Te mana o ngā toa: Māori experiences of Ngāti Tūmatauenga, the New Zealand Army

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Cheyenne Atairehia Mere Kohere

(Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Muaūpoko, Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Tūwharetoa)

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Abstract

Diverse realities impact Māori people and their capacity to flourish. It is well-established that Māori are significant contributors to the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), and especially the New Zealand Army. Noteworthy participation in major conflicts, especially WWI and WWII create a whakapapa of military tradition which contributed to institutional change within the Army in the 1990s. The inclusion of Māori cultural training in the New Zealand Army can contribute to morale and the effectiveness of the organisation (Hohaia, 2016). This master's thesis aims to deepen understandings of the experiences of Māori personnel in the Army by exploring the role of the New Zealand Army in the health and wellbeing of Māori soldiers, as well as how the Army can be a career pathway for Māori and their whānau to flourish.

This research employs the use qualitative methods such as Kaupapa Māori theory, phenomenology, and pūrākau as a form of narrative analysis. Semi-structured interviews with five participants (three retired personnel and two currently serving) explores these factors that contribute to the flourishing of Māori soldiers in the New Zealand Army. Each pūrākau developed from interview data is an acknowledgment of the personal journeys of the five participants and contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews (Lee, 2009).

The findings of the research highlight the complexities that arise when considering the health and wellbeing of Māori soldiers. A range of interconnected factors conceptualised within five themes contributes to participants' ability to flourish. These five themes include hauora (health), whanaungatanga (relationships), manaakitanga (support), whanonga pono (values) and whakapāwera (hardships). These results suggest that flourishing for Māori personnel is complex, and there is not a simple route to enable Māori to flourish. There are many 'trade-offs' for Māori and their experiences. However, Māori service provides opportunities and obstacles for an individual, as well as their whānau, hapū and iwi.

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Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Research Focus

It is clear to see how the military is glamourised in society—guns, bombs, playing war, driving around in armoured vehicles, something akin to a video game, or a Hollywood film. But the reality is far from this. My parents, both retired soldiers, always told my siblings and I to never join the Army. This was despite the deep military tradition of my paternal whānau and the opportunities we as a whānau had because of the service of my parents. That tradition stopped with my siblings and I, although my younger brother did begin the process of enlisting. This contradiction impacted me greatly growing up, and I never did envisage a career in the military. The experiences for other Māori military families are diverse, reflecting the diverse reality of being and existing as Māori in general. Exploring whether Māori thrive within this organisation, and some of the potential enablers and/or barriers to this are underexplored areas within New Zealand military research. Thus, the aim of this research is to deepen understandings of the experiences of Māori personnel in the Army.

For this thesis, I explore the role of the New Zealand Army in the health and wellbeing of Māori soldiers, as well as how the Army can be a career pathway for Māori and their whānau to flourish. Most military research is centred on history, or health issues. Due to the shortage of focused research on how Māori perceive and experience their service, not much is known about the experiences of contemporary Māori Army veterans and those currently serving. A historical aspect is inevitable when exploring the role of the Army and Māori in New Zealand, as well as exploring conceptualisations of Māori men and their sense of self (Rua et al., 2017). Concepts such as identity, ethnicity, individualism and collectivism, health and wellbeing, and others will be investigated also. The Community Psychology values of social justice and the health and wellbeing of communities (Riemer et al., 2020) are drawn on in this thesis to explore restorative stories and practices of Māori soldiers, as well as understanding the micro and macro contexts (Riemer et al., 2020) of soldiers today.

Key concepts

This research explores a web of intersecting ideas that are multidisciplinary, with concepts from the military studies, history, health and wellbeing, and psychology. To explore what it means to be a Māori soldier requires a focus on what it means to simultaneously be Māori, a soldier, and a Māori soldier. The concepts explored include biculturalism and diversity, health and being, human flourishing, soldier identity and Māori within the military,

camaraderie, individualism and collectivism, ordinary and extraordinary experiences, and finally the transition out of the Army.

Biculturalism and diversity

Biculturalism is officially recognised in New Zealand state policies, beginning in the 1970s when New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was given legal status. Biculturalism recognises the history of New Zealand and identifies the two distinct cultures of Māori (the Indigenous Peoples) and Pākehā (the settler population) (Eketone & Walker, 2015). Biculturalism is an attempt to address the dilemma of acknowledging and claiming the settler identity whilst also recognising the indigenous Māori identity (Bell, 2009). Māori as the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand, and Pākehā or tangata tiriti are "distinct but equal partners who (a) share guardianship of many of NZ's resources and (b) contribute equally to its national identity and culture" (Sibley & Liu, 2007, p. 1222). Biculturalism may recognise that Māori culture plays an important part in that New Zealand has an Indigenous history, but its place is relegated to the fringes rather than dominating the core culture of New Zealand. If New Zealand culture is English-speaking and looking (Lyons et al., 2011), what place do Māori people, and Māori culture, have within the dominant Pākehā perception of New Zealand? If Māori are expected to fulfil cultural tasks and ceremonies without recognition in specific environments, such as the workplace (Neha et al, 2021), or national sporting events, then is this genuine biculturalism? How do organisations reflect the diverse reality of society whilst being sincere?

Here in New Zealand, Sibley, and Liu (2007) argue that the formal adoption of biculturalism and integration of Māori and Pākehā cultures into the nationhood has allowed Pākehā to promote a distinct bicultural New Zealander identity, one that would be overtly colonial without the input of Māori culture. The authors argue that government policies have legally incorporated the Treaty of Waitangi and have brought "Māori people from the fringes of colonisation and assimilation to the symbolic beginnings of a national partnership" (Sibley & Liu, 2007, p. 1240). The experience at war has added to this incorporation of Māori into a partnership, as the shared intense experiences of Māori and Pākehā during WWI (which was a first for many) helped to bridge what Forsyth and Ugolini (2018) call "new bonds across the cultural divide" (p. 181). While symbolically Māori and Pākehā may be seen as equal in New Zealand's national identity, there is still structural inequality between the two cultures (Sibley & Liu, 2007). This continuing inequality and inequity for Māori may demonstrate that the pursuit of a distinct national identity is only surface level, and Māori culture is only

worthwhile when it contributes to a unique identity not found anywhere else in the world. It begs the questions as to whether it is genuine biculturalism if Māori are expected to still assimilate into the majority culture. And having Māori be at the helm of biculturalism does not evoke a true imagining of what biculturalism should be.

In the context of the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), a concerted effort has been made to adopt a bicultural framework (Bargh & Whanau, 2017; Bryers-Brown & Trundle, 2017), with Forsyth and Ugolini (2018) calling it a "browning of the Army in general" (p. 184). The NZDF are currently introducing a Māori Strategic Framework called 'Kia Eke' (NZDF, 2021). This framework includes their view of a continued focus on biculturalism and enhancing Māori culture across the three forces. This effort has been upheld as 'best practice' by the Canadian Armed Forces' (see Hohaia, 2016; Lavoie & Barclay, 2020; Scoppio, 2018). Hohaia (2016) suggests that the military learning experience benefits from the inclusion of Māori cultural training as it contributes to morale and the effectiveness of the organisation. The adoption of Māori tikanga into military practices means that personnel automatically become part of Ngāti Tūmatauenga, the New Zealand Army. The former Chief of Defence Force LTGEN Tony Birks' vision in the 1990s was for the integration and creation of a military iwi, Ngāti Tūmatauenga, and a marae as a spiritual home for Ngāti Tū. This is demonstrated in his remarks (NZDF, 2015):

> I want a marae, I want it in Waiouru, and I want my soldiers to feel comfortable on their marae […] They must be able to draw strength from who we are, what we are and where we as a people come from." (p. 33)

The Army marae plays an important part in Māori cultural training for new recruits and all members of the Army, as well as the myriad of ceremonial activities it supports (Hohaia, 2016). The marae allows women to speak and has created its own kawa and tikanga for its iwi. The integration of tikanga Māori and a Māori framework into the NZDF has been cemented and upheld since the 1990s. The Army took on a new name, Ngāti Tūmatauenga, to solidify this action, with the marae called Rongomaraeroa o ngā Hau e Wha (NZDF, 2015). Hohaia (2016) states that the recognition of te ao Māori "has promoted a share identity, based on the fusion of European traditions and the Māori warrior culture" (p. 47). Scoppio (2007) also notes that the military provides Māori with a positive identity, so soldiers do not need to sacrifice their Māori identity when they join. New Zealand is seen to have considerable success in their initiatives to recruit and retain Māori personnel (NAADSN et al., 2020), so much so that a Canadian policy brief in 2020 referred to the best practices of the New Zealand Defence Force in their own quest to improve the recruitment and retention of

Canadian Indigenous Peoples (NAADSN et al., 2020). Canadian professor Grazia Scoppio also views New Zealand as being successful in the participation of Māori in the military, seeing the NZDF as "facilitating [a] partnership and mutual understanding between Māori and Pākehā" (Scoppio, 2018, p. 90).

With other militaries worldwide viewing New Zealand as a case study for best practice, it is not difficult to see that the Army has made steps to try to foster a diverse workforce. An example of this integration is the creation of an Army wide haka, called 'Tū tauā a Tūmatauenga (the fighting columns of Tūmatauenga). The haka is taught to every recruit on basic training, with some units having their own separate, distinct haka. Harding (2020) suggests that the haka is a symbol of biculturalism due to it being a Māori practice performed by multi-ethnic soldiers. The haka is long-standing with the military in New Zealand, with many soldiers during WWII noting the fierce and intense haka that the Māori Battalion often performed. When Māori troops during the World Wars were expected to perform haka and waiata (to the delight of British and Australian crowds), these had an air of tokenism to them, and their value was performative (Forsyth & Ugolini, 2018).

For haka to become a genuine norm within the Forces is an accomplishment that mirrors national adoption of haka within sports. Harding (2020) goes on to argue that from the perspective of Pākehā soldiers, the haka is a "manifestation of the actual ambiguity of Aotearoa New Zealand's biculturalism (p. 114). Harding (2020) talks of the self-consciousness of Pākehā soldiers when having to perform the haka, describing it as "the only thing I ever saw physically faze soldiers" (p. 115). Harding (2020) states that Pākehā soldiers who must learn and perform the haka often recognise the wider societal inequity and history of colonisation, so much so that it manifests in their awkwardness and unease when having to perform this part of their soldier identity. This sentiment may be idealistic in that people tend not to be aware of their own privilege and the disadvantage this has caused for minorities such as Māori. Perhaps Pākehā soldiers are awkward and uneasy because it is the first time they have ever had to perform something that is considered 'cultural'? Pākehā soldiers may recognise that performing a haka beyond the popularised 'Ka Mate' is not something traditionally for them, and they do not have anything in their own cultural context to compare it to. Māori people are by definition bicultural because they have had to survive within the settler colonial environment, navigating the dominant Pākehā institutions whilst also trying to exist as Māori. In contrast, Pākehā fear of cultural insensitivity results in them being culturally insensitive (Harding, 2020). People would rather not genuinely attempt anything

‘ethnic’ or ‘cultural’ for fear of getting something ‘wrong’ when genuine attempts are always more appreciated.

If integration of Māori culture is measured on the number of Māori in the NZDF, then the NZDF may be a success story. This is something noted by those overseas, with Canadian military historian Jack Granatstein (2007), writing on behalf of the Council for Canadian Security noting this seemingly successful integration:

> One area where New Zealand has done better than Canada is integrating its indigenous Māori minority into its military. Almost half of the Army is Māori, and every soldier undergoes a Māori initiation rite that takes him into the warrior tribe. The proportion of Māori[s] in the country’s Special Forces is higher still, as much as two-thirds. And the current Chief of the Defence Force, General J. Mateparae is a Māori. None of this is tokenism, but it may be that the military is one of the few routes that the Māoris [sic] can take to get good jobs. The comparison with the Canadian Forces and its uneasy acceptance of First Nations soldiers is striking nonetheless. (para. 7)

This viewpoint is lofty, as it removes context as to why so many Māori feel pulled to enlist in the NZDF. It seems likely that this ‘successful’ integration of the Māori ‘minority’ is due to the historical context to which Māori are more inclined to see the Army as a safe and stable career choice rather than any true successful integration policies by the NZDF. Also, when situating this observation within the wider context of New Zealand and Māori participation within the military and civilian organisations, allowing Māori to sit in higher spaces when majority of Māori remain in the lower ranks does not provide Māori representation when Pākehā dominate the space (Hippolite & Bruce, 2014). Enloe (1980) finds that the promotion of ‘token’ ethnic members to higher positions does not equate to true representation, as they often have been assimilated into the dominant cultural space and their presence does not change anything. However, there is merit to having diversity policies which “embed accountability, authority, and expertise (affirmative action plans, diversity committees and taskforces, diversity managers and departments)” (Kalev et al., 2006, p. 611), as they are the most effective means of increasing the number of ethnic minorities in the workplace. Currently, the most visible Māori leader within the Army is Warrant Officer Class One (WO1) Wiremu Moffitt, whose role as the Sergeant Major of the Army sees him as an advisor to the Chief of Army “on matters affecting the training, management and welfare of soldiers” (NZDF, n.d., para 1). Other previously visible Māori who have occupied senior

ranks include Lieutenant General Jerry Mateparae who served as the Chief of Defence Force, and Willie Apiata, recipient of the Victoria Cross.

Once again, having representation within these higher ranks and being recognised for their feats is validating. For Māori, seeing people that reflect their culture and worldview visibly achieving success in a Pākehā dominated space can give hope to those stuck in the lower ranks. Often Māori success in tertiary programmes hinders on access to strong role models and a strong Māori cultural presence (Greenwood & Te Aika, 2008), and it makes sense that this extends beyond the tertiary sector to even the military. But having 'token' people in higher roles can be an act to 'tick the box', to show the wider public that technically yes, there is diversity in the organisation. It is indicative of a wider systemic issue that does not allow for significant change to occur. Allowing for a small amount of diversity to be represented at the top without significant changes for those at the bottom is not true diversity. It creates unsafe environments in continuing white spaces.

However, Durie (1997) sees the integration of a Māori perspective (in his case, into mental health treatment programmes), as a significant step in acknowledging the importance of culture for health. Durie (1997) argues that the extent to which these cultural practices are included does not matter, and the labelling of this inclusion is often unjustified as constituting tokenism. But is it so bad to want Māori to be at the forefront, or at the very least, at equal standing when integrating these perspectives? Harm towards Māori culture has made many Māori wary of inclusion of te ao Māori, no matter how genuine it seems to be. So, while inclusion is definitely a significant step towards integrating and making Māori culture positively visible, there are still many important questions that should be asked when this occurs in any workplace or organisation. Durie (1997) states that Māori health professionals are key when building culturally appropriate services, and so tikanga Māori advisors and teachers are key, rather than expecting Māori soldiers to fill these roles on top of their actual job. Yet Māori are obviously pinpointed and expected to fulfil the cultural tasks of their workplace with little recognition of their efforts (Neha et al., 2021).

The cultural taxation of Māori teachers by their non-Māori leaders and colleagues of fulfilling the token Māori role within their workplaces, and yet they also felt obligated to fulfil this role for their fellow Māori. The duty these teachers felt increased them feeling "'overwhelmed', 'stressed', 'tired' and 'burned-out'" (Torepe & Manning, 2017, p. 117) because these additional responsibilities often come with no training nor resourcing (Torepe et al., 2018). There is a fine line for Māori soldiers to be teachers for their non-Māori peers, and while they may be the best people to teach these things, the expectation that all Māori can

do this is a generalisation that is reflected in the reality for many Māori. Not all Māori know how to haka, speak te reo Māori, or even feel comfortable or adequate on the marae. Yet the burden is on Māori to fulfill their roles in their organisations *and* to be cultural advisors on top of this, rather than paying for Māori cultural advisors. This is problematic and not something that is limited to the military. Diversity for the sake of diversity can be performative; diversity should be pursued to recognise the richness that comes from different cultures collaborating to achieve a similar goal. The pursuit of diversity should be to reflect the cultural diversity in the wider society, not because of its supposed worth. It should be empowering and safe.

Health and Wellbeing

Wellbeing is the synergy between the personal, relational, and collective needs of an individual (Riemer et al., 2020). If one component is absent, then wellbeing cannot be achieved (Riemer et al., 2020). Values that contribute to this holistic view of wellbeing include self-determination, respect for diversity, social justice, and accountability (Riemer et al., 2020, p. 50). An Indigenous conceptualisation of health and wellbeing is 'holistic', with many Indigenous Peoples sharing common values that place an individual within the collective (WHO, 1999, as cited in Durie, 2003). It is well established that wellbeing is affected in settler-colonial states by colonisation (see Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019; Murrup-Stewart et al., 2021; MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015; Hamley & Le Grice, 2021; Reid et al., 2016). Because of these shared experiences, Indigenous peoples worldwide hold similar aspirations of cultural revitalisation and protection, of legitimising traditional knowledge and practices, of ensuring that the health and wellbeing of their people is flourishing. To protect these collective aspirations, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted in 2007, with New Zealand formally expressing their support in 2010 (Beehive, 2010). Both Article 23 and 24 concern the right to self-determination over Indigenous Peoples health, including their right to traditional health practices.

Here in Aotearoa, Māori cultural identity is crucial for the health and wellbeing of a person (Durie, 2001). Being secure in one's identity rests on a person's access to te Reo (language), whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (customs and protocols), history, whenua (land), their marae, as well as relationships with other Māori (Durie, 2001, p. 174). Being alienated from these resources is a barrier to a person's identity, thus affecting their health and wellbeing. The Treaty of Waitangi establishes Māori rights to health equity, through the

treaty principles of partnership, protection, equity, and options (Te Kaunihera Rata o Aotearoa, 2019). The 2018 census data showed the number of Māori to be 775,836, and the median age to be 25.4 years. The Māori ethnic group makes up 16.5% of the population, compared to the 70.2% of Europeans. Those who have Māori descent make up 18.5%. The 2018/19 New Zealand Health Survey showed that Māori experience higher rates of psychological distress (13.7%) and were 1.6 times more likely to be hazardous drinkers. The suicide rate for Māori increased in the 2018/19 to 28.23%. Social determinants of health affects Māori health greatly, with Māori more likely to live in areas of high deprivation, higher rates of unemployment, and lower personal incomes (Te Kaunihera Rata o Aotearoa, 2019). Taking all of this into consideration, Māori health and wellbeing is consistently shown to be disproportionate when compared to non-Māori in New Zealand.

Health and Wellbeing of Military Personnel. Selection into the Armed Forces is dependent on your health and wellbeing. Once enlisted, personnel have access to ancillary services. This increased access to healthcare should mean that serving personnel are expected to be healthier than the general population (Royal Australia and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists, 2019). However, this may not be the case. The very nature of military service as an occupation is one that is stressful and has the potential to be traumatising (Royal Australian and New Zealand College of Psychiatrists, 2019; Van Hooff et al., 2014). Those serving in militaries are exposed to different health risks than civilian populations. Obviously the most serious threat is combat injuries, yet non-combat health issues are prevalent also. This can include alcohol misuse (Waller, Mcguire & Dobson, 2015), mental health disorders and substance abuse (Levin-Rector et al., 2018). While trauma experienced during service can affect all people regardless of differences in ethnicity, age or sex, research on New Zealand military personnel has shown that nearly 80% of Māori have PTSD (Richardson et al., 2020). Current culturally based approaches to treatment are lacking, with Māori veterans believing that there was minimal help specifically for Māori currently in New Zealand (Paterson, 2018). Māori members of the Nuclear Test Veterans Association have also highlighted their perceived lack of care for health concerns by the State (Bryers-Brown & Trundle, 2017). Health concerns have long troubled those within the military community, who feel let down by how their sacrifices are regarded. For those service personnel who leave the military, civilian mental health care services are also deficient, as the lack of specialised services with specific understanding and knowledge of military culture leads to less-than-ideal outcomes for those in need (Royal Australian and New Zealand College of

Psychiatrists, 2019). Thus, there are many factors hindering the health and wellbeing of soldiers, and especially Māori soldiers.

Human Flourishing

Human flourishing refers to the obligation society has to provide equitable employment, healthy housing, education, opportunities for civic participation and social support systems so that people can reach their potential (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993, as cited in Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016). Notions of human flourishing have concerned religion, moral virtue, attitudes about the body, popular psychology and self-help culture, and capitalism (Solovey &Weinstein, 2019). While mainstream definitions are helpful, it is easy to see how they completely ignore some of the most important aspects of wellbeing to Indigenous peoples, and more specifically Māori. Indigenous peoples worldwide, especially in Anglo-settler states with similar circumstances to Aotearoa (United States, Canada, and Australia), have experienced health and wellbeing inequities when compared to the non-Indigenous populations, and are often the most marginalised peoples in their nation states (Stephens et al., 2005; Stephens et al., 2006). Access to healthcare for Indigenous peoples is also an issue, as many are physically isolated, as well as being isolated from "national priority-setting" (Stephens et al., 2005, p. 11). Those who are in a lower socio-economic situation are more likely to have poorer health due to the inequitable distribution of resources in society (Hodgetts et al., 2016).

The concept of flourishing is recognised in the New Zealand mental health space. Linda Waimaire Nikora (2015) explains that "a strong sense of who one is and that one's life matters is vital to health and wellbeing (p. 1). These unwellness forces impact on a person's ability to remain Indigenous and hinder their ability to flourish. Due to the history of New Zealand, Māori conceptualisation of their identity is defined in contrast to the Pākehā majority (Nikora, 2015). Durie (2001) also talks of culture and identity being a foundation of health, especially important "in a world indifferent… and seldom ready to value these [culture and identity] as foundations for health" (p. ix). Durie talks of the need for a synergy between the myriad of factors that influence health and wellbeing, as "progress depends on the dynamic interaction of people with each other as well as with wider cultural, social, economic, political and physical environments" (Durie, 2001, p. ix).

When considering the military as a workplace that fosters the flourishing of Māori soldiers and their whānau, one must take into consideration a range of factors to come to any conclusion. Te Pae Māhutonga is a Māori health model developed by Mason Durie which follows the arrangement of the Southern Cross constellation that was traditionally a key

navigational aid for Māori when voyaging to Aotearoa (Durie, 1999b). The health model covers a wide range of areas to emphasis Māori goals for flourishing. The four central stars of Te Pae Mahutonga are a "symbolic map" (Durie, 1999b, p. 3) that bring together significant aspects of Māori health promotion (Ratima, 2010). Each star represents a different concept:

- *Mauriora* represents cultural identity
- *Waiora* is the physical environment
- *Toiora* is promotion of healthy lifestyles to enhance the health and well-being of Māori
- *Te Oranga* is participation in society

The two pointer stars represent *Ngā Manukura* (community leadership) and *Te Mana Whakahaere* (autonomy) which are highly regarded in order to bring forth the development of Māori health promotion.

It is evident that collectivism, strong support from the workplace, and a strong sense of self is important for a person's ability to flourish in their workplace. From both Neha et al., (2021) and Durie (1999b), the pathway to flourishing is one that is holistic, and encompasses many different aspects of what it means to be a human, as well as Māori. Each human has their own context they live within, and it is these different factors that either contribute or diminish a person's ability to flourish. For Māori, interconnectedness is of utmost importance because a person cannot be separated from their personal and collective identities (Rua et al., 2017). Rather people need to be considered by the way a person's context shapes their own lives, as well as the people close to them (Hodgetts et al., 2020).

Motivation to enlist in the Army

The role of war has had a significant impact on the identity of nations worldwide. This is especially applicable to Indigenous communities in settler nations such as Australia, New Zealand, America, and Canada (Riseman, 2014). Despite the history of colonisation in each of these settler countries, Indigenous peoples negotiated their roles in their societies for the war effort, navigating the exclusory policies that were in place before, during, and after the war (Sheffield & Riseman, 2018). World War II mobilised people and resources across the globe (Poyer, 2016), and the Indigenous Peoples of New Zealand, Australia, United States and Canada were no exception (Sheffield & Riseman, 2018). Indigenous service is commonly seen as the plight to acceptance by settler governments, and as a means of assimilation into the dominant culture. But many contradict this narrative, exploring the various reasons why Indigenous peoples decided to serve. This includes cultural recognition and maintaining their

warrior status, as a way to protect their homelands and their people, as a political act to challenge or to demonstrate loyalty to colonial structures, as a way to honour family military service, as an economic opportunity, to join their mates who had enlisted, and to travel and go on an adventure (Sheffield, 2018). There were numerous reasons for service, often rich and nuanced in meaning that persuaded Māori, Native American, First Nations and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to fight for their country.

The motivation to enlist in the military differs from person to person, with pressures from an individual level and their environments (Sackett & Mavor, 2003). While the process of enlistment is an individual endeavour, as it is the individual that sits the fitness and written tests, the motivation to enlist is based on a variety of factors and pressures. Griffith and Perry (1993) identify four motivating factors for people to serve: a desire to experience military life, personal development, pay and benefits, and career development. Commitment to serving their country is another motivation for people (Griffith, 2008). For some, the military is a more attractive choice than being unemployed (Ishaq & Hussain, 2002). A higher presence of the military in a community may also increase a person's motivation to enlist when compared to their motivation to pursue tertiary education or to enter a civilian workforce (Kleykamp, 2006). Ishaq and Hussain (2002) suggest that family ties to the military (past or present) within ethnic minority families has some influence when considering a military career. The military is an example of what they see as a 'bridging' environment. A 'bridging occupation' is one which "provides, through work experience, the conditions and opportunities for movement from one occupation or cluster of occupations to another… but not for all occupants and not equally for all occupants" (Broom & Smith, 1963, p. 322). Browning, Lopreato and Poston (1973) posit that military service can be a bridging environment where a person acquires new skills and abilities and can utilise these skills even after military service has ended. They suggest that military service provides minorities and disadvantaged people opportunities that they may not have been able to access in their civilians lives such as housing and education (Browning, Lopreato & Poston, 1973).

Moskos (1977) explains the historic institutional model of the "paternalistic remuneration system" that exists within the military: one that includes food, housing, uniforms, subsidised facilities on base, and retirement benefits. While in the civilian world you may attain a monetary benefit for your expertise in your field, the military instead gifts these benefits in the form of promotion in rank and seniority (Moskos, 1977). Moskos (1977) notes that there is only one exception to this, with those who provide service to the military via non-military corps such as the medical corps. Therefore, the military provides a way for

disadvantaged, ethnic minorities to be socially mobile, especially when compared to employment in the civilian world (Kleykamp, 2006).

In New Zealand, eligibility for a career in the Defence Force is less restrictive that other places in the world, as you only need to be a New Zealand citizen, preferably free from criminal convictions, and medically and physically fit. While criminal convictions may still hinder someone's ability to be eligible for service, the NZDF assess this on a case-by-case basis, so it does not necessarily rule the career choice out. This is especially important for Māori, given the poor gap in attainment for school qualifications compared to other groups in New Zealand (Education Counts, 2021), as well as the over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system (Ministry of Justice, 2021). The military provides economic and social benefits that are not always guaranteed within a civilian organisation, tying personnel and their families due to the job and housing security, access to health care, and retirement benefits (Bowen, 1989). Younger people in rural areas have fewer opportunities than those in urban areas, which makes the military an attractive option. Each participant involved in this thesis is from a rural community, where their options were vastly limited. There are regional differences for Northland, Auckland, and the East Coast who have the highest unemployment rates as well as high Māori populations (Neha et al., 2020), as well as overall a higher proportion of Māori are at risk of long-term unemployment when compared to non-Māori.

Peterson (1989) explores 'ethnic' enlistment patterns, with a simplistic view being that those who would economically benefit from enlisting in the military would usually join over those who would not benefit from enlisting. Yet those of defined ethnic groups have the added burden of being judged by their fellow ethnic members, as well as members of the outside groups (Peterson, 1989). Again, this is a clear example of the in-group and out-group influence on a person, which can be a powerful motivator when compared to supposed financial benefits. Another category Peterson (1989) explores is the granting of citizen rights to ethnic minorities that military service has ostensibly afforded. This can be seen by the push for Black Americans, the Batswa tribe of Zaire, and many Indigenous groups to participate in WWII in order to be granted equal status within their countries (Peterson, 1989). For certain social groups who have been marginalised within their nation-states, military service is an important way to "seek respect, gain resources, assert social loyalty and attain basic legal and social entitlements from the state" (Bryers-Brown & Trundle, 2017, p. 45). The level to which true national membership was achieved is debatable, although some groups may have been provided with greater rights than they previously had once they returned home from war. A third category Peterson explores is the 'martial race' phenomena that occurred during

the process of British colonisation of India. Soldiering was racialised in India after the Bengal revolt in 1857 as only certain ethnic groups (namely the Sikhs and Gurkhas) were seen to be worthy of military service within the British ranks, and they were used to legitimise colonial rule in the area (Rand & Wagner, 2012). Popular narratives of people regarded as martial races conjure feelings of bravery, fierceness, and loyalty to the British Empire (Chishold, 2014). The exploits of all the Gurkhas who have served previously has created a whakapapa of military tradition similar to being Māori, where becoming a Gurkha is either a continuation of family tradition, or it is a continuation of the Gurkha prowess. To be a Gurkha is a source of pride and prestige, and you are easily distinguishable from civilians and other military personnel (Chishold, 2014). The whakapapa of Māori military service is established and maintained by the stories and kōrero told, demonstrating a deep and rich link between service and national membership (Bryers-Brown & Trundle, 2017). To be a Māori military personnel is, in the same vein as the Gurkhas, a source of pride and mana, continuing a legacy and whakapapa that has been continuously demonstrated and tested.

When looking at a soldier's occupation, literature has suggested that overall job satisfaction is often lower when compared to civilians (Alpass et al., 1997). Multiple reasons for this lower job satisfaction are inherently tied within the soldier identity, which include separation from family and friends, unpleasant training conditions (especially as a recruit), dangerous and traumatic situations and conditions, long and irregular hours, low income (although higher non-cash benefits), and frequent moves and rotations (Fredland & Little, 1983). Yet at the same time, there are certain aspects of the military that may entice certain people to its ranks. This includes the opportunity to move away from a person's hometown, the frequent change of location, job security, promotion and pay increases, time in service being rewarded, and being part of a 'calling' or something significant (Fredland & Little, 1983).

Identity within the military

To explore identity within the military, it is important to firstly discuss what makes the military its own 'culture'. The uniqueness of the military as an organisation was explored by Huntington (1957), who notes the basic components as being service to the state, a deep sense of loyalty, and expertise in the act of violence. Furthermore, military culture is learned, broadly shared, adaptive to change, and symbolic in nature (Dunivin, 1994). While these attributes can be applied to many other professions, it is not difficult to see how the military

can have an over-arching influence on how someone views themselves, so that their job becomes more than just employment, but a way of life.

Identity encompasses the unique characteristics of a person, as well as the things that distinguish a person from another (de Ruyter & Conroy, 2002). From a collectivist, social psychology perspective, every single person is in interconnected, interdependent being (Hodgetts et al., 2020, p. 73). The interconnected parts that make up the whole person—the interconnected self—must be understood through the groups people belong to and the processes that affect the individual, while also maintaining the uniqueness of each person (Hodgetts et al., 2020). A military identity is one that encompasses the culture, attitudes, values, and motivation of the specific military (Johansen et al., 2014). This military identity is pervasive and concrete as it is constantly reinforced by specific rules, uniforms, and operation procedures (Zirker et al., 2008). As explored in chapter 3, the history of New Zealand is interwoven with the history of the military, and Māori have always played a part in this arena. The NZDF has its own distinctive ethos and ideology, military 'patios', a separate mythology and history, and clear and ascriptive membership boundaries (Zirker et al., 2008). Many terms used by military personnel are often not understood by the public at large (examples used by participants include pogue, gat etc.), which reinforces the disconnect between the two cultures (military and civilian). As well as the individual level, other characteristics embedded within the identity of a soldier can be analysed by the macro levels of society. Kümmel (2018) talks of the complex web of interactions with the soldier in the centre, and includes the military organisation, the government and national politics, the home (country or state) society and the global, international environment. The military also makes demands of its service members and their families, something that is hardly found with other employers (Segal, 1986). These demands include risk of injury and death, geographic mobility and residence in foreign countries, separations, and normative constraints of family members (Segal, 1986). As the NZDF take part in a multitude of operational deployments, training exercises, and also manage the COVID-19 isolation facilities, these demands are a regular occurrence for all personnel, and affects their whānau and communities as well.

Aspects of military identity within a New Zealand context includes our Anzac identity, the Māori 'warrior' identity alongside the British 'soldier' identity, veteran identity, as well as the different identities belonging to the different corps within the New Zealand Army, as these are all quite distinctive and have their own ideals, beliefs, and rituals. These identities all have different meanings to soldiers, and are emotionally significant to many, if not all, soldiers who serve. They are pervasive and can continue long after a person has left

the military. This military aspect of a person's identity fits within the interconnected self alongside all other aspects of a person's identity, whether that is their ethnic identity, their occupation, being a parent etc. The beginnings of the soldier identity in the military occurs when a person transitions from a civilian to a soldier. Basic training is the first time where a person is immersed within the military culture, and they meet personnel who already have established membership within this culture. Hollingshead (1946) discusses the three main phases of the person's military experience—the premilitary, the military, and the postmilitary:

> The premilitary is nascent in the life of every boy in our culture and takes the form of preconditioning for possible participation in a potential war. If war comes, millions of young men become subject to the military phase. Its principal subphases include induction into the army, basic training, specialized training, technical training, precombat man[o]euvers, combat, and, finally, the postcombat period, and demobilization. The final, or postmilitary, phase is indeterminate in length and character. It's one criterion is that the person who has survived the first two phases is accorded the legal and social status of 'veteran'. (p. 439)

This description is still applicable regardless it was 75 years ago and paints a complete picture of what life is like for a soldier. Although war is something, to a degree, unexpected for the average person in New Zealand, New Zealanders are still conditioned by the ongoing mythology and legacy of the Anzac soldier and New Zealand participation in previous wars. The military is advertised on our televisions and social media (See figure 1.), as well as posters around university memo boards (See figure 2.), conditioning people to see enlisting within the NZDF as a feasible choice. Rather than war, people are conditioned for possible participation in humanitarian causes and peacekeeping missions. Once a choice has been made, a recruit's journey in the New Zealand Army begins the moment they step off the train/bus/car at the Waiouru Army base to begin their sixteen-week basic training. Basic training exposing them to "carefully designed rituals of entry" (Daley, 2013, p. 292) that have specific consequences if not followed. On basic, a person learns weapons handling, communications, navigation, first-aid, field-craft, and drill (Harding, 2017, p. 35). A soldier only has limited contact with their whānau friends, and limited freedom and personal time. A physical separation from the civilian world is established through secure army bases that have security, bare minimum contact with family and friends, and set places a recruit can visit. This is for practical reasons, as the aim is for a recruit to be prepared for their life within their 'new' family. The transition into the military is a tough process that recruits must undergo to

be useful to the military aims of the NZDF. A recruit quickly realises whether they are cut out for a career within their chosen profession, but many find a meaningful place within the ranks alongside people they eventually consider family. Rather than the Army breaking people in order to build them up into a solider, recruits see themselves being built up and improved upon (Harding, 2017), which comes across as romanticised but may be the case for many recruits who find the value their enlistment adds to their lives.

Figure 1.

A screenshot from the of an Army recruitment ad from Instagram

Figure 2.

An Army recruitment poster pinned on a University of Waikato memo board

Being a good soldier means a person must possess what Harding (2017) describes as four dispositions—security, attention to detail, sense of urgency and get over it. A soldier must ready themself by ensuring their equipment is ready (security), they must be hypervigilant of their surroundings (attention to detail), they must react in situations quickly and effectively (sense of urgency) and finally they must be able to control their emotional reactions so that emotions do not affect their role (get over it). Time and effort to make sure equipment is ready shows that a soldier is aware of their role within the collective and will make sure that they are reliable and ready for the tasks ahead. Small, seemingly insignificant tasks such as making sure their shirt is tucked in or having a bit of loose thread on a patch is the difference between showing a soldier is ready to deal with the duties at hand. This is what it means to be a soldier, "the ability to embody the 'switched on' state" (Harding, 2017, p. 42).

A soldier's identity is one that encompasses the individual values, beliefs and principles, their role within the military, and the military itself. This identity also comprises all these different levels, and how they also fit within the wider society. While the military is

technically a ‘job’, the environment is more than an occupational choice, due to the influences of all facets of life beyond the boundaries of employment. A soldier in the 21st century is a role that encompasses knowing “how to a fight, provide local security, how to deescalate conflicts, how to treat local adversaries, how to cooperate with civilian international relief and humanitarian organisations, and how to rebuild war-torn infrastructures” (Haltiner & Gerhard Kümmel, 2009, 79). In New Zealand especially, a soldier has to provide aid in combat zones, yet also be able to provide aid through peacekeeping and humanitarian work. Soldiers have to be available for exercises within New Zealand and overseas and may miss important family events because of this, all while having limited contact with family and friends. Their family also are expected to make sacrifices on your behalf. There are few civilian organisations that demand the same level of devotion and sacrifice from their employees than the military, as it pervades every aspect of a person’s life (Bowen, 1989).

The conceptualisation of soldierhood can be summarised as instinctive actions, where a soldier must be able to react immediately, without thought, in the way you are trained to during basic and corps training, so you can perform the job requirements even in times of fear and anxiety (Harding, 2020). Discipline is also embedded within all actions and conforming to military rituals is the most valued currency a new recruit can have (Daley, 2018). The NZDF have common values that ensures consistency across all forces. The four values commonly referred to as 3CI guide all personnel and set the expectations and standards they need to abide by (NZDF, n.d.). The NZDF website sets out the values and their meanings (NZDF, n.d.):

- Courage (Tū kaha): Courage is having the strength – moral and physical – to do what is right, even in the face of adversity. It is stepping up when things get hard. It is speaking up when you see things that are wrong. Courage is enforcing our standards and discipline. It is not giving in to peer pressure.
- Commitment (Tū tika): Commitment is doing your best. It is always looking for ways to achieve the task and persevering even when the going gets tough. Commitment is accepting and living our values and standards. It is serving New Zealand.
- Comradeship (Tū tira): Comradeship is respecting the differences of the people around you and treating others as you’d like to be treated. It is working

together as a team, being inclusive, recognising we are stronger together. Comradeship is never an excuse for covering up other people's wrongs.

- Integrity (Tū maia): Integrity is conducting yourself honestly, ethically and to the highest professional standards – even when no one is watching. It is doing the things that you say you are going to do. Integrity is accepting responsibility for your decisions and actions.

While these values are valuable and meaningful, putting values into action is often not as straightforward as it seems. A person may prioritise certain values and place more importance on others depending on the situation they are in, and it is unrealistic to think that a person will always inherently act according to a set values base. While the ethos these values create can be a source of strength for many soldiers, it also can create a sense of failure if a soldier does not feel they are living up to the expectations placed on them or if they feel let down by the military itself (Convoy & Westphal, 2013).

Once a soldier has been socialised into the military, they then become part of their battalion, platoon, battery, or other similar groups, creating another layer of in-group membership to the wider group. This is especially apparent with those who choose to serve within the infantry corps of the New Zealand Army. The infantry has historically had strong Māori membership (Erai, 1995) and has only recently been exclusively male. It is characterised by its physical nature, as it is the infantry regiment who are front-line soldiers killing at close range. Group cohesion is an important aspect of combat corps, especially the infantry, as there is no room for being an individual in high-risk environments where mutual obligation and solidarity could be the difference between life and death (King, 2013). On the other hand, some corps are not defined by their strong cohesion, nor have a strong Māori membership. This can be said of those within the Army health services. Medical personnel are often viewed as 'pogues', someone who does not participate in battle and is a non-combat solider (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2020). Harding (2016) explains that 'pogue' has become so engrained in military culture that the exact knowledge of its origins is unknown, yet when used it is often dismissive and derogatory. The distance between those considered to be 'pogues' and those from other corps in the military is purposeful and by design. Military medical staff have the dual role of being trained members of the military, whilst also maintaining their medical roles (Rochon, 2018). Rochon (2018) explores the identity of medical professionals in the Canadian military and the two distinct groups that emerged within the research. These two groups were those who prioritised their medical profession and saw themselves as doctors firstly, and the other group did not prioritise either profession

(medical or military), instead seeing themselves as military physicians (Rochon, 2018). The dual loyalty of medical personnel within the military has been widely explored, acknowledging the competing interests that can occur between professional obligations of being a medial professional and a soldier (see Annas, 2008; Benatar & Upshur, 2008; Gordon, 2014; Gross & Carrick, 2016). The military culture creates a superiority hierarchy in which sex and gender expectations (being male), and a soldier's combat status (combat vs non-combat) define what it means to a good soldier (Ashley et al., 2017). Those part of combat corps are viewed with more respect than those in the non-combat corps (Dunivin, 1994). The combat, masculine-warrior discussed by Dunivin (1994) reinforces the idea that those in combat roles are seen as 'real' soldiers, whereas those on the periphery are merely in support roles.

As well as the individual level, other characteristics embedded within the identity of a soldier can be analysed by the macro levels of society. Kümmel (2018) talks of the complex web of interactions with the soldier in the centre, and includes the military organisation, the government and national politics, the home (country or state) society and the global, international environment. The military identity is not a fixed one and is dynamic and is subject to change dependent. Yet a soldier's identity can dominate a person's identity so much that a person may begin to exclude other ways they identify themselves (Kreminski et al., 2018). Service within the military has a lasting effect upon personnel, affecting their worldviews and conceptions of self (Oakes, 2011); reinforcing conformity and regimentation (Hall, 2011); creating distance between the civilian and the soldier (Fleming, 2010); and the importance of camaraderie and life-long friendship (Burkhart & Hogan, 2015). It can 'save' a person from a life of deviance, or it can lead a person to engage in deviance (Orak & Walker, 2021).

As explored in the history section, Māori have played a significant role in the military history of New Zealand. Indigenous peoples worldwide have had meaningful roles in the militaries of their countries, with similar themes of citizenship underpinning their service. As already stated, being Māori is intrinsically linked to the military history of New Zealand, and Māori have fought to forge their reputation as 'warriors'. The diverse reality of being Māori is reflected in the diverse lives of Māori soldiers, even more so as Māori culture has been afforded a place of privilege within the military of New Zealand. Many cultural acts have been incorporated into military tikanga and is celebrated in varied ways. By contrast, the incorporation of Māori culture into a predominantly Pākehā institution (especially with a strong settler history) brings with it issues that are often experienced by Māori soldiers.

Whanaungatanga, camaraderie, brotherhood, comradeship

The concept of whanaungatanga is defined as 'relationship, kinship, sense of family connection' (Te Aka Māori Dictionary, n.d.). Hirini Moko Mead (2016) explains how whanaungatanga embraces whakapapa and the relationships between individuals, where an individual expects support from 'relatives', but the collective also expects help and support from its individuals (p. 48). Mead (2016) expands on this by stating that the associated principle 'kanohi kitea' (a face seen), where people need to be face-to-face in order to keep their bonds strong (p. 48). Whanaungatanga also included relationships with people who you did not have kin relationships with, but who became kin through shared experiences.

The concept of whanaungatanga is very fitting for those who enter the fraternal, camaraderie-based institution that is the military. Melissa Matutina Williams (2015) has referred to the special relationship and connectedness amongst those who work together as the 'workplace-whānau' (p. 181). The conception of whānau in this context is one that extends beyond kinship to include other forms of bondage such as ethnic, gender and a bond based on occupation. Personnel are somewhat forced into a collective relationship with strangers from the start of basic training. While a soldier may not necessarily like every person they meet, learning how to work together in order to get the job done is crucial. Of course, strong bonds would form in moments of the collective experiences during trainings, exercises, and deployments, when all a soldier can rely on are the people next to them. Seeing these people every day and getting support and help from them, as well as giving others help and support, creates a lasting relationship.

Whanaungatanga reflects the military concepts of cohesion and esprit de corps, which Manning (1994) states as being the solidarity within the ranks that comes from friendship and bonds. Friendship, then, is mutual liking or preference for someone, as well as shared experiences and companionship, and caring for others (Annis, 1987). While a civilian may experience friendship and family ties, or even a sense of 'brotherhood', the unique bond that forms in the military is something that may never truly be understood. The shared predicament of 'brothers-in-arms' and the solidarity of their shared destiny is what binds these people together, as their dedication to each other is necessary especially when trying to survive in combat zones and dangerous situations (Verweij, 2007). Verweij (2007) suggests that:

> Friendship gives comradeship and extra dimension. It is not just about being there and sharing pain, fear, and despair, but friendship adds a moral dimension to this relationship. In this sense, friendship enriches comradeship: it contributes to a

> flourishing life, and in doing so it helps the friend to refrain from behaviour that will disrupt his/her humanity and thus his/her human flourishing. (p. 290)

Camaraderie forces a soldier to work together, but friendship with comrades adds another dimension to the relationship built from teamwork and maintained by whanaungatanga. Camaraderie and the concept of 'brotherhood' is something uniquely military-esque, with many veterans who leave the military noting that they do not experience the same feeling in the civilian world (Burkhart & Hogan, 2015; Westwood et al., 2010). Manning (1994) suggests that nowhere else in the civilian world is the relationships of the social group more important than it is in the military, especially for soldiers in combat. The entrenched feelings of camaraderie and whanaungatanga that is so valued and revered within the military are reflected in the level of which soldiers are willing to sacrifice their lives, and their commitment to their 'job' which makes the units to which soldiers are part of so effective (Gross, 2011). These bonds that are made through shared experience of danger enhance solidarity and cohesiveness, as each person relies on each other when in dangerous situations. When these bonds are broken, a soldier can feel alienated from others who do not have these shared experiences, and also have feelings of purposeless (Elder & Clipp, 1988). Yet these relationships tend to endure for years, especially for those who see heavy combat (Elder & Clipp, 1988).

Individualism and collectivism

The very act of war—of soldiering—is a collective endeavour, where people are organised into groups to kill people from other groups. Therefore, the collective is prioritised in not only just the make-up of armies, but also in the protection of people and the wider interests of the collective. A key difference between Māori and non-Māori is the emphasis on and focus on the collective, as opposed to the often Western focus on the individual propped up by systems such as capitalism and neoliberalism (Smits, 2014). Therefore, Māori exist within a largely individualistic country where their traditional ways of being, and living have been affected by the continuing process of colonisation. Māori cultural practices included within national policies are designed to evoke a sense of community, in a society that increasingly emphasises the individual and self-reliance (Smits, 2014). Yet to consider Māori as individuals is to ignore the continuation of collective social connections such as whānau, hapū and iwi. Johansen, Laberg and Martinussen (2014) explore the impact of individualism on society, as it has weakened the collective values of the state by prioritising 'freedom' over the community. This directly contradicts the collective nature of the military, where an

individual's worth is being part of the collective and working together for the benefit of others. The military therefore seems a very fitting choice of employment for Māori who desire a collective environment that is not necessarily well fostered in any other civilian employment. Author Sasson-Levy (2008) suggests that in a consumerist, individualistic society (in their context of Israel), joining the military is an individual effort aimed at improving an individual rather than for the good of the collective. While this may be a broad generalisation that fits with the experiences of many soldiers, it does not consider the community that is prioritised and fostered within the military. While someone may join to provide themselves with a better life or more opportunities, the experiences of many soldiers show that this was not done with the aim of serving only themselves. Many people join the military because they recognise the prospects they could provide themselves and their families, and for the community they find once enlisted. And yet there is still an individual element to service, as individualism is exploited for the collective good, which creates collectivism and obedience to the state (Sasson-Levy, 2008). This in turns creates issues of morality and politics that are beyond the scope of this research, but important questions, nonetheless. Regardless, the individual choice of service in the military constitutes individualistic and collectivistic aspects that work together to create an individual who is called, or sometimes forced by outside pressures, to service.

Ordinary and extraordinary experiences

As every other job, everyday life within the Army constitutes actions, share rituals and routines that reproduce sociocultural structures (Hodgetts et al., 2015). The everyday lives of soldiers are a mixture of dramatic and mundane events depending on whether you are at camp or on exercise (Haw, 2010). Ordinary life is a combination of ironing your uniform, multiple exercise sessions during the day, barrack checks, lectures or weapons sessions, parading, eating etc. You are never really alone each day, especially as a new recruit, as this fosters the community values strong within the Army.

While some of these things seem extraordinary already to civilians, these are the mundane tasks that form the daily routine of each soldier. It is only when a soldier is deployed or on an exercise overseas where it becomes obvious to a civilian that the daily life of a soldier has become even more extraordinary. While many of the everyday tasks remain the same, soldiers now also have to trek through jungles or the deserts with their packs on, or they have to rebuild villages and bridges for disaster relief or are in active combat zones with bullets firing down on them. Hodgetts, Rua, King, and Te Whetu (2015) explore the

extraordinary events that mark some people's lives daily (in their case homeless Māori men), such as unemployment or food insecurity. These specific disruptions, while not necessarily applicable to those in the military, the same sentiments can be applied to their lives. Experiences that seem extraordinary and perilous to civilians are seemingly ordinary for a combat soldier, as it is merely part of their job. The extraordinary events soldiers encounter are also "tempered" by ordinary life events (Haw, 2010, p. 469), such as picking up your children from school or attending a family birthday. Haw (2010) argues that extraordinary, antisocial, or criminal actions are made reasonable and ordinary over time, something that can be applied to the acts of soldiers who have to bomb villages or shoot insurgents as part of their job. These soldiers are then expected to return to their 'ordinary' lives and reintegrate into a society that only has vague understandings of what soldiers 'do'. While mental health screenings are undertaken prior to deployment and upon return, it may take years for someone to fully realise that these experiences are

Transition from military to civilian life

The last phase for a soldier to experience is their eventual transition out of the Army back into the civilian world. It is easy to see why many soldiers struggle with this transition, as they have had various daily tasks taken care of by others. Kaumātua in the civilian world who retire do so at a late stage in life, where they have to acquire new skills and adapt and refine old skills (Durie, 1999a). Many of those that retire from a military career often do so at a relatively young age compared to those in civilian street. Their food, housing, employment, medical and dental have all been provided for with little effort on their part. Soldiers have to learn how to 'do' things that are daily tasks for civilians and navigate systems that they have not had to navigate themselves. They now must make their own decisions, and the process can be daunting when you have not had to do it before. A soldier is also no longer seeing their friends and comrades every day and are rarely alone, and it is reasonable to see the transition out of the Army makes you feel lonely. Thus, if a person holds onto their soldier identity, this can disrupt their identity transition and cause difficulties in them returning to their civilian identities (Kreminski et al., 2018).

The concept of 'transition' has been well-researched utilising different theoretical frameworks, with most research acknowledging the difficult process and the many factors involved in the transition (see Brunger et al., 2013; Burkhart & Hogan, 2015; Cardow et al., 2021; Castro & Kintzke, 2014; Cooper et al., 2018; Grimell, 2019; Perkins et al., 2020; Walker, 2012). This transition includes challenges such as the identity shift and a new

identity construction, reorientation toward family and civilian peers, searching for new employment, grief and loss of camaraderie, rank and prestige, alienation, and estrangement from civilian society; excessive alcohol consumption; marital problems (Adler et al., 2011; Blackburn, 2017; Cardow et al., 2021; Castro & Kintzel, 2014). Veterans also experience homelessness, addiction, poverty, unemployment, suicide, and other severe issues (Castro & Kintzel, 2104; Pease et al., 2015; Sokol et al., 2021), highlighting just how difficult the transition can be if you do not have the right support.

Military transition theory explores the progression of personnel who transition out of the military back into civilian culture (Castro & Kintzle, 2014). Adjustment for most veterans who transition is usually a successful process, yet for some there are chronic stressors that can affect this shift (Perkins et al., 2020). These stressors include difficulty finding employment, furthering education, legal, financial, and housing issues, ongoing health conditions (physical and mental), and relationship/social issues (Castro & Kintzke, 2014; Perkins et al., 2020). There are three interacting and overlapping phases of the military transition theory (Castro & Kintzle, 2014, p. 4):

1. Approaching the transition (outlines the personal, cultural, and transitional factors that create the base of the transition trajectory)
2. Managing the transition (individual, community, organisational, and transition factors impacting the individual progression from soldier to civilian)
3. Assessing the transition (outcomes associated with transition including work, family, health, general well-being, and community)

Here in New Zealand, the transition from the NZDF to civilian life is explored by Cardow, Imbeau, Apiata and Martin (2021), a first of its nature undertaken in New Zealand. The study involved over 1400 responses and noted the "bleak picture of existing transition support services and may give the NZDF some cause for concern" (Cardow et al., 2021, p. 2). Many of the participants noted a wide range of issues connected to their transition, from feelings of neglect and abandonment, trouble with moving from a collective environment to an individual one in the civilian world, more support needed for the transition, as well as issues with injuries that occurred during their service (Cardow et al., 2021, p. 15). In New Zealand, the Defence Force have available through the Veterans' Affairs website a section that goes through the process of transitioning out of the Army ('Leaving NZDF and moving into civilian life') (Veterans' Affairs, n.d.). The NZDF also have a guide for people to read through 'A practical guide to transitioning from military to civilian life'. While the guide is wide ranging and practical, it can be a big ask for soldiers to follow a written guide when

they have burdens and responsibilities to prioritise when making the transition. It seems unlikely and impractical to ask this of soldiers who have the pressures of daily life to worry about over reading and implementing a guide from the internet. It also seems reasonable that veterans would prefer, and deserve, a more personable approach to the transition, from people who have life experience with the same process and can provide tangible advice and support.

The number of people who have made this transition is hard to account for. In New Zealand, veteran numbers are not generally well kept and so it is difficult to get an accurate picture of just how many people have made the transition from military to civilian. According to numbers provided by Stuff in 2019, there were 1039 veterans registered with Veterans Affairs from WWII who were still alive (Livingston, 2019). Those who served in WWII, Korea and Vietnam constitute only several thousand (Goodyear-Smith et al., 2021). The number of contemporary veterans in 2019 was 31,000 (Veterans' Affairs, 2019), although once again the total number is unknown. Contemporary veterans in New Zealand may have complex mental and physical health issues related to their service and exposure in war environments (Goodyear-Smith et al., 2021).

To summarise these concepts, a soldier must contend with the formation of a new identity, one that can be starkly different to their civilian life. A soldier identity is crucial to becoming an effective soldier within the NZDF organisation, as a person now is part of something bigger and their responsibilities ensure that they must be able to approach their tasks efficiently and effectively

Chapter Two: Māori, war, and the New Zealand Defence Force

"The past belongs to all New Zealanders, but first it is ours [Māori]"

Tipene O'Regan

(O'Regan, 1987, as cited in N. Mahuika, 2015)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive history of the military, war, and Māori place within this.[1] It is to instead provide a brief overview of life in Aotearoa pre-1840, including an explanation of traditional Māori warfare and warfare post-Treaty, and the role of settler colonialism. This provides context to our current, modern armed forces, as well as contextualising the myriad of reasons Māori have participated in conflicts. This history section will begin with an exploration of the New Zealand Land Wars and then move into Māori participation in subsequent wars. It then goes on to situate the New Zealand Army within the context of New Zealand, briefly detailing the beginnings of the armed forces, as well as an explanation of the current structure today.

Historical background

Māori are the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa, having voyaged here from Polynesia circa AD 800-900, settling into their environment and becoming dependent on hunting, fishing, and gathering (Walker, 1990). The values base that underpins Māori culture—tikanga Māori—are vast, but include concepts of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, mana, tapu, utu, noa, and ea (Mead, 2016). Hirini Moko Mead (2016) explains that tikanga Māori is a way to control society, as an ethics base, as the norms of Māori society, a body of rules (customary law), an element of economic activity, the means for rehabilitation and re-education, and is an essential part of mātauranga Māori.

While Abel Tasman was the first European to 'discover' New Zealand, it was Captain Cook who landed at Tūranga on 9th October 1769, marking the start of a relationship between Māori and Europeans (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019). The influx of settlers after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was acceptable to Māori at first, yet organised settlement created competition for a major resource—land (Walker, 1990). Due to continuing disconnection from tribal lands and identity, colonisation is an ongoing process to this day (Hodgetts et al., 2010). Settler colonialism is the phenomena of colonising nations who stay

[1] For a more comprehensive history of Māori participation in the first and second world wars, see Dr Monty Soutar's '*Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E!: Maori In the First World War*' and '*Nga Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship: C Company 28 (Maori) Battalion 1939-1945*.'

and establish themselves in their settlement states and dominate and control the already established Indigenous peoples (Veracini, 2013). Patrick Wolfe (2006) terms settler colonialism as something that "destroys to replace" (p. 388). The aim to destroy Māori way of life to replace it with one based on British values and practices was achieved in part by warfare.

In Aotearoa, the severing of the Indigenous population from their land was made possible with the implementation of the Native Land Court, which brought in British concepts of individualisation of land title, as well as confiscation of land and resources (Groot et al., 2018). The gains for Pākehā, and losses for Māori were purposefully imposed through "abusive, exploitative, racist power relations" (Moewaka Barnes & McCreanor, 2019, p. 21). Processes which helped to further strengthen the settlers and to assimilate the Natives into the dominant British culture included urbanisation, displacement (from land and peoples), disease, war, death, and the suppression of Māori knowledge (Groot et al., 2017).

Māori warfare

Māori warfare begins with the creation story, and with te Ira Atua, the Māori gods. The conflict between the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku was the first instance of Māori warfare, which trickled down into their offspring (Reedy, 1996). The Māori god of war, Tūmatauenga, fought with many of his siblings. Conflict in the human realm, Māori society, often began with the exchanging of word, through whaikōrero, haka, waiata, and waiata kaioraora (Reedy, 1996). Reedy (1996) explains that Māori could mobilise their war parties with ease, which shows that war was an integral part of traditional Māori society. Once contact with Europeans occurred after Cook's 1769 visit, the musket became widely adopted as Māori understood the advantages (and disadvantages) of the European ways of war. Once Pākehā military might was turned towards Māori, warfare began to change.

Belich (2015) explores ways in which resistance against British expansion occurred. Māori had use of cannons and artillery during battles with the British, yet these weapons were old and faulty, and Māori did not mind abandoning the weapons when they needed to (Belich, 2015). At the core of Māori military resistance was the ability to be innovative in every campaign and Māori could tailor their resistance according to the needs of the campaign (Belich, 2015). This means of fighting led to the development of the defensive modern pā, which were essentially trench systems, and constructing false targets within relatively modest and small pā sites (Belich, 2015).

Green (2018) explains that while Māori could respect the European way of war, the British would continue to look down on the Māori way due to their uncontested belief of their soldiers being "better armed, better trained and better disciplined" (p. 22). This superiority complex would not be questioned until the British were defeated several times by Māori. D'Arcy (2000) argues that contemporary British accounts are distorted due to the underlying Victorian mindset that could not fathom the Indigenous peoples of a place to 'out-fight' and 'out-think' the superior British regular forces (p. 117). As such, they underestimated the capabilities of Māori, and distorted history when Māori were triumphant in battle (D'Arcy, 2000). This ability to adapt and innovate when needed was inherent within Māori culture (Ballara, 2003), and it resulted in the British only 'winning' through having overpowering numbers (Belich, 2015).

Māori participation in major armed conflicts of the 19th and 20th centuries

Many Māori have served in every one of the major armed conflicts of our time, including the South African 'Boer' War, World War I and II, Vietnam War and Korean War (Soutar, 2019). Soutar (2019) explains that from the first onset of world wars, Māori have been engaged in the process of war. Claimants in the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry (WAI 1344) described Māori who served in WWI and WWII as being "pathfinders who laid down a legacy which was followed by all subsequent Māori who enlisted and fought for the Crown" (Wai 1344, #1.1.1(c), as cited in Webb, 2018, p. 12).

World War I

When war was declared in 1914, Māori offered their services to defend the Empire, having sporadically participated in the South African 'Boer' War in 1899. Influential Māori leaders of the time (Apirana Ngata, James Carroll, Māui Pōmare and Te Rangi Hīroa Buck) formed a recruiting committee to organise the Māori contribution to the war (Belich, 2002), arguing that the Māori should be recruited and organised along tribal lines (O'Connor, 1967; Soutar, 2007). Belich (2002) states that most of the Māori recruitment came from 'kūpapa' tribes, namely Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, Ngā Puhi, and Ngāti Kahungunu. Soutar (2007) argues that many saw volunteering for the war as personifying their commitment to the Treaty and those who fared more positively in interactions with the Crown in the years prior to the war were more inclined to enlist. In contrast, Waikato and Taranaki iwi, descendants of "Maoridom's most daring resistance fighters" (Soutar, 2018, p. 57), still had the memory of their tīpuna's struggle against the British during the land wars at the forefront of their minds and were resistance to enlist. As a result, conscription was extended in policy to include Māori and

applied directly to the Western Māori electoral district. These men faced imprisonment when they did not present themselves to the Army office. Te Puea Hērangi fiercely opposed conscription for Waikato men, conflicting with Māori in government who were major players in the war effort. Te Puea's continued to defend and justify Waikato resistance to conscription even after the war had ended (Gillet, 2021). For the recruitment of Māori who were more inclined to enlist, Apirana Ngata outlined his views to his parliamentary colleagues explaining that "It was the spirt of their fathers within them that called them to fight, and they went to fight" (Ngata, 1916, p. 612). Soutar (2008) agrees, arguing that the motivations to go to war encompass the proud warrior ancestry of Māori, their spirituality, and their developing sense of patriotism. Considerable honour was bestowed on some of the leading Māori who fought during World War I, many of whom were descendants of prestigious Māori leaders (Webb, 2018). Their lineage and mana were attractive to the politicians who were organising the contingent of New Zealand soldiers to send overseas. Thus, the contingent was led by Māori officers, with Pākehā officers filling the higher commands (Soutar, 2008). The Māori Contingent left New Zealand for Malta in early 1915, wearing a bronze unit badge that depicted a taiaha and tewhatewha crossing behind the crown. A letter published in an English paper on 2 August 1915 detailed the moment an English private in the London Regiment arrived at Malta, coming into contact with the Māori Contingent (Poverty Bay Herald, 1915):

> […] I have seen some real live Maoris… They looked a fine lot of fellows, and I felt glad they were on our side and not against us, and I must confess to an added sense of security after having seen them… They are remarkably well made and very athletic… they have all the "culture" of the Englishman. They speak English quite as well as we do, for most of them have a college education and are quite wealthy. (p. 9)

The sense of wonder of this British soldier again highlights the pressure on Māori to live up to the impression painted of them to the world, and Māori success depended on their prowess and strength in the face of coming conflict. This snippet provides insight into the way Māori bodies have been harnessed for their athleticism and physicality (Hokowhitu, 2004), evoking the idea that their participation in war is a natural use of this quality. A letter sent home to New Zealand from Private Rutene Reihana details the experience from a Māori perspective (Poverty Bay Herald, 1915):

> When we left home, I confess, what weighed most with me was not so much the thought of leaving you as seeing the world and meeting with strange experiences. Now suffering has turned my thoughts to you. Grieve not, I came for this purpose and

> at the command of the people… Mother, part of my pay is sent to you, and I wonder if you can lay aside a bit of that so by and by, we shall be able to put up a small stone over father's grave. (p. 10)

The obligation that Māori felt at being a part of the community, and therefore fulfilling the role of protecting their communities is hinted at in this letter. The awareness of Māori in their role of being an economic support to their families back home in New Zealand is also apparent, and an added benefit of their service. In contrast, Soutar (2019) details the horrors and fears that soldiers had through a letter home from a soldier:

> Katahi te mahi mataku he whawhai, he mura o te pu… Nui atu taku tangi me te pouri i nga wa katoa i toku wehenga mai i te kainga—What a frightening work war is, the flash of the gun… I have cried much and I have been depressed all the time since leaving home. (p. 164)

Feelings of being scared and seeing unfathomable horrors would have been the norm for all soldiers during the war. While this letter was surely not the only one to document this side to the experience, the lack of letters within newspaper archives in New Zealand such as this suggests that these types of letters were not so widely published. Māori whānau may have been reluctant to share these letters with the papers to print to protect their loved ones, and to keep the grief and anguish to within the family. This type of vulnerability also may have tarnished the otherwise prestigious reputation that Māori were cultivating due to their exploits. Detailing feelings other than positive ones was not something needed for the war effort and the public perception of the war.

The total amount that served with the contingent was about 2500 men, with casualties of 336 men killed in active service, and over 700 wounded (Soutar, 2007). Soutar (2007) explores the outcome of the war for Māori, noting that while Māori may not have greatly benefitted from their achievements socially and politically, they did in fact achieve a great deal:

> They [Māori] had come home with a more confident bearing and a better appreciation of their place in the world. They knew they had played a praiseworthy role in the greatest overseas activity of which their country had been part, they had seen close-up the might of the British Empire and they had learnt what it meant to serve that institution. Most of all, they had earned a respect in their communities that would last for their lifetimes. (p. 213)

Soutar's focus is on the prospects that many Māori had because of their experiences. But what is not commented on is the trauma that results from the horrors of war, the effects of

this being brought home to Aotearoa. The exploits of Māori during WWI cemented the important role of Māori in the military, creating a legacy that would be proven time and time again in the years to come. And while Māori did achieve a great deal, it was the beginning of an experience where trade-offs to these achievements would occur, as many returned home with their health and wellbeing adversely affected.

World War II

Māori actively participated in all areas of the war effort during the second World War, following in the footsteps of those who had previously served. Wāhine Māori served with the New Zealand Army Nursing Service, as well as the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, and Māori organised production drives and fundraised, and served in the Home Guard/territorial units on home soil (Soutar, 2019). The formation of a distinctly Māori battalion was a goal for Māori leaders, and efforts resulted in an infantry battalion part of the 2nd New Zealand Division of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (2NZEF). Māori fought for acceptance through "patriotic sacrifice" (Bennett, 2001, p. 43), with which Tā Apirana Ngata termed as "the price of citizenship" (Soutar, 2008, p. 11). The 28th Māori Battalion was divided into four companies organised along tribal lines, with a headquarters company as the fifth. Lieutenant-General Bernard Freyberg once remarked that "no infantry battalion had a more distinguished record, or saw more fighting, or, alas, had such heavy casualties as the Māori Battalion" (28th Māori Battalion, n.d.). The battalion became the most decorated of New Zealand's battalions during the war, with a total of the Māori Battalion receiving 99 honours and awards for their services in the war (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2013).

Non-Māori opinion of Māori soldiers mirrored the positive sentiments of those during WWI. The Māori Battalion were described by the author of this letter published in a newspaper during the war: (Pahiatua Herald, 1942):

> [The Māori Battalion] are the flower of the Maori race, and recognised by German and British alike to be the very finest fighting battalion in the whole war… If ever the Maoris march, the whole camp gets time off to see them swing by, and how they swagger past! But it isn't swagger, it isn't brag. It's just pride of race—pride won in a hundred places that have tested their manliness and their courage… I have never been so proud of anything in my life as when we line up with these good-natured, good-mannered, easy going, generous chaps—men whose roar alone, in a bayonet attack, is enough to make a forest of hands go up in surrender. (p. 4)

This excerpt once again displays sentiments common to the discourse of the Māori Battalion—that Māori were superior on the battlefield, and their valour and prowess distinguished them as superior soldiers. It must have been reassuring for Pākehā soldiers to have men of this reputation be on the winning side. This letter alone demonstrates the irreplaceable role Māori had in New Zealand war efforts, as well as the efforts of the Allied Forces. The Māori Battalion continued the reputation that Māori during WWI had established with their feats, and Māori once again surely felt the pressure of this reputation to uphold.

Summary

Despite the countless examples of New Zealand exceptionalism during the wars, and especially Māori exceptionalism, the aim of this section was to depict the stereotype of the 'Māori warrior', one who sits within the mythical Anzac hero but is in its own category. The Māori man was viewed as "something to be conquered and civilized… something to be harnessed to provide manual labour for New Zealand's developing colonial nation" (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 259). This could be said again for the way Māori men continued to be viewed during both conflicts, as men who were noble and civilised as British soldiers, whose military prowess could be harnessed into a force to be reckoned with. Propaganda and public opinion during and after the world wars, stoked by the romanticisation of these soldiers in the decades following, has created the image of the New Zealander being an exceptional warrior, with New Zealand's contribution to the worldwide stage being something to be proud of. The irony of the treatment of Māori during WWII was that most New Zealanders prior to this grew up during the era of the 'White New Zealand' immigration policy, instrumented by the Immigration Amendment Act 1920. The racially prejudiced motivations of the act resulted in a New Zealand that was also racially prejudiced against non-whites. Despite the efforts of Māori during these years, Te Rangihīroa (a prominent Māori physician and politician) noted that racism was still an experience for Māori in 1934 (Sorrenson, 1988, as cited in Hohaia, 2016):

> Western culture has accepted as an axiom that any member of their race or races is superior by that very fact to any member of a Native race no matter how gifted that Native may be in his own culture… The Native is a fine fellow so long as he accepts his inferior position. (p. 163)

So how did Māori fit in to this contradictory society that was heaping praise on their war efforts? Māori have always been glamorised as being a 'civilised savage', more advanced than the primitive Aboriginals in Australia (Belich, 2002). The contradictory treatment by New Zealanders of the native populations in the Middle East during the wars, whilst also

heaping praise on Māori is one that is hard to grasp, especially considering the racial motivations for Second World War itself. Yet it demonstrates how Māori have always had to walk a line between the burden of the 'price of citizenship' and their own motivations. Acceptance by their own country seems to be hinted at within the multitude of letters written home by Māori soldiers, as well as the comments made by Pākehā and other foreigners in regard to Māori prowess on the battlefield. However, this 'acceptance' demonstrates that this recognition perpetuated the savage warrior stereotypes, did nothing to challenge the dominant discourse of New Zealand, and also further proved the success of the colonial system in assimilating the noble savage (Hokowhitu, 2004). Furthermore, those at home in New Zealand, untouched by proximity to war, could never truly understand the traumatic experiences of their whānau in a war on foreign land, but as always, the trade-off for Māori was to endure harmful experiences for their hauora that would be passed down in their whānau for generations.

The New Zealand Defence Force of the 21st century

Sir Howard Kippenberger, an influential figure in New Zealand's military history (having served in both world wars) believed that no other army had "been so frequently reorganised, regulated, and … consistently neglected" (p. 66) than the New Zealand Army. The whakapapa of the Army, and by extension the NZDF, is one that exists on three levels (Bargh & Whanau, 2017). The first, second and third levels constitute Māori and Pākehā as separate military entities (first level) and the second level of the Armed Constabulary where Māori were up against Pākehā and certain Māori who had merged interests with Pākehā. The third level of the whakapapa was the merging of the two peoples to fight in wars overseas. The defining moment for the NZDF was after the nuclear-free policy was introduced in 1987, as the NZDF moved away from reliance on the US and rebranded as its own credible force (Bargh & Whanau, 2017). The NZDF we see today is the result of these events, consisting of three branches of service: the New Zealand Army, the Royal New Zealand Navy, and the Royal New Zealand Air Force. The NZDF is New Zealand's second biggest employer, second only to Woolworths New Zealand (Katalyst Business, n.d.). Table 1 displays the current make-up of the NZDF, categorised by regular or reserve personnel, gender and age and ethnic make-up. Ethnic make-up includes European, other European, Māori, Pacific, Asian, Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African (MELAA) and other, which includes those who do not declare their ethnicity.

Table 1. *Demographics of the New Zealand Defence Force*

	Sections of NZDF				
	Army	Navy	Air Force	Civilians	Regular Force
Number of personnel					
Regular	4848	2334	2541	3048	
Reserve	1864	535	302		
Gender					
Female	701	619	526	1371	
Male	4147	1715	2015	1677	
Ethnicity					
% NZ European				50.9	63.9
% Other European				17.6	15.0
% Māori				8.0	17.7
% Pacific				5.6	5.6
% Asian				3.1	3.1
% MELAA				0.4	0.4
% Other				4.5	4.5

Note. Adapted from "NZDF Annual Report 2021," by NZDF. Copyright 2021 by Crown Copyright.

Under the Defence Act 1990, the foremost task and priority of the NZDF is the defence of New Zealand, and the act also provides for the NZDF to protect the interests of the New Zealand at home and abroad, and any other area New Zealand is responsible for defending. The three traditional tasks of militaries—defence, deterrence, and attack—are still prevalent in the role of the military in the 21st century, but there also many other functions that the military performs today (Haltiner & Kümmel, 2009). This includes "international crisis and conflict management, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peace building, nation building, humanitarian interventions and emergency and disaster service" (Haltiner & Kümmel, 2009, p. 76). Therefore, the scope of the Defence Force is comprehensive and encompasses different activities while still fulfilling the main goal of the defence of New Zealand.

The Army branch of the NZDF aims to "protect New Zealand's resources, enforce protected areas, build experience and capacity, and provide lifesaving aid when required" (New Zealand Defence Force, 2021, p. 13). To do this, their mission is "to secure New Zealand against external threat, to protect our sovereign interests, including in the Exclusive Economic Zone, and be able to take action to meet likely contingencies in our strategic areas of interest" (New Zealand Defence Force, 2020, p. 13). The Army is commanded by the Chief of Army, who is currently Major General John Boswell. Main base camps are located in Waiouru, Trentham, Burnham, Linton, and Papakura (New Zealand Defence Force, n.d.). The Army is made up of the combat corps (infantry, artillery, armoured, and the engineers), and the support corps (signals, logistics and medical) providing help and support to the front line. There are also administrative staff, education, padres, as well as many others who provide support to those on the front line. The Ministry of Defence is the civilian arm that provides the Government policy advice on the defence of New Zealand and ensuring the NZDF is well equipped in their duty to safeguard New Zealand (Ministry of Defence, 2021). Since 2020, the objectives of the Ministry also include keeping New Zealanders safe from COVID-19, providing approximately 1,200 personnel to help manage MIQ facilities (Ministry of Defence, 2021). The New Zealand Army's current operations and deployments include those in Afghanistan, Antarctica, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, the Middle East, Republic of Korea, Sinai Peninsula and South Sudan (New Zealand Defence Force, 2020).

Chapter Three: Context

"It must be admitted the Pākehā has learned a great deal: he has girdled the world with means and ways of communication; his ships sail the seven seas; he has peeped into the heavens; he has dived to the bottom of the deep. The great war has been the means of revealing the height of knowledge to which the white man has climbed, at which the world has marvelled and trembled.

But when the knowledge of the Pākehā increased, was man's well-being thereby increased also, and was his happiness enhanced? The war has shown clearly that the Pākehā's scheme of life is not all what it is claimed to be, for the world is now in agony."

(Kohere, n.d.)[2]

Placing myself in the Research: Personal pūrākau

He uri ahau nō Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Tuwharetoa me Waikato-Tainui. Ko Cheyenne Kohere ahau. Tikanga Māori dictates that I introduce where I am from, who I am, and so I introduce the context to my thesis by being grounded by my whānau. In this section, I discuss what has led me to this point, and why my research topic is centred on the efforts of Māori soldiers in the New Zealand Army. A whakapapa of my life, and how it motivated me to conduct this research is a natural flow on. I am a child, granddaughter, niece, grandniece, cousin, and friend of personnel serving in the New Zealand Defence Force. This upbringing is an inextricable part of who I am, my identity, and informs my view of the world. I have lived on army bases and attended to army schools, and my childhood friends were fellow army children. Our whānau attended frequent functions and had potluck dinners at the battalion often, where my parents would socialise with their army friends and us army brats would play together. We got to ride on *unimogs* and play on the assault courses. My Dad would bring home *rat packs* which we would sift through for the chocolate, and he would bring bags of glow sticks which we would play with all night. He let us use his camouflage face paint so we could play army in the back yard. I grew up singing 'ake ake ki a kaha e![3], and we never missed a Dawn Service on ANZAC Day. I also grew up with the

[2] Reweti Kohere was a prolific writer and social commentator. This quote is part of a larger piece of writing titled "The Faults of the Pākehā". This piece is an English translation of his own article originally published in te Reo Māori in Te Kopara on May 31, 1921.

[3] This is a defning line from the Māori Battalion marching song. For more information see https://folksong.org.nz/maori_battalion/

awareness that my father was in danger when he was deployed, and death was a reality. And while these experiences may seem inconsequential, they are unique and something I was aware that my civilian friends did not experience. However, the greatest impact the Army has had on my life is my father's diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder. This is a result of his experiences on operational deployments overseas. His mental health has an everlasting effect on not just him, but all of his whānau.

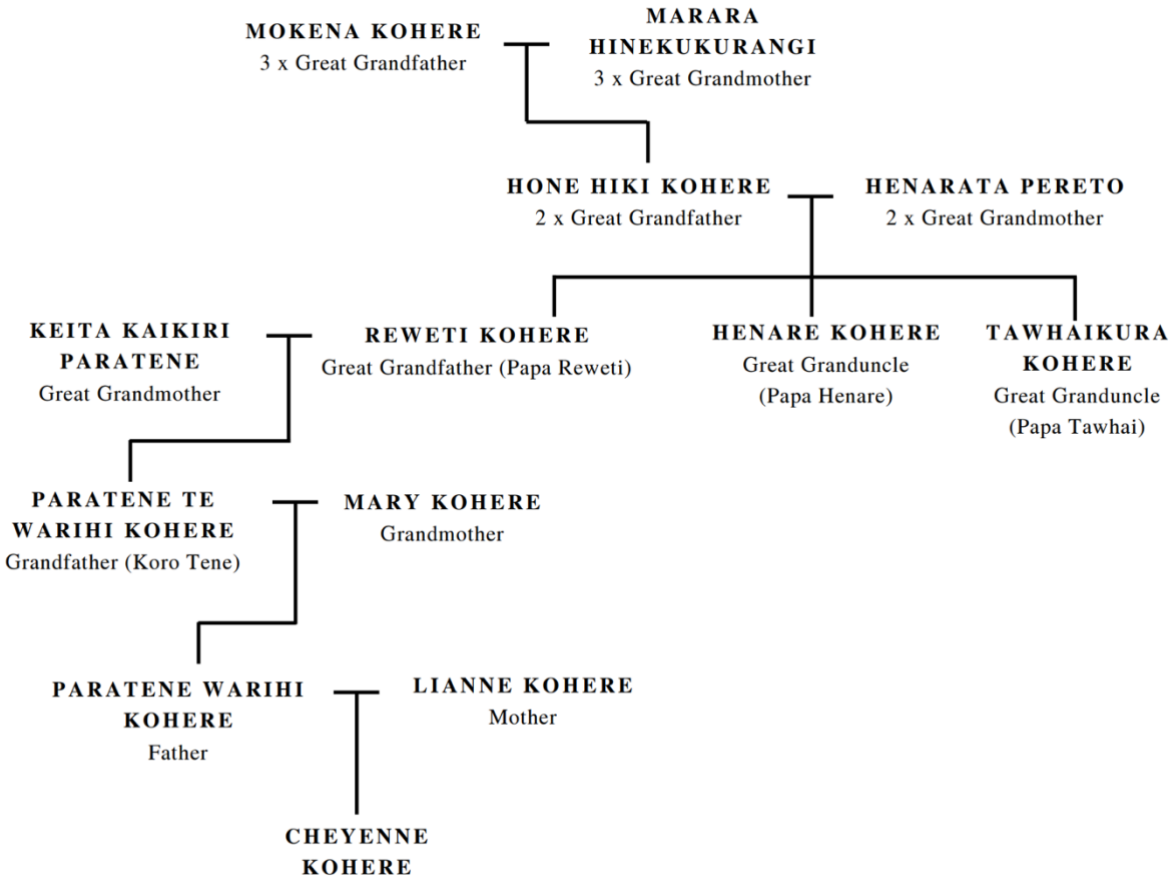
I grew up with the distinct knowledge that my parents never wanted me to become a soldier or marry into the Army life. This seemed harsh as a child, as I always thought the Army had rescued my father. He would have been just another Māori on the wrong track in life in Gisborne if his brothers had not encouraged him to sign up. The Army gave him the opportunity to travel and explore all over the world, he was financially set and could provide for his family, and us children thrived under the life he was providing. To me, that was a good life. What I did not realise was that being Māori in the Army meant that his name, the same name as his father, was to be erased from him in favour of a Pākehā name because nobody could be bothered to correctly pronounce it. His 'culture' was the strong, military values and beliefs which were constantly reinforced, leaving not much room to explore or nourish his Māori identity. My father was often posted overseas or commuting between the army bases in Waiouru and Linton, and so my mother had to shoulder the load of bringing three children up, mostly by herself (once she had retired herself in 1991). That positive light I saw the Army in eventually turned into resentment, and that resentment often overrides any positives that I see from my father's service.

The quote at the beginning of the chapter is from a piece of writing by my great-grandfather, Reweti Tuhorouta Kohere (Papa Reweti). The points he raised a century ago are as relevant today as they were then. To give context to the quote, I will discuss four whānau pūrākau detailing the experiences of men within my paternal Kohere whānau (see figure 3 for a simplified family tree). My Papa Reweti published three books in his time. One of these books is a biography of his grandfather Mokena Kohere (the Story of a Māori Chief: Mokena Kohere and his Forbears). In this book, Papa Reweti describes the experiences of his own two younger brothers during World War I, as well as his eldest son's experiences during World War II. These men are my great-grand uncles Henare and Tawhai Kohere and my grandfather Paratene Kohere (Koro Tene). Finally, I will add to this whānau pūrākau the story of my own father Paratene Kohere. The experiences of these four men, separated by 100 years, their service being marked by sacrifice and tragedy, provide context as to why I chose to research a topic that I never thought I would ever do. My whakapapa, the whakapapa of the Kohere

whānau, pulled me in to this space and I believe it was my tīpuna telling me to continue on their legacy, just in a different medium.

Figure 3.

Simplified whakapapa/family tree of researcher's Kohere whānau



Henare Kohere (my paternal great granduncle)

Papa Henare was educated at Te Aute College, as per Kohere tradition. He went on to farming after school and was an avid rugby player. At the age of 21, he was awarded a medal and certificate from the Royal Humane Society for saving a sailor from the scow of a boat called 'Whakapai' that had capsized in the channel at Rangiata Station East Cape. After this feat, he was selected as a member of the New Zealand contingent which attended the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. He had the opportunity to travel around Europe during this time, before returning home to New Zealand to continue his work on the family farm. From this point, Papa Reweti recounted Henare's enlistment. He believed his brother Henare felt free to go to war because Henare's wife had passed away and he was anxious for

his brother Tawhai, who had already enlisted. His enlistment "stirred up the Ngāti Porou tribe, and no fewer than sixty young men of the tribe volunteered at the same time" (Kohere, 1949, p. 75). He fought at the Battle of the Somme where he was injured, and ultimately died.

Henare passed away on the 16th of September 1916, being laid to rest at Heilly Station Cemetery, Mericourt L'abbe, Somme Valley. He was only 36 years old. In his last letter to his children, he requested they be good to one another, giving them hope that he would return "Hiki, you will be a big boy" (Houkamau & Kohere, 2016). He was memorialised in Ngāti Porou history through his depiction in a stained-glass window at St. Mary's Church in Tikitiki (figure 4), and in the popular recruiting waiata E Te Ope Tuatahi, written and composed by Apirana Ngata and Paraire Tomoana.

Figure 4.

Stained-glass window at St Mary's church in Tikitiki, New Zealand.

Note. The stained-glass window depicts Second Lieutenant Henare Kohere and Captain Pekama Kaa (who were related) kneeling at the feet of Christ.

Tawhaikura Kohere (my paternal great granduncle)

Tawhai was the younger brother to Reweti and Henare, born 4 March 1886. He also attended Te Aute College. He was the first brother to enlist in the military when war was announced in 1914. He participated in the Gallipoli campaign, being one of the few New Zealand soldiers who remained behind to cover the evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula. A survivor of the first contingent, Tawhai reconnected with his brother Henare in Ismailia, where he and the remnants of the initial 500 soldiers performed a haka to welcome the Henare's contingent. Henare wrote home to his brother Reweti, explaining that "they gave us a rattling haka. My eyes naturally ran along the line of warriors to single our Tawhai… it was lovely to catch hold of Tawhai in real flesh and bones, with his skin whole too." (Poverty Bay Herald, 1916, p. 7).

A letter from Tawhai was sent home and published in the Poverty Bay Herald on 27 October 1915, which detailed his learning of his brother being sent to the front:

> I feel for his children. Mother, I want you to be brave and strong—you have your grand-children to comfort you. There's time for everything, and your two sons have thought this is a time for making sacrifices. Of course, I know you are suffering more than we do—the suffering is all on your part—but, be brave; there's a day of rejoicing coming.

Tawhai learnt of his brother's death while also present at the Somme. He endured the loss of his tuakana on his own, away from his whenua and whānau. Tawhai was eventually posted to France, where he was gassed. He was then sent to England on furlough and eventually sent home to Aotearoa after three years of fighting. Tawhai passed away in 1962 at the age of 77.

Paratene Te Warihi Kohere (my paternal grandfather)

Paratene was born in 1909, the son of Reweti and Keita Kohere. He worked on the family farm at Rangiata Station, East Cape. Koro Tene trained at home in New Zealand for five months, before being deployed to Greece with the Second Echelon C Company of the 28th Māori Battalion on May 1, 1940. He spent seven months in England, before leaving for Egypt and then Greece. My Koro Tene detailed his experience in letters home; he talked of the booming of the guns and having to call out to his fellow soldiers, so no one wandered off in the darkness. He talked of feeling lucky to have escaped from Greece to the safety of Crete, which they saw as paradise. Once the Germans attacked Crete, he talked of taking cover

under the olive groves which gave the New Zealanders cover from the air assault of the Germans (Kohere, 1949, p. 82):

> "The Germans came on thick and fast, and the only thing we could do was to make bayonet charges. The New Zealand Division would have been overwhelmed if not for a grand bayonet charge by the Māoris. It was a fearful thing to hear the shouts and shrieks of the Māori Battalion."

Koro Tene received his first wound during this bayonet charge. He was surprised by a German officer, who fired his revolver point blank at his head from rough nine meters away. Koro Tene was saved because he had raised his rifle at the same time, and so the enemy's bullet entered his wrist, and exiting below his shoulder. He killed the German soldier before he could fire again. Koro Tene was wounded a second time the next day when getting his first wound dressed. Shrapnel from a bomb entered the same injured arm, causing two of his fingers to be hanging by the skin, with which he ripped off. Koro Tene felt lucky, as he saw others being killed by the same bomb. He was initially reported missing, causing grief for his whānau back home in New Zealand. He was amongst the earliest of New Zealand's causalities and one of the first soldiers to return home. Koro Tene had lasting health issues in his later years, and would eventually depend on an oxygen tank, which my own father would help him to manage. He passed away at the age of 69 from emphysema.

Figure 5.

Photo of Papa Reweti (L) and Koro Tene (R) before deployment.

Paratene Warihi Kohere (my father)

My father Paratene (known by others as either Reweti, Boy or Dave) enlisted in the New Zealand Army in the Gisborne branch in 1985 when he was 18, spurred on by his older brothers who were also in the Army. He entered the infantry and trained on basic in Waiouru and was then posted to Burnham. His first overseas deployment was to Singapore and Malaysia, where all he remembers is dense bush and scary insects and animals. He eventually returned home to Palmerston North, where he met my mother who was in the Signals corps of the Army. They had three children and we moved between Waiouru to Palmerston North, finally settling in Whanganui. In between this, he was deployed overseas to Sinai in 2000, East Timor in 2003, and Afghanistan in 2011. If he was not deployed overseas, he was commuting between Waiouru and Linton so that we as a whānau could stay in one place. Dad eventually retired in 2012 and has since gone through the Veterans' Affairs process, being diagnosed with PTSD from his experiences while deployed. He is now semi-retired and lives on our whānau land of Rangiata Station at East Cape, where he can focus on his health and wellbeing in the loving embrace of his whenua.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods and methodology utilised when approaching the research process. This study explored the role of the New Zealand Army in the health and wellbeing of Māori soldiers, as well as how the Army can be a career pathway for Māori and their whānau to flourish. I chose to intentionally focus on Māori soldiers in the New Zealand Army due to my own whānau experiences of being Māori in the military, as well as my own interest in the health and wellbeing of Māori. As such, I knew I had a responsibility to my potential participants to be ethical in my approach, in a way that respects who they are as Māori, as well as ensure that this research would be of benefit to all Māori.

As explored in chapter one and two, my initial interest in this topic was born out of my own experience as an army brat. Once this research had moved past an initial interest and was fleshed out, ethical approval was sought both from the University of Waikato's ethics committee (HREC) as well as the NZDF Organisational ethics committee, as I would be interacting with army personnel both serving and retired. The interview stage was conducted both online and in person.

Theoretical Framework

In the following sections I will outline the theoretical and epistemological perspectives that underpin this master's thesis. This research employed the use qualitative methods such as Kaupapa Māori theory, phenomenology, and pūrākau as a form of narrative analysis.

Community Psychology

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2010) state that for the community psychologist, research is guided by passion, and as evident by the pūrākau I have told, this research is an unexpected passion project. Therefore, my approach to the research was qualitative in nature due to the interest in focusing on participatory approaches to research, rejecting the 'expert' approach and including the research participants in the creation of knowledge (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). This made sense to me as who else would be experts in their own lives than the research participants? Collaboration with participants was important as they had first-hand experience in the military way of life. This thesis is written from a community psychology theoretical perspective, as it is a field of psychology that is focused on studying people within their contexts (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). Community psychology is a subfield that has developed in response to the mainstream psychology preoccupation with the scientific method and researcher objectivity. Instead, of the researcher being distanced from the topic

and participants, community psychology researchers may seek to move from being a "detached outsider to an engaged insider" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010, p. 287). A qualitative approach to analysis was also utilised as it was important for me to see the research not only from an individual perspective, but also from the view of persons and their contexts as being inseparable (Wertz et al., 2011). Community psychology values and concepts are also reflective of Māori world views, and Indigenous models have influence over how community psychology is understood here in New Zealand (Robertson & Masters-Awatere, 2007).

Kaupapa Māori methodology

Kaupapa Māori is an appropriate methodology for research by, with and for Māori (L.T. Smith, 2015). It is grounded in a Māori worldview, values, and beliefs, whilst also encompassing critical and scientific methodologies (L. T. Smith, 2015). Most Western research practices are grounded in a Pākehā worldview and perspective; a Kaupapa Māori approach directly challenges this and allows for Māori ways of being to be at the forefront. The key principles of kaupapa Māori theory identified by Graham Smith are (G.H. Smith, 1992, p.13–14):

- tino rangatiratanga: relative autonomy principle
- taonga tuku iho: cultural aspirations principle
- ako Māori: culturally preferred pedagogy
- kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga: mediation of socio-economic factors
- whānau: extended family management principle
- kaupapa: collective vision principle

While kaupapa Māori does not reject Pākehā knowledge, these principles allow for Māori conceptualisations of the world to ground any research to empower Māori to create new possibilities and ways to advance for whānau, hapū and iwi (R. Mahuika, 2008).

A key reason for utilising kaupapa Māori theory for my research was to transform the mainstream thinking around the military and Māori participation in New Zealand's Armed Forces. New Zealand's history has been told from a Pākehā perspective for too long, and either has silenced the stories and experiences of Māori soldiers or has stereotyped their experiences as upholding the Māori warrior myth (Walker, 2013). Historically, most research on Māori has been conducted within Western paradigms while prioritising the interests of the researcher and the dominant group (L. T. Smith, 2012). In contrast, Kaupapa Māori research

offers a deeper way to explore the nuances within lived experiences, and a means to ensure that the mana of stories and the mana of the people behind the stories is upheld.

In a world that is increasingly condemning institutions such as police forces through movements such as ACAB (All Cops Are Bastards; see Poulter, 2020), it was important to explore the diverse realities for Māori, and by extension, the diverse realities of Māori soldiers. Historically, many people have viewed those who have served in colonial institutions, such as the military, as being 'traitors' to their people (O'Malley, 2017). These Māori were often labelled as 'kūpapa' which is seen as a derogatory label (O'Malley, 2017). As such, these historical viewpoints can be directly challenged within this research by affirming the way Māori soldiers define and value their service. At the same time, the research can explore these stories whilst also critiquing the system that these Māori soldiers exist within. This idea of reframing was a key exploration point, so that people's preconceived ideas and stereotypes could be challenged.

Other ways that confirmed the Kaupapa Māori aspect to the research included several key practices I wanted to prioritise. To begin with, I engaged with a few Māori personnel to provide their perspective of my research, one of which was my father. His expertise, as well as his lived experiences, provided me with valuable insight into the process of being a soldier who is Māori, as well as the experiences of serving with fellow Māori and non-Māori for almost 30 years. This was important, as it showed me the significance of a Māori worldview whilst serving within the organisation. Some other ways I engaged with a Kaupapa Māori framework was with key Māori values that are second nature to me—whakawhanaungatanga, manaakitanga, karakia and koha. The COVID-19 pandemic has changed the way some of these values were expressed, especially whanaungatanga. Regardless, 'rapport' was established, especially when participants knew I was an 'army brat' and would be familiar with the workings of the Army. Whakawhanaungatanga is an important value in Kaupapa Māori research, ensuring linkages and connections with each other as well as with the researcher (Kennedy & Cram, 2010). Māori research is inherently tied to relationships and is a strength. Cram et al. (2004, as cited in Kennedy & Cram, 2010) states that "a relationship ethic ... encompasses notions of: researchers and participants journeying together with reciprocity; participant control over decisions and processes affecting them; and researcher accountability (p.7)." I saw my research structured in a whānau sense, in that my participants and I formed a group that prioritised Māori values and practices and have principles of reciprocity and mutual obligation at the forefront (Love & Tilley, 2014, p. 42). This enabled

us to share power because we are all accountable to each other because we were working collaboratively (Love & Tilley, 2014).

Research with military communities

It was apparent at the beginning of this thesis that research with military personnel was going to bring additional difficulties that needed to be addressed. The start date of this thesis was 01 March 2021, and ethical approval was sought from the Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee (Health) on 26 March 2021. My application (HREC)Health)2021#21 was considered on 20 April 2021, and I received feedback on 30 April for consideration. The most important piece of feedback was to seek institutional consent from the NZDF, which was an ongoing process that had been initiated at this point as I was in contact with two people within the NZDF (LTCOL Glenn King and WO1 Wiremu Moffitt). These two contacts put me in touch with Jo Hughes, the Principal Advisor of the NZDF Organisation Research. From here, I completed the NZDF ethics application, which was endorsed, however clarifications were needed before final approval was granted. Approval to conduct research (Org Research 2021/21) was given 21 June 2021. I was then able to finalise ethical approval from the university, which was given 28 June 2021.

Even though I have never served in the NZDF, I still see myself being an 'insider' in the NZDF community. I grew up within the NZ Army culture and community, and it significantly impacted on my upbringing. I have borne witness to the stories and experiences of the military lives of my whānau. I understood that my background put me in a position where my values and beliefs form biases that I brought into my research. But I also believe I share a similar background to the group that I conducted my research with. This familiarity is important given that the experiences of soldiers are too removed and vastly unknown to civilians, and civilians often lack deep insight into what exactly it means to be a soldier. I am someone who has indirectly, but closely experienced what it means to be a soldier, since the experiences of my parents directly affected me as their child. The military is its own community within the wider, New Zealand community (Flores, 2018). The emphasis on camaraderie and exclusivity creates an environment of distrust towards civilians who are not part of this community (Flores, 2018). For researchers, this is especially true as they must contend with obtaining entry into the organisation, winning trust, and balancing being involved with being detached (Moelker, 2014). Bernthal (2015) also states that being from the same community as your participants (in this case a military one) may ensure richer data because of the shared military language, a similar socialisation process, as well as feelings of

understanding their viewpoints. When considering all of this, I believe my positionality is something that broke down these initial barriers, as I already had entry into the community through my whānau involvement, which also afforded me with an initial level of trust.

I do not believe there was any expectation on potential participants to partake on the account of my whānau involvement in the Army community. Certain gatekeepers within my own community were identified that had the most impact in raising the profile of my research (Bernthal, 2015). This was another way to build trust, as I recognised who had more rapport with certain groups of people (Bernthal, 2015). For example, if I wanted to find someone who enlisted in the 1980s before the cultural changes to the New Zealand Army (which occurred 1994 onwards), I would have approached my father. He was not an active part of the research, but he could have talked to his peers who may have been interested in participating in the research. There would be no issue concerning rank, as he is retired and has no active control over someone with the same or lower rank. If I wanted to find someone who is currently serving, I could have approached another contact who served in the Navy, but also have many Army friends. Again, this person had no direct involvement in the research, nor is their rank an issue because the Navy has no control over Army personnel. The only issue I could think of in these situations is that these gatekeepers and their camaraderie with their fellow soldiers evokes a sense of loyalty, which may have implied a certain level of coercion.

My accountability was to my participants, and to use Kaupapa Māori research as a way to resist dominant research methods and values (Love & Tilley, 2014). I am a part of the NZDF community, and I feel that I am accountable even more so than a civilian researcher because of my history and my positionality. That said, I am still an outsider in many respects given that I have never served (Flores, 2018). My place in the New Zealand military community was a strength in many ways, and it gave me a sense of credibility and respect. Yet, it also did not give me automatic access to participants (Flores, 2018). Once a potential participant had been given all of the information about the research and the role I have, as well as their expected role, then the ultimate decision to participate was left with them.

Methods

Recruitment

The recruitment for this research was narrow and purposeful: participants had to be Māori (they had to have whakapapa Māori and self-identify as Māori), and they had to have served or are currently serving in the New Zealand Army. They could be any age and based anywhere in New Zealand. This research was not an evaluation of the current workforce of

the New Zealand Army, and so kōrero from ex-personnel was still relevant to the research aims. The aim was for up to 10 participants. I ended up with five interviews and had follow up discussions with two of the participants that I felt were needed. Table 2 outlines each of the participants and details of their enlistment status, and their corps. Rank has been explored in some of the pūrākau yet has been omitted for some participants in order to protect their identities.

Table 2. *Information of participants*

Pseudonym	Service Status	Corps
Māui	Ex personnel	Infantry
Ando	Ex personnel	Infantry
Gibbo	Current personnel	Logistics
Tutaua	Ex Personnel	Armoured
Teresa	Current personnel	Medical

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the best approach to utilise considering the research was qualitative in nature and informed by phenomenological and Kaupapa Māori theories. They also allowed for the use of pūrākau as a way to express the eventual data. My initial intention was for all interviews to be conducted kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) although as previously mentioned, the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic meant some people did not feel comfortable in meeting in person. Regardless, two of the interviews were face-to-face, with the others occurring via Zoom. The Zoom option was appealing to three of the participants who lived more than four hours away from myself, and whose hectic schedules meant that night times were easier for them to kōrero. As such, I was more than happy to accommodate their needs. An hour was allocated for the talks, but participants were told that interviews may go for longer depending on what they felt comfortable exploring and sharing. An interview schedule was developed to guide the interviews (see Appendix 1) and to elicit relevant information to the research aims. Sometimes participants did not need to be asked questions as they had already answered them in their responses. Often, they explored areas that they were interested in or had previously thought a great deal about, which meant that they had the space to be in the ‘driver’s seat’ to control their kōrero (Cram, 2006).

Following each interview, I uploaded the audio recording and transcribed the kōrero in full, only omitting overuse of 'ums', 'ahs', and 'likes'. After this had occurred, transcripts were emailed to participants with directions for them to make any changes or omit details by two weeks. Most participants did not make many changes to their kōrero, with only one deciding to omit some personal details they had shared that could be identifying.

Analysis

Pūrākau

The definition of the word 'pūrakau' is 'pū' meaning origin, and 'rakau' meaning tree (Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary, n.d.). Thus, Lee (2005) explains:

> it is not coincidental that the word pūrakau literally refers to the roots or base (pū) of the tree (rākau), rather it is significant that 'story telling' derives its meaning in Māori language from words that relate to the trees and bush, since the imagery of trees often reflect our cultural understandings of social relationships, our inter-connectedness with each other and the natural environment. (p. 7)

Instead of reducing the meaning to simple myths and legends, pūrākau are widely seen as creation stories about the world, people, the natural environment, and specific or historical events (Lee, 2005). These stories have also historically been delegitimised through the classification as 'fables' or 'anecdotes' (Lee, 2008). While pūrākau is not usually associated with academic writing or as a research methodology, it is defined by Le Grice and Braun (2016) as "cultural narratives that are encoded with a rich resource of mātauranga Māori" (p. 152). They contain philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews (Lee, 2009). It is a "culturally responsive construct for narrative inquiry" (Lee, 2009, p. 1), where Lee (2009) explains that life history (Goodson & Sikes, 2001) and portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983) influenced her development of pūrākau as a research method. Lee (2009) also notes how pūrākau research, and by extension qualitative narrative-inquiry, is still viewed as inferior to evidence-based research due to it being difficult to quantify and measure. Thus, it is a vehicle to reclaim traditional methods, as well as produce and reproduce knowledge outside of the pervasive research norms that have often caused harm to indigenous communities.

Rather than consulting 'traditional' pūrākau on warfare for this thesis, my aim was to present my participants' kōrero as pūrākau in their own right, as each participant has their own diverse experience as Māori, and as soldiers. Reedy (1993) explains that pūrākau have often been produced by Māori since the 1830s through newspapers, letters, reports, essays,

histories, stories, and songs. Many of these narratives were not formally published and have instead remained in private whānau collections. Having the ability to publish the five stories from the participants involved in this research gives them the ability to have their experiences recorded. It provides others who may be considering the military as a career an Indigenous experience, and to see how other Māori have attempted to exist within a system that was historically used to control and harm their tīpuna. The pūrākau spanning from WWI, to WWII, and then to contemporary times attempts to portray the similarities between the ages, as well as the diverse differences between each experience. The final research product then, is one that can be viewed as "a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researcher's images, understandings and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 4).

To respect my whānau's rich history of military service, as well as the already well documentation of these stories by my Papa, presenting my research findings in a pūrākau form was an appropriate way for me to acknowledge the already well-established decolonisation work of Māori researchers. Decolonising methodologies refers to the intersection of the world of Indigenous peoples and the world of research. It is concerned with the ways in which research is contextualised and designed, as well as the impact of said research on participants and their communities (L. T. Smith, 2012). Smith (2012) points to the power of individual's telling their stories and how they contribute to the "collective storey in which every indigenous person has a place" (p. 145). These stories have a purpose of being passed down to the next generations' beliefs and values that can help to guide and shape the generations to come, connecting the past, present, and future (L. T. Smith, 2012). Storytelling is prevalent in our day to day lives; in reading novels, watching television shows and films on Netflix, using the internet, or playing Xbox and PlayStation games. The link between storytelling, understanding human existence, and the research world was considered by Lewis (2011), where he explored the way stories can give "voice to the voiceless" (p. 506). These marginalised stories are often seen in military research, as it is only now in the past several years has there been a voice given to the Indigenous experience of military life, which is especially significant given their contributions to the many armed conflicts of our time (see chapter two).

To sum up the use of pūrākau, one can say that they represent a "conceptual framework of representation that is relevant to research (Lee, 2008, p. 67). This representation is rife with pedagogy and conceptualisations. Presentation of the pūrākau went through many iterations before I was reassured about the balance between the participant's

own voice, as well as my interpretation of their stories. I also had to consider details which might identify my participants (such as rank and corps), as two participants were more easily identifiable than the other three. Thus, re-presenting their stories while being mana enhancing was important in order to respect their experiences.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA)

This method of qualitative analysis is used to detail and interpret the lived experience of phenomena, with the aim of exploring participants' understandings, perceptions, views, and insights (see Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005; Smith & Osborn, 2003). It is used frequently in the field of psychology (Alexander & Clare, 2004), and is a dynamic and subjective process (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Rather than the researcher being the expert, participants are viewed as being the experts on their own experiences (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). A person's lived experiences leave a significant mark on their lives and IPA aims to engage with the reflections people have with their experiences (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). Interpretative phenomenological analysis is successful when it is subjectively interpreted, transparent by being grounded in examples from the data, and finally presents analysis that is plausible to all people in the research process (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). The interpretative aspect of IPA is grounded in hermeneutics, the theory of interpretation (Smith & Osborn, 2003), as the researcher is "trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them" (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, p. 9).

IPA studies tend to utilise smaller sample sizes with a more homogenous group of people, and semi-structured interviews are typical for IPA (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Purposive sampling is used in order to find participants significant to the research purpose (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Interviews are collaborative and highlight the participant as the expert of their experience (Alexander & Clare, 2004). The aim is to establish rapport with participants, and to follow their interests and concerns to produce rich data (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

A general guide to the process of interpretative phenomenological analysis was created by Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014) and was flexibly followed in order to adapt to the research objectives of this research. Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014) explain that their guide is only one way to show how to analyse qualitative material, and as such "should not be treated as a recipe" (p. 11). However, the basic steps set out within the guide were a helpful tool to point the analysis in the right direction. These steps include (p. 12):

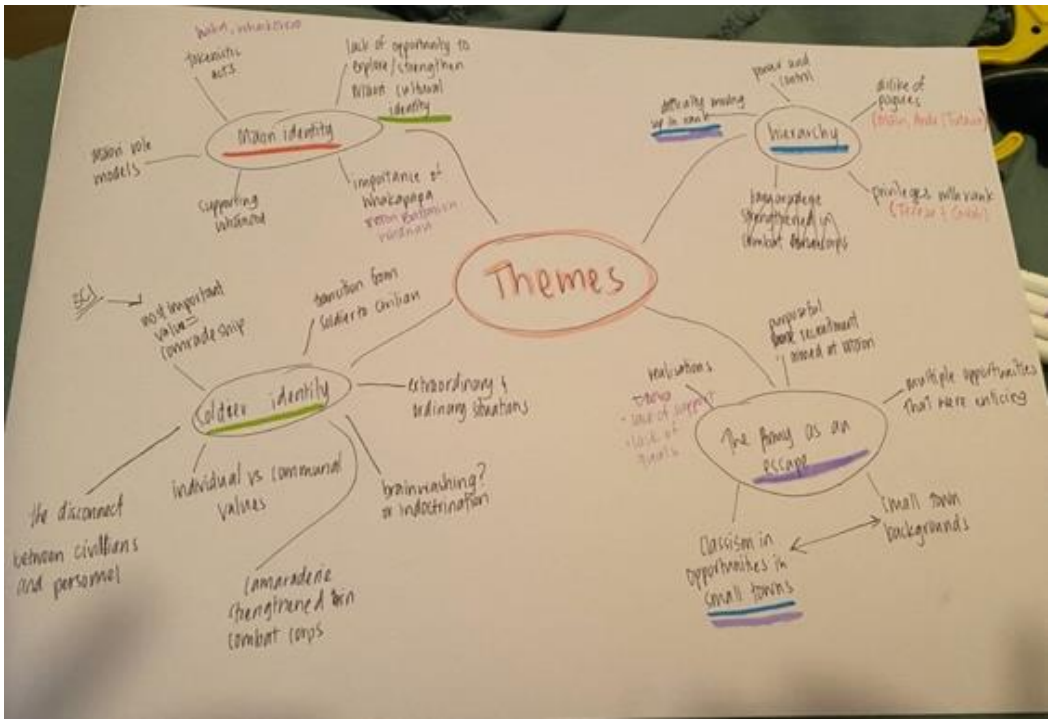
- multiple reading and making notes

- transforming notes into emergent themes
- seeking relationships and clustering themes

The aim of IPA is to elicit themes from transcriptions of the interview data through constantly engaging with the data (Alexander & Clare, 2004). Multiple read throughs of the transcripts and pūrākau, and listens to the data were completed, whilst also taking notes or highlighting significant quotes. Once this was done, I created a mind map (figure 5) to visualise the themes that I elicited from the data, as well as to see the connections between these themes. Once this mind map was created, I then could move towards creating coherent themes that represented the experiences of the participants (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014).

Figure 5

First mind map created to visualise initial ideas of themes



Chapter Five: Ngā pūrākau ō ngā toa

Ngā pūrākau o ngā toa introduces the diverse experiences of Māori soldiers being employed by the New Zealand Army. These pūrākau were developed from semi-structure interviews with participants and the kōrero sought to understand:

- The key themes of a person's service;
- How the New Zealand Army is a pathway for people to flourish;
- And the role of the New Zealand Army in a person's health and wellbeing.

Each pūrākau is an acknowledgment of the personal journeys of Māui, Gibbo, Tutaua, Teresa and Ando, interpretated from the transcriptions of interviews conducted with the participants. The demands of military life impacted each person in different ways, yet each participant went through similar processes of enlisting, basic training, corps training, developing their career, and for some, leaving the military.

Pūrākau of Māui

Māui joined the New Zealand Army in 2014 when he was 23. He had been working in a meatworks in a semi-rural town in New Zealand and was getting bored of his daily life. His Aunty persuaded him to enlist and had filled in the paperwork for him to sign. She had always known he enjoyed being outdoors, and so thought the Army would be a fitting career choice. His Aunty knew it was a popular and natural fit for Māori and was more familiar with the Army compared to the Navy and Air Force. The whole process happened quite quickly, from passing his fitness and aptitude tests, to then on his way to Waiouru for basic training. Māui was not the first in his whānau to join the NZDF; he later found out his cousin and Uncle also served. When asked about his whānau's perception of his enlistment, he explained that his mother believed he was signing up to go to war, rather than understanding the different roles of the profession. Prior to his application process, Māui only had knowledge of the infantry corps of the Army, and so this is the corps he chose. During the interview process, he was told he had scored high enough to be considered for a mechanic role or a carpenter. He still did not realise these were an option for him and mistakenly thought he could easily switch corps once enlisted. He stayed in the infantry corps for his whole service.

The progression from the civilian world to the soldier lifestyle was made harder in his opinion because he had spent some time post high school in '*the real world*'. The Army's values of 3CI were '*drummed*' into the recruits during basic training, although Māui placed certain values higher than others, mainly comradeship and courage. When soldiers are back in camp, they stay within their sections, and so tight bonds are formed because sections never

change personnel. Being around other people 24/7 and learning to be soldiers together was something Māui highly valued. A natural extension of comradeship is being courageous for your fellow soldiers, whether that is showing courage to defy those higher in the hierarchy for your comrades or being courageous on the battlefield. This was what being a soldier meant for Māui.

Once on basic training, Māui saw quite a few Māori enlisting as well, although there was only one other in his unit. However, Māui's section he belonged to was ethnically diverse, with a mixture of Pākehā, Pasifika and other ethnicities, although he believed he was the token Māori boy. He saw himself as being a soldier that was Māori, rather than a Māori soldier, believing that he had a job to do before thinking about himself. He never had to think about his Māori identity until kapa haka or something 'cultural' came up. He explained that during his basic training, a corporal asked him if he had ever performed a haka before, as they wanted him to teach the Army haka to his basic cohort. Māui did not see himself as a haka person, especially as he did not participate in any cultural activities in high school. He acknowledged that the haka is an important cultural aspect of being in the Army, as you have the general Army haka, and then your unit haka which the soldiers create actions to already set words. So, while he did not actively nourish his Māori identity, being in the Army made him more aware of being Māori. As such, he felt obligated to perform what he saw as token acts of teaching and performing a haka.

Māui believes the prestige of the NZ Army is due to its discipline, especially when he compares New Zealand to other militaries such as Australia, Canada, and the United States. The discipline enforced in soldiers of the New Zealand Army is elite, which means every task is completed to a higher standard. Māui saw firsthand how those higher in the hierarchy directly affected the discipline of soldiers. Although he was still a private after all his years enlisted, he was acting in the role of Lance Corporal towards the end of his enlistment. This meant more paperwork and doing less grunt work. It also meant he had more power over his subordinates, giving him the opportunity to nit-pick anything he saw wrong with them. While this was awkward for him due to the power he had over his friends, he once again acknowledged that that is the nature of the job and he had to get on with it.

Māui had opportunities in the Army to travel to many places he would not necessarily go to otherwise, albeit this was usually on exercise rather than for holidays. He also joined his unit basketball team, a sport which he was an avid player of in high school. He believed he would not have had those same opportunities as a civilian, as he was able to play in company and brigade tournaments. If you made the Army team, you played in the wider NZDF

tournament, and then if you made the defence team, you played in Australia against their defence force. However, his mandatory exercises usually prevented him from participating to the extent he wished to. Other opportunities included meeting mates whom he now considers brothers for life; the provision of a steady income and means to support his family, and life experiences that he would never have had anywhere else.

Māui retired from the Army in 2019. He now owns his own home in his hometown. The immediate transition from military to civilian life was difficult for Māui, who is still not used to the ordinariness of 'civi street'. Māui relied on help from his 'boys', and a trusted family friend who had service experience to make the transition. Due to his soldier identity, Māui is now punctual, and still sees himself as part of the collective, whereas his experiences in civilian life run counter to these values. At work, he finds people tend to be late and work as individuals, not doing anything more than what they do for themselves. For example, doing the dishes in Māui's unit in the Army meant anyone did them, even if they did not create the dirty dishes. However, at Māui's workplace, people only do their own dishes without a thought of doing anyone else's. These seemingly mundane tasks are clear examples of the difference in values base for civilians compared to soldiers, as the Army teaches that working together and doing things for each is the key to success. And while he knows he is technically a civilian now, he still identifies as separate from civilians due to the soldier identity he embodies.

Having had three years out of the Army, Māui is still finding the transition hard. While preparing to leave the Army, Māui felt as if his service was a waste of time, as he did not come out of the Army with any qualifications. His family friend reminded him that the skills learnt in the Army are transferrable, although in a different capacity. While he was commanding soldiers in his capacity as Lance Corporal, this was the same as being a manager of a team in the civilian world. It was not any different just because he was commanding soldiers. After coming to the realisation that he did indeed have skills due to his time in the Army, Māui was able to see himself clearly and have confidence in his abilities. As such, he is now acting manager of the landscaping business, running the operations and maintenance schedules, all of which he credits to skills learnt in the military.

While Māui spent four years in the Army, the physical toll of the infantry meant he was injured quite often. As the infantry wants its soldiers to be at work, he often felt pressured to resume duties even when he knew he was not physically well. In the end he felt unsupported which caused personal stress and affected other areas of his life. Since retiring, he has had to navigate the civilian health care system due to injuries he incurred. Access to

healthcare is free and is almost forced upon those in service, so these are new experiences for him to navigate. Along with the physical and mental pressures of the Army, Māui was also taken away from family for months at a time, not seeing some friends and family for years. Now that he is retired, he appreciates the people in his life more, and makes an effort to see his father and nan every weekend for a catchup and coffee.

Māui noted that soldiers are put in extraordinary situations that no civilian would see themselves in. He acknowledges that he would not want anyone else to go through what he did. While these experiences seem mostly negative, it pushed Māui to learn how to appreciate his life more, especially those most important to him. While he is seemingly gruff and has a hard exterior, Māui is a caring, thoughtful, animated person. He credits the Army for teaching him to be a more resilient, strong person, and for helping him to be the man he is today.

Pūrākau of Gibbo

Gibbo is a self-confessed army brat. Her father has been in the army for almost forty years, and he had two brothers also serve. Gibbo herself also has had two brothers in the Army; and her koro on both sides of the family were in the 28th Māori Battalion. Despite this, a life in the military was not ever a dream for Gibbo. She grew up with knowing how it was seeing her dad being deployed for months at a time and hated it when he was away. As a child, she believed her father was away at war and would often tell her father to quit his job. She understands the hard life of her mother as an Army wife, having five children to look after while her father was away. Gibbo went to the Ngāti Tūmatauenga kōhanga, but when her parents moved off base from Linton to another town, she went to a mainstream primary and high school. Her childhood friends were other army brats, whose army parents were friends with her parents. The unique experiences of being an army brat meant she had some idea of what a life in the Army entailed.

Growing up, Gibbo did not like school and could not see herself pursuing tertiary education after high school, and yet she did not know what she wanted to do in life. She stayed in her hometown after finishing high school and worked a part time job. When she grew tired of this job, her mother organised a job at the local kōhanga where she was a kaiako. She kept at this job for a year until she decided to apply for the military. And despite this whakapapa of army service, Gibbo was told by her father to join the Air Force. Gibbo applied and was accepted but was told that the next intake was not for a whole year. The recruiter told her that she might enjoy the Army in the logistics corps, with the intake in only a month's time. She also asked her father what females do in the Army, and he told her that the logistics trade may be a good fit for her. Gibbo never contemplated entering into the

front-line corps. And even though her dad told her that the Air Force was better, she accepted the offer into the Army. She was 21 when she signed the dotted line in July 2016.

The transition from civilian to military life was hard at first, as she was used to doing whatever she wanted to do without a set routine. But she quickly realised the expectations of her life as a soldier. Having grown up in the Army community, she knew what to expect and what would be expected of her. Similar to most soldiers, the Army values were easy to live by the more she got used to them.

Now that she has been in the Army for five years, she does not regret the choice she made. She recognises the advantages of her trade as opposed to those in the first line units, as the opportunities are plenty for her in the logistic trade. The qualifications that Gibbo holds are transferrable to the '*civi street',* yet she would not work the same role in the civilian world as it would be warehouse work. The opportunities to travel, the support offered to her to do supplementary study, as well as the family she has gained are all positives for Gibbo. In 2019 she was able to study a te reo course through the Army, and she was astonished when she finally learnt about the tikanga of marae and the meanings of the process. While she had grown up closely connected to her Māori whānau, she did not have a depth of understanding she wanted to. So finally learning intimately about te ao Māori was a profound moment for Gibbo. While she has more opportunity than most soldiers to pursue Māori cultural activities, she is regularly away due to her duties and cannot reliably commit to lessons and practices. This is something she is disappointed in and hopes that things might be different once she starts rising in the ranks.

Gibbo's daily routine is 7:30 to 16:30, and she spends most of her time in an office. Her daily work sees her on her own most of the time, as she does not have a section or peers working underneath her. Her rank as Lance Corporal means she is eligible for deployment, and she is also eligible to be promoted to full Corporal. She is hopeful that once she gets the rank of full Corporal, she will be able to deploy, as this was one of the main reasons she enlisted. At the time of the interview in 2021, Gibbo was supporting a logistics corps training in Waiouru, which meant she was their supplier for the six weeks of training. She also had not long finished a rotation in Auckland for six weeks as part of the managed isolations and quarantine. While it was good money, she did not enjoy the shift work.

She credits her time in the Army for making her a more confident person; she now has the conviction to stick up for herself, even something as small as correcting people who pronounce her name wrong. She does not think she would have been capable to do this if she had not joined the Army. She was always a shy, quiet person, but because of the nature of the

Army, she was forced to overcome this and to be a bit more vocal and outgoing. She used to hate public speaking, and yet when she was promoted to Lance Corporal, she was put in many different uncomfortable situations where she had to present and teach to other soldiers. She loves that she can teach new people coming into the organisation, giving them help and support where she can. She knows what it is like to start at the bottom, and so she is willing to give new recruits advice and support to help them in their journey.

Gibbo recognises that her position and corps in the Army means she has a certain level of privilege compared to those in the front-line units. She has access to better barracks, there is not a physical demand on her day-to-day, and she is also not required to be on the frontlines when on deployment. Her role is a better fit for what she wanted out of an army career, and she knows that her experience would be different if she had enlisted in a combat corps. Gibbo does see herself as a career soldier, as she loves her job and where she is at the moment. However, due to the circumstances with COVID-19, there have not been many opportunities for deployments or exercises overseas, which Gibbo sees as a big enticement for many soldiers. Because of this, she has thought about what other options she has in life if she has to think about changing careers. Her mother is currently teaching English overseas, and so this has inspired Gibbo to perhaps take on some early childhood study. She has also thought about a service change when she reaches the rank of sergeant, or if there are still no opportunities for deployment in the next five years. The Air Force is a pathway that she would like to explore, although she knows it is not an easy process as the Army do not want to lose their soldiers.

While Gibbo cannot see herself doing anything else in life besides a life in the military, she has considered a few other pathways. Gibbo is an easy-going, caring person who is enjoying her life and her career and making the most out of the opportunities presented to her as they come. She believes it is somewhat easy for her as she does not have a partner nor children, so she can live quite comfortably whilst pursuing her goals and dreams in life.

Pūrākau of Tutaua

Tutaua is from a small, forestry town in the Waikato region. He had just entered sixth form at high school in 2006 when he decided to leave and enlist in the Army. There were a few reasons that contributed to Tutaua's decision to enlist. Firstly, although Tutaua did not have any direct whānau who were in the armed forces other than an uncle (his mother's sister's husband), this uncle was a fundamental person in Tutaua's childhood. Tutaua was exposed to the Army life as he spent time on army bases visiting his whānau. He also credits his upbringing as a farm kid as being instrumental in his desire for adventure, and his small town,

farming background meant he was exposed to weapons as a young child. This turned into a desire for using weapons in his future career. He was adamant from an early age that he did not want to be a farmer or work in forestry, as these are the usual job options for someone where he is from. All of these things culminated in the logical step of enlisting in the Army.

Tutaua was living with his father, a farmer, when he decided to leave school. His father was not happy with his decision, as he saw education as being the way for his children to move beyond the small-town life. When Tutaua told his mother, she was also reserved about his decision. But, once the process was underway and they saw he was serious about his choice, Tutaua's parents jumped on board, taking him to do his testing in Rotorua. Tutaua initially chose to enter the infantry when having to pick a corps at the recruitment office in Rotorua. But he met a whanaunga on his mother's side of the whānau on his basic training who had chosen the artillery corps to enlist in. This was the catalyst for his final decision, choosing to stay with the artillery regiment. Many of the Māori who Tutaua met during the testing in Rotorua were on his basic, and they also joined the artillery regiment.

Tutaua believed the soldier identity was a gradual process, and during his time on basic, Tutaua understood that those values were being instilled into the new recruits through the discipline they were learning every day. At the time being so young, all Tutaua had to believe in were 3CI. There were times when he saw soldiers 'playing up' by not upholding those values, but he recognises that recruits on basic always make mistakes, and basic training is the perfect place to do so. A soldier is expected to uphold 3CI moving forward from basic training because it should be second nature to every military person. Tutaua saw courage and comradeship going hand in hand, as a soldier's courage comes from knowing they have trustworthy people who they respect and have faith in. Discipline was also important to Tutaua, who explained that shaving, ironing, and having a perfect uniform were a manifestation of the 3CI. They were simple ways to show respect for yourself and others, as well as the discipline to uphold those important values. He believes that this is why the New Zealand Army is so prestigious, because of the way New Zealand soldiers hold themselves, the history of our country, and the reputation of our soldiers. From the land wars to now, Tutaua believes that with each theatre that the Army has been involved in, New Zealanders have represented their country and upheld the standard set for our soldiers.

Tutuaua was secure in his Māori identity when he entered into the Army, confident in who he was and where he was from. He expressed this identity through high school kapa haka and taiaha. Once in the Army, he saw many people accepting Māori culture and accepting the relational, community-based values that spoke to him as a Māori person. As a

new recruit, he also learnt chants, haka, and songs, and was also involved in pōwhiri on the army marae. The new recruits on basic training were given the words and meanings for the haka, and everybody is expected to learn it regardless of their background. For Tutaua, this process was just an extension of his high school experience with kapa haka, and it was something that he very much enjoyed. Tutaua believes that Māori are drawn to the Army for many different reasons. A major reason is the legacy of the 28th Māori Battalion. Although Tutaua did not have any whānau who served in the battalion, he still recognises the significance of the battalion to Māori in general. The mana the battalion has is embedded in any Māori that serves. Tutaua acknowledges that although this is a selling point to Māori, there are a plethora of reasons why Māori enter into a military career now.

After Tutaua finished basic, he went to Linton to complete his corps training. He spent all of his Army career in Linton, other than when we went on pre-deployment training, exercises, and deployments. Tutaua remembers going on exercises five or six times a year. Tutaua's first major overseas trip was when he was deployed to Afghanistan. When he got the call that he was to deploy, he had a few days to get ready before he had to leave. Tutaua was eager to deploy, as that is what being a soldier was all about to him. His whānau were worried and scared for him, and he spent the last couple of days with them in his hometown. His deployment lasted six months, and while he kept in contact with his whānau back home, he did not tell them much information about what he was experiencing and going through while in an active war zone.

For Tutaua, the best things for him being in the Army were the opportunity to travel, the free healthcare, a steady income, and having housing and meals. As with most other soldiers, Tutaua credits his brothers and the whānau he made while he was in as being the most important aspect of his career. He formed bonds with his fellow soldiers on exercises and deployment, and important army days such as Gunner's Day and ANZAC day. Although he has been out of the Army for 10 years now, he still keeps in touch with his mates, and sees them quite regularly. While Tutaua tends to focus on the positives of his time spent in the Army, he also knows that he had negative experiences while serving. He notes that while it is not necessarily a negative for him, the hierarchical aspect of the military means that you start at the bottom and have to work hard for many years to gain respect. This can be draining, as there can be limited opportunity to move up in the ranks and it can take you years to do so. Hierarchy also comes with issues of not having the freedom of choice, as you often just have to do what you are told. In Tutaua's experience, different people in every level of the hierarchy expected different things which often conflicted one another.

A final issue that Tutaua has thought a lot about is the fact that during his time, reaching out for help was not often done, it was foreign for him to ask for help. He did not know what help there was available to him at the time of his service, especially when he really needed it. Being in the Army for him at that time created the stereotype of the strong soldier, one who is physically and mentally strong. But when Tutaua was going through situations where he obviously needed support, the help available was not sufficient. Rather than changing the culture, Tutaua just saw help being offered the only way the Army knew how to, through rehabilitative courses. Drug and alcohol course for soldiers who had been pulled up for their drug and alcohol use were easy to manipulate. He remembers how soldiers would tell course administrators what they wanted to hear in order for them to pass the course, and then soldiers would go right back to drinking or doing drugs. It would be long after Tutaua left the Army before the drinking and drug culture was actively addressed.

After Tutaua returned from deployment to Afghanistan, he had a hard time adjusting to the normality of life in New Zealand. The strategies he used to cope with his adjustment were negatively impacting his personal life and most importantly his job. Thus, he left the Army and began working security jobs in Palmerston North. Tutaua did not feel comfortable with this job as he saw it as a step down from his prestigious posting in the Army, and so he left New Zealand to start working in the mines in Australia. The transition from army life to the civilian world was a difficult time for Tutaua. He remembers people helping him with his admin papers in order to leave the Army, but nobody gave him advice or helped him with the actual transition. He was lost when figuring out what to do with his life, how to get a job, and how to exist in the civilian world. He had to figure it out for himself, and for him the logical step was to move overseas to make a life for himself elsewhere.

Tutaua has moved between New Zealand and Australia for the past 10 years but has been stuck in New Zealand due to the pandemic. He is now trying to navigate the Veterans' Affairs system in order to obtain support for issues he is still coping with from his service in the military. He notes that this system is very hard to navigate by himself, and he still feels let down and lost by the military that he once served. Despite the hardships Tutaua has endured, he is a resilient, determined person who radiates positivity. He is grateful to the Army and his service providing him the opportunities to learn and grow as a person, something he believes would not have happened if he had stayed in the civilian world.

Pūrākau of Teresa

Teresa is from a small rural town on the east coast of the north island. She was in her final year of university studying in a health field and was finding it difficult to secure a placement.

She was not keen on entering into private practice straight out of university, so she was trying to obtain employment in a DHB setting. In her second year of university, she had contemplated joining the Army, but her parents were not too keen on their daughter going in due to their preconceived ideas of how women are typically treated in the military. Teresa's whānau were not too familiar with military life, and Teresa only knew of her mother's father and his older brothers serving in the 28th Māori Battalion, as well as a couple of cousins who had served. So, Teresa's parents could not understand her decision to join, as all they knew was that Teresa was going to be told what to do, where to go, and be limited with her freedom of choice. Teresa went to boarding school for a time in high school, and her parents saw her as being rebellious and naughty, so could not understand how she would fit in to the military life. When Teresa set her mind to enlist in her final year, she approached a wahine Māori mentor who had been in the military herself, and whose husband was in the military also. Teresa saw her as her mum during this period as she was supporting Teresa with her decision to join and discussing with her the opportunities she could have if she served as a dentist. When Teresa finally got an interview for the Army officer selection process, she did not initially tell her parents. She was in Wellington for five days for the interview, at a time where she was a few weeks away from her final year exams.

After the five-day long interview and finding out she was accepted, Teresa did not know who to tell first as no one knew she was going through the process. In the end, she told her younger brother, who then told her parents. Her other siblings were supportive of her decision, encouraging her in whatever she set her mind to. Although her family knows she is in the Army, they are still unsure as to exactly what that means for her as a specialist officer. Teresa also does not actively tell them anything about her role. Her immediate whānau get most of their information from an aunt and uncle who they have recently connected with, who have been retired from the Army for a while now. Teresa tries to reiterate to her whānau that being a health specialist officer is a very different experience to those who are in front-line corps. Being an officer affords her with privilege as her role does not have a war fighting component. Teresa at first did not understand this process herself and did not realise she would be going into the Army as an officer. She had to learn this system and the hierarchy very quickly. But she did understand that her role afforded her with a certain level of protection. She is a health specialist first, before she is a soldier.

Teresa's basic training was eight weeks long, where she learnt the basics of the Army and a basic entry level into the field. Normally after this, you would do a further six weeks of specialist officer induction training. But Teresa's training had to be postponed due to the

COVID-19 pandemic last year, so she has only recently finished her training. Not many Māori go through the officer ranks and Teresa noted only a couple of other Māori on her training with her, and she was the only Māori connected to te ao Māori who grew up speaking the reo. She finds still being the only Māori in her workspace a challenge.

Despite there being challenges, Teresa loves her job and was very eager to get stuck in once she finished officer training. Although she expected there to be difficulties, as with any job, Teresa has noticed challenges unique to the military setting. The Army is a 'perfect world' scenario for Teresa, as every soldier has free access to constant healthcare. She does not have to contend with time constraints, but she somewhat has free reign to provide whatever is needed for the patient to be medically fit. Yet it is not just about making sure they are healthy, it is also about managing a patient's fitness for deployment, because if they are overdue for a check-up, they are considered unfit. Teresa also must manage conversations about a patient's health with their platoon commanders or sergeants, as it is not usually the soldier who makes the final decisions for their own health care. She is usually having three-way conversations. So, while a soldier has access to free healthcare, they are not usually the ones who are empowered to make their own decisions about their own health.

Teresa has also become aware of some flaws when it comes to the unit where she works. The hierarchy of the specialist units translates into Teresa feeling as if her unit is often forgotten about. She finds it surprising and ironic that the management of the unit is not up to par with the other facets of the Army, seeing as the Army is often viewed as being organised and efficient in all aspects. Day to day operation is hindered by the limited staff available to her unit, as well as there being a mixture of clinical and non-clinical staff, and civilian and military personnel. The hierarchy of having a boss, who has a boss, who also has a boss leaves Teresa as feeling as if the management of her unit is not as efficient as it could be. So, the unique challenges of being a dentist in the military have been interesting for Teresa to navigate, but she recognises that challenges come with any employment space.

Teresa has also had the opportunity to work at the mid-central DHB in Palmerston North to provide free health care one day a week. Teresa was given exposure to a wide range of patients that she would not get by servicing soldiers, as she saw the elderly, children, and other medically compromised patients. Whereas in the Army, her exposure to patients is limited to already fit and healthy people within a certain age range. This was only for a limited time as Teresa's commitment was to the Army first and foremost, and it hindered her availability to the hospital. But it was a valuable learning experience for Teresa, and

something she acknowledges she would not have been able to do if she was working in private practice.

As part of her role in the Army, she also gets to go on local deployments, as well as to the Pacific Islands, providing free health care for the community. She also has been on roadshows to schools around New Zealand to promote the New Zealand Army. Teresa admits that her priority when participating in these roadshows is to promote health careers to Māori, as she knows that encouraging more Māori into the health workforce is a way to lessen the health inequities for Māori. And even though she sees the military as awesome career pathway, she also believes that it is not for everyone, whereas a career in health is a good pathway for any Māori.

Teresa is lucky enough to have a couple of key Māori soldiers who she sees as mentors. One officer she sees regularly has been in the Army for more than twenty years and is also her mau rākau coach. For Teresa who grew up immersed in te ao Māori, having a mentor who is Māori, and who has spent years in the military culture, is reassuring to have someone she can relate to. There are not many Māori who rise through to the officer ranks, and so it can be tough and lonely for Teresa to navigate situations where she feels tokenised. It is comforting to Teresa that she has people who understand the importance of her having certain cultural aspects in her life to her overall health and wellbeing. Being a specialist officers means Teresa has more opportunity for pursuing extra-curricular activities, as opposed to soldiers on the front line. Teresa is involved with mau rākau, kapa haka and she has been able to attend various wānanga and hui. She is happy to have a manager who supports her to have time off work to participate in these cultural events, such as the pōhiri for the Prime Minister when she visited Linton Army Camp. These have all been positive ways for Teresa to contribute to her health and wellbeing.

Teresa knows that her Army career is not a long-term pathway, but she is content with where she is now. While COVID-19 is still affecting many soldiers' personal and professional lives, she is hoping for more opportunities to give back to communities here in New Zealand and via deployments overseas. She is trying to take whatever opportunities she can which have so far included leadership and other development courses. She also acknowledges the distinct help she is being given with the Army helping to pay her student loan, so for the time being it is worth her continuing to serve. She is learning management skills that she hopes to take with her when she eventually opens her own private practice. The reason she chose to work in a health care field was to provide a service for Māori people, and so eventually she wants to work with Māori, for Māori. Teresa's love for her people and her

culture was evident during the kōrero. Teresa is a smart, self-assured wahine and while it is clear that the Army has taught her a lot, it is evident that her service is a stepping stone for bigger things to come.

Pūrākau of Ando

Ando joined the New Zealand Army in 2005 when he was 18 years old. He was born and bred in the eastern Bay of Plenty, spending his childhood between three different small towns. Ando got into trouble at school in his early teens, and so left school at 15. He moved to the East Coast and spent the next few years doing farm work in Ruatoria, Tikitiki, Rangitukia and Te Araroa, where he spent his days fencing, chasing pigs, scrub cutting and spraying ragworts. He also played rugby for the local rugby team and met some influential men during this time, who still have a special place in his heart and were positives influences for him.

After three years, Ando went home where his Nana firmly told him she had signed him up for the Army. Looking back, he sees his Nana as being a visionary and a forward thinker for understanding that her moko needed a positive pathway out of the usual route for Māori in small towns, one that often leads to the gangs. Ando also had other whānau in the Army, with two influential people being his grandfather, and his mother's uncle who both served in the 28th Māori Battalion. These were staunch men who came home from war and became farmers. A negative perception of the military by his whānau meant that no one else pursued a career in the military, until Ando's father's sister married a soldier. Ando's uncle also joined the Army when he was 17, serving in the Vietnam war. His uncle embodied the Army ethos, through the way he thought and spoke to Ando; he was always direct and had an aura of respect. Both of these men in Ando's life laid the groundwork for Ando's eventual pathway into the Army.

Ando did not see himself as particularly bright to do anything else, so went along with his grandmother's plan. He sat the physical test in Whakatāne, completing his mandatory press ups and 2.4km run in jeans, a white singlet, and red Converse shoes. He passed the physical test but struggled with the written tests he was given. Ando had a dream to be a mechanical fitter in the logistician trade, yet the recruiting officer told him he did not have the 'brains' to enter the corps. Instead, the recruiting officer sold him on joining the infantry corps, which Ando did without knowing much about what the corps entailed. When he was given his acceptance, he left on the bus from Whakatāne to Waiouru for basic training with another relation of his who was also accepted.

Once on basic, he had thirty-three soldiers in his platoon, and four (including Ando) were Māori. He was surprised to see the Army incorporating te ao Māori, explaining that every night on basic training they were doing haka trainings and learning the Army history. He spent three months in basic training in Waiouru and was then sent down to Burnham to do his corps training. He felt proud earning 'his patch', the infantry red diamond which is worn on the left shoulder of the NZ Army dress uniform. It signifies those who have successfully completed their corps training and are members of the infantry regiment. Ando learnt the extensive history of the red diamond, as it traces its origin to the 22nd Battalion, 2nd NZ Expeditionary Force and felt this history keenly and saw the red diamond as being the pinnacle of excellence.

When Ando marched out of his basic training in Waiouru, he saw his whole whānau there to support him. It was then that Ando realised he had a lot of pressure riding on his career. Even though it was something as insignificant as his basic training, he understood that he was carrying a legacy that dates back generations. And his whānau were happy that he had gotten out of his small town and was doing something with his life. After Ando's basic training, he was posted to Linton which he preferred as his whānau all lived in the north island. The change in his demeanour was instant, with his Nana and Mum remarking the difference the several months had done on his personality and aura. He also had a new sense of pride, and finally had direction in his life.

The Army ethos and values were also drilled into them every day and night, instilling 3CI into the new recruits. The soldier identity disciplined into Ando is something he holds to this day. He sees his soldier identity as one that was compatible with his Māori identity, as the Army and being Māori were all he ever knew. When he goes to his grandmother's house, he sees photos of his koro on the wall, and remembers the stories of them in Egypt and Greece. He was not alone in his journey; he was walking and following in the footsteps of his ancestors, and he felt that being a Māori person in the Army was a natural fit.

At the end of every march out parade, everyone does a dedicated Army haka. This is an integral component of the parade, and Ando admits that Māori are in their natural element when this happens. Ando and his friends supported his basic by being front and centre for their haka on their march out, yet everybody feels a sense of pride and accomplishment, no matter their cultural identity. Ando also remembers pōwhiri and haka when being deployed. This was a way to acknowledge soldiers who had been deployed for months at a time for their service, as well as to welcome the new soldiers taking over postings. While Māori culture is very much encouraged in the Army, Ando sees it as not being forced upon soldiers

as he felt it was done appropriately. At the time, Ando did not see his identity as being tokenised, but now accepts that looking back, there are certain instances where it could be seen as so.

Once he had finished corps training, Ando was deployed to many different places overseas, whether on exercise or operational deployment. Ando finished a deployment to Afghanistan in 2012/20213, with plenty of money to spend. He did some travelling and took three months leave, bought himself a motorbike, and also gave some money to his mother and sister. After this period, he realised that he was in his mid-twenties, and had been in the Army for a long time. He wanted to try something new before he was completely hooked in a lifelong Army career. He took a leave of absence without pay when he was 25 to start studying at university. He had two good friends in the Army who were in their first year of university when Ando had returned from deployment to Afghanistan. Ando would see updates from these two friends on Facebook, noting how happy they were and the freedom they had. Ando had had enough of structure, routine, and the desert climate, and wanted a new challenge for himself. His application took a year and a half before he was accepted, where he decided to study law. He had no qualifications, nor did he obtain school certificate before he left high school. He was required to write an essay as to why he was interested in studying law, which he credits to his cousin (the son of his uncle who served in Vietnam) who is a top lawyer in New Zealand. Ando saw a successful Māori lawyer with lots of money and houses and wanted that life for himself. Ando formally left the Army after 10 years, when he was 27 years old. He went through law school and graduated, finding work in his local council before moving to Wellington to work for a government organisation.

Ando did not receive any formal qualifications during his time in the Army, although he sees the Army itself as being a 'school of life'. Ando talks candidly of learning the skills to kill people, and how to be proficient in using different weapons. But the skills he truly sees as positively adding to his life are things that he believes many people would never learn elsewhere. This includes life skills, being punctual, taking pride in what you do, living up to your word, and the importance of camaraderie. And while you can learn these skills in the civilian world in team settings, the dynamic is completely different in the Army. Every soldier has one objective in mind, and you all work together to achieve this no matter what. These are the skills that have resonated with him, and he will always carry with him. As such, Ando recognises that his identity will always be one of a soldier, as it is evident in the way he thinks, the way he holds himself, and the values that were instilled in him. He finds working in a government organisation difficult as the civilian mindset is completely different to his

own. He finds it hard when people are late to work, as this is not compatible for someone with the values he holds. He sees himself as different to people he meets in central government, as they are mostly privileged and come from families who have always been privileged. Being an ex-serviceman is a point of difference for him, as he has a work ethic and drive that has been specially crafted. And while he knows he is technically a civilian now, Ando still identifies as separate from civilians due to the soldier identity he embodies.

Ando sees the Army has giving him plenty of opportunities that a small-town boy may not have had otherwise. He was able to travel to Southeast Asia, Samoa, Hawaii, Australia, and Afghanistan. While his travels were always because of work, soldiers do get afforded downtime, and so he had the opportunity to explore the world whilst at work. An unintended draw card of these deployments and exercises was being awarded medals, another honour for a young Māori boy. Although he is now retired from the Army, the medals he received are a tangible way for his whānau to show their pride in him, and they always encourage him to wear them every ANZAC day. Another positive for him is the well-established relationships he built with his fellow soldiers, his brothers; a camaraderie that will stay with him for life.

Ando does not romanticise his time spent in the Army, as he has had time to critique his service and note many of the negative aspects of his time. Ando had friends who died overseas on tour, and his proximity to death was a huge fear, especially for his whānau. Other aspects include the expectation placed on soldiers to always being ‘on’, the traditional masculine norms inherent within their roles, as well as the wolfpack mentality which all creates a toxic environment that is normalised. Racism is also normalised, where soldiers throw around derogatory terms that are seen as casual banter. Ando also felt stifled by the Army on how he could express himself, as he saw no space for creativity. Any ideas he had would be shut down by people higher in the hierarchy, and so Ando often felt conditioned to act a certain way and to do what he was told. He perceived the ability to move up in rank as almost impossible, which was reflected by the poor pay he received. While this was made up for with cheap food and rent, as well as free access to healthcare, he still struggled with being paid fortnightly and trying to provide for his family and young son at the time. All of these situations, coupled with Ando’s experience of the widespread drinking and drug culture that was outright encouraged at times, all left an impression on him, and he saw as being the worst traits of the Army.

Ando is an earnest, clever tane who acknowledges that he has had moments of resent and regret, especially when he left the Army. But at the end of the day, he recognises the role

that the Army has had in making him the person he is today. His life trajectory when he left school to his Nana deciding to join him up to the Army was one quite familiar other Māori; one with limited opportunity to thrive. Ando is now in a comfortable position to provide for his whānau. He can provide a life for his son that he would never have had for himself, something he is proud to have the ability to do, and something he credits the Army for giving him the tools to do so.

Summary of ngā pūrākau o ngā toa

All five pūrākau repeat similar experiences underpinned by opportunities and obstacles, displaying the difficult and non-linear nature of the Māori struggle for human flourishing. However, differences in corps, rank and time of enlistment demonstrate different obstacles that each have had to overcome during their service. Māui, Tutaua and Ando's experiences within their combat corps relay common hardships of being away from whānau for long periods of time, extraordinary events that many people in New Zealand will never have to be involved with, as well as the difficulties of having to transition out of the Army back into civilian life. The two wahine, Gibbo and Teresa, detail the adversities of being in support corps and how life is in the Army currently. The tane and wahine all acknowledge the ways the New Zealand Army has contributed to their life.

Chapter Six: Analysis

As is evident from each of the pūrākau in chapter five, each participant has a unique experience within the Army that shaped them to be who they are today. The following sections explore the components of their experience, and what has contributed to their wellbeing. Many of the sections are interdependent and interconnected but have been separated out from each other to focus on the themes present within the five kōrero. Most of the five kōrero discussed the soldier identity that was acquired when the wāhine and tāne enlisted into the New Zealand Army, as well as their Māori identity and how this fit in to the dominating military culture. As explored in chapter two, Māori people are intimately woven into the history of the military in New Zealand. The prestigious place Māori have carved out for themselves within the military has created a reputation and a legacy for all incoming Māori that is constantly upheld.

From the kōrero with the five participants, five topics were explored (appendix 1) to encapsulate their service and what was important to them:

- Whakapapa and military tradition
- Māori role models
- Whakawhanaungatanga
- Tokenistic acts
- Difficulty in reaffirming identity

Participants did not necessarily talk on each one of these themes, nor did they explicitly refer to these themes whilst discussing their experiences. In analysing their kōrero, the messages that came through often fit within these broad themes and connected their kōrero together. Weaving together all of the topics explored within the kōrero, five overarching themes that connect to whether the Army fosters a place for flourishing emerged: hauora (health), whanaungatanga (relationships), manaakitanga (support), whanonga pono (values) and whakapāwera (difficulties). These themes are interconnected, and at times were hard to separate out from each other. For example, for one participant (Tutaua), his struggles with substance abuse directly affected his health and wellbeing (hauora) and have created lasting difficulties to this day (whakapāwera). However, this chapter will begin with the theme of hauora, exploring how aspects of Durie's 'Te Pae Māhutonga' (1999b) can be used to conceptualise health for Māori soldiers in the 21st century. Whanaungatanga and the related theme of manaakitanga will then be explored, as a person cannot have support without forming relationships with others. Finally, whanonoga pono (values) and whakapāwera

(difficulties) will be discussed to show how the values of most importance to participants helped them to traverse their service and to overcome the difficulties some endured.

Hauora (health)

Hauora is an important theme when considering the Army as a place that seeks to support Māori flourishing. Hauora here not only refers to physical health, but also to the other domains of health explored within Durie's (1999b) 'Te Pae Māhutonga' with focus on mauri ora and toiora.

Mauri ora

A secure cultural identity is critical for Indigenous health (Durie, 2013). A lack of access to te ao Māori via whenua, marae, and the Māori language, disturbs the ability for Māori to have meaningful contact with their culture (Durie, 2013). As explored in chapter one, identity is a major factor in the health and wellbeing of Māori, as well as in the wellbeing of soldiers. This part of the analysis explores the diverse realities for those whose identities encompass more than one facet, namely the 'baseline' soldier identity, which all recruits develop during *basic training* and then is continuously reinforced within their service period, and then their Māori identity that participants bring with them into their service. Māori continue to serve in the NZDF, with consistently higher numbers in the Army, perhaps being drawn in by the already established place that Māori have created for themselves within the Army. Ethnic identity and its role in the military is especially interesting to explore when considering the seemingly natural attraction Māori have towards the infantry corps, which involves intense physical demands, a lack of transferable skills in the civilian world, and restricted opportunities for promotions and pay increases. A number of questions emerged early on in this research: What entices Māori to choose infantry over other trades and corps that could provide them with better qualifications and skills, such as logistics or armoured corps? What role does their Māori identity play in this choice? And how compatible is the soldier identity with a person's Māori identity? From the literature explored in chapter one, Māori identity is a core component of the health and wellbeing of Māori people, and something that encompasses many different facets. Teresa refers to the importance of Māori identity, using the term tuakiritanga. Teresa comments:

> You also do have to think about, like, tuakiritanga, like your self-identity, because a lot of it has to do with mental health. So, you know, reo, knowing who you are, your whakapapa, and all that. Kapa haka, mau rākau, yeah, it's all essential.

Teresa grew up immersed in te ao Māori with a strong whānau base. She acknowledges that she sees herself as Māori above all else, that is her primary identity. She is aware of how someone who does not have a strong tuakiritanga may struggle with how they view themselves once becoming a soldier. They may not prioritise or even give time to nurturing their Māori identity beyond the everyday environment of the Army.

Both Hohaia (2016) and Scoppio (2018) argue that the inclusion of Māori knowledge and practices by the NZ Army has helped to create a more positive, empowering environment for Māori. While this inclusion may have helped, it has not removed the challenges that many Māori face in regard to their identity flourishing. The five participants all mentioned that they did not have a regular, meaningful way to support and promote a connection to te ao Māori within settler society before joining the Army. Although, in Teresa's case, was fortunate to have been immersed in te ao Māori. Learning about haka (which encompasses actions, words, and their meanings) as well as having access to a marae where soldiers can partake in ceremonies helps to provide meaningful contact with culture. Such cultural experiences may not be so readily accessible in the civilian world. But, having them available in the workplace helps to facilitate Māori entry into the Māori world (Durie, 2013). Māui recognised the effort of the Army to incorporate Māoritanga, yet as he explains, Army duties were prioritised over the pursuit of extra-curricular activities. Māui comments:

> Mmm, there's like a couple of attempts at it. Just speaking from my unit, I don't know about other units. We were like, first year in and we were supposed to have, like Friday, like, haka trainings. They ended up being scrapped as soon as we had our first field ex[ercise].

Māui clearly saw a genuine attempt at providing extra support to help the unit he belonged to with haka trainings, which would benefit not only the Māori members of his unit but also the non-Māori members. Māui also knew of the Māori Cultural Group and other cultural activities such as a course to learn about the taiaha that Māori could join in order to strengthen their cultural identity. The only limitation for Māui in pursuing these endeavours were that fact that his soldier duties took precedent over any other activities. The cultural activities and courses are thus additional pursuits that need to fit around the primary job of being a soldier. Maui explains:

> That's all like voluntary, if you want to or not. I just happen always be on ex[ercise] when they were doing that kind of stuff. Yeah, there's a lot of avenues for it I guess but just if you want to do it or not.

Māui making sense of his experience show that while there are avenues for Māori to learn about their culture, he believes it is up to the individual for this to happen. It is evident though that the choice for Māui to pursue cultural activities was not always up to him, given he was often away on exercise when the practices for the cultural group occurred. Nonetheless, acknowledging the importance of having these activities for Māori to pursue in the first place is a step towards supporting Māori to express themselves, thus enhancing Māori health and wellbeing.

Durie (2013) states that having a supportive and reliable whānau is a fundamental gateway to te ao Māori. While Army personnel are not necessarily whānau in any traditional sense, they can be viewed as a 'workplace-whānau' due to the bond of the occupation. Support from workplace-whānau, either Māori or non-Māori, to pursue activities that help to strengthen a positive identity is critical. Teresa receives support from her manager (who is Pākehā) when wanting to participate in te ao Māori. Teresa explains:

> He's [Teresa's manager] really supportive of me like wanting to attend things to do with te ao Māori. So, like, when we had the pōhiri for the PM, he was like, "yeah, you can go to your, you know, kapa haka lessons and all that stuff." So, like, there's opportunities like that, where you're supported through them. And I obviously you wouldn't get that at just any random job.

In Teresa's case, her Pākehā manager created space for Teresa to contribute to the Māori cultural aspects of pō[w]hiri for an important event. Teresa's kapa haka sessions were a bit different to Maui's as they were for a specific event. Further, Teresa is not away on exercises so often as she is a medical officer that often stays in camp. By not clumping Teresa and Maui together you can see that what they are doing (or not) makes sense for their situations. The inclusion of these processes demonstrates the NZDF's commitment to providing and supporting avenues for Māori culture to thrive. Even so, there are constraints given the duties that a soldier has in their day-to-day lives. This is the reality for many workplaces, and the New Zealand Army may be performing better than other civilian workplaces in this respect. Nevertheless, as Teresa acknowledged, she would not normally have this same opportunity if she was a clinician in private practice or in a DHB setting, unless it was a Māori medical practice.

Teresa also discussed two very important mentors in her workplace-whānau who have helped her immensely in navigating what it means to be Māori in the military, as well as what it means to be Māori within the higher ranks. These two Māori soldiers have served in the Army for decades, and she is able to have in-depth conversations with both. The relationships

are also reciprocal. This type of mentoring is critical for Māori to flourish, as this workplace-whānau has the resources and cohesion to offer meaningful interactions with te ao Māori (Durie, 2013). Teresa's account reflects the mutual benefits of mentoring:

> Because it does make a difference, like having people who you can obviously talk to about things that you can relate to as well […] And he's [her mentor] like, you know, "you're one of the only people that I speak to because you know, and you understand what it is to be Māori and how important it is to have these certain aspects in your life."

This quote illustrates the reciprocal relationship between Teresa and her mentor. It is not a relationship of hierarchy and insubordination, it is more a tuakana-teina relationship where both have their place (one being more experienced than the other) but both have mana that is uplifted by each other (Winitana, 2012). Durie (2013) claims that whānau have the ability to "convert risk and threat into safety, security, and the realisation of human potential" (p. 143). It was clear that Teresa's strong tuakiritanga is so grounded within te ao Māori that there is not much that would necessarily threaten this grounding. Yet her workplace whānau provide an extra layer of support and encouragement that supports her to navigate being Māori within the military organisation.

While the military culture may create a positive environment for Māori, there are also ongoing constraints and issues. Māui and Teresa talked to the 'appropriateness' of the inclusion of Māori cultural aspects such as karanga and haka, where te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori are expected. Yet in some instances, these cultural practices seemed tokenistic due to their incorrect and inappropriate application. Maui alludes to his discomfort:

> [A corporal] comes up to me and he's like, "Can you, can you do the haka?" I was like, "Oh, oh..." Well [in] high school, I wasn't really much of a haka man. I think 'cause like, a Māori fulla? Okay! So, I had to, for like two weeks, I had to jump on YouTube and learn the Army haka off of that. And then I had to like suss [figure something] out all the actions, and then I ended up having to teach my whole basic, the haka […] You're supposed to [get taught by someone else] but because there was no one there, I had to do it.

Māui explained that in high school, he did not participate in Māori cultural activities at all, and so for him to be pushed into learning and teaching the haka to his basic was daunting. His only prerequisite was the colour of his skin, and not the depth of his knowledge or experience. Again, this situation is problematic especially when many Māori are still growing up without knowing their reo and tikanga because it was robbed by colonial policies. The

haka is now widely accepted and normalised in New Zealand, a practice that is incorporated into schools and sports. It is not something that people consider can be ‘tokenised’ because it is so embedded in New Zealand’s national psyche. The inclusion of the haka is expected to happen because of this normalisation. Māui comments on this:

> And yeah, it'll come to a CO [commanding officer] handover and then all these [non-Māori] officers are "oh can you teach me the haka?" And they just look unco[ordinated] as shit trying to do the haka. Like I can see why they don't want to be there, but they're the ones that decide if we're doing it [the haka] or not.

Cultural practices such as the haka cannot be uplifted from the cultural context of te ao Māori and incorporated into settler, Pākehā society. Cultural practices need to emerge from a cultural foundation that is acknowledge, resourced and sustained over time. It seems beneficial to not only Māori, but also non-Māori to be taught these cultural aspects correctly, and may help to empower all who must learn the haka of the military. Participants noted that non-Māori always contributed during haka performances and seemed to be enthusiastic. This demonstrates how the haka has become embedded within the soldier experience and is normalised to the point that its inclusion is hardly ever questioned. Similarly, Teresa explained an experience from her friend who was asked to perform a karanga during a deployment overseas. A karanga is a ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae at the start of a pōwhiri, with a kaikaranga within the visiting group (mahuhiri) responding (Mead, 2016). Expert kaikaranga can use eloquent language and metaphor to weave together stories and important information (Williams, 1971). Teresa comments:

> Honestly, I've heard some stories where, like, specifically karanga and overseas where shit’s gone wrong. And it’s like tokenism stuff, you know? Like, oh, you're the only Māori like, can you do the karanga? Like, ahh hold up, like, I have not been taught how to do this. She [Teresa’s friend] ended up... This isn't really my story to tell. But she ended up like contacting a whānau member to help her out with a karanga, you know, and then something’s happened. And it's those kinds of things where the Army needs to recognise that they can't apply pressure when it comes to that sort of stuff. Because you're dealing with, you know, something bigger than us.

From both Teresa and Māui’s experiences, it is evident that the inclusion of practices may not always equate to empowering inclusion of Māoritanga in safe and meaningful ways. Expecting Māori soldiers to perform bicultural practices is problematic if they have little guidance or supervision, especially when lower ranking soldiers or new recruits may feel pressure stemming from the hierarchical nature of the Army. These experiences demonstrate

how the perceived positive inclusion of culture can end up as negative experiences for the Māori who are required to participate. The expectation for Māori to fulfil dominant perceptions of what it means to be Māori (through haka and whaikōrero), and what constitutes authentic expressions of culture can result in mechanical and decontextualised practices (Torepe & Manning, 2018). These issues also act to decontextualise the Māori experience; instead, these events generalise that 'looking' Māori (in Māui's case having 'brown' skin) or speaking te reo (in Teresa's case) is enough for a person to then perform these tasks. Teresa detailed her experience of feeling tokenised and unsafe in a situation where she should have had the opportunity to consult her kaumātua. Teresa recounts:

> Well, they [army hierarchies] knew that I could speak Māori. I don't know… actually, I think one of the sergeants found out that I could speak Māori. […] They did a pōhiri at the marae. And they asked me if I could do the whaikōrero. And I was like, are you serious? Are you guys for real? Like, we [women] don't do that where I come from? Like, no.

Whaikōrero is usually reserved for elder Māori men to perform on the marae, who express opinions and discuss topics of relevance (Rewi, 2010). However, the reality of the loss of mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori has altered the way whaikōrero is performed in the 21st century. Women performing whaikōrero is not usual, yet there are many women (of chiefly status) who have done so (Rewi, 2010). For the Army hierarchies to find out Teresa could speak te reo Māori without her directly being asked is something that strengthens the argument that she was tokenised. Outwardly, Teresa 'looks' Māori and was certainly one of the few on her officer training that did, so it is reasonable to assume that her appearance is what solidified her appropriateness to perform the whaikōrero. The nature of the officer training meant she had no access to her phone and was not allowed to contact home to talk to her father about the tikanga of her being asked to do the whaikōrero. Teresa explained she was told that the main aim of Ngāti Tū is for the reo to spoken, which is something that Teresa acknowledges and recognises. Yet the kawa and tikanga of Ngāti Tū is completely different to the kawa and tikanga she was raised in. A key characteristic of tokenism is the lack of comprehension of what is below the superficial, simple understandings of culture. There is deep spiritual and cultural purpose to haka and karanga, it is not something that is just 'done' because it is the Māori thing to do. In this instance, allowing her to consult with her whānau and community would have been the safest and best practice, and would have showed respect to her Māori identity. In the end, Teresa acknowledged that she did feel safe

enough in this instance due to a well-respected Māori soldier (who later became one of her mentors) reassuring her. Teresa comments:

> And I just thought to myself, you know, I'd rather have myself actually get up and speak in te reo as opposed to one of those friggin' Pākehā fellows getting up and not speaking anything on, you know, on land that is... Yeah. Anyway, so I ended up doing it. And so many people like thanked me afterwards. But yeah, obviously, that's a form of tokenism.

Teresa's experiences reflect the inner turmoil some Māori feel in adhering to their cultural enculturation, while also having to adapt to new tikanga and kawa that does not necessarily mirror their upbringing. These demands are emotional labour that Māori have to carry, compensating for the deficits from colonisation that are entirely out of their control. There is also the feeling that as the (usually) only Māori person, the 'token' Māori, you feel obligated to perform these cultural tasks to promote your culture and ensure it continues on by Māori, for Māori, in a somewhat respected and safe way. When there are too few Māori to share the load in an organisation, it results in the 'token' ones having to grapple with the burden that is placed on them from their people to be 'good Māori'. Teresa discloses:

> I don't think my manager intentionally tries to do that [tokenise her]. But like, it's, it's, I feel like it's something I'm still trying to, like, navigate for myself. Because when it comes to, obviously, things to do with Māori, it's like, oh [Teresa], can you, you know, can you...? And I'm just kind of like... But you know, how do you actually navigate this space? Where you are the only Māori? You know? And it's kind of like, but you don't want to be tokenised either? But it's like, yeah, so how can we actually create a space where it's, I don't know... Yeah, where everyone's benefiting and not feeling, I don't know, some type of way about it.

Neither Teresa or Māui were offered training or resourcing for extra duties; they were merely seen as extensions of their usual duties within the Army. Teresa's experience also shows that Māori in the higher ranks are far and few between, and not much change occurs from those few who sit in those positions. These seemingly negative experiences of Māui and Teresa were not felt by all participants. When asked about whether he believed Māori culture was tokenised within the Army, Ando had a different response as he explains:

> Because at that time, I was so young, so I wasn't 'woke' to thinking about all these kinds of things. At the time, I didn't think it was tokenised at all. You know, at the end of our march-out parade, every basic cohort has the opportunity to do a haka, a war dance to the spectators. It's part and parcel. It's the final parade. And there's a hell of a

> lot of pride and a hell of a lot of mana attached to it all. Naturally, our Māori soldier's kind of take a leading space in that role. […] Me and my mates we supported our rōpu with that. But it'd rather be us than Johnny-come-lately, just sailed in from South Africa, leading our haka. It wasn't thrown at us; it wasn't forced down our throats. But it was kind of encouraged. And it was done appropriately, I think.

Ando was not put in the same position as Māui with having to teach the Army haka to his basic cohort; if Ando was expected to do this then his pūrākau may have gone differently. Ando recognises that migrants from South Africa may not have the understanding or connection to the history of New Zealand and the New Zealand Army, and the importance of haka in both areas. Ando would have rather had Māori, even those who were not comfortable or knowledgeable with haka, at the forefront than tauiwi or Pākehā who may not perform it in the same passionate and coordinated way as Māori would. Māui talked of Pākehā being reluctant to learn their set haka and also being self-conscious when doing so, yet when it comes to official performances of haka, Pākehā become keen and enthusiastic:

> Like when you're practicing, it's all the white boys in the back, and Māoris [sic] up the front and then when it's like D-day [to perform a haka], it's all the Pākehā[s] at the front and all the Māori[s] get pushed to the back! Yeah, it's buzzy shit.

In Māui's experience, the non-Māori soldiers were willing to prove themselves and be genuine in their attempts to show higher ups that they could perform this act. Regardless, Harding (2020) states that Pākehā soldiers who must learn and perform the haka often recognise the wider societal inequity and history of colonisation, so much so that it manifests in their awkwardness and unease when having to perform this part of their soldier identity. Māori are by definition bicultural because they have had to survive within the settler colonial environment, navigating the dominant Pākehā institutions whilst also trying to exist as Māori.

Being Māori in the military is something that seemingly goes unnoticed, yet also has priority in many of the cultural aspects within the Army. Māui saw himself as "a soldier who is Māori", rather than a Māori soldier. The way Māui explained it, you have no room on the battlefield for anything else other than being a soldier. Although not directly specified by the other participants, to an extent the experiences of Ando, Gibbo and Tutaua also mirrored this way of thinking. Being Māori is only something that is remembered when something cultural occurs, such as a haka or a pōwhiri. It is also not engaged with or noticed until a soldier is back at camp, when they have the capacity to think about other things besides soldiering. Nonetheless, for Teresa her Māori identity is at the forefront in everything she does:

> But I think like, for me, I'm grounded enough to know what I need. And like, where I, you know, where I stand, with who I am?

When Māori do get the chance to learn their reo and engage in their culture on their own terms, it can result in an empowering and constructive experience. Gibbo attended the Army kōhanga in Linton as a child, yet she went to mainstream schooling for primary and high school. Her parents were new to their town (after her family relocated from Linton) and did not know what schools were available and so it was easier for them to put their older children through mainstream schooling. So, the opportunity for Gibbo to learn her language was appealing and valuable:

> To be honest, I, so when I was studying te reo last year, like I, I actually finally figured out, understood the basic understanding of the Māori protocol or like protocols of being on the marae and stuff […] Back before, when I first joined, like I didn't really, I kind of knew what was going on, but I didn't really, so… I was just like, blown away. I was like, I wish I knew this. I wish I knew this well before because then I wouldn't be so like, shy?

It is usual for Māori to be assumed that they are the expert in their own culture when this is not a reality for many due to the ongoing process and effects of colonisation. For Gibbo to have this opportunity is a positive because it allows her to learn and grow as a person, as well as be a part of the revitalisation process.

As part of mauri ora and the interconnected self, the military experience and soldier identity is important for a person's health also. Most participants had a complex relationship with their identity, yet most had a well-established soldier identity that was often a prioritised aspect of their identity as a whole. Interestingly, Teresa did not go into much depth into her soldier identity; rather the kōrero was centred around her place as a Māori medical personnel within the military. She was the only participant who explicitly did not mention 3CI and the values of the Army. In Teresa's own words:

> I think when you're coming in as like a specialist, and as an officer, you, I don't know, you're almost, not protected in a way but yeah, it's just a different role. Like you're not there to be in the Army and be a soldier. […] I'm not gonna lie. I don't feel like a soldier. I'm so bad, honestly.

Teresa feels as if she does not have the protection of being the 'in-group'—those belonging to the non-commissioned ranks—and she is often perceived negatively as the outsider (being a 'pogue'). Gibbo (who would also be considered a pogue) did not specifically mention anything surrounding her status as a pogue. While she is still a soldier,

her role is of ‘pogue’ status, but she is not afforded any perceived special privileges (such as rank or other). Being a specialist automatically affords one with a higher rank, often with a higher salary. Despite Teresa’s apparent privileges, or in spite of, it is evident that Teresa sees herself as a health professional rather than a soldier. One contributing factor making Teresa feel less of ‘a soldier’ could be that the COVID-19 pandemic has halted opportunities for her to be deployed. This is true for many soldiers who are discontent over having to perform managed isolation and quarantine (MIQ) (Norman, 2021). However, as Teresa has exclusively been in New Zealand during her time in the military, there is seemingly no difference in her duties within the military to those in a hospital setting or private practice. The primary differences are that she reports to work on an army base and sometimes must wear a uniform. Therefore, she has not had the opportunity to put any of the soldier skills she has internalised into practice. Instead, she works day-to-day in her capacity as a health care professional. Teresa talked about having to complete her specialist officer training later than is usually conducted due to the disruption of the pandemic. Going from performing her role to being plunged into the training environment meant she moved from a medical setting to one that was solely military, something she had not done for a time. Usually, a soldier does their basic and then moves into specialist training straight away, but this was disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Teresa explains:

> So how our specialist officer training got postponed to this year. So, we ended up having to do it alongside the [non-commissioned] officers in training. Which, to be honest, was really fucking hard to go from, you know, working my job as a [medical officer] and going back into a training environment. It was really... I found it really hard.

The specialist officer training being merged with non-commissioned officers (when they are usually trained separately) highlighted to Teresa the in-group/out-group difference and the psychological burden of being cast as an ‘outsider’. Non-commissioned officers go up through the ranks, and this obviously reiterates to non-commissioned officers that they are somehow different to commissioned officers, although they too would be considered as ‘pogues’. Teresa is what the other participants talked of as a ‘pogue’. While Teresa had heard of the term, she did not know what it actually meant, just that it was being negatively used against her and others. Teresa recounts:

> And the fact that those officer cadets were like fucking children. It was really, really hard […] So one of the girls actually got called a pogue. And they [officer cadets] were like hating on us specialist officers. And it's real, I find it really weird that

> people don't think like that [medical officers are there to help]. Like I think it's out the gate, I'm like, bro I'm here to fix you […]! Like you're getting that for free. Like, why are you hating on me?

The contradiction of 'pogues' using 'pogue' as an insult to other 'pogues' illustrates how soldiers like Teresa are ostracised from the social grouping due to the dysfunctional elements of bonding social capital. It may have been the first time where Teresa realised the gap that exists between specialist officers and all other soldiers. Teresa cannot fathom being disrespected by fellow soldiers for providing free healthcare, something that so many civilians do not have easy access to. Teresa may always be a target of 'hate' as she will always be a pogue, and she has other class, educational and cultural differences that set her apart from other soldiers. Teresa is also a woman in an historically male-dominated organisation that has only recently included females. The other participants talked to their experience with and conceptualisation of 'pogues' with varying degrees. Māui was more on the complimentary end of the spectrum, seeing a pogue as someone who is always:

> Well-dressed, boots cleaned that you don't even got [sic] to clean your boots anymore, your Velcro tags or whatever is on straight, your sleeves rolled up to a certain point. All of that. Like, if you can see someone and they've got all that it's like oh they're on. You don't even need to like worry about them.

Māui is/was a soldier so benefitted from the bonding social capital of being a grunt, and he was never the target of the 'hating'. He also is male. There is not much about Māui that did not 'fit in' to the in-group. Tutaua mentioned many times how he and his Army friends would use the term 'pogue' as a way to insult each other. Even something as small as taking the Army bus into town to go to the bars or clubs as opposed to driving themselves was seen as something only 'pogues' do. The process of socialisation is influential within this social group that is so closely bonded. Someone affirms their membership to the social group by the language, culture, and practices, and Tutaua's experience highlights this.

Toiora

Toiora is concerned with the minimisation of risks to a person's health, such as alcohol and drugs, which have the capacity to distort the human experience (Durie, 1999b). These risks can trap people into lifestyles which are closely connected to other traps such as poverty and so individual choices also have environmental factors that affect health and wellbeing (Durie, 1999b). When thinking of a soldier's job in the New Zealand Army, a primary risk to their health and wellbeing is the physical nature inherent of the job. Participants talked of the 24/7

access to medical services that they might never have had in the civilian world, especially as Māori. The demands of the job for the three infantrymen were reflected in injuries that still affect participants today. Ando talked of a hand injury, and Māui's injuries (and the treatment of his injuries) clearly had a lasting effect on the way he views his military service. Ando described how being so fit meant that he never got sick and so his health resilience was improved, but also the physicality of the job means it would be rare to not ever be injured. Māui adds "it's bit of a savage place to be. Like I said, you get injured, you're not allowed to be injured". Being injured is not conducive to being a soldier, and in Māui's experience, he was pushed to go back to his role despite not feeling healthy enough to perform. Tāne Māori are especially portrayed as being staunch, hypermasculine and physical, and as soldiers they should be expected to soldier on. The contradiction between this—wanting healthy soldiers yet pushing injured soldiers back into their roles before they are physically or mentally ready—demonstrates a lack of empowerment over a soldier's own health. Barriers to equitable healthcare for Māori already exist within the civilian health system, and as a result many mistrust the systems in place. Māui detailed his experience where he did not have the self-determination to make mindful, meaningful decisions when it came to his own health:

> And it's like you just get a whole lot of pressure from up top to like… "you're not injured […] So this is the weirdest thing that you do. So, if you go to the MTC [Military Training Centre] and they're like sweet, you're injured. We recommend that you have two weeks on light duties. Then you gotta take that sheet back to your hierarchy, your Lieutenant or what not. And he can actually decide if you're actually injured or not.

These incidents contributed to Māui's dissatisfaction of his place within the organisation, and eventually contributed to him deciding to retire. Injury and safe workplace issues are being addressed by the NZDF who are currently working with WorkSafe (New Zealand's workplace health and safety regulator) to discuss ways of improving health and safety. This initiative comes after concerns from WorkSafe over the rate of deaths and injuries in the military, many of these occurring within the Army (Wall, 2021). If the personnel are the most critical aspect of an organisation, it would make sense to ensure that they are fully supported when poor health and injuries occur, rather than pushing people to return to their roles before they are fully healed. Rather than prioritising the hierarchical system, it is critical to ensure that the Army are empowering people to make their own decisions about their bodies.

From the point of view of a medical officer within the Army, Teresa touched on the relative position of power she has over her patients and how this may be a different

experience if she was in private practice. Difficult conversations with patients in private practice include discussing treatment options and costs. Patients have to figure out answers for themselves or with the involvement of their whānau whilst also navigating outside forces (i.e., social determinants of health) that impact their health. However, Teresa explains that she does not always have conversations solely with the patients:

> Sometimes when you are a private and, or you're on basic training, we're having to have the conversations with the commanders like, you know, the platoon commanders or the platoon sergeants as to what the patient needs. But yeah, so it's more like a three-way conversation as opposed to like a direct conversation with the patient.

A three-way conversation is a distinct matter for Teresa and something she would not contend with in private practice. A soldier does not have the input of their whānau in their healthcare; instead the soldier has the input of their managing hierarchies, In most cases, employers do not know as much about their employees' health status due to privacy and confidentiality laws. To an extent, soldiers have little to no control over their own healthcare, and so could be viewed as being part of the 'vulnerable population' similar to children or prisoners (Moskop, 1998). This is an extraordinary situation that seems straightforward, but issues of self-determination and autonomy arise if a soldier has to consider hierarchy in their decisions about their health.

Alcohol has a considerable place in the social landscape for many societies worldwide. While societal norms and laws allow for the normalisation and acceptance of alcohol as a legal substance, the damage to a person's health and wellbeing is evident. Here in New Zealand, the hazardous alcohol use is linked to racial discrimination (Winter et al., 2019); hazardous drinking patterns are more common for Māori than non-Māori (Ministry of Heath, 2019); alcohol is a preventable risk factor for numerous injuries, chronic conditions, and diseases (Wood et al., 2018). Binge drinking and a heavy military drinking culture are higher amongst U.S. military personnel when compared to civilians (Poehlman et al., 2011) and veterans are also more likely to be current drinkers when compared to non-veterans, and harmful military service is associated with frequent alcohol consumption (London et al., 2020). If these harms exist, then why does alcohol still have a place in society given its harm? Especially in the military, where substance issues are not beneficial to the role of a soldier who has to handle weapons and dangerous situations. The drinking culture was quite prevalent while Ando served from 2005–2013. Ando explains:

> The drinking culture […] It kind of slowed down in my final years. They brought in new policies within the Army. But fuck when I was first it, it was terrible […] We had

> buses that used to go from Palmy North to Linton. It was called the Army bus and it used to arrive at the Linton […] A bus would arrive at quarter past 10, pick up all the drunk grunts, and take us to the clubs. A fucking bus! And this carried on for the first five years of my Army life. So, the alcohol... And I remember one of my bloody CSMs, Company Sergeant Major […] We had a like, every Friday we'd have a line-up, he'd drill us, and then he'd be like "right, so tomorrow da da da, big party, we'll have a big party, I'll make sure all the alcohol is there." I don't know how it used to happen but the fridge full, box full of alcohol paid on army taxpayer money for the boys to just get smashed!

These parties may have been used to facilitate group cohesion and to help soldiers to relax and wind down after a hard week, but such norms and practices involving alcohol could have created even more problems for soldiers to work through. And while this may not be current practice today, it has an ongoing legacy and impact that is hard to shake. In 2020, Newshub revealed that the "Military Police recorded hundreds of drink-related episodes over the past two years" (McCann, 2020, para. 1). Alcohol is cheaper on base than at a civilian bar (McCann, 2020) which is appealing for those who turn to alcohol with their mates to cope with ongoing stressors. The Army has actively tried to change the drinking and drug culture on camp due to the prevalence of substance-based charges. In 2018, the NZDF introduced a long-term minimisation framework called STAND to initiate a culture change within the military in order to support those with substance abuse issues (Defence Health Directorate & NZ Drug Foundation, 2018).

These cultural changes came too late for Tutaua, who had already left the Army well before this point. For Tutaua, the military life was a difficult journey to navigate after returning from his posting in Afghanistan, being involved in a major car accident while driving under the influence. These incidents are indicative of distress that Tutaua had neither the time nor support to process. Goldstein (2001) discusses this repression of emotions, where soldiers "pay the price of a warrior mentality […] or pay the price in humiliation and shame that faces the sissy as a failed man" (p. 269). The hypermasculine prowess expected of soldiers and tāne Māori means that a soldier cannot show any kind of vulnerability, especially psychological vulnerability. It

Māori often show greater stigma towards admitting mental health issues and are less likely to talk about them compared to non-Māori patients. Add to this a layer of stigma within military culture as a barrier towards seeking psychological health care because military culture emphasises mental resilience and toughness (Sharp et al., 2015). Given these societal

and cultural norms, it seems normal for any person to push through their psychological distress and use other ways to cope, such as alcohol. Tutaua did not have an idea about what asking for 'help' looked like, nor did he think that was an option:

> I suppose like not knowing that you could reach out for help. Like yeah, we didn't know that there was... What does even help look like? What does it look like for a soldier to get help? That wasn't even a thing, that wasn't even a concept. Like we didn't need help. We were in the Army; we were all good. We actually, we actually didn't need help. Yeah. Like pogues needed help. We all good. We're hearty.

The status Tutaua tied to being a soldier in the artillery corps and the drinking and drug culture whilst he was serving meant he had little notion of his 'problems' being something to get help for or that they were problems in the first place. When help was offered in the form of a drug and alcohol course, soldiers could easily control the situation so that they did not have to confront their issues. Tutaua comments:

> Yeah, like until maybe like, after that first DIC [drunk in charge], after Afghan, they had a drug and alcohol course there [on base] […] So that was like the extent of help but yeah […] Oh okay, this person's manifesting trouble. Let's try and put him through a rehabilitative-type programme, do some good.

Rather than focusing on stopping people from abusing substances, there seemed as if there was hardly an attempt at understanding why these soldiers had these issues, or why substance abuse is not that surprising for people who experience traumatic situations. It is understandable how the stress of training and traumatic situations that are normal for soldiers, as well as being away from whānau and support networks, and having to return to ordinary life away from the military can lead to substance issues. Anyone, civilian or soldier, could end up in the same situation as Tutaua. It makes sense for Tutaua confront his distress in this way. Although is not health-enhancing, society has normalised and deemed this coping mechanism as acceptable. Rather than demonise and punish Tutaua for a coping mechanism that makes sense to him and countless others, empathy, understanding and validating Tutaua's experience should have been the first step in understanding his level of pain and suffering. For Tutaua, the complexity of the hypermasculine environment of the military, the difficult experiences of his service during overseas deployment, and paired with feelings of disempowerment and stigma, all contributed to health outcomes that were not conducive to his ability to flourish.

A myriad of health issues exists for soldiers. Social, economic and health consequences are unequal if they do not include culturally relevant and holistic interventions,

support for and involvement of whānau in the health systems and reflexive clinical practices (Palmer et al., 2019). This should extend to the health services of those within the military, however from the experiences of participants, the priority for the military health system seems to be focused on ensuring that personnel are considered healthy enough to maintain their role within the organisation.

Whanaungatanga (relationships)

The theme for this section encompasses the relationships that participants spoke about, referred to as the camaraderie or comradeship in soldier jargon. These relationships are formed through shared experiences on basic and corps training within their units, offering participants with a sense of purpose and meaning, and was built on trust respect.

The ideas discussed by Verweij (2007) in chapter one concerning friendship and comradeship have been drawn on to interpret my discussions with participants, especially Ando and Māui. While the five participants all touched on the friendships and sense of camaraderie within their experiences, they did not explicitly discuss in detail the relationships they had formed or the experiences they had gone through with their fellow soldiers during the interviews. Instead, participants talk around their relationships in a more indirect and less structured way. This could be due to the etic nature of the interviewer, making participants hesitant about divulging these personal details with someone outside of the Army experience. Regardless, it was apparent that the relationships—whanaungatanga, camaraderie, brotherhood, friendship, and the bonds that form were all important parts of the participants' experiences. Gibbo referred to her friendships by using the terms 'brother' and 'sister': If I didn't have that [brotherhood], then I'd be out […] I've met so many people in the Army that are now like my brothers and sisters […]". Tutaua touched on the importance of the brothers he met, noting that they were part of the three needs that encouraged him to join up—"I'll get paid, oh I'll get food, oh, I'll get, you know, bit of a room and some bros." When looking back on his time in the Army, Tutaua fondly recognises that as one of the 'good' things he got out of his experience. Similarly, Ando talked often about the different friends he made in the Army who had a positive influence on his life in different ways, displaying a sense of genuine friendship when conveying his sense of brotherhood. Ando states:

> But even, I do have a lot of mates that didn't deploy. But there's the same, you know, they're brothers of mine […] Absolutely. Yep. All of my mates that I went on tour with to Afghanistan… Although I don't see them often, I see them on the Facebook. But it's still the same. You know, it'd be like yesterday.

It was two of his mates that inspired Ando to leave the Army and pursue tertiary education, a great achievement for someone who left school so early. The brotherhood Māui formed with his fellow soldiers was also important. Māui comments:

> Yeah, like me and [fellow soldier], yeah me and [him] are pretty close. Got another one of the bros, he's one of my biggest mates. And like I see them like brothers. Even [more than] my [own] brother's like, pretty close."

Even though Māui is now retired, he still travels often to see his friends and to maintain his friendships. While the relationships have now shifted as he is a civilian, those bonds of brotherhood still exist. For these participants, it is apparent that the conceptualisation of family extends to these non-kin relationships. The bonds of comradeship are strengthened by being in constant close proximity to one another, which then provides opportunities for intimate discussions and communication, much like how family relationships are maintained. As discussed in chapter one, the loss of those relationships can have a detrimental effect on veterans when they try to exist within the civilian world (Williams et al., 2018). Māui talked about his cousin who, when retired from the Army, joined a gang in New Zealand to still feel a part of a brotherhood. This was something Māui's cousin missed when he got out of the Army and rather than struggling to find a niche in civilian society, Māui's cousin may have had few alternatives but to join a gang. This situation shows the importance of the collective and the relationships that are created within the culture of camaraderie and brotherhood. The community mindset of the military is enticing to Māori as Ando explains:

> You know, camaraderie, all those things, aye? You don't learn it elsewhere. Well, you do but it's the same kind of dynamic as a team like a sports team. You've all got the one objective in mind, and you're working together. Everybody's got a role to play to meet that objective. There's no me. It's not me, me, me. It's we.

The camaraderie created by a military environment is different to camaraderie found elsewhere, as soldiers spend most of their time with others being rarely left alone. Showering, cleaning, training and so much more is done as a collective, and it is in these moments where the strong bonds of fraternity are fostered.

Manaakitanga (support)

The experiences of the participants showed just how important support, respect and protection are when working within the military organisation. The whanaungatanga inherent within the Army can be a powerful source of support for soldiers when undertaking their roles, as well as the support from whānau and friends outside of the organisation. The main avenue a soldier gets support from is through their peers—fellow soldiers who know what the

military life entails and must navigate similar issues. It is no wonder that soldiers tend to partner with fellow soldiers for this very reason. When asked whether she would end up with an 'Army boy', Gibbo recounted her experience in dating a civilian, noting that he could not comprehend her living situation (in barracks) and the fact that she is constantly away—"People who are in like just definitely understand it a bit more than civilians…"

Consistent mention of comradeship and the brotherhood as a support system in the previous section (whanaungatanga) makes sense given the support comes from people who understand every aspect of the job. This support stems from the camaraderie, whanaungatanga, and comradeship. As Tutaua confirms "Comradeship and courage go hand in hand. You don't have courage without your bros." Tutaua knowing he had unshakeable support from his comrades meant he had a source of courage and bravery when plunged into difficult or hostile situations. Support is also gained from fellow Māori soldiers who are higher in the rank structure. These soldiers have gone through the struggles that come with serving within the Army for years and trying to move up within the ranks. Previously mentioned are Teresa's two Māori role models, but Gibbo also talked of having immense support from her father. Gibbo described her life growing up within the military culture as an army brat, as well as the obvious importance of her father as a role model. Her father worked with her closely when she was trying to decide what to do in life and has been a constant presence in her life in the military. She goes to her father for advice, and values his opinion about what direction she should go into. Gibbo explains:

> After I, having a talk with dad, he came up with these options. And he said that the Defence Force is a good career path and said that they'd looked after me and get to travel. And definitely, yeah, it is definitely what he said it would be like.

Gibbo's two brothers are also Army men, one is now retired and one is currently serving. Her paternal grandfather also served, along with many other whānau members. Her whānau military whakapapa is generational, and the military is an obvious and viable choice for a career. Being a career army person himself, Gibbo's father has only ever had the Army as his occupation, so of course he would see it as a good pathway for his daughter. The Army allowed him to provide for his family and support their ability to flourish, and thus it made sense for him to suggest the same career path to Gibbo. To have support from not only her father, but also her whole whānau is significant not only for her service, but also for her ability to flourish. To an extent, the other participants also had critical ex-personnel in their lives that provided this same support system: Ando with both of his grandfathers and uncle;

Teresa had an influential family friend; Tutaua had his uncle; and Māui had an uncle and cousin.

Military community support is crucial for active-duty personnel (O'Neal et al., 2016). Families of deployed personnel provide support to service members before, during and after deployment while also going through their own difficulties (Gerwirtz et al., 2011). Ando talked about the phone conversations he had with his mother and nanny when he was deployed overseas, calling home to New Zealand twice a week. He detailed how he would gloss over what he was experiencing to minimise their concern, believing they would not worry because he did not allow them to know any details. Ando believed he was supporting his whānau in the only way he knew how, hoping to lessen their fear and anxiety. And it was evident that Ando's communication with his whānau when he was away was important and it helped to raise his morale. Manaakitanga is found in many ways that can show Māori personnel that their wellbeing is cared for and about, from a phone call whilst deployed, to advice from a hierarchy or spending quality time with friends. Communication and manaakitanga provide an ordinary way to cope with extraordinary situations and can directly facilitate the mental and physical health of soldiers (Ragsdale et al., 2021).

Whanonga pono (values)

Values were of the utmost importance to the soldiers who participated. Values were wide ranging but most initially spoke on the Army values of 3CI and how important values are when considering what it means to be a 'good' soldier. Participants identified that values were the cornerstone of a soldier, and values needed to consider the collective before individual interests. This is in direct contrast to the dominant societal values of New Zealand today, which reflect the neoliberal, capitalist goals of today. Two participants, who are now retired, noted that this difference was starkly apparent to them once they moved into civilian employment. Ando comments:

> It's difficult for me working for a government organisation now, where people are late to work. My inner self just wanting to fucking yell at them. No, you can't do that […].

For Ando, being late is a value not consistent with being a soldier. To see civilians being late is something so inconsistent because when a person is late, this has wide-ranging impacts on the time of others, not just the person that is late. Timing is key in the Army because it ties to a soldier's discipline and respect for others. Māui also commented on the differences in values of civilians and those in the military:

> How people conduct tasks and shit like that is weird. Like when you're in the Army it's like, if we have all this shit to move from one chair to another. It would just be

> like, sweet everyone get in there and move their shit. While it's like now [in the civilian world], it'll be like, civis will be like, oh, that's not my thing so I can't do that.

For Ando and Māui, the civilian world lacks an understanding of doing things for others because it benefits the collective, and how an individual's actions can impact others. They see anything else that contradicts this as selfish, and their strong feelings about this value they have is evident. They still prioritise the collective because it just makes sense.

Each of the participants talked to the values and how they integrated them into their soldiering. The complexity of values is apparent, as some values fit better with a soldier's reality, while these might fit less for other personnel in the NZDF. Māui comments:

> Once you're at corps training, that stuff [3CI] goes out the window. I mean comradeship, commitment, courage. Integrity is like… yeah that one gets left out. You don't do that shit. […] Yeah, you're sitting in a hole with your mate, cleaning his gat [a gun], and then he fires off a blank or whatever. You got a hierarchy coming over "oh who did that? Integrity guys!" It's like, "I don't know?" I'm not gonna chuck my boy in the deep end. So yeah, integrity's like a meh.

Values are always more complex in practice as compared to seeing 3CI on paper. Values can contradict themselves and some are always competing against other, and it is sometimes necessary to prioritise some values over others. For Māui, integrity was not high on his list in that situation, and he did not prioritise this value when the relationship to his comrades was always more important. It is the relationship with others that helped Māui to fulfill his role, rather than telling on his mate because that is what is considered as the right thing to do if applying 3CI. The values being taught always have practical use rather than just being words on paper, so it is also important for the new recruits to learn how to apply these values they are being taught. Ando explains:

> Every night [on basic] we were doing haka trainings and learning about who we are, drilling, joining those army ethos and army values into us day by day, every day every night. And that is courage, commitment, comradeship, and integrity. They call them the three CIs […] You know, so you will often hear soldiers today rattling off those— courage, commitment, comradeship, integrity roles in everything they say, you know?

Ando talks to the way the Army values are drilled into new recruits repeatedly in order to them to commit the values to memory. These values then need to become second nature so that soldiers can apply their teachings in the difficult contexts they may find themselves in, whether that is on deployment or in exercise. Soldiers cannot be robots in how they act on these values, as there will always be tension between the abstract ideas of 3CI compared to

the wide range of contexts that can arise. Figuring out how to turn values into actions is not a simple exercise and requires soldiers to adjust to each and every context they are in.

As explored in chapter one, a soldier identity may become so influential on the way a person views themselves that they exclude other social identities in certain situations (Kreminski et al., 2018). Māui discussed this, as he saw himself first and foremost as a soldier that was Māori, prioritising the identity that would help him the most with the job at hand. Māui explains:

> So, you're in the field right? And you[‘ve] got a job to do. Everyone around you has got the exact same job to do […] it's not that you don't notice that you're Māori but your race doesn't really come into it until you're like back in camp. So it's like when everything’s like chilled out.

Māui understood that to protect himself to do his job, he needed to prioritise his soldier identity. Being Māori did not get buried within himself, there was just barely any room to see himself as anything more than a soldier until he was in a safe environment to think about other things.

3CI helps soldiers to create positive identities for themselves that align with the ethos and aims of the organisation. While they are all individuals within the Army, soldiers create an identity that is rooted within their unit, their platoons, and the collective as a whole. Māui, Ando and Tutaua especially demonstrated a sense of purpose and meaning from their roles, and how they embodied their identity within the Army. This was reflected in their positive musings about their service, and the way it has impacted their lives today. Even Gibbo explained the growth she has had as a person due to her service, and how it has pushed her to improve and develop. These are woven together to create what Māui conceptualised as a ‘good’ soldier:

> So, if you were looking at a soldier, you're either ‘on’ or you're a sack […] if you can't even look after your appearance, what's your pack gonna look like? What your gat gonna look like? And it's like, 'cause all [of] those little things means that you've like taken your time and you've made the effort to sort that stuff out.

This reflects Harding’s (2016) conceptualisation of a good soldier explored in chapter one. This quote from Māui especially reflects the dispositions of ‘security’ and ‘attention to detail’, as a soldier ensuring their equipment is ready and if it is then a soldier is more likely to be paying attention to their surroundings and be ready to go as soon as needed. This can make all the difference and reinforces the comradeship and commitment to yourself and others. Māui emphasised the concept of “*being a sack*”, a well-known military euphemism to

imply that someone is a “sack of shit”. As opposed to someone who is “on”, a sack is someone who visibly has things wrong with their uniform or with their equipment. As soon as something minor such as a boot lace being untied is noticed, a soldier is immediately seen as a liability. Māui reflects:

> Like I said like, if you're gonna do the work, by all means, be there. But if you can't, then piss off. Because then that's when you're a liability. As long as you're not a liability then you're sweet.

If you do not have those four dispositions detailed by Harding (2016), then this would place you in the out-group, on the same level as civilians as you are not exemplifying the idea of what a good soldier must be. A soldier’s currency in this environment is their embodiment of what a good soldier is, and if they are a sack, then respect and loyalty can be lost. It is a mutual relationship that, where Gibbo explained that there are a lot of ‘on’ people who work for others and so others work for them, which helps to keep her motivated and accountable. But Gibbo also noted that not everyone is ‘on’ all the time. Soldiers do not always have to be ‘on’, you have to know how to be on, and which situations require you to be on. Many soldiers who return from deployment engage in hypervigilance to the extreme (Kimble et al., 2013), remaining ‘on’ all the time. Māui describes the way he used to mentally protect himself in situations (being ‘on’), which he called ‘flicking the switch’. It helped him to get through exercises and assaults physically and mentally, so that he could focus on his job, “When you flick the switch, you don't feel any of that shit.” The ‘shit’ Māui was referring to was physical and mental/emotional distress that he would experience during these exercises, where he would not even register physical pain such as scrapped knees on concrete or being cut by a blackberry bush. But that was what Māui believed he needed to do until the job was done and he could process his emotions back in the safety of camp. It is critical for a soldier to understand the difference between situations that are threatening and situations that are neutral, especially if they are operationally deployed.

Each of the participants went through the process of internalising a soldier identity to become members of the New Zealand Army. While there are some generalisations that are applicable to all participants, they each have had different experiences. Some aspects of being a soldier are thus specific to the corps that each of the participants joined. Harding (2016) explains that while army values are an important focus, the acquisition of a soldier identity is more about one’s actions and the way you act, even when time is spent in the civilian world. It is clear that values are complex for civilians and soldiers, the difference is that a soldier’s

values can impact a soldier's safety and wellbeing in extraordinary situations that a civilian may never have to experience.

Whakapāwera (hardships)

While most participants tended to focus on the positive aspects of their service, it would be remiss to not explore issues and troubles that were also experienced. For some these periods of hardship had an immense effect on their service, and still affect them to this day. Difficulties lay in the way Māori soldiers transition out of the Army once retired, as well as the way society pushes some Māori into the Army in the first place. As a microcosm of society, the military is reflective of the wider class struggles. While there are clear differences in those who fill the ranks and corps of the Army, the military can also be a tool for disadvantaged groups of people to obtain upward mobility due to its benefits and the stability of the job. This in turn gives Māori people the chance to help and support their own whānau to flourish. In relaying their stories, participants talked of the reasons for joining the Army and the opportunities they were given whilst serving. Key themes emerged from relaying these experiences include the ability for upward social mobility and the difficulties attributed to a transition out of the military.

Class and social mobility

The five participants involved is this research all came from small, often rural, New Zealand towns that are characterised by their low socioeconomic status and reduced opportunities. Māui was working at a factory, Tutaua left school and was hoping to avoid the common job opportunities of forestry and farming, and Ando also had left school to go straight into farming, with a trajectory into life in a gang. Today, Māui now owns his own home (a rare feat given the current housing crisis), and Ando has a six-figure paying job in a government department. Although participants did not outwardly rejoice in their 'success' they did note that the Army had played a part in where they are today.

The shift from Māori living in rural centres to urban cities after the 1950s was in part due to increased opportunities, with the Māori workforce transforming from employment in mainly the primary sector to employment in manufacturing and services (Coleman et al., 2005). During the 1950s–1960s, Māori often could only obtain work in unskilled or semi-unskilled fields such as "factories, freezing works, road maintenance, transport, the building trades and labouring" (Walker, 1992, p. 500, as cited in Coleman et al., 2005). As investigated within the discussion on motivation to join the military in chapter one, often those from lower socio-economic areas are more inclined to join the military due to the

pressures of descriptive and injunctive norms (Maley & Hawkins, 2018; Sackett & Mavor, 2004). Pressures for the three retired participants of this research included lack of opportunities for social mobility beyond 'blue-collar' jobs, unemployment, and crime. And the experiences of Māui, Ando, Tutuaua and even Gibbo are all indicative of the limited opportunities that Māori often have when considering what to do with their lives after secondary school. Durie (2013) posits that Māori who have greater opportunities with housing, education, leisure, and employment have more chance at leading healthy lives. Those who are 'trapped' economically and socially have the least choice, and so their health and wellbeing is worse (Durie, 2013, p. 71). Education remains a key contributor to Māori success and wellbeing (Duckworth et al., 2021), and while secondary and tertiary outcomes are improving for Māori, they are still below when compared to the national average (Stats NZ, 2020). Many of the programmes available in secondary school introduce students to the different career choices are often not available to rurally isolated Māori youth (Steedman, 2004). University is not usually a natural next step in the lives of Māori, rather it is seen as daunting and uncertain (McKinley & Madjar, 2014).

Barriers for Māori to pursue tertiary education are more nuanced than just lacking self-confidence, as there are systemic, economic, practical and class barriers. Being aware of these barriers during high school may create feelings of uncertainty. Tertiary education is often seen as a way for people of lower socio-economic statuses to achieve upward mobility, as generally those of higher socio-economic status do better in school, achieve higher levels of education, and employment (van de Werfhorst, 2002). Goldthorpe (2010) argues that children of less advantaged class origins are more likely to leave the education system or follow courses that reduce their change of continuing higher education, compared to those who are more advantaged. Māui, Tutaua and Ando all did not choose to go on to tertiary education, as it was not a viable choice for their life reality at that time. Tutaua noted:

> Like when I, before I even went to the Army, I was like wagging class, and I was looking at like the careers office where people go to wag class. And there were these flyers there. "Army, Defence Force" meals, barracks, and you get paid! Ooh yep, three ticks in the box, that's all I need to know!

Being Māori is somewhat defined by the common experience of socio-economic disadvantage, yet "Māori ethnicity is not socio-economic destiny" (Chapple, 2000, p. 110). However, Māori experiences do reflect gaps in socio-economic status between Māori and non-Māori, with Māori in rural areas with low levels of education facing the largest employment rate gap (Chapple, 2000). The pervasive nature of social class means that

opportunities, experiences, and life chances are constrained by the social background of a person (Crothers, 2014). Here in New Zealand, class has not always been acknowledged due to the supposed tradition of egalitarianism (Crothers, 2014). Yet it remains that exploitation and oppression are the result of societies structured by class, as well as gender and sexual orientation, ethnicity, and culture (Borell et al., 2009). Due to the nature of racism and oppression which disadvantages one group, another group must be the recipient of advantage or privilege and therefore the group gains the ability to accrue social power (Paradies & Williams, 2008, p. 475).

In contrast, Teresa was an enigma in this research; she was the only participant who obtained a university education straight out of high school (Ando obtained his education once retired). She chose to enter a military career in her final year of university. Teresa reflects:

> So, I was in my final year at uni, […] when I actually was trying to get into the hospital. So, I was trying to secure a job [but] that didn't quite work out. So, I was looking at other options. Wasn't really keen on heading straight to private practice, kind of wanted something different. And I just thought back to when I was in second year, and I thought about joining the Army…

Teresa had more choice in life and choosing the Army was not necessarily a need or last resort. As Durie (2013) framed it, Teresa has had more flexibility with choice in her life, and her education is a key contributor to her success and wellbeing (Duckworth et al., 2021). Her career is transferrable outside of the Army compared to soldiers in combat corps, and she can rely on always having a job when she retires. This is not a normal reality for many Māori who decide to join the Army, who sometimes may not have much other choice in life.

Transition out of the military

For military personnel who are socialised into a soldier identity, the tensions between collective versus individualistic norms are also apparent when a soldier transitions. The collective aspects of a soldier identity are directly challenged when soldiers transition into the more individualistic areas of the civilian world. This transition can be culture shock to the soldier, creating feelings of abandonment, alienation, and confusion (Cardow et al., 2021). Three participants in this research were retired personnel who had made the transition from military to civilian life, with Māui being the most recent in 2019. As made evident, the transition from civilian to soldier is an important process which can act as a protective factor for a soldier's career. Yet what happens when a soldier decides they have had enough of army life? The decision to leave the military is a difficult one, as soldiers are leaving people

who are essentially their family, and an extraordinary work environment that will more than likely not be reproduced anywhere in the civilian world. Ando and Tutaua both experienced an especially extraordinary work environment as they both deployed to Afghanistan (at separate times). Dangerous situations were the relative norm for both participants, as detailed by Ando:

> I was sitting under a tree once, me and my unit and we had a lavs [light armoured vehicle] and we all of a sudden, I saw the fucking dust on the road in front of me moving… and I just seen my bros running back to the lavs. Fuck and it was fire, you know rounds [of ammunition] coming down off the hills… Being shot at us!

While Ando described this event as being "freaky", it is not an unexpected event to occur when in an active war zone. These extraordinary events are made to appear as ordinary and reasonable (Haw, 2010), and can be unfathomable for civilians who will never encounter an active combat situation. Tutaua also talked of the extraordinary event of bombing a town as if it was something normal and mundane, to which it would be for someone who was part of the artillery corps:

> The boys will be dropping bombs on this target over here… And our FO's [forward observer] are on this mountain over here… and we're over here like four miles away parked up in a little posi[tion]… They've just cleared this and there's more targets jumped over here. Now these guys are gonna assault this town… Now the FO's are calling targets on this, so we're just dropping bombs on here. Once we've dropped enough bombs, then they'll go and clear the town.

While this event was to explain what his job entailed, it is not hard to understand that Tutaua may have been put in multiple similar situations to this as he was operationally deployed to Afghanistan quite early on in his service. To go from a farm boy who would shoot possums to someone having to 'bomb' towns is something incomprehensible to a civilian in New Zealand. New Zealanders have never had first-hand experience of bombs being dropped on a city with the intent on decimating buildings and lives. It is no wonder that these situations are hard to understand, and something that those in the military may not want to talk about. Human people are oftentimes talked of as 'targets' so that soldiers can dehumanise their victims as a way to distance themselves (Bar & Ben-Ari, 2005). These situations are compartmentalised so that soldiers can focus on their objectives, as well as to protect themselves from yearning for home (Durham, 2010). Protecting loved ones from being worried is another way that civilians are distanced from the reality of combat and military life. Combat for a soldier is what the job is about, and deployments offer experience to use

their training in practical ways that go beyond ‘practice’ (Brænder, 2020). Soldiers who have experience combat can then return with higher levels of excitement motivation—soldiers seek out danger to appease the excitement they now have felt (Brænder, 2016). So how can people be expected to easily transition back to the ‘ordinary’, civilian life that they have not had for however long they were in the Army? Finding a life outside of the military in a successful way seems to be linked to how a person imagines their civilian life and constructs this as a reality (Walker, 2012). When Ando made the transition, he went straight into knowing what his next challenge was and what he needed to do to achieve it. Ando comments:

> You know, just the, I think looking at my situation […] going from the Army into uni? Easy. Because you know what you need to do. We’re not here to fuck around. We’re here to get the job done and pass […] I was a bit of an idiot because I used to just clown a bit […] I sucked at reading in my first year at uni. Doesn’t take long. Once you start learning how to read properly, and oh I wouldn’t say get passionate about reading but to try and enjoy reading, knowing that you’re doing something that’s going to again, further your life, further my son’s life.

Ando made the adjustment because he had a new goal that he had to focus on, and the environment was similar enough to his Army environment in that he saw friends in his classes every day and was surrounded by others. Yet he also noted the difficulty for soldiers in making the transition:

> I don’t think it [being a soldier] ever leaves, you know? Because you spent your best years of your life, you know, with these guys in the Army learning and it’s drilled in from the moment you wake up to the moment you close your eyes. I don’t think it ever leaves and one simply doesn’t go from being a, you know, that [soldier] to this [civilian] overnight.

What Ando touches on is something well-explored within the literature—the idea that the transition from military to civilian life is a movement from one cultural identity to another cultural identity (Grimell, 2019). Māui also touches on this identity shift, and the difficulties he still has with how to identify himself:

> That [the transition from military to civilian life] was hard as fuck. I'm still not used to it […] I know I'm a civi. But I'd still refer to civis as civis. If that makes sense. And then I don't, I still think I'm still a soldier until one of my mates is like shut up civi.

Even though it has been two years since Māui left the Army, he is still trying to figure out how his identity as a soldier sits in his relatively new transition to being a civilian. The actual

process of transitioning for Māui was difficult for two reasons: he had to go through the organisational process of getting papers signed and ticking of a checklist, as well as the emotional transition where he needed to unlearn his daily military life and refocus and reacquire civilian skills to function in his new reality (Cardow et al., 2021). Māui could only remember a vague PowerPoint being shown to him before he had left the Army that detailed some support programmes that were accessible to veterans. But the only support he remembers that was helpful was from his 'boys' and a friend's father who had helped him to change his mind set about his seemingly lack of qualifications. Māui notes:

> Went over there for a couple talks with him […] I was like, "Yeah, I'm finding it a bit hard to deal with civis." And he's like, "Well, there's a couple of transferable skills" ... "Oh what are those?" "So, you were acting Lance Corporal, weren't you?" "Yeah?" "So, you know how to manage a team… Team leader?" I was like "yeah but how can I do that here [in the civilian world]?"

Māui's experience reflects the lack of alignment between military qualifications and civilian qualifications, something highlighted by authors Cardow, Imbeau, Apiata and Martin (2021), a major issue for those who serve in the infantry. Another aspect of transitioning is the social support from 'brothers-in-arms', Veterans, and other friends, which is a frequent mechanism utilised by those transitioning in order to help manage their problems (Blackburn, 2017). Talking with Māui's chosen support system helped him to realise his confidence in himself and his capabilities learnt in the Army were for nought as he did have skills that were useful and practical in his civilian job. Although he had some encouraging moments during and after his transition, Māui did acknowledge some struggles for personnel when trying to transition:

> I think like while you're in, you're like [scoff] I don't need that! Like I don't need that kind of help. And then it's like, once you're out and it's like oh fuck wait, how do I... How was I supposed to do that again? So, it's like you need even take notice of it. I remember some kind of PowerPoint on it. Something to do with the RSA […] I remember he [Willie Apiata] came for a talk, I remember him saying some stuff […] But like I say, when you're, you're just not, it's not clicking. It's not sticking with you.

Māui's description touches on the lack of time soldiers spend on thinking about retiring, as they are immersed in their way of life and have no room to think of what the future waits for them. It seems feasible that a soldier, surrounded by community and experiencing extraordinary moments, would never think about leaving that life. But the reality hits once

they have made that decision to leave, as soldiers now have to think about all of the mundane, civilian tasks that get taken for granted when they are serving. The soldier identity is also only one part of their identity, so the need to re-establish an identity not associated to their military experience is a task that must be accomplished to lessen the stress of the transition.

However, it is understandable if some people do privilege their military experience, especially those who enlisted when young or before figuring who they are outside of their service. Tutaua saw himself as part of the illustrious and prestigious New Zealand military, and a decorated combat veteran who had obtained esteem due to his service. When he was discharged and the only employment he could find was in mall security, he felt that he no longer had the prestige and status as part of his identity. He believed that his only choice was to move to Australia to get away from his perceived shame and embarrassment. Tutaua comments:

> And then after getting out, or during getting out […] Sweet as, yep. Thank you. And then what do you do? You have to go get a job? […] Yeah, shame as! […] I don't want to like work in my country and all my bros will be like, "What you up to bro, I thought you were in the Army?" Oh nah, nah I'm not bro... So that's why I went, that's why I went to Aus [Australia] straight away. That was part of the big reason, I was like fuck that. Because like just coming from the culture of like the boys will see you in Palmy, someone would be like "What are you up to now bro?" "Oh, just the Warehouse bro!" Hell no! What you up to now bro? I'm in the Mines bro!

A young Māori boy from a small town who left high school to enlist in the Army found a community and sense of purpose and was rewarded for his service. Māori men are too often seen as perpetrators of problems (Stanley, 2002), so it is understandable for Tutaua to feel proud of his accomplishments. Knowing Tutaua found a place within the whakapapa of strong Māori men who came before him would create a sense of privilege, especially in the context of colonisation interfering with how Māori men see themselves. Overcoming these issues was a difficult road for the participants, but they all acknowledged that without whakapāwera, their lives may have been very different to how they are today.

Māori flourishing

This thesis does not seek to provide answers as to how the New Zealand Army could better serve their Māori soldiers in helping them to strengthen their identities. Nor does it expect the New Zealand Army to rectify this issue. Instead, the wider implication may be how can New Zealand as a society better equip Māori with the tools for cultural flourishing, given the role New Zealand has actively played in suppressing and punishing Māori culture. It was clear

that Māori do not enter the military to help strengthen their Māori identity; it is merely a way for Māori to experience social mobility and stability and fulfil a purpose that they may not have found anywhere else in the civilian world. The values and activities that are attractive to Māori wanting to feed their Māoritanga are merely a bonus for Māori soldiers once they are serving. Yet Māori can seemingly flourish in other ways whilst serving in the military. The stable income, friendship and positive opportunities experienced by the participants display a sense of flourishing under the conditions they are in. While they may not be flourishing in all aspects of life, the positives and negatives all contribute to their lives today and cannot be separated out from their flourishing.

It is apparent that a secure cultural identity is key for flourishing, as well as participation in Māori society. Whether conscious or not, some Māori who enter into the military do not routinely have the opportunity to participate in Māori 'culture' due to the nature of their duties. This seems obvious for those in combat corps such as the infantry, yet it was also something noted by Gibbo who serves within logistics, a corps that is not frontline. The only person who had the capacity for cultural activities was Teresa, who had an immersive upbringing in te ao Māori before she entered the military. Teresa was able to participate in mau rākau classes and kapa haka, whereas someone such as Māui did not have the time or energy to strengthen this aspect of his identity. He also was not physically able to as he was often away during his service. Policies and programmes that support Māori to be secure and confident within their identity and culture are conditional as issues of access, engagement, participation, and knowledge are rife (Matahaere-Atariki, 2017). The five themes within this chapter weave together to create the many different ways Māori personnel engage with the New Zealand Army, and how despite the ups and downs of life, they can flourish within such organisations as the New Zealand Defence Force.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

This chapter summarises the analysis of the five pūrākau in relation to the aims of the research. The theoretical frameworks of community psychology and kaupapa Māori theory helped me to broaden my understanding of what it means to be Māori, and a Māori soldier beyond the typical clinical and mainstream psychological frameworks that focus on the individual and a deficit approach. Instead, the individual is placed within their own context, as well as the wider context of being Māori, and a Māori soldier, within New Zealand historically through to modern times. These frameworks helped to position Māori service as providing for an individual, as well as their whānau, hapū and iwi. Flourishing for Māori personnel is complex, and there is not a simple route to enable Māori to flourish. This consideration was alluded to by Tutaua, when asked about his service as a whole:

> I'm grateful it [the Army] was good. It was, it was all good. Whatever bad, was bad. And for me, it wasn't bad because I was part of it […] [but] if I take those [rose-coloured] glasses off and say what I really think, like on the bottom line, like yeah that sucks. I wish the system wasn't shit.

Tutaua summarises the overall message of the five wahine and tane: that their experiences, whether positive or negative, all contributed to where they are today and there is no clear, straightforward path to allow Māori to thrive. Wider social inequalities have impacted the wahine and tane in different ways. By understanding their experiences from this point of view, we can view military service as being more than just guns and bombs, more than just trauma and harm, more than Hollywood films and videos glamourise it to be.

This thesis aimed to understand and prioritise the voices of the five participants who define what flourishing means to them and their life realities, and the impact of these experiences on individuals and their whānau. The current research adds to a body of well-established literature exploring Indigenous Peoples and military service, although most research focuses on service during major armed conflicts of our time, as well as mental and physical health of soldiers. Chapter one of this thesis focuses on defining key concepts needed for those not familiar with the military and the New Zealand context to begin to understand the aims of this research. Chapter two concentrated on providing further context to New Zealand's history of conflict and war, focusing on Māori participation in World War I and World War II. The narratives created about Māori from politicians, foreign military personnel, as well as Māori soldiers themselves and their whānau reinforced the stereotypes of Māori as strong, fighting men who have a propensity for warfare. These men were upholding the reputation and legacy of their ancestors, who not long before the world wars,

were fighting against the very people they were now fighting with. The chapter concludes with exploring the New Zealand Defence Force today, with specific focus on the Army. The inclusion of whānau pūrākau in chapter three was important to me, as it is the very reason as to why this research is a passion of mine and why I deemed it important for me to explore.

Chapter four details the methodology of this research. The teachings during my undergraduate years relied heavily on an individualistic, WEIRD psychology that I often did not resonate with. I wanted to move beyond this default, often deficit framing to one that legitimised kaupapa Māori theory and community psychology values of action research, social justice, and change. Chapter five details the five pūrākau of Māui, Gibbo, Tutaua, Teresa and Ando, which was to highlight what was important to participants, as well as highlighting the teachings of the experiences. Chapter six then focuses on the analysis of these pūrākau, framed within five overarching themes of hauora, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, whanonga pono and whakapāwera. Although these are five seemingly distinct themes, they are interconnected and cannot be understood in isolation from each other.

This research has demonstrated that the experiences of Māori soldiers are affected by their ethnicity more than what is believed. Motivating factors for enlistment are tied to New Zealand's history of colonisation and the way Māori are socially, economically, and political hindered today. There are also 'trade-offs' for Māori and their experiences. It is clear that for some Māori who come from precarious situations that a military career is an attractive option to move forward in life. Yet the 'trade-off' is for some to experience traumatic and dangerous situations. Some soldiers will sacrifice time spent with their whānau and friends and lack the capacity to maintain relationships outside of those within the military community. These different 'trade-offs' occur whilst in completion of a soldier's job and are difficult to avoid. This may not be applicable to all Māori who decide to enlist, but there were common experiences of all five participants within this research. An over reliance on the military being a viable employment opportunity for Māori does not help to fix issues that already exist for Māori in society. While the Army is an appealing option for Māori, it should not be the only feasible choice in order to provide themselves and their whānau with opportunities and support.

Being Māori in New Zealand today means having to exist within a system constructed and dominated by a Pākehā worldview. New Zealand as a settler society means that there are "complex relations between settlers, indigenous peoples, and migrants" (Terruhn, 2019, p. 51). Pākehā dominate the narrative of New Zealand and use biculturalism and multiculturalism as a way to escape the issues that come with being settlers, so as to not

threaten their privilege (Terruhn, 2019). This makes sense as settler colonialism is a structure, not a historical event (Wolfe, 1994). The enduring structures that exist today within justice, education, government, and wider society all continue to uphold the Western, British origins of New Zealand society.

It is evident from kōrero with participants that being a 'soldier' comes with many obstacles that soldiers must navigate. Noted within the academic literature is a conceptualisation that being a soldier in New Zealand means two different identities—one of a British soldier and one of the traditional Māori warrior. This dichotomy lacks nuance and intersectionality for Māori who serve in the military as 21st century Māori. The traditional Māori warrior is conceptualised as the noble savage stereotype whose prowess and fierceness in battle results from raw savagery, whereas the British soldier is someone defined by superior military tactics and skill.

As evident in chapter two, Māori were innovative and inventive in their military strategies against the British during the land wars. Māori do not simply exist as the savage warrior with inferior weaponry and skills that needed British intervention to become enlightened. To stereotype Māori in this way is to keep Māori frozen in the past. And to continue to stereotype Māori in this way is not helpful in helping Māori to flourish. The innovative nature of Māori is still seen today when weaving together the pūrākau detailed within this research. As Māori tend to do, Māori soldiers persist in constrictive spaces with a very Māori way of doing things. Indigenous peoples continue to exist and navigate these systems, being guided by their worldviews and conceptions of the world. As bicultural beings having to exist within a Pākehā dominated system, Māori must resist the colonial system in place through maintaining "mundane and more overtly ritualised practices of cultural connectedness" (King, 2019, p. 120). Māori soldiers move from being a 'soldier' (which is a space that is largely dominated by Pākehā values, concepts, and practices) to spaces where te ao Māori dominates. These spaces include extraordinary, ritualised moments that are overtly 'Māori'.

Strengthening connections to Māori ways of being are not always enacted in "extraordinary moments of big events" (King, 2019, p. 119), which Māori soldiers may have limited capacity to participate in due to the demands of their jobs. Yet there are the smaller, more ordinary moments that reproduce what it means to be Māori that soldiers regularly practice. This includes the strong whanaungatanga that is inherent within the Army, as well as the manaaki and aroha that comes with these relationships. Some moments that may been seen as extraordinary moments outside of the military context are the day-to-day reality for

Māori soldiers, and so these moments could be considered as mundane feats. These all help to maintain a person's strong sense of what it means to be Māori, in a system that can contribute to the physical and emotional disconnect from ancestral, tribal lands. Moments include the Army marae and the kawa and tikanga belonging to the marae experience, haka being a normalised practice for soldiers, mau rākau practices and the Māori Cultural Group (which Teresa has said is named Ngā Uri a Tū), as well as wānanga and pōhiri. The marae as a "space of care" (King et al., 2015, p. 19) gives Māori the opportunity to practice and flex their tikanga and kawa, as well as to just be immersed in te ao Māori. While the Army marae in Waiouru is the epicentre of Māori cultural practices, these overt moments are mimicked on other bases around New Zealand. Haka occurs in many different contexts within the Army, either in New Zealand or when soldiers are deployed overseas, shifting the now normalised spaces where haka is performed (such as international sports fields) back to a domain where combat and war is rife. These moments of haka being performed in Afghanistan or East Timor are extraordinary and ordinary and mirrors the way Māori soldiers during world wars performed the haka to maintain that connection to home and culture. Māori spaces of being are also being extended into spaces not common for the 'average' Māori person.

Māori soldiers naturally are posted to bases all around New Zealand in places that they necessarily do not have any ancestral whakapapa to, such as Palmerston North, Auckland, and Christchurch. These soldiers either move around to different places or end up building lives in the same place, especially once they begin to have families of their own. In my own experience, I was born in Palmerston North, moved to Waiouru when very young and then spent most of my childhood and teen years in Whanganui where my mother created a home base for the whānau. While I do have whakapapa ties to Manawatu-Whanganui on my mother's side, my father's whakapapa is centred on the East Cape of the North Island. The disconnect between his tūrangawaewae and our living situation was keenly felt, and yet I was nurtured and grown in Whanganui. In the context of the participants in this research, all of them moved from their tribal lands to spaces that they did not have any whakapapa connection to. They all were "maata waka (Māori living in someone else's tribal lands) (King, 2019, p. 113). The participants have had to create connections and maintain relationships with people who become their whānau, away from their own ancestral homelands. The collective, communal nature of their living situations again reflects a very Māori understanding of whānau and connection. This is another way that Māori soldiers adapt to their life situations, and to ensure their connection to culture is nurtured despite being away from their whānau, hapū and iwi.

This research has built upon a similar thesis from 1995 that explored Māori experiences within the Army. Michelle Erai touched on motivating factors for enlistment, choice of rank stream, strategies for surviving training, expectation of others, whānau duties, negotiating martial and Māori protocols, and plans upon leaving the Army. While change would be expected considering 1995 was 27 years ago, in reality not much has actually changed. Erai asked questions concerning Māori identity as soldiers, namely how a soldier is affected by supressing or denying their culture and how this affects their performance as a family member and soldier. The author explored the implications for a soldier putting off learning about their culture until after their Army service has ended. Erai also asked whether incorporating tikanga Māori into military settings validates Māori culture, or does it place a soldier in conflict? Finally, Erai explored whether the Army is one of the few places in mainstream New Zealand society where a Māori person can publicly express a cultural ethos?

The importance of Māori identity and exploring or revitalising one's connection has become a hot topic in the past years. Māori have been experiencing a cultural revitalisation since the 1970s (Matahaere-Atariki, 2017), and governmental departments and businesses have been incorporating te reo Māori and tikanga into their practises since. The pūrākau of the participants highlighted that while there may be some great policies and practices within the New Zealand Army that encourages the strengthening Māori identity, it is often not at the forefront of Māori soldier's minds when their priority is trying to be a 'good' soldier. While this master's research has similar connections to Erai (1995) as well as other related literature and does not seem to suggest anything novel or new, it does beg the question as to what change has been made over the years in order to better support our military personnel, as well as our Māori personnel? If the health and wellbeing of soldiers is of utmost importance to the NZDF, then doing more than the accepted status quo should be the ultimate goal.

The field of psychology highlights the necessity for ameliorative and transformative interventions (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). Healing soldiers and pursuing change because an organisation wants their soldiers to flourish should be the top priority, rather than responding to negative reporting about toxic military culture or the high conviction rates for serving military personnel. Transforming the environment encompasses more than having available rehabilitative courses for personnel; it includes reducing the risks and injustices that Māori soldiers often face. While this cannot be done entirely by the NZDF alone (as it is a wider societal issue that needs to be transformed), there are ways in which the Army and the wider NZDF can help their Māori soldiers to flourish. This includes avenues for Māori soldiers to consult with whānau and kaumātua on tikanga and kawa (even when contact with

the civilian world is prohibited) or allowing specific cultural experts to teach haka and karanga rather than soldiers themselves. Ensuring that soldiers have enough time to heal and have more input into their health, or culturally specific programmes to help soldiers struggling with substance abuse issues. Ways to change the experiences of Māori soldiers so that they can simply exist as Māori, is something worth implementing.

Possibilities for future research

As with any piece of research, there are multiple avenues that could be explored but were only briefly referenced due to the limitations of the research. An obvious avenue would be to extend this research to cover more Māori personnel currently serving and retired. In the course of this research, there were many other interesting tangents that were tempting to explore. Yet of course restraint was needed to keep attention on the research focus. However, I note a few of the tangents I thought warranted future research:

- Māori personnel understandings of ethics and the impacts of war;
- The differences of the Māori experience within the branches (Army, Navy, and Air Force);
- And exploring the impact of military service on Māori and their whānau.

As to the first point, the ethics and politics of war are often left to politicians and higher ups within the military and government; it is not usually a domain for soldiers to ponder. Yet soldiers often face situations of moral dilemmas where they must make decisions that may clash with their values (van Baarle et al., 2015). Soldiers are aware of the legal obligations they must uphold (van Baarle et al., 2015), and yet what happens when 'legal' (and even illegal) wars are being fought that go against traditional or tribal values? In a world today where being 'woke' is a form of social justice, should Māori be obligated to be 'woke' when thinking about their service? This is a question explored by Michael Yellow Bird (2012), who wrote a chapter titled 'A BROWN PAPER on the Iraq War and the Resurrection of Traditional Principles of Just War'. The chapter investigates the participation of Indigenous People in unjust war, concentrating on "Native Americans in the illegal US-led war against Iraq" (Yellow Bird, 2012, p. 157). The paper explores issues that can be applied to Māori in New Zealand and the morality of our actions when participating in conflicts that Māori do not have an active voice in when New Zealand participation is being considered. As Indigenous Peoples, should we be considering the effects of our participation on other Indigenous Peoples? There are many opinions on the 'justness' of war; either you believe war is essential for eventual peace or a necessary evil to create better, more organised societies where people

are less likely to die by violent means. But the individualised body of a soldier often allows for soldiers to ignore the justness of their service, and the moral and political consequences that stem from combat in often vulnerable places (Sasson-Levy, 2008). Just as some of the leading Māori leaders (such as Ngata, Carroll, and Pomare) created war committees, it may be prudent for Māori to create a committee that helps to represent Māori interests in where New Zealand sends our soldiers into combat.

The second point is self-explanatory, yet the third and final point stems from my own experience of being an Army brat. As explained earlier in this chapter, it was difficult for my whānau to be immersed in our Ngāti Poroutanga as my father, our only cultural link to the East Coast, was either deployed overseas, or commuting between army bases. He did not have the capacity to take us home for tangi or important events, let alone for the mundane, ordinary events. It is only now that we have begun to frequently foster our connection to our whenua, made easier with my father now living back home. From the interviews with participants, this seemed to be something they had also experienced. The potential benefit for this topic is merely a personal one but could offer a wider understanding of being a Māori whānau in the military.

Final Words

The intention of this research was to contribute towards an area I believe is underexplored within discourses surrounding the military. Through sharing the pūrākau of the participants, as well as my own whānau pūrākau, I hope to provide rationales as to why so many Māori enter the military institution, whose very beginnings were to suppress Māori people. I believe the guiding hands of my tīpuna led me on this journey of discovery, of myself and ultimately of what it means to be a Māori soldier for the three tane and two wahine who joined me. I shed tears during many parts of the research, most notably when having to think about my tīpuna fighting in a war on foreign whenua without ever coming back, or if they did survive, coming back permanently scarred. It also hurt to see the trade-offs and troubles that my whānau experienced being replicated today. Seeing the impact of the trauma my father experienced being felt by others long after he himself retired often left me feeling dejected. But I attempted to approach this topic with empathy and understanding, highlighting the resilience of Māori to persist in creating innovative ways of understanding their realities rather than the constant negative aspects of a Māori reality. I am hopeful this has been achieved.

To conclude, I turn to the words of the ‘Ode of Remembrance’, a passage I have heard for most of my life. It is used to remember the service and sacrifice of all military personnel.

E kore rātou e kaumātuatia
Pēnei i a tātou kua mahue nei
E kore hoki rātou e ngoikore
Ahakoa pehea i ngā āhuatanga o te wā
I te hekenga atu o te rā
Tae noa ki te aranga mai i te ata
Ka maumahara tonu tātou ki a rātou
Ka maumahara tonu tātou ki a rātou.

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun, and in the morning,
We will remember them
We will remember them.

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Glossary

Glossary of military terms

3CI	the Army values of courage, commitment, comradeship, and integrity, commonly referred to as 3CI
army brat	a child of someone serving within the military, specifically the Army
barracks	living areas to house military personnel
basic training	colloquial term for ‘Regular Force Recruit course’, often pronounced ‘bassick’. It is a 16-week course where new recruits learn the basic skills to become a successful soldier. This includes fundamentals of weapons training, first aid, navigation, lessons on military law, as well as Māori tikanga and haka lessons.
camp	a military base, for example Waiouru Military Camp
civi	civilian
civi street	the civilian world
corps training	once a soldier is posted to their unit after completion of basic training, they undergo trade specific training
drill	learning how to march and what is expected when a soldier parades in front of hierarchies and officials
ex	shortened form of training exercise
firing a blank	a blank is a cartridge that produces a muzzle flash and sound similar to a normal gunshot, but is not live ammunition
FO	forward observer: someone who directs artillery fire onto a target
gat	a firearm
grunts	a name for those in the Infantry corps
hierarchy	refers to anyone higher in the hierarchy, in the senior ranks
LAV	light armoured vehicle

MTC	medical treatment centre
operational deployment	a schedule timed away from normal duties to countries where New Zealand currently has active deployments
pogue	a term used to describe those of non-combat corps. Often said in a derogatory, offensive manner
rat packs	ration packs are supplies that soldiers utilise on exercise and deployment which contain the necessary supplies to make main meals, snacks, and drinks
unimog	Mercedez-Benz unimog trucks used for transporting cargo and supplies. No longer as widely used as they used to be.
Victoria Cross	this is the highest military decoration award for valour or gallantry someone in the New Zealand Army Forces can obtain. Only a limited number have been conferred for New Zealand service personnel.

Glossary of Māori words and terms

ako Māori	principle of culturally preferred pedagogy in Kaupapa Māori theory
Aotearoa	the original Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	to love, feel pity, feel concern, to empathise
ea	satisfy, settled, avenged
haka	haka performance, posture dance performance, cultural
hapū	subtribe — the political unit of pre-settlement Māori society, pregnant
hauora	health, healthy, be fit, be well, good spirits
iwi	tribe, aggregation of hapū sharing a traditional link, extended kinship group
kanohi ki te kanohi	face-to-face
kapa haka	Māori performing group, concert party

karakia	incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity
kaikaranga	caller—the woman (or women) who has the role of making the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae
karanga	formal call, ceremonial call, welcome call for visitors onto a marae (or other place) at the start of a pōwhiri
kaumātua	elder(s), knowledgeable men and women, grandparent(s); to grow old, to grow up
kaupapa	topic, policy, matter for discussion; principle of collective philosophy in Kaupapa Māori theory
Kaupapa Māori	Māori-focused, a Māori way, Māori ideology or doctrine
kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga	principle of socio-economic mediation in Kaupapa Māori theory
koha	gift, present, offering, donation, contribution
kōrero	speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information
kūpapa	to be neutral in a quarrel; collaborator, ally—a term applied to Māori who sided with Pākehā or the Government. The term has shifted from a generally neutral stance to one that has derogative connotations similar to ‘traitor’ or ‘turncoat’
maata waka	Māori who live in someone else’s tribal lands, taken from (King, 2019, p. 113)
mahi	work, job, employment, trade (work), practice, occupation, activity, exercise, operation, function
mana	authority, integrity, standing, prestige

manaakitanga	caring for the needs of a person or people, care, respect
Māori	(noun) indigenous people of Aotearoa, original inhabitant (adjective) normal, native, indigenous
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices
marae	the open space in front of the wharenui/meeting house
mauri	life principle specific to particular entity or class of entities, source of emotions
mauriora	cultural identity aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga
mau rākau	Māori weaponry, a traditional Māori martial art
mete	mate(s), friends
mihi	to greet, pay tribute, acknowledge, thank
ngā manukura	community leadership aspect of Te Pae Māhutonga
Ngāti Tūmatauenga	the New Zealand Army
noa	to be free from the extensions of tapu; ordinary, unrestricted
pā	fortified village, fort, stockade
Pākehā	settlers, may refer to all non-Māori, or be restricted to New Zealanders of European descent
Papatūānuku	Earth, Earth mother and wife of Ranginui—all living things originate from them
pōhiri	welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome; eastern dialect
rangatira	leader(s), chief(s)
Ranginui	atua of the sky and husband to Papatūānuku, from which union originate all living things
Tā	Sir, knight

tāne	husband, male, man; plural form
taiaha	long wooden weapon made of hard wood with one end carved and often decorated with dogs' hair
tapu	sacred, prohibited, restricted
taonga tuku iho	principle of cultural aspiration of kaupapa Māori theory
tauiwi	Foreigner, European, non-Māori
teina	younger brother (of a male), younger sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender) of a junior line, junior relative
tewhatewha	long wooden or bone weapon with a flat section at one end like an axe
te ao Māori	the Māori world, Māori worldview
te Ira Atua	the Māori Gods
te mana whakahaere	autonomy aspect of Te Pae Māhutonga
te oranga	participation in society aspect from Te Pae Māhutonga
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi; a group of documents representing the agreement between representatives of the British Crown and Māori hapū
tīpuna	ancestors, grandparents—plural form of tipuna and the eastern dialect variation of tūpuna
tikanga	customary procedures, rules, processes, practice
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy; principle of self-determination in kaupapa Māori theory
toiora	healthy lifestyle aspect of Te Pae Māhutonga
tuakana	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the family), prefect

tuakiritanga	tuakiri meaning person, personality, identity. The suffix -tanga was added to the noun to designate the quality derived from the base noun
Tūmatauenga	atua of war and humans—one of the offspring of Ranginui and Papatūānuku
utu	repay, pay, respond, avenge, reply, answer
wāhine	female, women, feminine—plural form of wahine
wānanga	Māori tertiary academic institution, forum, planning, or learning
waiata kaioraora	song of derision, cursing song, venting haka, abusive song—an abusive or belittling song of hatred
waiora	physical environment aspect of Te Pae Mahutonga
whaikōrero	oratory, formal speech; usually made by men during a pōhiri and other gatherings. Uses imagery, metaphor, proverbs, genealogy, history etc.
whakawhanaungatanga	to instigate or reinforce relationships, relationship building
whakapapa	genealogy, knowledge of ancestry
whakapāwera	tribulation, suffering, distress, misery, hardship, trouble.
whanonga pono	values
whānau	family, extended family, to give birth, born; principle of extended family structure in Kaupapa Māori theory
whanaungatanga	creating and sustaining relationships between relations and close friends, family and relationship building

whenua	land, country, nation, state, placenta, afterbirth[4]

[4]All translations in the Māori terms glossary have been taken from Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary (see Williams, 1971) unless stipulated

Appendices

Appendix A. Interview Guide

Introductions, whakawhanaungatanga, karakia

Tell me about yourself

Being Māori and its influence on your military experience:

- Is there a reason you chose to enlist in the Army (over the Navy/Air Force)?
    - Did being Māori have an influence on this choice?
    - Reasons you chose Army over Navy/Air Force, whānau history (Māori Battalion) etc
- How did your whānau or friends feel about you enlisting?
- Can you talk about your experiences of being Māori versus being a soldier
    - Sacrifices, differences, contentions and conflicts between the two, separate identities, advantages or strengths of being Māori, impact of military career on Māori identity, role models/brothers & sisters, challenges
- Do you believe your Māori identity has been affected by your soldier identity?
    - Are the two compatible?
    - Do they coexist or is one prioritised/legitimised more than the other?
- What are some specific ways that the Army have embraced Māori culture?
    - Māori warrior culture, values, cultural practices, language
- What do you think is the role of the Army for Māori communities in 2021?
    - Benefits/risks for Māori
- What are some positives to being in the Army that other Māori whānau or friends in your life do not have access to?
- Would you advise or recommend joining the military to your whānau/friends?

Military experience:

- What influenced you to join the Army?
    - Employment, status, warrior traditions, whānau ties, opportunity to travel, price of citizenship
- What does a soldier identity look like to you?
    - Values, beliefs, practices, military culture

- What does being a strong military mean to you?
- What was there about the military experience that had the most influence on how you think about yourself?
    - Service era, rank, combat experience, or service-related injuries?

Health and wellbeing

- What supports (cultural, health related etc) did they have available, what has worked/has not worked for them, what were some things they wanted to have available
    - When they first enlisted compared to now

Closing process, karakia

Appendix B. Information Sheet

Title: Te mana o ngā toa: Māori experiences of Ngāti Tūmatauenga

Principal Investigator

Cheyenne Kohere (Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Waikato-Tainui, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Tūwharetoa), University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton.

Phone: 027 805 5130

Email: camk1@students.waikato.ac.nz

About this research

Tēnā koe. Ko Cheyenne Kohere tēnei. I am a fulltime student undertaking a Master of Applied Psychology in Community Psychology at the University of Waikato. I am currently doing a research project exploring Māori experiences of the New Zealand Army. I come from a Māori military family, with both parents having served, as well as countless uncles, aunties, cousins and friends all serving within the NZDF. If you are receiving this email, this means that your name has been given to me by someone I know who believes you might be willing to kōrero with me.

Requirements

You are invited to have a kōrero with me (either in person or online), which will be informal in nature for me to hear about your experiences as military personnel in the New Zealand Army. There will also be a component of sharing mātauranga Māori (Māori cultural knowledge). The kōrero is casual, with time for open discussion and sharing of personal opinions and views. I plan to interview anywhere up to 10 people for this project. This conversation will be recorded, and will take approximately one hour. Your identity and name will be anonymized, and a pseudonym chosen by you

will be used when attributing quotes. No information about you will be disclosed to any other parties.

Details of importance

1. Participation is voluntary.
2. I hope to record the interview, with your permission.
3. You don't have to answer all the questions and you can ask me questions.
4. You can pause or stop the kōrero at any time.
5. You can withdraw your information any time after the kōrero, and up to two (2) weeks after receiving a transcript by contacting me via email, letter or phone. It is not possible to withdraw after publication.
6. Recordings will be stored in a secured laptop that is password protected and only accessible by myself.
7. Identifying information will be anonymized with a pseudonym being used.
8. You can access and edit your personal information at any time.
9. We expect to keep the data for at least five (5) years after the findings are published (within 3 years).
10. The risk of harm in participating is minimal. I have support from my supervisor to make sure I am acting safely at all times.
11. This research project will be co-supervised by Dr Waikaremoana Waitoki (moana.waitoki@waikato.ac.nz) and Dr Ottilie Stolte (ottilie@waikato.ac.nz).

I will provide kai (where possible) and a koha in appreciation of your time and knowledge. The research results will be published as part of my Master's thesis. You will also receive a summary of our conversation, and an electronic copy of the thesis when it is finished.

Consent

If you agree to participate in the research project, you will need to sign a consent form acknowledging that you have been informed about (a) the research project, (b) what you are being asked to do, (c) what will happen to the information, and (d) your right to withdraw (up to 2 weeks after receiving a transcript).

If you wish to be a part of this research project, please let me know at your earliest convenience via email or phone. I look forward to sharing our whānau knowledge and contributing to the health and wellbeing of our whānau.

Ngā mihi,

Cheyenne Kohere

Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Waikato-Tainui, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Tūwharetoa

University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105

Hamilton

Phone: 027 805 5130

Email: camk1@students.waikato.ac.nz

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Health) of the University of Waikato under HREC(Health)2021#21. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email humanethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240."

Appendix C. Consent Form

Consent Form

Name of person interviewed:

Please complete the following checklist. Tick (P) the appropriate box for each point.	**YES**	**NO**
1. I have been provided with an Information Sheet that I have read (or it has been read to me) and I understand this information.		
2. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not I would like to participate in this study.		
3. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet.		
4. I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.		
5. I have the right to decline to participate in any part of the research activity.		
6. I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.		
7. I understand that the information supplied by me could be used in future academic publications.		
8. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study.		
9. I wish to receive a copy of the findings.		
10. I wish to view the summary report of my interview.		
11. I have the right to access and correct any personal information about me.		
12. I have been informed about the duration and security of data storage.		

Chosen pseudonym:

Declaration by participant:

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact Dr Waikaremoana Waitoki in the first instance (moana.waitoki@waikato.ac.nz) or Dr Ottilie Stolte (ottilie@waikato.ac.nz), or the Secretary of the Committee, email humanethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240."

Participant's name (Please print):

_____

Signature: Date:

_____

Declaration by researcher:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:
