

# Mixed Messages: Māori/Pasifika Masculinities and Aotearoa/New Zealand Identity in Television Advertising, 2000–2019

MATTHEW BANNISTER

## Abstract

There is an ongoing association between masculinity and New Zealand identity which can be traced in popular culture and television advertising. Until the early 2000s, white (Pākehā) men/homosocial “Kiwi blokes” predominated but television advertising has since featured a steady increase in Māori/Pasifika men and boys, which also reflects their greater prominence in local popular culture (in comedy, for example). Similar to representations of African American men, Māori/Pasifika masculinities are subject to binary stereotyping: generally more positive in advertisements for commercial products and more negative in anti-drug public service advertisements. These categories relate to the incorporation of non-white subjects into colonial, patriarchal discourse (and shift according to its imperatives). One important shift internationally is the emergence of non-white fatherhood as a way of signalling ethnic diversity while also reaffirming colonial and neoliberal values. There is a related shift from the male “hard bodies” of the 1980s and 1990s towards a more relational, “softer” masculinity; locally, there is a shift away from the “hard” Kiwi bloke (or non-white sporting “warrior”) towards “postfeminist fatherhood.” This features kindly, often humorous paternalism and “magical” scenarios, including literal and metaphorical father/son relations, which may, in the local context, take on connotations of tāngata whenua welcoming manuhiri (Pākehā) into “their land.” A “progressive” discourse of positively imaging Māori/Pasifika men as implicit “fathers of the nation” (and clearly there is a slippage here between Māori and Pasifika through the use of ethnically ambiguous actors) justifies heteronormativity and reconfirms the homosocial emphasis in New Zealand identity as well as neoliberal values.

## Introduction

This article is a longitudinal study of television advertisements screened in New Zealand between 2000 and 2019. It does not claim to be comprehensive, rather using semiotic/narrative analysis and commutation tests to isolate dominant and alternative readings, provide “mythological” interpretations, and chart changes in how representations of masculinity and ethnicity are used to brand products as local.<sup>1</sup> Signifiers of New Zealand identity, “Kiwiana,” have always drawn on popular culture and commercial products (the All Blacks, Marmite, Weetbix, Kiwi boot polish, Wattie’s tomato sauce, the *Edmonds Cookbook*, and the Lemon & Paeroa (L&P) soft drink). Television advertising is strongly implicated in such discourses; for example, consumer advocacy television programme *Fair Go*’s annual Ad Awards (*Fair Go* is one of New Zealand’s highest-rating and longest-running programmes).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, many commentators have pointed out how masculinity signifies national identity in New Zealand advertising and popular culture: “There is no equivalent feminine myth, not even a term, to partner the ‘Kiwi bloke.’”<sup>3</sup> Another comparative study on advertising and national identity states: “When we looked at all the symbols for . . . New Zealand . . . men and women all brought the same . . . symbols: rugby, All Blacks, barbecues . . . gumboots, tractors. . . . In America . . . the female symbols . . . apple pie, friendship diaries, are different to the men’s.”<sup>4</sup> It could be argued that this situation has been unique to New Zealand, even if it is starting to change now.

The most extensive recent study of representation in New Zealand advertising is by Carolyn Michelle, who analysed “gender and ethnic depictions in a sample of 2,120 New Zealand

prime-time television advertisements screened in 2006.”<sup>5</sup> Michelle notes that her conclusions “resonate with the findings of other [international] studies suggesting men of color are now more visible, but . . . often . . . in highly stereotypical ways—mainly as entertainers, “natural” athletes, or menial labourers.” She goes on to argue that “while Māori/ Pasifika peoples were more visible than indigenous groups in other countries . . . the nature of their representation remains problematic . . . [There is a] tendency for well-known Māori/Pasifika actors and entertainers to feature predominantly in local advertisements for DIY/hardware products . . . [and a] racialised discourse whereby Māori have been stereotypically imagined within local media as naive comic others.”<sup>6</sup>

I agree with Michelle that ethnic representations have increased, and that they remain “stereotypical,” but contend that they do not necessarily correspond to the categories she identifies. Athleticism, physical strength, “labouring,” and “DIY” are categories in decline, according to my analysis. Māori/Pasifika “entertainers” are often represented, however. Michelle’s analysis is typological—she doesn’t discuss the advertisements as texts, and her discussion of ethnic stereotypes is very general. I argue that ethnic masculinity is represented in binary terms, with positive stereotypes (frequently resembling what African American film director Spike Lee terms “the magical Negro”—the association of ethnicity with fantasy elements and magical powers)<sup>7</sup> featuring more in product advertisements. Negative stereotypes feature more in public service announcements.<sup>8</sup> This is similar to the representation of African American masculinity: comparing the Oscar nominations of two African American actors, Denzel Washington and Morgan Freeman, Roland Williams argues that African American men in popular culture are still typed according to the schema of the nineteenth-century novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*: “The roles for which the candidates were nominated evoked the customary image of either the contented slave or the wretched freeman. In other words, they resembled Uncle Tom or George Harris from the Tom Show [sic]. The figures depicted by Freeman always called the former character to mind. In every case, Washington was similar to the latter.”<sup>9</sup>

Black male characters are either angry rebels/criminals or docile, saint-like characters. In 2001, Lee cited four films which feature a “magical, mystical Negro” character: *The Family Man* (2000), *What Dreams May Come* (1998), *The Legend of Bagger Vance* (2000), and *The Green Mile* (1999).<sup>10</sup> Other examples include *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994), in which Morgan Freeman narrates the story of a fellow (heroic, white) prison inmate, and *Bruce Almighty* (2003), in which Freeman-as-God helps the white protagonist (Jim Carrey) set his life to rights. Lee comments, “How is it that black people have these powers but they use them for the benefit of white people?”<sup>11</sup>

In terms of binary stereotyping, the local story is very similar, according to *Boy* director Taika Waititi: “We (Māori) get portrayed in two ways, *Once Were Warriors* or the blue people in *Avatar*,” alternating between ignoble and noble savagery.<sup>12</sup> Māori (and Pasifika) representations are either demonised or romanticised, depending on the context. Historically, local discourse on Māori has alternated between everyday racism and acknowledgement of Māori’s “greater spiritual authenticity.”<sup>13</sup> Often working in concert with humour, these latter elements (noble, romantic, spiritual) can create strong audience appeal, also intersecting with comic celebrity, which has slightly different connotations to the naivety Michelle identifies. Finally, the comic butts of these adverts are often Pākehā, which may indicate a more complex picture than simple reinforcement of existing stereotypes.

Michelle’s analysis would suggest that these subjects are privileged in terms of gender and disadvantaged in terms of ethnicity. But there is also hierarchy within masculinity, and relations

between men as well as with women or others.<sup>14</sup> Fatherhood or paternity, literal or metaphorical, is one of these modes, focusing not on representations in isolation, as Michelle does, but in relation to others—in a familial context (typically sons), or in a national context (Māori/Pasifika/Pākehā). Thus, a range of stereotypes are created around ethnic “fatherhood” and its literal and symbolic ramifications for national identity. Māori/Pasifika men typically appear as helpmeets, altruistically educating white men (and sometimes each other) in the ways of adulthood, or initiating them into settlement of a new land—symbolically, Pākehā is child to the Māori/Pasifika man. This connotes a colonial narrative which rewrites history as a partnership between coloniser and colonised rather than a one-sided battle. It also suggests how the appropriation of Māori (and Pasifika) culture is essential for the representation of New Zealand identity in cultural texts, not just traditional Māori/Pasifika culture, but also contemporary films like *Once Were Warriors* (1994), *Boy* (2010), and TV comedy *bro ’Town* (2004–9). These massively popular texts have mainstreamed representations of Māori/Pasifika homosociality and male youth (for example, the 2006 Lift advertisement featuring Pua Magasiva from *Sione’s Wedding*). According to Jessica F. Harding, Chris G. Sibley, and Andrew Robertson, “Without Māori, New Zealand culture would simply be a colonial derivative of Great Britain. The adoption of symbolic aspects of Māori culture allows New Zealand Europeans to promote a positively distinct national identity on the world stage.”<sup>15</sup>

As we shall see, fantasy also features, ranging from ghosts, (the “Ghost Chips” advertisement) to men falling out of the sky (TSB) and pirate ships (Lotto). This is relevant to the “magical” aspects of these texts. Māori/Pasifika paternity is both literal and metaphorical, taking the form of both Māori/Pasifika father/son narratives (never daughters), and the evocation of colonisation myths in which indigenes “nurture” Pākehā colonisers. Much like Thanksgiving in the United States, such myths elide the violence of settlement and historic injustice by assuming the essential benevolence of both settler and indigene. Finally, the increasing use of urban and suburban settings in advertisements (as opposed to the dominance of rural imagery in Kiwi bloke advertisements) has necessitated a shift in how New Zealand identity is represented, with Māori/Pasifika men taking over the job of representing New Zealand.

### **New Zealand Identity in History**

Historical analysis reveals a pattern in which Māori were displaced as symbols of New Zealand identity by white men, who have, in turn, been displaced themselves, ultimately confirming indigenous identity as seminal (on a symbolic level). Early media representations of New Zealand were almost always of Māori, whether these were texts about “Māoriland,” or images of Māori custom and art.<sup>16</sup> They fitted a discourse of Otherness which viewed the South Pacific through the lens of colonialism. With World War II and the setting up of the government-run National Film Unit (NFU), the emphasis shifted. The NFU produced newsreels and documentaries about New Zealand that pursued a modernising project at home and a recruiting project abroad. Accordingly, they featured mainly white settlers, “an imagined community based upon . . . virile white masculinity and . . . paternalistic . . . governmentality.”<sup>17</sup> The rise of the NFU also coincided with a cultural nationalist movement which tried to present a “unique” settler identity, usually framed in terms of white rural masculinity.<sup>18</sup> The result was a hegemonic representation of New Zealand identity, the Kiwi bloke—a white, usually rural man, practical, laconic, and sometimes sinister; often a loner.<sup>19</sup> First appearing in high culture (for example, in the writing of Frank Sargeson, Denis Glover, Rex Fairbairn, and John Mulgan), such representations migrated into 1970s popular culture—Fred Dagg, Barry Crump, Murray Ball’s *Footrot Flats* cartoon series, and the “cinema of unease” tradition of local film, which drew on NFU documentary realism to present a white, masculinist view of New Zealand.<sup>20</sup> This in turn influenced advertising from cheese (the Chesdale cheese boys from

1965 onwards) to beer (for example, the Speight's "Southern Man" series).<sup>21</sup> In a 2000 study of television advertising, "representation of the sexes in the New Zealand sample was found to be dominated by males both in the visual modality, where 57% of central figures were male, and to an even greater extent in the voice-over modality with 81% of all voice-overs provided by men."<sup>22</sup> This demonstrates how "discourses of masculine homosociality, male autonomy, and independence from the 'feminizing' influences of domesticity . . . have been central to the construction of Pākehā cultural identity."<sup>23</sup>

Kiwi blokes such as Speight's Southern Man are usually represented as "autonomous"; that is, outside the family unit, whether in terms of their "public" aspect (for example, employment) or in terms of socialisation—either a "man alone" or part of a homosocial group, usually a pair.<sup>24</sup> According to Jock Phillips, this reflects New Zealand's pioneering past—when isolated men and homosocial groups were common.<sup>25</sup> Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith refer to New Zealand's "gendered culture," in which gender predominates over social class as a means of social segmentation, thereby reinforcing hegemony.<sup>26</sup> One exception to Kiwi bloke autonomy, and the most prominent representation of New Zealand fatherhood in television advertising up to that time, was the Anchor Fernleaf butter series which ran from 1989 into the mid-1990s.<sup>27</sup> Unusual in sustaining a complex narrative over several years, the series featured a suburban Pākehā family of father, mother and daughter going through divorce, all the while advertising Anchor products. It was directed by Māori film maker Lee Tamahori, whose advertisements dominated New Zealand TV screens at the time. Tamahori had already worked on "cinema of unease" films including *Skin Deep* (1978), *Goodbye Pork Pie* (1980), *Bad Blood* (1981), *Utu* (1983), and *The Quiet Earth* (1985) but also excelled at portraying family relationships: "the whanau, in pre-colonial times, was the core social unit, rather than the individual . . . the whanau remains as a persistent way of living and organizing the social world."<sup>28</sup> These threads fused in Tamahori's *Once Were Warriors*, which combined dark realism with family drama and advertising's televisual impact to produce a ground-breaking film with strong audience appeal. It was a film by and about Māori, establishing the violent Māori patriarch (Jake the Muss, played by Temuera Morrison) as a powerful, albeit controversial stereotype of New Zealand popular culture. Tamahori's representations of troubled fathers interrogated the traditional autonomy of Kiwi masculinity, at a time when parenting, masculinity, and fatherhood were increasingly visible issues. As we shall see, Waititi, another Māori film director, has continued Tamahori's feat of combining film and advertising direction, with a similar degree of influence on the discourse of New Zealand identity in popular culture.

### Fathering

A decade ago, Abigail Gregory and Susan Milner observed that "public interest in fathers and fathering—in public discourse, academic and popular literature, and visual culture—has increased . . . in recent years."<sup>29</sup> The fatherhood discourse, they explain, is framed around an opposition between "new" or "involved" fatherhood and "the second, 'pessimistic' construction of fatherhood, also known as a 'deficit' or 'role inadequacy' model [which] is associated with wider social changes (lower childbirth rates and higher incidence of divorce and separation)." They continue: "Many . . . attribute public interest in fathering to the rise in divorce rates in Western societies . . . which has created a 'discourse of crisis' around fears of social disintegration caused by absence of paternal figures and financial concerns about responsibility for children of lone parents."<sup>30</sup> Gregory and Milner also note that, in 2000, the percentage of single parent households was 17.1 percent in France and, in 2001, 20.7 percent in the United Kingdom.<sup>31</sup> The New Zealand figure in 2001 was 31 percent.<sup>32</sup>



In the United States, the deficit model of fatherhood is frequently associated with black fathers. According to Roberta L. Coles and Charles Green:

one might think the term “black fatherhood” an oxymoron. In their parenting role, African American men are viewed as verbs but not nouns; that is, it is frequently assumed that Black men father children but seldom are fathers. Instead . . . black men have become the symbol of fatherlessness. Consequently, they are rarely depicted as deeply embedded within and essential to their families of procreation. This stereotype is so pervasive that when black men are seen parenting . . . they are virtually offered a Nobel Prize.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, Māori critics like Leonie Pihama criticised the “lame stereotypes” of films like *Once Were Warriors* and *Boy* as confirming the popular discourse of the Māori/Pasifika “dead-beat dad” as both a social problem and a comic stereotype.<sup>34</sup>

However, in US media, there is also a proliferation of positive non-white father figures, such as the “hard daddy” films of Vin Diesel’s *The Pacifier* (2005) and Dwayne “The Rock” Johnson’s *The Game Plan* (2007). Here, Andrea Schofield observes “some progressive rewriting and reenvisioning of the traditional white nuclear family through this trope of large, attractive, and racially ambiguous men taking care of small children.” While acknowledging that “these films do in some ways present a less rigid model of the family by depicting mixed-race couples and blended families,” she notes that “they also uphold and promote essentialist heteronormative ideologies to their broad audiences of children and parents.”<sup>35</sup>

Extending such arguments, Hannah Hamad contends that, in the twenty-first century, paternity has become “a universalizing discourse of masculinity . . . with a high degree of cultural purchase that enables hegemonic commonality across a plurality of postfeminist masculinities,” leading her to conclude that “postfeminist fatherhood is the new hegemonic masculinity.”<sup>36</sup> The polarised discourse around non-white fatherhood is continuous with representations of non-white masculinity more generally. Even hit nature documentary *March of the Penguins* (2005), described by Hamad as “a depiction of postfeminist fatherhood,” is narrated by Morgan Freeman, underlining the links between ethnicity, magic, and fathering.

However, stereotypes are not fixed: Susan Jeffords notes how the “hard bodies” of actors like Arnold Schwarzenegger were gradually “softened” by association with images of parenthood, as in *Kindergarten Cop* (1990).<sup>37</sup> In New Zealand a similar process occurred, in that, by the early 2000s, “hard” masculinity, represented by *Once Were Warriors* and Speight’s *Southern Man*, was being usurped by softer, more relational representations of masculinity in film and TV advertising. Fatherhood played a role in this transition by “offering representations of men displaying real emotional connections to their children.”<sup>38</sup> In other respects, however, New Zealand diverges from the United States. In US film, mixed-race fathers like Vin Diesel and The Rock head families of white children in “fish out of water” scenarios.<sup>39</sup> This is where the non-white character is basically alone in a white world, common in US film, but less so in New Zealand media, where Māori and Pasifika characters are more likely to be seen in their own cultural context. This may be because, unlike the United States or Australia, where national identity is usually identified as white, New Zealanders now predominately regard their national identity as bicultural.<sup>40</sup> That is, they recognise both settlers and Māori as sharing New Zealand identity. The perceived whiteness of US identity suggests that “mixed race or ethnically ambiguous celebrities like Diesel and Johnson can choose to participate in ‘passive passing’ to varying degrees.”<sup>41</sup> In New Zealand, “passing” as white may not be as important, because of biculturalism and the perception that indigeneity is part of New Zealand identity. In the

examples discussed in this article, a different kind of “passing” occurs in the slippage between Māori and Pasifika identities—the latter effectively standing in for local indigeneity. This is also an example of a “substitutable other,” where “casting mixed-race and ethnically ambiguous actors without coding them as any specific race could broaden . . . [the] audience-base.”<sup>42</sup>

### Textual Analysis

In the early part of the period surveyed, many advertisements represent masculinity in terms close to Jeffords’ “hard bodies”; that is, in terms of machismo, physical strength, and imposing presence—qualities epitomised by the Adidas (2000) “Black” branding of the All Blacks rugby team. The latter narrative is a montage of on-field action, especially the team’s haka performance, which connects the present to an atavistic, natural past, represented by inserted shots of bubbling mudpools and Māori warriors. The central character is All Black captain at the time, Māori Taine Randell, who leads the haka, which, mixed with crowd noise, creates a threatening atmosphere of deep male voices, enhanced by the monochromatic palette. The overall connotation is of primitive violence and the threat of death, represented through monochrome imagery and the “Ka mate” of the haka. This branding is of a piece with *Once Were Warriors*’ representation of indigenous masculine violence, and other similar associations of sport, ethnicity, and violence such as the New Zealand Warriors rugby league team, which started in 1995. However, whereas *Once Were Warriors* highlighted male violence as a social problem, in the context of sport, violence is normalised.

The Speight’s “Southern Man” series, although not obviously violent, nevertheless represents its male Pākehā protagonists as “strong silent” types, whose taciturnity has clear connotations of threat.<sup>43</sup> The type also connects to the “cinema of unease” tradition, which often dealt with themes of violence and repression. Ironically, the most obvious indicator of machismo may be the ease with which alternative meanings of butch camp, homosexuality, and transgenderism can be posited. Whenever the male body is highlighted and becomes subject to a gaze, or male homosocial groups (especially couples, which predominate in the Speight’s series) are represented, queer readings can arise, such as the “Brokeback Speights” YouTube parody discussed by Anita Brady.<sup>44</sup> She goes on to argue that the identification of masculinity with New Zealand identity in the Speight’s series excludes women to such a degree that the heterosexuality and indeed gender of their protagonists is undermined: “The gender binary that functions in the service of national identity is not male/female but masculinity as the gendered, and the transgendered, body.”<sup>45</sup>

The 2008 Mitre 10 “Big is Good” advertisement, starring Samoan strongman Levi Vaoga, can be read in terms of a transition between “hard bodied” masculinity and a more benign paternalism. This advertisement promoted a chain of DIY superstores across New Zealand, hence the campaign slogan, literalised in the body of Vaoga, who also has a distinctive short, black beard, Mohican haircut, Māori/Pasifika tattoos, and orange safety jacket, marking him as a labourer, a Māori/Pasifika type in advertising, according to Michelle. His imposing physicality contrasts with the other main character, a nerdy, diminutive, male Pākehā customer, who, in order to prepare for a trip to Mitre 10, “blacks up,” using a marker to apply a beard and Māori/Pasifika tattoos, shaving his head Mohican-style, and donning an orange safety jacket, either in emulation of Vaoga, or as camouflage. In the store, we see him walking past a window frame side on, when Vaoga appears simultaneously on the other side of the frame, in an identical pose. Vaoga then turns, sees the customer, and laughs, mocking the small white man’s “tribute,” though not aggressively (the customer is always right). The soundtrack is loud metallic rock music, connoting masculinity, similar to *Once Were Warriors*. The connotation

is of an “authentic” primitive, “warrior” masculinity, though undercut by the labourer’s uniform, which indicates subordination, and Vaoga’s facial expressions (he always smiles or laughs). The Pākehā customer performs a blackface appropriation of Vaoga’s style, borrowing his trappings to ape his mode of non-white, physical masculinity. The contrast in scale between the two main characters makes a familial interpretation quite possible—the Pākehā is Vaoga’s “junior,” and the latter’s indulgent laughter indicates that he accepts this relationship. The slogan “Big is Good” holds out the promise that the customer will one day grow up and do DIY like Vaoga, his “natural” father. Historian Peter Gibbons argues that Pākehā have always appropriated Māori culture as a symbol of New Zealandness: “Māori themselves and their cultures were textualized by Pākehā, so that the colonists could ‘know’ the people they were displacing. It is not too much to say that the colonists produced (or invented) ‘the Māori,’ making them picturesque, quaint, largely ahistorical, and, through printed materials, manageable.”<sup>46</sup>

The emphasis on male size and strength diminished with time. Vaoga was dropped by Mitre 10 in 2015.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, the machismo of the Adidas All Blacks brand is now seen as *de trop*. A 2015 rebranding of the Adidas Black campaign was derided as “preposterously intense” and “full of screaming and black and white brooding.”<sup>48</sup> The use of a Pākehā comic foil, reversing the stereotype of the funny Māori/Pasifika—a strategy used in several of the following advertisements—seems to accord a new respect for Māori/Pasifika as multicultural partners. At the same time, advertisements with identifiable Māori figures may acknowledge them as *tāngata whenua* welcoming *manuhiri* (visitors), a narrative that can act to naturalise colonial settlement by implying a duty of hospitality (*manaakitanga*).

Traditionally conservative institutions like banks also started featuring Māori/Pasifika in advertising. In the 2011 TSB Bank “New to Earth” commercial, a Māori man (played by Tainui Tukiwaho) helps a white man “new to earth” regarding his banking needs. The advertisement opens with a shot of blue sky and an approaching human cry. We see a casually dressed (unshaven) Māori man, probably in his 30s, peering over a suburban fence and the reverse shot reveals a naked elderly Pākehā man, who has apparently just dropped from heaven onto the neighbour’s lawn. The age of the man, his gormless expression, and the unlikeliness of the scenario are clearly comic cues, establishing that the alien is not a threat. The Māori character signifies New Zealand, necessary in a suburban setting that lacks traditional local signifiers such as green fields, sheep, black singlets, and Swandris. However, the male voiceover (the accent is educated, middle-class New Zealand) intones, “Imagine you had just arrived on earth, you’d need to learn how things work,” making it clear that the text takes the perspective of the “alien.” The next shot reveals the odd couple in a café, where the Māori man starts explaining money to his new friend. Again, the idea of Māori paternity is established—the Pākehā man has “just arrived,” he is naked, like a baby, and he needs a teacher. Clearly his age, which could provide a counter-argument, is necessitated by the comic tone; a naked young man would have quite different connotations (and presumably the advertisement is targeted at older viewers). The text could be read as recreating a moment of first contact between an indigenous resident and a white “colonist,” with the implication that the former will help the latter. Such a narrative rewrites the intentions of settlers as essentially benign, and plays on a supposedly universal human impulse to help the helpless, transferring this idea to the history of New Zealand colonisation. Another significant aspect is how the advertisement seems to present Māori as “normal” (the original meaning of “*māori*”) and the white settler as interloper. However, the Pākehā narrator (and the soundtrack, which features classical instruments, as banking advertisements often do) acts to centralise a traditional Western frame of reference and to

position the Māori character as helpmeet, either a benevolent patriarch (much like God in *bro 'Town*), or a “magical Negro” whose mission in life is to help white people.

A logical next stop from the representation of Māori/Pasifika spiritual fatherhood would be literal fatherhood, as in the 2012 “Lucky Day” advertisement for New World supermarkets. The plot is that a Māori/Pasifika father and son go fishing but end up buying their fish from the supermarket. A key element in this advertisement is the soundtrack, “Fishin’ Blues” by Henry Thomas, a 1928 US recording that establishes an atavistic atmosphere, linking Southern rural African-Americana with Polynesia, as if the fishing expedition were a traditional ritual. This association is underscored by the boy’s reluctance to participate and the father’s constant urging. A second set of connotations that arise from the natural setting is of freedom and natural bounty, which activates myths of New Zealand as paradise, either pre-contact or via more recent associations of Kiwi bloke rurality. However, the expedition is unsuccessful and father and son engage in subterfuge, presenting supermarket-bought snapper to their family as their “catch.” Homosocial mateship comes into play, as the two men exchange a knowing wink over the dinner table—they have successfully deceived the family. An additional connotation is of adulterous deception. Like many fishing songs, “Fishin’ Blues” has a sexual subtext of their being “plenty more fish in the sea.” The text exemplifies what Lacan terms “the Name of the Father,” the patriarchal dividend; although the father cannot deliver jouissance (the fish, fulfilment), he can offer his son entry into the brotherhood of worldly knowledge and the benefits it provides—in this case, the convenience of supermarket shopping.<sup>49</sup> The New World brand thus symbolises the father’s promise: you can’t always get what you want, but you can get what you need. The Māori/Pasifika casting in this advertisement clearly references a pastoral, pre-contact time when New Zealand was “paradise.” A commutation test (replacing the protagonists with Pākehā) would arguably make the deception appear more calculating and cynical, thus suggesting the stereotype of Māori/Pasifika as naturally easy-going “rude mechanicals,” a quality which becomes implicitly associated with Kiwi masculinity in general. Their behaviour is a licensed transgression, a secret joke “between mates.” Here, the father/son relationship connotes homosocial relationships more broadly, and their naturalisation in the New Zealand context.

As stated above, the ethnic father discourse is always constructed around polarities of good and evil. If the New World advertisement shows the father as benevolent (to his son, at any rate), the “Blazed” advertisement (2013) directed by Taika Waititi seems to show the other side. This public service message against drug driving forms part of a group of advertisements featuring Māori/Pasifika men and humorous/fantastic elements. Examples include the “Ghost Chips” advertisement (2011) and “Tinnyvision” (2014).<sup>50</sup> The Māori/Pasifika characters conform to binary good/evil representations of non-white masculinity. “Ghost Chips” features “good” Darcy-Ray Flavell-Hudson (who had recently appeared in Waititi’s *Boy* and was thus a well-known face) imagining being haunted by his errant friend, unless he can dissuade him from driving drunk. The punchline “you know I can’t grab your ghost chips” became a popular meme.<sup>51</sup> “Tinnyvision” (also directed by Waititi) centres on the amusing, stoned antics of a bunch of mostly Māori/Pasifika male flatmates, culminating in the inevitable car crash. “Blazed” features child actor Julian Dennison, future star of *Hunt for the Wilderpeople*, as one of three Māori/Pasifika kids in a parked car. (This scenario originates with *Once Were Warriors*’ character Tu, a glue-sniffing adolescent who seems to live in an abandoned car. *Once Were Warriors* presents Māori men with Hobson’s choice: either the violence of Jake or Tu’s narcotic passivity, another example of binary representation.)<sup>52</sup> The main shot in the advertisement is front on, through the windscreen, which creates the comic effect that the kids are driving the car. Putatively it is the family car; symbolically, the boys take the place of the



father, whose absence is thus highlighted, playing into the “absent father” stereotype. Usually the theme implies drugs—the kids left in the car while parents drink in the pub (another scene from *Once Were Warriors*). While the car in this case is at home, drugs are introduced through the boys comparing the respective driving behaviour of their dads while “blazed” (stoned). An alternative reading is that the text is morally ambiguous. Notably it is very long (2’20”) so it seems more like a short film. One gets so much time to identify with the child characters and laugh at their interpretations of their fathers’ driving that the caption at the end, “Drug driving. Is it really that safe?” seems like an afterthought. Waititi’s work is often criticised for endorsing stereotypes such as neglectful dads, even when the effect is humorous.<sup>53</sup> So, even if the preferred reading of the advertisement is to condemn drug driving, the alternative reading suggests that it’s a joke shared between men (and boys). Thus, the text can give rise to a similar reading to the New World advertisement, naturalising masculinity by implicitly licencing deviant male behaviour.

Lotto Powerball’s “Pop’s Gift,” New Zealand’s most popular advertisement of 2015, is also based on a Māori/Pasifika father and son, in fact an all-male triad as the boy’s caregiver appears to be his grandfather.<sup>54</sup> The narrative concerns the father’s absence (he’s a fisherman). Once again, fishing carries overtones of a “natural” Māori/Pasifika occupation, although the environment is bleaker than the New World advertisement and less rural than Kiwi bloke texts—a grubby coastal town with a black sand beach, overcast weather, and industrial machinery. It’s a “cinema-of-unease” world of masculine work and forbidding nature offset by the music, a dream pop track by Beach House which represents the fantastic hopes of the boy. The father’s absence is represented through truncated radio communication, his falling asleep at home, and the boy’s demand to his grandfather, reading him a pirate story, to “make it sound more pirate-y.” Clearly the pirate is a stand-in for the father. The magical solution occurs through the fantasy scenario of boy and grandfather sailing out to meet dad’s fishing boat in a pirate ship of their own, purchased with grandad’s big Lotto win. The caption, “Imagine,” leaves it ambiguous as to whether this actually occurs. Again, the two central characters being Māori/Pasifika is the main signifier of New Zealand. The absent father problem is magically resolved by the product, the unlikeliness of a Lotto win giving the advertiser licence to construct a fantasy resolution. Once again, an alternative reading highlights (apart from the unlikeliness of the outcome) the homosociality of the text, presenting a world in which women do not exist and men can satisfy all their emotional needs via other men. Again, making the characters Pākehā would make the advertisement less local, and its resolution less convincing. There is an implicit assumption that Māori/Pasifika males display an emotional openness, or a naive belief lacking in stoic Pākehā Kiwi blokes (also a theme in “Ghost Chips” and “New to Earth”). Perhaps the Māori/Pasifika absent father stands in for the Pākehā absent father, stereotypically the company executive who always works late and whose absence from local cultural narratives is thus ameliorated by the substitution of the Māori/Pasifika father. The “son needs a father” motif is arguably a hallmark of patriarchal society: “It is said that children who lack the model of paternal authority, competence and moral consistency are helpless prey to the manipulative apparatus of mass society.”<sup>55</sup> The idea that without a father a boy cannot become a man ties into the Freudian concept of individuation and the associated Oedipal narrative of the rejection of the mother.<sup>56</sup>

Patriarchal narrative is also at the heart of “Little Can Be Huge,” a Spark telecommunications commercial from 2017. Once again, the use of Māori/Pasifika characters (a mother and son) anchors the text in New Zealand, while the narrative concerns the boy’s dilemma about how to celebrate Father’s Day without a father. The soundtrack, “Imagining My Man” by New Zealand artist Aldous Harding reinforces the absent father theme. Throughout, the normality of having

a father is emphasised: we see other boys being hugged by their fathers after a rugby match, for example, and we also see the mother's anxiety and attempts to compensate for this absence (which also conforms to a traditional maternal stereotype). The resolution comes on the morning of Father's Day, when son brings mum breakfast in bed with a card that says, "Happy Father's Day Mum." Interestingly, this resolution could support a feminist reading: the boy has transferred his father fixation to his mother, effectively replacing him. In other respects, though, the father's absence (like the fatherless society) is imbued with patriarchal power. We never find out why he is absent—he could be dead, but he could also be in prison, divorced or anywhere. The fact that the main characters are Māori/Pasifika could also support the "deadbeat dad" theme. In many ways, the absence of the father makes him more powerful, and his replacement in mediated technological form could relate to the product, as the boy consults the Internet to find out "what to do for Father's day" when formerly he could have asked his father. Thus, it is implied that modern media technology can compensate boys for their absent fathers, normalising market values, while the title (and closing caption) of the advertisement "Little Can Be Huge" once again implies the natural succession of patrilineage, linking to the "Big is Good" slogan of Mitre 10 and maintaining the link between size and masculinity, albeit in a more abstract form. A commutation test reversing the gender of the participants would reveal some interesting questions, such as how the relationship of mothers and daughters could be represented in the public sphere, and whether a male parent compensating a daughter for the loss of her mother could be made credible. The father's absence tends to confirm the taken-for-granted status of the mother as primary caregiver.

Historically, Māori/Pasifika men tended not to appear in advertisements for alcohol because of the presumptive link between alcohol and Māori/Pasifika violence, but rather in (public service) advertisements for avoiding alcohol. This changed with Steinlager's 2012 "Keep it Pure" advertisement, featuring Taika Waititi. The text avoids the Māori/Pasifika alcohol issue by not setting the advertisement in New Zealand. Rather, Waititi is shown as a jet-setting film director on a series of film sets in which "New Zealand" only appears as a series of amusing CGI fabrications. In the case of Speight's, the "Southern Man" branding linked the product's South Island provenance to "whiteness" (while, nevertheless, implicitly addressing the whole of New Zealand). However, in 2018 Speight's produced the "Dance" advertisement. The narrative concerns a Māori/Pasifika man (in fact, a group of Māori/Pasifika men) teaching a Pākehā workmate to dance, so he can acquit himself at his wedding. The plot is similar to that of *American Pie—The Wedding* (2003), in which the macho jock character Stifler has to teach the nerdy main character Jim how to dance. The homophobic humour of the encounter is clearly based on the sexual connotations of two men dancing together. The connotations of the advertisement are also similar to the ASB "New to Earth" advertisement (Tainui Tukiwaho stars in both): the Māori/Pasifika character(s) act as helpmates to the Pākehā's self-realisation. In the new, strange country of matrimony, the indigenes help the settler to acclimatise. The closing caption, "Good on ya mate," differs from the original "Southern Man" narrative only insofar as non-white men are now permitted to participate in the male camaraderie of alcohol. The association of Māori/Pasifika with physical expressiveness (they know how to dance) clearly reinforces an ideology about non-white "magical" physicality and sensuality, although, like the TSB "New to Earth" text, the Pākehā character is made comically nervous to mitigate the text's implicitly colonial subtext.

## Conclusion

There has been a movement over time towards representing Māori/Pasifika men and boys as central characters in New Zealand television advertisements. They, rather than Pākehā men, tend to represent local-ness. Another move is away from identifying New Zealand men with

physical strength, size or athleticism, instead emphasising social bonds, either in a familial context, with offspring (usually sons), or in homosocial relations with other men (for example Māori/Pasifika and Pākehā). Thus local-ness is presented as either a bicultural partnership or a father-son relation (sometimes metaphorical), or some combination of the two. The dominance of masculinity in representations of the nation in advertising continues; however, this masculinity is not monolithic. Advertisements draw on power relations between different masculine groups, using literal and metaphorical fatherhood as a means of embedding Māori/Pasifika masculinities within national narratives. Representations of Māori/Pasifika masculinities as “magical” continue a Western narrative of casting non-whites as an idealised (as opposed to demonised) “Other” whose mysterious spiritual powers benefit white people or enact fantasies on their behalf, filling the role of a vicarious Other. The use of non-white boys in many of these adverts could be another way of signalling a narrative of primitive innocence.

Fatherhood operates in relation to the colonizer as a metaphor of seniority, according Māori respect as *tāngata whenua* while also implying a duty of hospitality (*manaakitanga*) towards visitors (or settlers). The Māori emphasis on *whānau* and relations between parents and children is also co-opted in these advertisements as implying a duty of care to the younger generation, metaphorically Pākehā. The naturalization of father/son relations in these advertisements performs the ideological function of making such relations normative, when of course many other types of relation are possible. But the father/son relation is hegemonic, corresponding to how patriarchy operates, as in Freudian and Lacanian accounts which emphasise the symbolic power conferred by the name of the father. In terms of the kinds of products being sold (which is always a factor in the meaning of advertisements), older “Kiwi bloke” advertisements tended to be for more traditionally masculine products, such as beer, DIY, or cars. Advertisements featuring Māori/Pasifika have traditionally been for sport, fast food, and soft drinks, but have branched into supermarkets, new media such as phones or network providers, alcohol, and traditionally conservative areas such as banking, which past studies represent as dominated by white men.<sup>57</sup> This suggests either that Māori/Pasifika are seen as more affluent, or that they are playing a more prominent symbolic role in representing New Zealand. Public service advertisements have always featured Māori/Pasifika disproportionately, but the adoption of a humorous tone has resulted in some becoming memes (“Ghost Chips” and “Blazed” for example) and is reflective of a new prominence of Māori/Pasifika creatives (Waititi, for example, has starred in advertisements as well as directing them). In line with critical theory of the fatherless society, we could say that ethnic masculinity is now instrumentalised by neoliberal capitalism—the market, through consumption, offers the illusion of the kind of power formerly reserved for patriarchs, and “recognizable or cognizable forms of indigeneity will rapidly be subsumed by the neoliberal state.”<sup>58</sup> New Zealand biculturalism is constructed through these advertisements but at the same time is commodified, just as New Zealand itself is now a product on a global market. Hence, the “New Zealand = bicultural pattern” operates primarily on a symbolic, not a material level.<sup>59</sup> A final thought concerns the symbolic role played by ethnicity for the coloniser: like the blue people in *Avatar*, Māori/Pasifika can represent an unattainable, magical ideal of unity and virtuous living for others, and idealised or indeed homosocial representations of ethnic fatherhood can function to occlude the degree to which all parental roles are increasingly challenged by the demands of working “for the man.”

Table of Advertisements Discussed

Title, date	Main characters	Product	Setting	Narrative	URL	Actors/personalities	Related texts/themes	Stereotypes	Caption
Adidas "Black" (2001)	The All Blacks, especially captain (Māori/Pasifika) Taine Randall	Sportswear	Rugby field/prehistory	Montage of haka and action, mixing prehistory and modern	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0C434QFTjok">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0C434QFTjok</a>	Taine Randall	Haka; <i>Once Were Warriors</i>	Polynesian warrior violence/primitivism	"Forever sport"
Lift Plus (2006)	Group young adults	Soft drink	Flat	Practical joking	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=so--AwMhjS4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=so--AwMhjS4</a> <a href="http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2006/lift-plus-new-zealand/">http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2006/lift-plus-new-zealand/</a>	Pua Magasiva	Sione's Wedding, <i>bro'Town</i>	Funny, homosocial	"Sharpen up"
Mitre 10 (2008)	Two adults, one Pākehā, one Māori/Pasifika (Mitre Mega Man)	DIY products	Home store	Puny Pākehā dresses up as Mitre 10 Mega man	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MHcboyH6A8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MHcboyH6A8</a>	Levi Vaoga	The Incredible Hulk?	Humour, masculine physique	"Big is Good"
TSB "New to Earth" (2011)	Odd couple Māori/Pasifika and Pākehā	Bank	Suburbia	Person arrives on Earth	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=idrKqL9ZEew">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=idrKqL9ZEew</a>	Tainui Tukiwaho	<i>E.T.</i> , "friendly aliens"	Help/service worker, colonisation	"New Zealand's most recommended bank"
"Ghost Chips" (2011)	Teenage Māori/Pasifikas	Public service	Party	Drink driving	<a href="https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/legend-ghost-chips">https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/legend-ghost-chips</a>	Darcey-Ray Flavell-Hudson	<i>Boy</i>	Homosociality, party animals	"Bloody legend"
Steinlager (2012)	Māori/Pasifika adult	Beer	US/New Zealand	Comparing New Zealand/US	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XABnxMyt6Hk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XABnxMyt6Hk</a>	Taika Waititi	<i>Boy</i>	Kiwiana	"Keep it Pure"



New World “Lucky Day” (2012)	Māori/ Pasifika father/son	Supermarket/ food	New Zealand supermarket, sea, home		<a href="https://campaignbrief.co.nz/2012/05/14/new-world-launches-every-day-a/">https://campaignbrief.co.nz/2012/05/14/new-world-launches-every-day-a/</a> <a href="https://vimeo.com/61241471">https://vimeo.com/61241471</a>			Homosociality, New Zealand nature	
“Blazed”— Drug Driving in Aotearoa (2013)	Māori/ Pasifika children (two male, one female)	Public service	Home, car	Boys discuss stoned driving of fathers	<a href="https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/blazed-drug-driving-2013/credits">https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/blazed-drug-driving-2013/credits</a>	Julian Dennison (directed by Taika Waititi)	<i>Once Were Warriors; Two Cars, One Night</i>	Father/son homosociality, humour	“Drug driving—is it really that safe?”
“Tinnyvision” (2014)	Māori/ Pasifika young adults	Public service	Flat, car	Effects of marijuana	<a href="https://www.curiousfilm.com/directors/taika-waititi#/main-video">https://www.curiousfilm.com/directors/taika-waititi#/main-video</a>		Snapchat	Homosociality, humour	“Stoned drivers are slower to react”
Lotto PowerBall “Pop’s gift” (2016)	Māori/ Pasifika father/son	Lottery	New Zealand, home, sea	Boy misses father who’s always working	<a href="https://onair.icrewedup.com/lotto-pops-gift-steve-ayson/">https://onair.icrewedup.com/lotto-pops-gift-steve-ayson/</a> <a href="https://vimeo.com/178847126">https://vimeo.com/178847126</a>			Homosociality, family, New Zealand nature	“Imagine”
“Give Nothing to Racism” (2017)	Māori/ Pasifika adult	Public service	Studio, direct address	Parody of charity appeal	<a href="https://givenothing.co.nz/video/about">https://givenothing.co.nz/video/about</a>	Taika Waititi	Charity appeal	Reverse racism	“Give Nothing to Racism”
Spark “Little Can Be Huge” (2017)	Māori/ Pasifika boy and mother	Tele- communications	School, home	Boy unsure what to do for Father’s Day	<a href="https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/spark-celebrate-family">https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/spark-celebrate-family</a>		“Imagining My Man” (Aldous Harding)	Absent fathers	“Little can be huge”
Speights “Dance” (2018)	Māori/ Pasifika and Pākehā	Beer	Work, wedding	Māori teaches mate to dance	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l6dMln5rGI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l6dMln5rGI</a>	Tainui Tukiwaho	<i>American Pie—The Wedding</i>	Homosociality	“Good on ya mate”

---

<sup>1</sup> Roland Barthes and Annette Lavers, *Mythologies* (London: Vintage, 2000); Stuart Hall, “Encoding/decoding” in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79*, ed. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Willis (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–38.

<sup>2</sup> Wikipedia, “Fair Go,” last modified April 19, 2022, 12:16 (UTC), [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fair\\_Go](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fair_Go).

<sup>3</sup> Robin Law, Hugh Campbell, and Ruth Schick, “Introduction,” in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore, 1999), 13.

<sup>4</sup> Jacqueline Smart of FCB NZ, quoted on *Campbell Live*, TV3, New Zealand, April 8, 2005 (transcribed by the author). For the study in question, see Rita M. Denny, Patricia L. Sunderland, Jacqueline Smart, and Chris Christofi, “Finding Ourselves in Images: A Cultural Reading of Trans-Tasman Identities,” *Journal of Research for Consumers* 8 (2005): 1–10.

<sup>5</sup> Carolyn Michelle, “Co-Constructions of Gender and Ethnicity in New Zealand Television Advertising,” *Sex Roles* 66, no. 1 (2012): 21.

<sup>6</sup> Michelle, 34–35.

<sup>7</sup> Susan Gonzales, “Director Spike Lee Slams ‘Same Old’ Black Stereotypes in Today’s Films,” *Yale Bulletin & Calendar* 29, no. 21 (March 2, 2001), <https://web.archive.org/web/20090121190429/http://www.yale.edu/opa/arc-ybc/v29.n21/story3.html>.

<sup>8</sup> The latter, however, are also leavened with humour and fantasy elements which soften the effect and may even subvert the intended message.

<sup>9</sup> Roland Leander Williams, Jr., *Black Male Frames: African Americans in a Century of Hollywood Cinema, 1903–2003* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 156.

<sup>10</sup> Gonzales, “Director Spike Lee.”

<sup>11</sup> Gonzales, “Director Spike Lee.” There is also the Lee-Tamahori-directed *Along Came a Spider* (2001) in which Freeman investigates the kidnapping of a white girl from an exclusive private school.

<sup>12</sup> Taika Waititi, “Taika Waititi Boy Q&A (Part II),” Sundance Film Festival, Jan 29, 2010, YouTube video, 5:16, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I\\_OkifYQbVI&fea](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I_OkifYQbVI&fea).

<sup>13</sup> Martin Blythe, *Naming the Other: Images of the Māori in New Zealand Film and Television* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 9.

<sup>14</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> Jessica F. Harding, Chris G. Sibley, and Andrew Robertson, “New Zealand = Māori, New Zealand = Bicultural: Ethnic Group Differences in a National Sample of Māori and Europeans,” *Social Indicators Research* 100, no. 1 (2011): 139.

<sup>16</sup> Marianne Schultz, *Performing Indigenous Culture on Stage and Screen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>17</sup> Jo Smith and Annie Goldson, “The Contested Nation: Documentary and Dissent,” in *Contemporary New Zealand Cinema: From New Wave to Blockbusters*, ed. Ian Conrich and Stuart Murray (London: I. B. Taurus, 2008), 157–58.

<sup>18</sup> Stuart Murray, *Never a Soul at Home: New Zealand Literary Nationalism and the 1930s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998).

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Bannister, “Kiwi Blokes: Recontextualising White New Zealand Masculinities in a Global Setting,” *Genders Online* (2005), <https://www.colorado.edu/gendersarchive/1998-2013/2005/08/20/kiwi-blokes-recontextualising-white-new-zealand-masculinities-global-setting>.

<sup>20</sup> Merata Mita, “The Soul and the Image,” in *Film in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Jonathan Dennis and Jan Beiringa (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1992), 36–54; Sam Neill and Judy Rymer (directors), *Cinema of Unease—A Personal Journey by Sam Neill* [excerpts], NZ on Screen, 1995, 52:05, <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/cinema-of-unease-1995>.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Campbell, Robin Law, and James Honeyfield, “What it Means to be a Man: Hegemonic Masculinity and the Reinvention of Beer,” in *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, ed. Robin Law, Hugh Campbell, and John Dolan (Palmerston North: Dunmore, 1999), 166–87; Robin Law, “Masculinity, Place, and Beer Advertising in New Zealand: The Southern Man Campaign,” *New Zealand Geographer* 53, no. 2 (1997): 22–28.

- <sup>22</sup> Adrian Furnham and Elena Farragher, "A Cross-Cultural Content Analysis of Sex-Role Stereotyping in Television Advertisements: A Comparison Between Great Britain and New Zealand," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 44, no. 3 (2000): 430.
- <sup>23</sup> Bannister, "Kiwi Blokes," 2.
- <sup>24</sup> Furnham and Farragher, "A Cross-Cultural Content Analysis," 432. The phrase "Man Alone" was discussed by New Zealand poet James K. Baxter in *The Fire and the Anvil: Notes on Modern Poetry* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1955), 70–2, drawing on the title of John Mulgan's novel (London: Selwyn & Blount, 1939).
- <sup>25</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pākehā Male—A History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987).
- <sup>26</sup> Bev James and Kay Saville-Smith, *Gender, Culture and Power: Challenging New Zealand's Gendered Culture* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1989), 80.
- <sup>27</sup> Lee Tamahori (director), "Anchor / Fernleaf Dairy—Supermarket," Flying Fish, 1989, 0:59, <https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/set/item/152>.
- <sup>28</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 303.
- <sup>29</sup> Abigail Gregory and Susan Milner, "What is 'New' about Fatherhood?" *Men and Masculinities* 14, no. 5 (2011): 588.
- <sup>30</sup> Gregory and Milner, 589.
- <sup>31</sup> Gregory and Milner, 591.
- <sup>32</sup> Christine Todd (n.d.), "Are single mothers modern society's 'miner's canary'?" <https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/business/about/our-research/research-groups/public-policy-group/single-mothers.pdf>.
- <sup>33</sup> Roberta L. Coles and Charles Green, *The Myth of the Missing Black Father* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 1.
- <sup>34</sup> Leonie Pihama, "A Short Commentary on *Boy*," *MEDIANZ: Media Studies Journal of Aotearoa New Zealand* 13, no. 1 (2012): 99.
- <sup>35</sup> Andrea Schofield, "Hard Bodies, Soft Hearts: Mixed-Race Men as Muscular Daddies in the Films of Vin Diesel and Dwayne Johnson," in *Pops in Pop Culture: Fatherhood, Masculinity, and the New Man*, ed. Elizabeth Podnieks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 126.
- <sup>36</sup> Hannah Hamad, *Postfeminism and Paternity in Contemporary U.S. Film: Framing Fatherhood* (New York and Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 1.
- <sup>37</sup> Susan Jeffords, *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 154.
- <sup>37</sup> Kristi Rowan Humphreys, "Ads and Dads: TV Commercials and Contemporary Attitudes Toward Fatherhood," in *Pops in Pop Culture: Fatherhood, Masculinity, and the New Man*, ed. Elizabeth Podnieks (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 110.
- <sup>39</sup> Bambi L. Haggins, "Laughing Mad: The Black Comedian's Place in American Comedy of the Post-Civil Rights Era," in *Hollywood Comedians, The Film Reader*, ed. Frank Krutnik (London: Routledge, 2001), 180.
- <sup>40</sup> Harding, Sibley, and Robertson, "New Zealand = Māori," 137–48.
- <sup>41</sup> Schofield, "Hard Bodies, Soft Hearts," 131.
- <sup>42</sup> Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 1994), 182; Schofield, "Hard Bodies, Soft Hearts," 131.
- <sup>43</sup> Sarah Gee and S. Jackson, "Leisure Corporations, Beer Brand Culture, and the Crisis of Masculinity: The Speight's 'Southern Man' advertising campaign," *Leisure Studies* 31, no. 1 (2012): 85.
- <sup>44</sup> Anita Brady, "The Transgendered Kiwi: Homosocial Desire and 'New Zealand Identity,'" *Sexualities* 15, no. 3–4 (2012): 355–72.
- <sup>45</sup> Brady, 355.
- <sup>46</sup> Peter Gibbons, "Cultural Colonization and National Identity," *New Zealand Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (2002): 13.
- <sup>47</sup> Amber-Leigh Woolf, "Mitre 10 ends Mr Mega without even a goodbye-Vaoga," *Stuff*, November 26, 2015, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/74320630/mitre-10-ends-mr-mega-without-even-a-goodbye---vaoga>.

- 
- <sup>48</sup> Henry Cooke, “This All Blacks Promotional Video is Preposterously Intense,” *Stuff*, July 13, 2015, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/rugby/all-blacks/70182055/this-all-blacks-promotional-video-is-preposterously-intense>; Newshub, “Video: All Blacks Star in Intense Adidas Advert,” July 13, 2015, <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/sport/2015/07/video-all-blacks-star-in-intense-adidas-advert.html>.
- <sup>49</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *How to Read Lacan* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2006).
- <sup>50</sup> Waka Kotahi NZ Transport Agency and Clemenger BBDO, “NZ Transport Agency: TinnyVision Case Study,” June 27, 2016, YouTube video, 2:36, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VS4fVR6QPPw>.
- <sup>51</sup> Megan Cook, “Māori Smoking, Alcohol and Drugs—tūpeka, waipiro me te tarukino,” *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (September 5, 2013), <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/video/39872/ghost-chips>.
- <sup>52</sup> Davinia Thornley, “White, Brown or ‘Coffee’? Revisioning Race in Tamahori’s *Once Were Warriors*,” *Film Criticism* 25, no. 3 (2001): 22–36.
- <sup>53</sup> Steven Elers, “Public Information Advertisements: Māori Perspectives” (PhD diss., Auckland University of Technology, 2016), <http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10292/10163/ElersS1.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y>.
- <sup>54</sup> Ricki Green, “Lotto’s ‘Pop Gift’ Via DDB NZ Announced As New Zealand’s Favourite Ad At Fair Go 2015 Ad Awards,” *Campaign Brief*, November 12, 2015, <https://campaignbrief.co.nz/2015/11/12/lottos-pop-gift-via-ddb-nz-ann/>.
- <sup>55</sup> Jessica Benjamin, “Authority and the Family Revisited: Or, A World Without Fathers?” *New German Critique*, no. 13 (1978): 35.
- <sup>56</sup> Benjamin, 35.
- <sup>57</sup> Carolyn Michelle, “Co-Constructions of Gender and Ethnicity.”
- <sup>58</sup> Brendan Hokowhitu and Vijay Devadas, “Introduction,” *Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Brendan Hokowhitu and Vijay Devadas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), xx.
- <sup>59</sup> Harding, Sibley, and Robertson, “New Zealand = Māori,” 145.