

## 2

# Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern: Fashion and Performing Gender

*Sarah Baker*

### *Introduction*

New Zealand has an enviable history in the representation of women in politics with three New Zealand women: Dame Jenny Shipley (National Party leader, 1997–99), Helen Clark (New Zealand Labour Party leader, 1999–2008) and more recently, Jacinda Ardern (New Zealand Labour Party leader 2017, re-elected 2020–present) taking office as prime minister. New Zealand was also the first country in the world to offer the franchise for eligible women, moving in Parliament to award them the vote on 19 September 1893, outstripping its antipodean neighbour Australia's enactment of the Commonwealth Franchise Act in 1902.

From this promising beginning, New Zealand appears as an enlightened country. However, the role of the women in political life, and most notably in the role as the foremost leader of the country, has been heavily constrained by both media's representation and the public opinion generated by their attire. The trend continues to see female leaders as fashion consumers that should display their bodies as either feminine and/or as leaders, but not both. These female prime ministers have all experienced criticism from the press associated with their public appearance. Naomi Wolf, in her seminal work, *The Beauty Myth*, wrote many years ago: 'the more legal and material hindrances women have broken through, the more strictly and heavily and cruelly images of female beauty have come to weigh upon us' (1991: 10).

Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's third woman prime minister, came into office during a time of increased media presence: the relentless 24/7 news cycle and the dominance of social media commentary on women and their clothing. The current New Zealand's electoral system is a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) model where Ardern was a List Member of Parliament from 2008 to 2017 and Member

of Parliament for the electorate of Mount Albert (2017–present) and the leader of the New Zealand Labour Party from (2017–present). Achieving this position at age 37 in October 2017 as the elected prime minister meant she became the country's youngest elected prime minister in the electoral history of New Zealand's government of 150 years. Her image as a young and vibrant-looking prime minister earned her popularity with the electorate, especially with the international media.

### *Fashion and political style*

It is worth repeating that political leaders rely on their access to power, and a female leader poses the question 'is she man enough?' to take up the challenge of a higher political office (e.g. in the United States, see Meeks 2012).

In the world of politics, women in leadership must maintain their power and authority in order to rule effectively. Pamela Golbin, an international fashion critic states, 'whether they acknowledge it or not, all political figures partake in the act of power dressing from the first time they stand before an audience seeking a leadership role' (2011: 8). Today's media demands on one's physical appearance are considerable, while 'there is often widespread uneasiness about the importance of politicians in contemporary times, and yet public performance is necessary for the practice of politics' (Craig 2016: 11). With this emphasis on performance for politicians, the focus becomes their physical 'looks', their attire and deportment.

No one escapes (except the rare nudist) the role of clothing to reinforce the divide between the sexes as expressed in gendered ideas and behaviour. Drawing on concepts from anthropology, Joanne Entwistle states:

Dress is a basic fact of social life and this, according to anthropologists is true of all human creatures that we know about: all cultures 'dress' the body in some way, be it through clothing, tattooing, cosmetics or other forms of body painting.

(2015: 31)

Clearly, clothing is particularly associated with gender. 'Fashion, particularly as it is laid out in the fashion magazine, is "obsessed with gender"' (Wilson [1985] 2020: 117) and therefore, fashion becomes a boundary issue, constantly shifting and negotiating the limits of clothing amongst today's complicated array of genders. While binary-gendered roles have changed in many societies, there is no escaping the fact that fashion is never neutral or removed from gender-based theoretical perspectives (Reilly and Barry 2020).

Of course, gender plays its role in political elections, as the reporter Max Uberg comments,

in 2014, psychologists at Dartmouth College found that people were less likely to vote for women candidates' if there was even a tiny amount of hesitancy in assigning their gender. This dynamic was not found for the male politicians [...] women politicians who couldn't be instantaneously categorized as female receive fewer votes.

(2017: n.pag.)

Gender and its performance deeply impact on how female politicians are represented in the media, after the rise of social media and the 24/7 news cycle changed the political landscape since the mid-1990s. Rose Weitz summarizes the argument 'that gender rests not only on the surface of the body, in performance and doing, but becomes embodied part of whom we are physically and psychologically' (Weitz 2010: 29, referencing Young 1990; Connell 2005). From other scholars comes the viewpoint that 'this body/dress awareness is gendered': as Tseelon notes, concluding that 'women's sense of self (and self-worth) is frequently a "fragile" one' (1997: 61). Dress can either bolster a political woman's confidence or make her acutely self-conscious and uncomfortable.

The rise of women in national politics in the United States, notably first ladies Hillary Clinton and Michelle Obama indicated a turning point in continuous media scrutiny (see Chapter 5). Fashion editor Vanessa Friedman notes this transition as follows:

The twin conditions of the historic nature of this [Obama] presidency and the rise of social media, which turned every public second into a sharable, comment-worthy moment, combined to create a new reality where every appearance mattered.

(2017: 3)

This new, and even unwelcome scrutiny to the dress of the world's female politicians or women in leadership roles also influenced the media 'down under' in Australia and New Zealand. In Australia, the media evaluations on political women's fashion were notorious after Julia Gillard, became the nation's first and—so far—only female prime minister (see Chapter 4).

### *New Zealand women in politics*

#### **New Zealand Prime Ministers Dame Jenny Shipley vs. Helen Clark**

Jenny Shipley (National Party leader, 1997–99) and Helen Clark (New Zealand Labour Party leader, 1999–2008) were each judged by their looks and fashion choices as female prime ministers and politicians in New Zealand. Entire news

stories from a wide range of critics and commentators explored the details of these two prime ministers from their bodies to their chosen ornamentations. These commentators included hairstylists, fashion designers and image consultants who passed judgement on the two former prime ministers' physical appearance and clothing as image consultants became part of the new reality for women in political roles.

The feminist sociologist Linda Trimble, in her article entitled 'Melodrama and gendered mediation television coverage of women's leadership "coups" in New Zealand and Australia' (2014) outlined the complexity of appearance for both Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark during their successful runs to win the New Zealand prime ministerships. During the leadership campaign when Helen Clark defeated Jenny Shipley, the media became obsessed with their differences in dress, for example, stating 'Miss Clark was drab in olive' while Shipley was 'resplendent in National [Party's] royal blue' (2014: 129). Further, Shipley's feminine appearance caused the stylists to comment 'image gurus say it won't take a lot to get Shipley shipshape' (2014: 129). Sporting the party colour appeared as an appropriate choice for the National leader, but when Helen Clark suited up in the Labour Party red this was broadcast as 'going too far'. In her 2002 campaign, Clark took 'a few knocks for her clothes sense', 'including a bright red number [...] which some commentators compared to a walking Labour billboard' (Trimble 2014: 129).

New Zealand's first elected female Prime Minister Helen Clark served as Labour Prime Minister for three terms (Shipley had inherited the office). Although highly successful in her political career, Clark was also constantly attacked for her appearance and her lack of bearing children. As Brian Edwards explains during an interview:

Although he has known Clark for years, it was only in 1996 that her minders called in Edwards and his wife, Judy Callingham, to look at her media performance. This was three years after Clark had become Leader of the Opposition and just after Michael Cullen's attempted takeover. Many others had tried to change the perception, but Clark, with her deep, gruff voice and taciturn manner, seemed doomed to be the bridesmaid forever [rather than Prime Minister].

(du Chateau 2001: n.pag.)

As Trimble reported, one news item focused entirely on 'Ms. Clark's swept-up glamorous image'. For Clark, 'a gal who once didn't wear lipstick' came to recognize 'cosmetics as a girl's best friend' (2014: 129, 132). The pressure for Clark to conform to feminine expectations was intense. When the 2002 election campaign came around, Clark's transformation 'from ugly duckling to media darling' was said to be complete and completely convincing. 'The severe, aloof figure of yesteryear

has been replaced by a confident, polished politician', who 'looked comfortable as she took the microphone' and 'looked good in the debates' (Trimble 2014: 136).

The persistence of the focus on Helen Clark's fashion choices throughout her time as prime minister continued, and one example shows the level of pettiness in the media coverage. In 2002, Helen Clark was criticized by British media for her costume while attending a state dinner for the visit of Queen Elizabeth II. Clark hit back via an interview on television by suggesting that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) were 'out of date and out of line' (TVNZ 2002: n.pag.). Later, Clark accompanied the British monarch during her walkabout around Auckland's Viaduct Harbour, attired in another designer trouser suit that was not dissimilar to the one worn during the State dinner. Clark's trousers came in for further criticism when they reported, 'New Zealand's Prime Minister [...] She's the one wearing trousers', sniffed the broadcaster's voice-over to the BBC's international television audience (TVNZ 2002: n.pag.).

During the 2005 elections, even the makeup she wore attracted criticism, where 'Miss Clark, decked in red with matching lipstick, was aggressive' thereby linking her lipstick colour and look with an over-the-top political demeanour (Trimble 2014: 128). During the 2008 campaign, two articles characterized Clark's 'makeup regime as 'professionally applied war paint' and 'here we see a discursive disjuncture because Clark was viewed as complying with the conflicting norms of exaggerated femininity and warrior masculinity' (2014: 128). New Zealand's media continued to emphasize that women prime ministers should portray feminine stereotypes in fashion, grooming and in their demeanour.

There was much commentary on the continuing transformation of Clark with pundits' perspective on the restyling of Clark as a media-savvy politician:

Ms. Clark's rise in the past few weeks of the campaign has been spectacular and has been based – as much as she hates it – on smartening up her television image. For so long the victim of television she is – for the first time – its master.

(Trimble 2014: 136)

In contrast, Prime Minister Jenny Shipley did not experience the same attacks as Helen Clark as she projected a firmly articulated identity as a wife and mother. She was consistently referred to as 'Mrs Shipley', and placed her husband and children as key figures in her political persona. Here, the press regarded Shipley's gender as female, and presented within the sanctity of heteronormative marital relationships, while Clark's heterosexual marriage was open to debate and questions about her gender remained an easy target.

Ironically, Helen Clark was a very strong supporter of the New Zealand fashion industry, and leading designers came forward to defend her. International designer

Denise L'Estrange-Corbet said 'I think she looks very smart and casual; I don't see any reason why she shouldn't be wearing pants – it's the age of equality and all that. I think she's very slim and got great legs and why not?' (2005: n.pag.). Clark also signed an exclusive contract in 2008 with the Newmarket Business Association to 'dress, accessorise, and style Prime Minister Right Honourable Helen Clarke for the 2008 election campaign', and the contract was reported to have a retail value of up to a quarter of a million dollars (Scoop 2008: n.pag.).

This transformation showed that Helen Clark was first and foremost, a good politician who undertook a strategic and comprehensive makeover of her political image to win leadership. Her successful role as an international leader was recently bolstered by this announcement on New Zealand Radio (RNZ):

Former Prime Minister Helen Clark has been given the job of jointly leading an investigation into the response of the World Health Organization, and that of governments, to Covid-19. She will share the role with the former president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

(Hill 2020: n.pag.)

### *Jacinda Ardern's key fashion moments*

Jacinda Ardern became New Zealand's third female prime minister on 26 October 2017 (New Zealand Labour Party leader, 2017–present). Her political career is illustrated here through several key fashion choices. Cressida Heyes (2007: 134) states that 'a refusal on the part of the feminist subject to style herself in any way – to be uninvolved, neutral or natural – is impossible', thus making a woman's appearance 'loaded' in a way a man's dark suit does not. Further, Sehra suggests that a big part of fashion in politics remains 'women playing by rules that the men formulate and participating in structures of power that men monopolize, rather than questioning power itself' (2019: n.pag.).

In Ardern's case, it can be argued that she simultaneously experiences the scrutiny that other prominent female politicians have endured while also deploying fashion as a way to promote her political brand. Pamela Golbin entwines the fashionable and political representation together by saying:

It is therefore quite natural that fashion is used to convey gender and power, respect and authority, modernity and authenticity, making it a sartorial billboard that disseminates clear-cut messages to an array of audiences, from intimate to global.

(2011: 7)

In November 2019, Jacinda Ardern appeared in a pre-recorded segment on *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert* when host Stephen Colbert visited New Zealand in October. The segment had an estimated 3.5 million viewers in the United States, which excited the tourism sector of New Zealand. This broadcast was estimated to be worth \$5.5 million in New Zealand's tourist revenue (Molyneux and McRae 2019: n.pag.).

This overall enthusiasm for her freshness has not gone without the usual criticism and double standards about the appropriateness of women as leaders that the previous female prime ministers of New Zealand have experienced. The critique of her appearance was broadcast in Australia when the television host Steve Price took the offensive stance on her saying that, 'Jacinda is too emphatic, she's just too young, she dared to have a baby in office, she's too polite and cap it off her teeth are too big' (Dickens 2020: n.pag.). Andrew Dickens reported that *The Project* host Steve Price provided the perfect case of 'irrational misogyny' and continues to report that many voters have qualms about women in politics and therefore perceptions of their abilities coalesce around their appearance (2020: n.pag.).

Jacinda Ardern – in contrast to the previous female New Zealand prime ministers – has recognized the significance of her appearance. She has curated her fashion choices to articulate her own political brand. In 2018, Jacinda was reported as 'making a splash in New York, not just with her many media appearances and attendance at the United Nations but for her fresh fashion choices' (Black 2018: n.pag.). Eleanor Black reported on her approachable style matched with a 'what you see is what you get personality'. So, Ardern's fashion and her stated small-l liberal political stance have been directly linked. Similarly, Ardern was praised by *Vogue Fashion* as the 'anti-Trump' (Lester 2018: n.pag.). Later in September 2019, Ardern received criticism when she met the United States' President Donald Trump after she did not discuss climate change with him; and reflected positively on their meeting in the White House (Edwards 2019).

### **Jacinda Ardern: Mother in office**

Shortly after winning the election in 26 October 2017, Jacinda Ardern announced that she was pregnant and would continue to work as prime minister and have her child. She met with world leaders, in this case German Vice Chancellor Angela Merkel, while visibly pregnant (see Plate v). When Ardern gave birth to her daughter on 21 June 2018 she became the first world leader to give birth in almost 30 years. The previous politician giving birth while in office was Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (see Chapter 6). In New Zealand, Ardern's pregnancy was viewed as a mark of progressiveness that is still rare amongst developed nations (Steger 2018). In a further deviation from the maternal role, her partner



Clarke Gayford would be taking the main parenting role while Ardern chose to continue her duties as prime minister.

Recently, the impact of the maternal role in politics is hotly contested (Bauer 2020: 170 citing Deason et al. 2015). An emphasis on motherhood can be viewed as a gesture of appeasement for taking on an unpopular role, as suggested in the case of First Lady Michelle Obama (see Chapter 5). In the United States, motherhood is symbolized within the nationalistic style of patriotism, as in the American catchphrase 'motherhood and apple pie', as it is further amended to 'motherhood and apple pie and the flag' meaning the three things that all Americans ascribe to their country. Elsewhere, scholars have found that 'voters rate childless female candidates substantially lower than childless male candidates, mother candidates and father candidates', which in New Zealand relates back to the childless Prime Minister Helen Clark (Stalsburg 2010: 273).

#### Ardern's cover on *British Vogue*

Jacinda Ardern's cover photo appeared in *British Vogue's* September issue (2018). September, as indicated in the popular movie, is *Vogue's* most prestigious month for publication (Cutler 2009) and comprised another first for a New Zealand leader. The magazine *Vogue* has long appropriated the title, 'fashion Bible' after it was founded in the United States in 1902, and published for the first time in the United Kingdom in 1916. Previously, *Vogue* has featured politicians' wives, including Michelle Obama, who appeared on the cover of the magazine three times, Hillary Clinton appeared as First Lady, and even Melania Trump was featured on the cover when she married the United States' past President Donald Trump (Hawkes 2017). Likewise, Theresa May, the female British prime minister was photographed by Annie Leibovitz for *British Vogue* where she sat in a seated pose at Chequers in front of a fireplace (Trevett 2017).

Ardern's photoshoot for *Vogue's* September 2018 edition was part of a collection of covers, curated by Meghan Markle, Duchess of Sussex, which she entitled 'Forces for Change' and included fifteen women from the world of politics, sport and the arts. Markle describes her project in glowing terms:

These last seven months have been a rewarding process, curating and collaborating with Edward Enninful, *British Vogue's* editor-in-chief, to take the year's most-read fashion issue and steer its focus to the values, causes and people making impact in the world today [...] Through this lens I hope you'll feel the strength of the collective in the diverse selection of women chosen for the cover [...] I hope readers feel as inspired as I do, by the 'Forces for Change' they'll find within these pages.

(Markle cited in Barr 2019: n.pag.)

It was reported that the selection of women was a highly personal process, from young (Greta Thunberg) and older (Jane Fonda) activists alongside many women of colour, but Jacinda Ardern was the only sitting political leader of her country. Perhaps the most unusual part of the 'photo shoot' was that photographer Peter Lindbergh shot her cover during a live video link from Auckland, New Zealand, representing another 'first' for both New Zealand politicians as well as for the magazine (Barr 2019). Ardern was described as a,

37-year-old with a beaming smile. She was photographed at West Auckland's Bethells Beach in a pair of sage green Herriot pants and a flowing trench coat from Harmin Grubisa [...] [she's] young, dynamic, forward looking and unabashedly liberal. The shoot also represents a major break for the Wellington designer Bron Eichbaum, whose label was just a year old at the time.

(Black 2018: n.pag.)

After this positive portrait circulated around the world, the young New Zealand prime minister and mother would face the greatest challenge of her tenure in office.

#### The Christchurch Massacre and the hijab/headscarf

On 15 March 2019, there was an unprecedented terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand. It is called unprecedented because New Zealand had largely escaped being a site of terrorist activity unlike many other countries around the world.

In an online forum at 1.28 p.m., an anonymous post appeared with links to a Facebook livestream and a document to a poster named 'manifesto'. The reporter Colleen Hawkes has collected the minute-by-minute unfolding of the tragedy in a timeline of the 'darkest day' (to date) in New Zealand's history (2019: n.pag.). As she reports, Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was in New Plymouth, New Zealand to open the WOMAD music festival when her office received an unusual e-mail. Written in the past tense, it referred to an attack that had already taken place, and the e-mail was sent to 29 other recipients including media and other politicians. The scale of the assault at two Christchurch Mosques during Friday prayers was horrific. According to the final report from New Zealand Police Commissioner Mike Bush, the shootings began at the Al Noor Mosque in the suburb of Riccarton at 1.40 p.m. and continued at Linwood Islamic Centre at 1.52 p.m. In total, 51 people were killed and another 49 injured (Hawkes 2019). New Zealand had never experienced this magnitude before and clearly, the country needed strong leadership at this moment. In the aftermath of the massacre, Jacinda Ardern went to the scene of the crime to talk to survivors and responders. She was famously

photographed wearing a headscarf, draped as a hijab that covered her hair, while she consoled a congregation of Muslim worshippers (see Plate vi).

This image circulated around the world, with Ardern described as a strong leader. The wearing of the headscarf by the prime minister was viewed by many to signal tolerance and compassion for a group of people celebrating their faith on an important day. For some, the wearing of the hijab was a powerful message of tolerance while others saw it as deeply problematic. Her donning of the headscarf was a strong, heartfelt message of 'cohesiveness between the attacked parishioners and their fellow Kiwis [New Zealanders]. It was an act of empathy rather than an endorsement of any particular religious symbol' (Shakir 2019: n.pag.). Ardern's headwear inspired Alice Sowerby to start a Facebook page 'Headscarf for Harmony' that then led to the hashtag #headscarfforharmony trending across the world, which inspired many Kiwi women to march in their hometown streets on 21 March and cover their hair with scarves. On the other hand, some criticized this as merely a political 'performance' (Ensor 2019). An unforeseen consequence for this was that many of her women friends 'cried their eyes out' as Ali Shakir reported:

For the zillionth time, they were made to witness their faith being politicised and reduced to a piece of cloth. Even worse, they felt their new homeland was robbing them of their spiritual identity, declaring them not Muslim enough because they refused to cover. (2019: n.pag.)

This illustrates the problematic messaging that is communicated by others towards Muslim women and their choice of wearing/not wearing the hijab as a symbol of their religious faith. For further discussion of the hijab and its religious significance amongst young Muslim women, see Chapter 8.

In February 2020, Ardern was pictured serving up a Barbeque breakfast before giving her speech at Waitangi for 'Waitangi Day' celebrations. This depiction of her cooking in shirt sleeves is reminiscent of other world leaders who have been photographed serving food to ordinary people. Later in the day, Ardern also wore a traditional Maori cloak to finish off her formal ceremonies for Waitangi Day. Jacinda Ardern continues to employ fashion and her physical appearance to project her image of compassion and leadership.

### Conclusion

The connection between women's political goals and their dress is more complicated than the clothing they wear, and thus connects deeply with the performance of gender. As Claire Trevett (2017: n.pag.) reported:

[*Vogue*] magazine says Ardern, who does not have a stylist, can wear a Juliette Hogan maxi dress and a faux fur jacket from a Hastings SaveMart on the red carpet, or be photographed on election night in a bespoke Maaikie ensemble paired with Ugg boots in her living room. Her relatability, authenticity – and style – is part of her appeal.

Women, as political leaders have been criticized for their attire, and it has changed the public's perception of them as both women and leaders. While Jacinda Ardern has not been immune, she continues to use fashionable dress as a device that reinforces her place as a world leader. During the international controversies that arose during her tenure as prime minister, including the recent disastrous shootings in Christchurch mosques, she appears not to suffer much criticism in the media, and her handling of COVID-19 caused a journalist to suggest that she's become 'the most effective leader on the planet' (Friedman 2020: n.pag.).

The date 15 March 2020 marks the one-year anniversary of the Christchurch terrorist shootings and Jacinda Ardern appeared on the cover of the United States' *Time* magazine. Here, Ardern's fashion received coverage such that the 'Kiwi designers of the years-old silk top Prime Minister wore on the cover of *Time* magazine are considering another run of the blouse' (Sivignon 2020: n.pag.). This emphasis on her blouse is a bit surprising when the overall significance of this terror-driven anniversary is considered. Jacinda Ardern has been praised for her expression of so-called 'soft power', as she garnered praise 'for her empathetic leadership following the mass shooting' (Luscombe 2020: n.pag.). This edition of *Time* magazine announces on its cover, 'Know us by our deeds', with Ardern's photograph taken during her prime minister's recent address at the Big Gay Out, an LGBTQI+ festival in Auckland that she has attended regularly for more than a decade (Roy Ainge 2020: n.pag.).

Ardern's positioning of her political identity through her fashion choices ties her directly to the media, and their response to her dress. This was summed up by former Prime Minister Helen Clark, in an interview with former Prime Minister Jenny Shipley: 'When you look at the political scene when we first started out, could you ever have envisaged a 37-year-old prime minister, living with a partner and having a baby could be a successful Prime Minister?' (Women's Weekly 2018: n.pag.). Indeed, society has changed but also the personal and political requirements for prime ministerial leadership have altered since the late 1990s. In her story for *Time*, Belinda Luscombe writes that 'Ardern's real gift is her ability to articulate a form of leadership that embodies strength and sanity, while also pushing an agenda of compassion and community' adding that Ardern has 'infused New Zealand with a new kind of soft power' (cited in Ainge Roy 2020: n.pag., see also the Introduction to this volume).

It is evident that Jacinda Ardern, a young, vibrant and intelligent prime minister presents as a 'cover girl' for women as effective leaders, where her facilities in

governance as well as her fashionable appearance have come alive in her political identity.

## REFERENCES

- Barr, Sabrina (2019), 'Meghan Markle honours female trailblazers as she guest edits *British Vogue*', *Independent*, 28 July, <https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/meghan-markle-british-vogue-september-thunberg-jamil-arden-fonda-a9024066.html>. Accessed 20 March 2020.
- Bauer, Nichole M. (2020), *The Qualifications Gap: Why Women Must Be Better Than Men to Win Political Office*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Black, Eleanor (2018), 'Jacinda Arden's Vogue Fashion shoot praises her as the anti-Trump', *Stuff*, 15 February, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/fashion/101460272/jacinda-arden-vogue-fashion-shoot-praises-her-as-the-antitump>. Accessed 2 February 2020.
- Chateau, Carrol du (2001), 'The Transforming of Helen', *The New Zealand Herald*, 16 November, [https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=228707](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=228707). Accessed 3 January 2020.
- Connell, R.W. (2005), *Masculinities*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Craig, Geoff (2016), *Performing Politics: Media Interviews, Debates and Press Conferences*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cutler, R.J. (2009), *The September Issue*, USA: Roadside Attractions.
- Deason, Grace, Greenlee, Jill S. and Langner, Carrie A. (2015), 'Mothers on the campaign trail: Implications of politicized motherhood for women in politics', *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3:1, pp. 133-48.
- Dickens, Andrew (2020), 'The Project host Steve Price's Jacinda Arden criticism a little irrational, misogynistic', *The New Zealand Herald*, 15 January, [https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=12300639](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12300639). Accessed 17 January 2020.
- Edwards, Bryce (2019), 'Arden was supposed to be the anti-Trump, but she failed to speak truth to power', *The Guardian*, 25 September, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/sep/25/arden-was-supposed-to-be-the-anti-trump-but-she-failed-to-speak-truth-to-power>. Accessed 22 February 2020.
- Enso, Jamie (2019), 'I think it was overdone': Katie Hopkins criticises Jacinda Arden for putting Muslims first', *Newshub*, 26 April, [www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2019/04/i-think-it-was-overdone-katie-hopkins-criticises-jacinda-arden-for-putting-muslims-first.html](http://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2019/04/i-think-it-was-overdone-katie-hopkins-criticises-jacinda-arden-for-putting-muslims-first.html). Accessed 1 January 2020.
- Entwistle, Joanne (2015), *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Friedman, Uri (2020), 'New Zealand's prime minister may be the most effective leader on the planet', *The Atlantic*, 19 April, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/04/jacinda-arden-new-zealand-leadership-coronavirus/610237/>. Accessed 21 April 2020.
- Friedman, Vanessa (2017), 'How clothes defined the First Lady', *The New York Times*, 18 January, pp. 1-3.
- Golbin, Pamela (2011), 'Forward' in R. Young (ed.), *Power Dressing: First Ladies, Women Politicians & Fashion*, London: Merrell, pp. 7-8.
- Hawkes, Colleen (2017), 'Prime Minister Jacinda Arden to star in March issue of US Vogue magazine', *Stuff*, 9 December, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/fashion/99700366/prime-minister-jacinda-arden-to-star-in-march-issue-of-vogue-magazine>. Accessed 2 February 2020.
- Hawkes, Colleen (2019), 'New Zealand's darkest day: A timeline of the Christchurch terrorist attacks', *Radio New Zealand*, <https://shorthand.radionz.co.nz/NZ-DARKEST-DAY/index.html>. Accessed 2 February 2020.
- Heyes, Cressida J. (2007), *Self-Transformation: Foucault, Ethics, and Normalized Bodies*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, Kim (2020), 'Helen Clark appointed joint lead of WHO investigation', *Radio New Zealand*, 10 July, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/morningreport/audio/2018754340/helen-clark-appointed-joint-lead-of-who-investigation>. Accessed 10 August 2020.
- Lester, Amelia (2018), 'New Zealand's prime minister, Jacinda Arden, is young, forward-looking, and unabashedly liberal - Call her the anti-Trump', *Vogue*, 14 February, <https://www.vogue.com/article/jacinda-arden-new-zealand-prime-minister-vogue-march-2018-issue>. Accessed 15 March 2020.
- L'Éstrange-Corbet, Denise (2005), 'The many faces of Helen Clark', *New Zealand Herald*, 1 July, [https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=10333670](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10333670). Accessed 20 April 2020.
- Luscombe, Belinda (2020), 'A year after Christchurch, Jacinda Arden has the world's attention: How will she use it?', 20 February, <https://time.com/5787443/jacinda-arden-christchurch-new-zealand-anniversary/>. Accessed 3 February 2020.
- Meeks, Lindsey (2012), 'Is she "man enough"? Women candidates, executive political offices, and news coverage', *Journal of Communication*, 62:1, pp. 175-93.
- Molyneaux, Vita and McRae, Tom (2019), 'The impact Jacinda Arden's appearance on *The Late Show* with Stephen Colbert will have on New Zealand', *Newshub*, <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/travel/2019/11/the-impact-jacinda-arden-s-appearance-on-the-late-show-with-stephen-colbert-will-have-on-new-zealand.html>. Accessed 13 February 2020.
- Reilly, Andrew and Barry, Ben (eds) (2020), *Crossing Gender Boundaries: Fashion to Create, Disrupt and Transcend*, Bristol: Intellect Books.
- Roy Ainge, Eleanor (2020), '"A new kind of soft power": Jacinda Arden appears on cover of *Time* magazine', *The Guardian*, 21 February, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/21/a-new-kind-of-soft-power-jacinda-arden-appears-on-cover-of-time-magazine>. Accessed 23 February 2020.

- Scoop (2008), 'Newmarket signs fashion contract with Helen Clark', 1 April, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/BU0804/S00007.htm>. Accessed 14 March 2021.
- Sehra, Rohina Katotch (2019), 'For women in politics, personal style is a game of chess with the patriarchy', *Huffington Post*, 3 October, [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/women-politics-dress-code-patriarchy\\_1\\_5d8ba3d6e4b01c02ca627f9c](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/women-politics-dress-code-patriarchy_1_5d8ba3d6e4b01c02ca627f9c). Accessed 14 March 2020.
- Shakir, Ali (2019), 'Don't let Jacinda Ardern's headscarf send the wrong message', *Stuff*, 2 October, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-shooting/116195738/dont-let-jacinda-arderns-headscarf-send-the-wrong-message>. Accessed 3 January 2020.
- Sivignon, Cherie (2020), 'Kiwi designer thrilled to see PM Jacinda Arden wear years-old silk shirt on *Time* cover', *Stuff*, 22 February, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/life-style/fashion/119728693/kiwi-designer-thrilled-to-see-pm-jacinda-ardern-wear-yearsold-silk-shirt-on-time-cover>. Accessed 20 February 2020.
- Stalsburg, Brittany L. (2010), 'Voting for mom: The political consequences of being a parent for male and female candidates', *Politics and Gender*, 6:3, pp. 373–404.
- Steger, Isabella (2018), 'Jacinda Ardern just became the first world leader to give birth in office in almost 30 years', *Quartz*, 21 June, <https://qz.com/1311054/new-zealand-pm-jacinda-ardern-is-the-first-leader-to-give-birth-in-office-in-almost-30-years>. Accessed 12 January 2020.
- Trevett, Claire (2017), 'Strike a pose: PM Jacinda Ardern to feature in *Vogue*', *New Zealand Herald*, 9 December, [https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=11956079](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11956079). Accessed 13 January 2020.
- Trimble, Linda (2014), 'Melodrama and gendered mediation: Television coverage of women's leadership "coups" in New Zealand and Australia', *Feminist Media Studies*, 14:4, pp. 663–78.
- Tseïlon, Efrat (1997), *The Masque of Femininity*, London: Sage.
- TVNZ (2002), 'PM's pants prove problematic', *ONE News*, 26 February, <http://tvnz.co.nz/content/83922/2591764.xhtml>. Accessed 8 January 2020.
- Ufberg, Max (2017), 'The sexism behind the Hillary Clinton pantsuit jokes', *Pacific Standard*, 3 May, <https://psmag.com/news/quit-it-with-the-hillary-pantsuit-jabs>. Accessed 8 January 2020.
- Young, Iris Marion (1990), *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, New Haven: Princeton University Press.
- Weitz, Rose (2010) (ed.), *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance, and Behaviour*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, Elizabeth ([1985] 2020), *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, London: Bloomsbury Academic Press.
- Woman's Weekly* (2018), 'Dame Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark talk about their incredible friendship', *Now to Love*, New Zealand edition, 19 August, <https://www.nowtolove.co.nz/lifestyle/career/dame-jenny-shipley-and-helen-clark-talk-about-their-friendship-38775>. Accessed 3 January 2020.
- Wolf, Naomi (1991), *The Beauty Myth*, New York: Harper Perennial.