Blacks uniforms, which has the adidas logo on the right and the All Blacks fern logo on the left. All of the players are in a squatting position with some minor differences. In the “Bonded by Blood” poster their hands are on their hips, while in the other poster one arm is raised above their heads with a fist. For avid rugby fans, these two poses are very recognizably part of the Ka Mate haka performed at the beginning of all All Blacks games. In fact, this cultural element holds much significance in both Māori and Pākehā rugby culture, but it is the Ka Mate haka, which has helped bring much media attention and popularity of the All Blacks amongst major international audiences. The Ka Mate haka, includes stomping, chanting and intense facial expressions at the other opponents before a rugby game begins. The team captain will typically lead the Māori chant, and the team members repeat after him in Māori. The chant itself is meant to honor the Māori ancestors and at the same time show the fierceness of the players to the opposing team (see **Figure 9**).

While chanting the team commences to slap their arms, thighs and chests. The Ka Mate haka is incorporated into adidas advertisements because not only is it a recognizable part of the All Black tradition, but also because it has become one of the elements that visually represents nationalism and pride for New Zealanders. Scherer and Jackson (2008) argue

Ka mate! Ka mate! Ka ora! Ka ora!	I die! I die! I live! I live!
Ka mate! Ka mate! Ka ora! Ka ora!	I die! I die! I live! I live!
Tenei te tangata puhuru huru	This is the hairy man
Nana nei i tiki mai	Who fetched the Sun
Whakawhiti te ra	And caused it to shine again
A upa ... ne! ka upa ... ne!	One upward step! Another upward step!
A upane kaupane whiti te ra!	An upward step, another... the Sun shines!

**Figure 8 - Ka Mate haka chant**

It is important to note that the decision to utilize the Ka Mate haka was constituted by dominant cultural understandings of the haka as a taken-for-granted signifier of New Zealand identity operating within the local network of commercial relations” (p. 512)

They further argue that this understanding of the haka allows for the commercial exploitation of Māoridom at the same time, but under the guise of being an All Black tradition, not an indigenous one. This justification makes it seem that because it is a rugby/ All Black tradition, then it is an act owned by all people of New Zealand “as a historical national signifier, or if it is a generic part of the All Blacks brand, [thus] it can be pillaged for commercial purposes” (p. 513). It also gives Pākehā and advertising executives the chance to take Māori imagery and place it as directly part of “All Blacks history or ‘our’ culture” while being “incredibly selective as to when they identify with, and embrace, Māori culture” (Scherer and Jackson, 2010, p. 123).

Along with the allusion to Māori culture and identity through the use of haka poses and manaia, the tribal patterns used in the “Of This Earth poster” designs, both photographs take place in areas that seem to be far away from modern civilization. Although the physical environments are different, the ideology behind the photos is the same. By placing the team in remote locations, whether it be a jungle or on top of a dissected volcano, we are being told the New Zealand All Blacks are connected to the land. Each team member, whether Pākehā, White New Zealanders, or Māori, share this. adidas makes it a point to emphasize that this is one of the unifying factors in the pride that New Zealanders have for the All Blacks. They are all part of a land and a country that has a united and unique people, disregarding the tumultuous relationship between Māori and Pākehā counterparts in present day New Zealand. This also ties in directly with the idea that “rather than a game for society’s privileged, rugby’s popular, if sometimes mythical, historical status in New Zealand has been attributed to its ability to bring together ‘men’ of all backgrounds including Māori” (Jackson, Grainger and Batty, 2001, p. 209). Even the rhetoric used in the development plan for the campaign reflects this. It was described as a campaign that revolved around “the one thing all Kiwis [New Zealanders] share – the ground beneath their feet. It has special significance to Māori and Pākehā (European New Zealander) alike – historically and spiritually. And any rugby player will tell you the power of playing on your home ground” (advertolog, 2013). These posters are fabricated and constructed images that rely heavily on the myth and legend that revolves around the history of New Zealand as a country and the pride that the players and fans alike feel for their home grounds, while managing to still somehow



use selective elements of indigenous culture in the posters, to attract the attention of international audiences.

Furthermore, the overall tone of the posters is meant to be intimidating and fierce, and there is something primitive about them. These men with their large muscles are meant to exude the ultimate idea of masculinity, through their poses, facial expressions, and through the composition and digital enhancement of the very landscape in which they are placed. It also resembles a “tribe” of Māori warriors, and in the process they have been redefined and disconnected from the original ethnic origins. This construction of what the All Blacks are like does not depict them as human beings but rather as the brand they are meant to portray. They are supposed to represent fierce Māori warriors (despite the fact that some have no indigenous lineage whatsoever) and demand respect. And it is this very representation that “reduces, naturalizes, and delimits the complexity of Māori culture to a few stereotypical representations that have been historically constructed in relation to colonial stereotypes of the black Other (Hall, 1997; Mercer 1994)” (Scherer and Jackson, 2008, p. 516). They argue even more so that by doing so adidas and its affiliates are globally showcasing “the exotic black Other like an exhibitionary colonial museum for commercial profit” as well as also helping to hide the current and “controversial postcolonial race relations between Māori and Pākehā” (Scherer and Jackson, 2008). Again this is problematic because it creates a stereotype about Māori as a people. Inherently portraying the All Blacks as fierce, intimidating and primitive individuals only reaffirms racist and colonialist ideologies of minority groups and by exposing audiences to this it allows anyone to participate as part of the narrative, even the consumer because they are interpreting the message in a certain way.

The same ideological concepts apply within the videos as well. In the case of the “Bonded by Blood” video, the purpose is to educate the consumers about the value of the limited edition posters. Because it was shown in stores as well as [bondedbyblood.co.nz](http://bondedbyblood.co.nz), [allblacks.com](http://allblacks.com) and on YouTube, this was meant to reach not only local audience members but also make an impact on international fans of the All Blacks as well. The primary purpose of the campaign was to create a new product. “The solution was a world first: we created a limited-edition poster that not only featured the players but also included their actual DNA. Each player in the 40-strong squad donated blood which was thoroughly sterilized and then embedded into the paper during the printing process” (advertolog, 2013). This sterilization or purification of blood also plays into the idea of purifying the “Other.” Hall (2001) argues that the Other “must be symbolically excluded if the ‘purity’ of the culture is to be restored” (p. 258). The way that the “Other” is purified in this situation is by sterilizing the blood being drawn from the players. Interestingly enough, the video shows mostly Māori players having their blood drawn, further emphasizing this point. By being allowed to view the process audiences are able to see why that particular poster was so significant and important, without even thinking about how they were buying into the very image and brand that adidas is selling. The consumers aren’t thinking about giving adidas money for their products but rather being able to own a significant part of the All Black legacy, something of immense value, because the team’s DNA was now a physical part of this promotional material.

Although this video is about the production of the poster, we continuously still experience parts of Māori culture both visually and audibly. There is an overlay of haka chanting during parts of the video as well as shots of the players performing the haka for

their photo shoots. By incorporating these elements into “The Making” video, adidas once again ties the team to the ideas of tradition and history, all the while using the haka chant outside of its original context, to create a constructed image to present to local and global audiences. Falcous (2007) argues that “these boutique elements of representation – that is, the prominent (yet highly selective) use of indigenous identities and culture work toward diffusing the challenge to the legacy of the injustice of colonialism by posting a harmonious pluralism” (p. 386). By doing this adidas is separating the significance of these acts from indigeneity and allowing it instead to become a naturalized part of the All Black identity and something that is attributed to all New Zealanders, not just Māori people. Not only that, but in the video they interview only the team captain, Richie McCaw, who is Pākehā.

In the “Of This Earth” video the emphasis is on the land because that was the intent of the campaign to begin with. It is the thing that connects both All Black players and all peoples of New Zealand. The primary difference between the video and the poster is that in the video advertisement, audiences watching can see how significant the homeland and home fields are to rugby players and the pride that is felt to have so many All Blacks, past and present, be from those places. Each scene shows the players on their original home fields, while the narrator informs the public of the location as well as how many All Black members came from those places. What helps to further this connection is the field made from all of the different patches of grass from the other rugby grounds around the country at the end of the video. This provides a physical image the audience can see with their own eyes. It goes hand in hand with the idea that in New Zealand

rugby brings men together despite their differences. It is the love of the game, country, and the deep emotional ties to these connections that makes this possible.

Scherer and Jackson (2010) further argue:

To this extent, adidas (and arguably their corporate partners, the NZRU) had gone 'back to the future' by linking the past and the present. Arguably, the ad incorporates and reproduces a dominant mythology which has traditionally defined both the All Blacks and New Zealand: hard working, humble, rural and/or of the land, masculine, egalitarian and bi/multi-cultural, and absolutely committed to rugby and nation, even in the context of professionalism (p. 113).

Throughout the video the audio plays very well into the history of the All Blacks as being a major part of New Zealand identity and New Zealand-ness. There are the traditional bagpipes and the chanting of the haka in the background. By doing so, adidas is playing on the nationalism tied to the All Blacks specifically and rugby in general, further establishing themselves within the New Zealand market.

Both campaigns rely on New Zealand national and indigenous imagery in order to gain the attention of the local audience. According to Scherer & Jackson (2007) "adidas has intentionally articulated their brand with the 'awesome heritage and mystique that has surrounded the All Blacks brand for over 100 years' as opposed to having a more 'traditional sponsorship leveraging focus on product and sales promotions'" (p. 272). adidas had to rely on the local traditions after taking up the sponsorship of the team because a) it was a foreign company coming in to represent the national sporting symbol

of the country and b) the previous sponsor, Canterbury, was a local company that had provided athletic apparel and uniforms for the All Blacks for the last 75 years. adidas was also dealing with “one of the world’s smallest national markets with a population of four million people.... [And] to retain elite plays and to compete globally, the New Zealand Rugby Union needed substantial funding, explaining its willingness to accept adidas’ sponsorship” (Jackson, 2013, p. 106). This partnership “marked a distinct rupture, transition, and potential crisis in the history of rugby in New Zealand; and upheaval of a relatively stable period of amateurism, where local companies maintained popular associations with the All Blacks” (Scherer & Jackson, 2010, p. 99). The All Blacks would be what put New Zealand on the map in the world of global sports, and the New Zealand Rugby Union, (NZRU) knew that. Canterbury would not have been able to achieve that because it was a much smaller and local company that people outside of New Zealand had never heard of. The only way to remedy that was to bring in someone bigger, better, and with more money, and that someone was adidas. The NZRU is a major player in the global exposure of the All Blacks and is considered the “gatekeepers to the commercial use of the All Blacks” and hold “considerable power over advertising agencies and sponsor throughout the creative process” (Scherer & Jackson, 2007). They too play a large role in the advertisement making process.

In order to get its foot in the door with local consumers, adidas had to connect with them. “In turn, TNC’s [transnational corporations] like adidas seek association with locally relevant and prominent sporting team as a means of infiltrating local markets while simultaneously achieving global brand visibility” (Scherer and Jackson, 2010, p. 87). That would mean relying heavily on the cultural aspects of being a New Zealander

and the history of rugby and the All Blacks within New Zealand. adidas's marketing campaigns are a textbook example of how glocalization works. Not only were these campaigns meant to be localized, they were also meant to be part of the global adidas campaigns. "Sometimes the nationhood of countries is viewed as indivisible from the fortunes of the national teams of specific sports" (Maguire, 1999, p. 178). This is exactly what adidas did and has continued to do since its sponsorship of the All Blacks. It continuously incorporates cultural elements into its advertisements to draw in local consumers, while also creating an appeal for global audiences.

The sheer power of the culture industries and transnational sporting corporations to actively promote teams like the All Blacks who now arguably transcend the game of rugby as an internationally recognized brand in parts of the world in which they have little or no history.... it is precisely these sorts of global marketing ambitions and merchandising objectives that are increasingly framing fan affinities as consumer choices, there by facilitating the globalization of sporting consumption (Scherer and Jackson, 2010, p. 75).

Furthermore adidas was and is trying to reach a global audience by using elements that are different from other rugby teams but easily distinguishable as being either from New Zealand or Māori. The intent is to be unique. This is exactly what it did with the "Bonded by Blood" and "Of This Earth" campaign. Although there are reoccurring patterns and themes in each of them, the campaigns were framed in a way that seemed to be different from each other, but having the same ultimate goal. Sturken

and Cartwright (2001) argue that “repeating a motif in an advertising campaign can be used not only to establish familiarity of a product for viewers, but also keep viewers’ attention by varying the elements within a motif” (p. 207). The element of difference is a false difference because adidas is utilizing the same ideologies within both campaigns. This process of production has helped further feed the misuse and exploitation of Māori cultural elements in not only adidas advertising campaigns, but now in other corporate commercialization. As Dávila (2001) argues “in a context where nothing escapes commodification, commercial culture cannot be easily reduced to sheer pleasure or commercial manipulation, but must be considered as constitutive of contemporary identities and of notions of belonging and entitlement” (p. 10). Also it must be acknowledged that because of globalization and the advancement of technology, hundreds of thousands of people around the world can now experience the same advertisements as local consumers. It is very much true that “national cultures are no longer solely associated with their places of origin (if they ever were), and that the bonds between culture and place are being stretched like never before” (Scherer and Jackson, 2010, p. 17). This also brings to our attention the efforts that adidas put forth in order to try and be as ‘authentic’ and as sensitive as possible at the very beginning of its endorsement of the All Blacks. adidas claims authenticity because it relies on the NZRU as the cultural gatekeepers of the sport of rugby as well a knowledgeable resource of New Zealand culture. It is important to note that the NZRU is comprised of mostly Pākehā members with a small representative body of Māori individuals. This means that the cultural elements being approved by the NZRU for adidas to use in their advertisements are stereotypically recognizable as indigenous: as part of Māori culture. What is actually

indigenous culture is being naturalized as being part of the game, helping to establish a mindset that it is okay for consumers, and corporations to utilize these elements without asking for proper permission or use.

For the majority of the New Zealand population the framing of these elements in the advertisements does not seem like a bad thing because it has already been naturalized as part of New Zealand rugby culture, but those who opposed the use of Māoridom in these ads argue that by presenting the All Blacks this way, and by emphasizing the Māori players on the team as well as the use of the haka, it is only helping to reinforce racist and stereotypical rhetoric about the Māori peoples. No matter how culturally sensitive or ‘authentic’ adidas was trying to be they couldn’t and can’t control the reactions of all audience members no matter how aware they were of the cultural importance, or how respectful they tried to be about presenting these things in their ads. Furthermore, “processes of commodification and media–sport convergence occur against a backdrop of locally specific conditions, histories, traditions, sporting codes, and owner relations; consequently, their effects can never be automatically guaranteed” (Scherer & Jackson, 2010, p. 65). In the advertisements of “Bonded By Blood” and “Of This Earth” they cherry picked exactly what they wanted to use from Māori culture and further played on the already established stereotypical tropes of otherness, indigeneity, and Māoridom. By presenting the All Black team doing the haka with an emphasis on the images of the Māori rugby players on the All Blacks team it is only “further contributing to the stereotypical construction of Māori as natural, primitive athletes genetically advantaged to participate in physical activities as opposed to intellectual ones” (Scherer and Jackson, 2008, p. 516).



These elements were taken out of their original contexts. In “Bonded by Blood” the haka is performed in a photo studio, which is not authentic. In both posters the environments are obviously a digitally composed environment that exudes a primitiveness that correlates greatly with the idea of the exotic ‘Other’ and savagery. adidas and its affiliates continue to utilize the haka and indigenous imagery because it has been naturalized as merely something that the All Blacks do. These are elements that relate to all New Zealanders, not just Māori peoples, according to the corporations involved. Although adidas is a German company and has “absolutely no historical association with Māoridom, [it] benefitted from the appropriation and global trade of stereotypes of Māori culture and tradition” (Jackson and Scherer, 2010, p. 132). Its dependence on the NZRU as their way of becoming more knowledgeable about the local culture and traditions does not allow for other voices to be heard, in this case Māori tribes and its members. Andrews (2008) further argues in Nike Nations that

adidas’s transnational production of locality stirred significant resistance. This resistance centered on the non-sanctioned corruption of a highly symbolic element of indigenous culture (the Maori haka), but objections also arose because the advertisement depicted an indigenous people (the Maori) as primitive savages, all for the purpose of selling rugby shirts and advancing the adidas brand (p. 49).

These images have persisted years after their release, in part due to the development of technology. Consumers are now able to record old commercials and repost them on websites like YouTube. This means that consumers are still being exposed to these texts

even if they had not been exposed to it when it first came out on television screens and the adidas and All Blacks websites. It is this constant exposure that has pushed the Māori to seek legal action against large corporations like adidas.

The lawsuits from Māori individuals asking for financial compensation for the use of this imagery within adidas's advertisements, more specifically the use of the Ka Mate haka, has to do with the misrepresentation and commodification of the cultural act. Regarding the use of the haka, copyright laws were brought into question, as well as who actually had the rights to the performance. The Ngāti Toa Tribe, whose war leader Te Rauparaha is credited for composing the Ka Mate haka, did not receive any financial compensation from the use of the Ka Mate haka in any of the advertisements done by adidas. adidas justified using the Ka Mate haka as a traditional part of the All Blacks rugby game, as well as arguing that the haka was not something that was for sale but in fact was part of the All Blacks tradition, making it okay to use in their advertisements since they are the team's sponsor. It is important to note that the 'authenticity' that adidas claims of the haka use in its advertisements is in fact false. First and foremost, the haka is supposed to be performed before rugby games and at proper ceremonies. Secondly, not all Māori are from the Ngāti Toa tribe. One major issue with this is that the Ka Mate itself is an issue of contention amongst different Māori tribes. Not all Māori hold the Ka Mate haka in high regard and in fact for some it is an offensive form of the haka. What adidas presents in their advertisements is not authentic or respectful to the Ngāti Toa tribe or the Māori culture. Again the main issue with this is that it may have had a significant impact on global audiences. As of 2009 the Ngāti Toa tribe now holds the intellectual property rights of the Ka Mate haka. The agreement was a milestone for the

Ngāti Toa. The reason for doing this is to protect the Ka Mate haka from being misappropriated. “If a company wanted to use the haka for commercial reasons there should be a recognition of the tribe’s cultural interests” (Connolly, 2009). Because of this change, adidas must acknowledge that the Ka Mate haka is not something that they can use freely, and this applies to other corporations as well. Although it has been naturalized that this cultural act belongs to all New Zealanders because of such advertising motifs, the lawsuit of the Ngāti Toa tribe shows that is no longer the case. This is the first step at giving a voice to the Māori people in regards to their own culture and its use amongst outsiders.

adidas isn’t able to provide the proper context in order to present these elements to global audiences, nor can they properly exhibit the historical and spiritual significance of the haka and manaia within Māori culture. It’s a significant problem because “Māori are increasingly witnessing the commodification of their culture, often without consultation, in advertisements that essentially delimit Māori to a small range of stereotypical representations to be consumed by a global audience” (Scherer and Jackson, 2010, p. 218). But these stereotypical representations revolve around a recognizable exotic uniqueness that can only be found in New Zealand, and through Māori culture. In *Ethnicity, Inc.* by John and Jean Camaroff (2009) argue that

Those who seek to brand their otherness, to profit from what makes them different, find themselves having to do so in the universally recognizable terms in which difference is represented, merchandised, rendered negotiable by means of the abstract instruments of the market: money, the commodity, commensuration, the calculus of supply and demand, price, branding (p. 24).

This is one of the very reasons why adidas sponsored the All Blacks to begin with. By signing a contract with the All Blacks, not only was adidas taking on a good rugby team but it would be “integral to a wider promotional culture that not only seeks to communicate particular corporate identities and brands but also the symbolic and ideological content of a culture and ‘its ethos, texture, and constitution as a whole’ (Wernick, 1991, p. vii)” (Scherer, 2013, p. 101).

adidas’s involvement helped the All Blacks and the NZRU financially, at the expense of how the Māori and their culture are being represented to audiences. Although they had a small victory regarding property rights, there is still a lack of control amongst Māori peoples to have a say in how their culture is used within advertisements. This transfer of control affects the narratives being produced because of the lack of control within the situation and “as a consequence, there is greater potential for misunderstanding and exploitation” (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002, p. 128). Many spectators who are not native New Zealanders or Maori do not understand the chants or what the actions of the players means. They only see what adidas wants them to see because they have been decontextualized. adidas controls various aspects of the brand in which they have invested millions to commercialize. This control includes “the history, tradition and

culture of the All Blacks. Within a local context, this means ownership of aspects of the New Zealand community and its collective memory” (Jackson, 2004, p. 127) but outside of this locality the dynamic changes. adidas now owns parts of the cultural and indigenous identity of the Māori and are presenting an image that is not accurate to global audiences. In fact, Scherer and Jackson (2008) argue that “global viewers unfamiliar with the localized tradition of Māori culture may view the Ka Mate haka, and by extension the totality of Māori culture, as uncivilized, indecent, and savage (Keretu, 1993)” (Scherer and Jackson, 2008, p. 517). In an article written by John Inverdale (2002), for the *Telegraph*, he describes what he thought of the All Blacks before he ever saw them in person. He states “I’d heard all there were was to hear about these amazing rugby warriors from far away. I’d heard about their invincibility on the field of play. But more than that, I’d heard about their call to arms.” The rhetoric used in his writing about the All Blacks and the haka performance games revolves around that very idea of myth and legend. It is something absolutely otherworldly and a completely amazing spectacle. But he doesn’t mention that that haka has a history that goes beyond the sport of rugby. This is the main cause of concern.

Because these elements are being taken out of their original contexts for profit, what international audiences see is neither accurate nor authentic, culturally or symbolically. By utilizing only the most ‘authentic’ Māori cultural practices, such as the haka and fake moko tattoos (Māori facial tattoos) in advertisements, billboards, and videos, the promotion of the Māori falls within the realm of a stereotypical portrayal of indigenous people and their cultural identity. The significant meanings behind these practices gets lost in the process of commodification of the All Blacks, the team, and the

All Blacks, the brand. The use of the most blatantly obvious aspects of Māori culture without providing the meanings contained within those aspects and Māori culture at-large only “reduces, naturalizes, and delimits the complexity of Māori culture” and it “constructs Maori as the savage black other through a range of decontextualized images of past Māori warriors” (Scherer & Jackson, 2008, p. 516). However, Saatchi’s head of television, Howard Greive was quoted as saying,

One of the key words that adidas were keen to go with was authenticity – so that’s why we shot a game that’s why we shot the haka... We knew that if we could just show people what it is actually like to be confronted by the haka and to watch the All Blacks play their game – then you don’t have to manufacture anything. All you have to do is show it (“Primal Team,” 1999, p. 22).

Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) claim that although adidas attempted to capture the authenticity of the All Blacks through their representations it only manufactures one aspect of Māori culture and ultimately this manufactured image is exploiting the indigenous culture itself, while presupposing a false sense of unity. “The exploitation occurs not only through the misappropriation of ritual but also through the attempts to nostalgically forge a particular version of New Zealand’s past” (p. 133-34). This exploitation of the All Blacks by adidas is fueled by the need to create financial capital, and to feed the consumption of the fans. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) argue that the products being produced continue to be created in order to satisfy consumer wants. The process of branding and creating an image that’s marketable to consumers is the primary

purpose of adidas and companies like it. It's what drives capitalism but it is also what contributes to the reoccurring stereotypes seen in many of adidas' ads.

The other major problem with this model of business is the capitalization of cultural practices like the haka and the manaia design, while also controlling and owning intellectual property rights to elements of Māori culture. Is it even ethical to do so? adidas has copyright on all of its clothing as well as the images in their advertisements. The posters with the manaia designs are also copyrighted by adidas. Their videos and advertisements from both campaigns too are copyrighted. Scherer and Jackson (2010) argue that

Indeed, one of the dangers of appropriating Maori culture and identity for advertisers is in misinterpreting, misrepresenting, and insulting the mana (prestige and authority) of Māoridom; arguably, this is done simply by commodifying and decontextualizing Māori culture for capital accumulation (p. 125)

Although these issues are highly problematic there are some positives that do arise from the involvement of adidas to the rugby scene in New Zealand and their role in representing the All Blacks. It brings the Māori to the forefront of media attention: previously there was a lack of acknowledgement of their participation in rugby. This attention has also helped bring New Zealand onto the global scene by helping to further the country's tourist industry. McIntosh and Ryan (2007) state that, "tourism is viewed as a major source of potential economic growth for Maori communities." New Zealand's 2010 Tourism plan called for the inclusion of more Māori participation in the industry.

The All Blacks, on the other hand, have a different kind of power in the realm of representation. Although globally adidas controls the image being shown to audiences and consumers, the team has continued to attempt to use elements of Māori cultural practices tools in creating New Zealand unity and as a means of furthering Māori identity. Although the branding of this team will affect the perceptions of rugby audiences internationally, for the players and for a lot of community members, they are able to build a positive relationship with the indigenous culture from which they are using symbolic practices. If there were more international broadcasts showing these types of events, it could very well be a tool to help change the stereotypes that are created from adidas's advertisements. It is crucial that "we need to recognize that social groups do not have essential identities; any attempt to define who we are ' is a communicative process that includes many voices and varying degrees of understanding and most importantly misunderstanding'" (Murray, 2000, p. 347). By incorporating more media coverage of these events, consumers would have a better understanding of the cultural significance that the All Blacks have in New Zealand national identity as well as its deeply rooted ties in Māori history.

But of course there are always negative repercussions. The most obvious is that by exploiting the All Blacks brand and the cultural practices of the Māori, New Zealand is able to make itself distinguishable from other countries in the region. Not only that but they also rely heavily on the fact that their rugby team is one of the most successful internationally. The financial cushion provided by adidas only helps to further this exposure as well as the influx of tourists. There is now, more than ever, money to produce more advertisements for the All Blacks, at the expense of Māori identity and



their cultural practices. By exploiting these select images a stereotype of Māori, and essentially of New Zealand, is created and regurgitated to consumers who aren't culturally or historically aware of the role of rugby. This leaves a major gap particularly with those individuals who cannot afford to travel to New Zealand to experience these things themselves. Consumers rely on the information and images provided by adidas and others like them in order to shape an opinion of the All Blacks, Māori indigenouness, and New Zealand. The All Blacks can only be a brand, a product, and a commodity. The only elements that can be used to express their 'authenticity' are the most stereotypical uses of Māori cultural elements, because this is what sells. No matter how 'accurate' adidas wants to be in its representation of the All Blacks and of Māori cultural elements within their ads, it's main purpose is to create products that sell to consumers that want to buy those products, which in turn creates profits.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the relationship between globalization and the reformation of Māori identity through the textual analysis of several promotional materials from two adidas campaigns. Although a textual analysis allowed for a deconstruction of the promotional materials created by adidas, it would be useful to have included interviews of those who opposed these two campaigns. Fürsich (2001) argues that the primary purpose of a textual analysis is to “establish the ideological potential of the text between production and consumption. The question is not how accurately does the text reflect reality but what version of reality is normalized” (p. 249). But he goes on further to say that “a central mistake...is to ignore the context and polysemy of the text by narrowly arguing for one specific reading of the text. Here it is where methodological invention is needed” (p. 249). By interviewing individuals who watched the advertisements it would help provide a better understanding of how these representations are affecting audiences perceptions of the All Blacks and the Māori people. Even more so it would have been beneficial to talk with individuals involved with the advertising campaigns to get a better perspective on what their intents were and how they handled the backlash from individuals who were opposed to the use of Māori culture in their advertisements. It also would have been especially beneficial to speak with Māori tribe members who have been involved in the legal action against adidas and companies that have used appropriation in their advertisements. Furthermore, it would have been helpful to have conducted a survey examining the attitudes of new Zealanders to the campaigns, compared to audiences in the U.S.

This thesis could be expanded in a multitude of ways and there is still much to be questioned within the whole process of glocalization, globalization and the reformation of local identities. These processes are constantly changing. With the advancement of new technologies and more ads competing for consumer attention, the dynamics have to fit what ‘consumer’s and fans of New Zealand rugby want. In order to remain profitable, adidas will need to create new ways of attracting these consumers. In the case of New Zealand, if adidas is not able to bring in the money, keep the attention of the locals, and still influence global markets through the All Blacks sponsorship, they could very well lose their contract and potential millions to another athletic apparel company.

The relationship between Māori, rugby, New Zealand and adidas revolves around globalism, colonialism, nationalism, and glocalization. These processes have ultimately changed the way that New Zealand culture can and is portrayed across transnational borders. It has also affected the indigenous representations of Māori in the media as well. The glocalization of the All Blacks continues to change as adidas must continue to draw in audiences with new ads every year. However, consumers within the sports industry need to be aware of the history between rugby and it’s roots within New Zealand nationalism as well as the role that Māoridom plays within that context. This is important because without that knowledge the representations being shown to them may help to only reaffirm already existing stereotypes about Māori people and their culture. The original intent of the sport was meant to rid the Maori of their culture, an act that was inherently racist. The Māori were able to appropriate and alter the meaning of rugby to fit their own cultural needs. At the same time they incorporated traditions like the haka, creating further ties with the sport that have become now naturalized within New Zealand

rugby culture. This was an attempt at fighting back against colonialism. At the same time, globalization is representative of the very processes that rugby fought against in the first place.

Rugby is no longer just a game of amateurism but it is part of global sport business because of teams like the All Blacks and the narratives that come with teams like them. What has not changed, however, is the imagery associated with New Zealand rugby as a whole. By using only certain Māori elements to help promote and sell the All Blacks, and bringing elements of New Zealand-ness to their products and ultimately their brand, adidas has only fed into the system of cultural appropriation for capitalistic gain. The imagery that continues to emanate from their advertising and marketing campaigns has only helped to reaffirm stereotypes of Māori. Furthermore this play on stereotyped images only hinders the progress of Māori identity and it also creates a false image of what Māori culture is to international consumers. If this is the only exposure that rugby fans and adidas consumers have of Māori people, their perceptions are going to mirror exactly what they have seen performed on the rugby field, advertisements, and billboards. Because adidas is the mediator, they are allowing audiences to see only what they want them to see and because of globalization this is able to reach more people than ever before.

Because adidas is able to commodify the All Blacks as well as their use of moko, manaia and Māori haka performances they have helped to dramatically redefine what can and can't be owned under legal rights. Under a binding contract Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) argue that

It is only by understanding how and why identity congeals into property – into a species of capital vested in the entrepreneurial subject, singular and collective – that we may full grasp emerging patterns of selfhood and sociality at the dawn of the twenty-first century (p. 144).

Jackson and Hokowithu (2002) argue that the issue of control within the realm of globalization, commercialization and branding will be a constant struggle “as advertisers seek new signs and excavate fresh cultural territory no meaning system is sacred, because the realm of culture has been turned into a giant mine.”

But this isn't to say that Māori aren't speaking up and fighting back against the capitalization and commodification of their culture. That the intellectual property rights were returned to them in 2009 regarding the Ka Mate haka demonstrate this. Although the Māori can't stop the globalization of their culture, because it's already happened, Māori groups are speaking out against large corporations who use Māori cultural elements in their advertisements. Multiple lawsuit cases against other corporations such as Legos, Fiat, and others have been filed. In the case of Legos, they were using Māori words in their advertisements for their Bionicle series. The Māori tribe then began working with the company to “draft guidelines on how to use traditional knowledge” accordingly (bbc.co.uk, 2001). According to the attorney who wrote the letter of complaint on behalf of the Māori, he states that the Māori individuals involved

are trying to put the record straight about the culture and here's a major international company that's out there projecting a different perception and image... Now, if we can get that right, then you've got something really powerful that's going to satisfy the commercial market and more importantly, the cultural market'" (bbc.co.uk, 2001).

By doing so, and by bringing attention to these kinds of situations, it is also allowing global audiences within the rugby sports culture and those outside of it to witness Māori peoples in a modern context. This is due, in part, because of globalization and the rise of technologies. Newspapers are now online and have a global audience. In fact by doing so it may be possible that these corporations work in conjunction with Māori tribes to properly represent and portray Māori culture in a context that is respectful and not stereotypical. In order to understand the culture one must become educated by those who live that lifestyle. Prefabricated notions of what is New Zealand-ness and only using the most obvious elements of Māoridom do not and will not ever constitute as an accurate representation of an entire group of people.

This can be seen in the "Bonded by Blood" and "Of This Earth" campaigns. These media texts helped establish a representation of the All Blacks and of Māori culture that reinforce stereotypes of primitivism and savagery. Furthermore, despite claiming to appropriately represent the All Blacks team and Māoridom, adidas continued to stereotype and rely the ideologies of unity, New Zealand sports nationalism and the naturalization of these stereotypes. This 'Otherness' is the marketable quality of the All Blacks and it's very unlikely that adidas will stop from using this because it is part of the

All Blacks brand. It has been emphasized that this is how the team is naturally: strong, fierce, hyper-masculine, primitive, and inherently indigenous. So this raises new questions of how corporations who have helped to naturalize these kinds of representations of Māoridom can reverse these effects by producing advertisements that feature Māori tribe members who can provide appropriate context to the elements in the advertisements. Will Māori individuals be able to represent themselves appropriately in these cases? As seen in the case of the Ngāti Toa tribe and the Legos lawsuit it is not impossible, but it isn't common as of yet. As technology becomes more accessible it may so be that these kinds of cases become even more frequent, and more exposure is given to the appropriation of these groups via large corporations through their advertising campaigns.

As globalization continues to shift and corporations go in and out of business, the means of attracting the interests of local and global markets will change as well, as will who controls those modes of communication. One can hope as these changes progress within the process so will the identities of local communities into ones that are accurately represented through the very process that needs them in order to succeed. Perhaps more collaboration can take place between corporations and Māori, in order to help educate consumers about the cultural history and appropriate contexts of Māori culture. Sturken and Cartwright (2001) argue that “most advertising provides information through the short-hand language of visual and textual conventions” which in turn does not allow for the audience to properly understand the context of the cultural elements being used, especially if they have never been exposed to these elements before. Furthermore, “advertising functions to attach certain meanings to products that they would not

necessarily have in themselves. In the process, it often awards them complex and emotional attributes, in other words, it can give them an aura” (Sturken and Cartwright, 1994, p. 207). And perhaps the Māori will play a more active role in the production, reproduction, and representation of their own culture on a global scale to influence the perceptions that audiences have created due to advertising



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