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Source: *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Spring 2017), pp. 102-117

Published by: University of Minnesota Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/wicazosareview.32.1.0102>

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Māori as “Warriors” and “Locals” in the Private Military Industry

Maria Bargh and Quentin Whanau

The private military industry has expanded rapidly since the 1980s and traverses many countries, governments, and peoples. Unlike other peoples described as “warrior peoples” or “martial races,” Māori are not predominantly seen and do not predominantly speak about themselves as “warriors” in the private military industry, which has expanded since the 1990s. Is this a result of the image of Māori as warriors being historically qualified by the accompanying image of Māori as “noble savages” who were allegedly capable of being civilized and assimilated? We suggest that Māori do not describe themselves as a warrior or martial race in the industry because there are other peoples in the industry who are labeled, and who label themselves, in that way, and we investigate the reasons Māori may want to differentiate themselves.

Second, we examine the idea of Māori being experts at engaging with “locals” (Indigenous peoples) in other countries. The perception of Māori in the New Zealand Defence Force is that they have a particular expertise at engaging with the Indigenous peoples of countries outside New Zealand. In the private military industry, where people of many nationalities are contracted to provide military activities in countries such as Iraq, non-New Zealanders view the ability to engage well with Indigenous peoples as a Kiwi (New Zealander) trait and not specifically a Māori trait.¹ Māori in the private military industry describe their abilities to engage well with locals as both a Kiwi trait that they share with some of their Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent)

compatriots and as a uniquely Māori way of conducting themselves. We suggest that the sense of being good at engaging with locals as a Kiwi trait may be a result of the Māori influences on Pākehā who have served together in the New Zealand Defence Force. Māori perceptions of their own engagement with locals are bound up with Māori values of fostering successful diplomatic and working relationships through actively making connections with other peoples.

METHODOLOGY

The unique methodology of this project has been significant in the way the material has been compiled, analyzed, and presented in this article. While conducting interviews for a book project about Māori in the private military industry, I (Maria Bargh) noted that a number of interviewees made reference to long-standing assumptions about Māori as warriors and as easily able to engage with local peoples of other ethnicities. I began to wonder if these references were being used in the same way as they had been in colonial times by early British colonizers. I also wondered if the references were being used in the same way by Māori as they were by non-Māori in the private military industry. Were these comments a product of their common use in the New Zealand Defence Force and due to the fact that the interviewees trained in the New Zealand Defence Force? Or were they partially a result of that but also a reflection of rhetoric and thinking in the private military industry?

Very little is written about Māori in the private military industry beyond newspaper articles.² With my background in researching politics, international relations, and Māori studies I knew that answering questions about Māori sentiments of their involvement in the private military industry would require collaboration with someone who had worked in that industry. In order to work through the complexity of this issue, I began a dialogue with Quentin Whanau, who is Māori, has a background in the New Zealand Defence Force, has taught New Zealand Defence Force doctrine, and has worked in the private military industry. This article is in part an illustration of the ways that the two of us read the articulations of Māori in the New Zealand Defence Force and private military industry. Our project to bring two different perspectives together necessarily involved trying to engage and mediate between different ways of thinking about being Māori. We found a way to talk through these issues, and this negotiation is a useful method for thinking and writing across different viewpoints. The method here partially follows what Māori education academic Russell Bishop has described as “interviews as collaborative storying,” whereby Quentin and I engage in the collaborative construction of new meanings by entering into a conversation from two quite different subject positions.³ At times the conversation, and therefore this article, has relied heavily

on Quentin's extensive experience in these areas, which is illustrated in substantial quotes from Quentin in this article, and has then been contrasted with published academic and New Zealand Defence Force documentation.

Bringing our two different understandings together to analyze depictions of Māori as warriors and locals provides a picture of how these ideas have been used in different ways over the years. Māori articulations of these ideas indicate a reappropriation of the terms "warriors" and "locals" from colonial applications for reuse in multiple ways—including for Māori advantage. We hope that providing a dialogical approach to analyzing how these ideas are produced and reproduced will encourage a focus on the many roles of Māori in the military and private military industry.

This research used Kaupapa Māori methodology, which is primarily for Māori and by Māori and is underpinned by a number of ethical values.⁴ The values of *manaakitanga* (hosting, sharing, and generosity), *mana* (dignity), and *mabaki* (humility) were central to our research.⁵ We sought to treat the different information that we brought to the dialogue with respect and care and to ensure that our robust exchanges maintained the *mana* of the material, of the people we were discussing, and of each other as cocollaborators. As a result, substantial quotations from Quentin in the latter part of the article are deliberately allowed to speak on their own terms, rather than being reinterpreted from an academic viewpoint.

Our first task was to take note of when the ideas of Māori as warriors and locals were used. The intention here is not to seek to prove whether these ideas about Māori are "true" in and of themselves; this perception will vary according to people's histories and circumstances. Our interest is what we can learn from examining how and when these ideas are used.

MĀORI AS WARRIORS

The categorization and ranking of societies, according to those who are allegedly more civilized than others, have been around for hundreds of years.⁶ When the British and other Europeans encountered Indigenous peoples they made particular kinds of assumptions about these peoples and ranked their societies.⁷ The categorizations by the British then went a step further to make assumptions, and subsequently a martial race theory, about particular peoples as having innate warrior or martial characteristics.⁸ This process has been most commonly examined in India and Pakistan.⁹

The categorization of Māori as having a predominantly warrior culture stems from early contact between Māori and non-Māori and has been well documented.¹⁰ Historian Franchesca Walker has described

the way that the British used the assumptions of Māori as a martial race during the New Zealand Wars of the mid-1800s: "A dichotomy was formed between the civilized, intelligent warfare pursued by British troops and the 'lower' form of war waged by Māori. One newspaper highlighted this key difference during the wars, distinguishing between the groups' approach to battle: 'A Māori is a fighting animal, while the British soldier is a fighting machine. . . . One fought by instinct, the other by rule.'"¹¹ Walker found that during the subsequent world wars, non-Māori and Māori employed martial race discourse. Māori used it in order to add legitimacy to calls for political and economic equality, and in 1942 Apirana Ngata famously described Māori participation as warriors in the Second World War as "the price of citizenship" to the new Pākehā settler state.¹²

Since the 1980s the notion has been reiterated on various occasions and in particular ways.¹³ The most prominent agency within New Zealand that consistently describes Māori as descendants of a warrior race is the New Zealand Defence Force. In the 1990s "a concerted effort took place to affirm the concept of a bicultural partnership within the New Zealand Defence Force as a whole," and in 1994 "the Services adopted Māori names."¹⁴ The New Zealand navy adopted the name Te Taua Moana o Aotearoa (warriors of the sea); the army, Ngāti Tūmatauenga (tribe of the God of war); and the air force, Te Tauaarangi o Aotearoa (warriors of the sky).

There were a number of reasons provided by the New Zealand Defence Force for the name changes. The first was that the use of Māori tribal identity reflected the full integration of Māori into the New Zealand Defence Force—the last Māori-only unit ceased in the 1950s. The New Zealand Defence Force stated that it was "common practice in Māoridom to use the word Tūmatauenga when referring to soldiers," and therefore with integration "it was a natural progression to formalize this integration by using the name Tūmatauenga."¹⁵ The second reason it suggested was that the names reflected the warrior culture of Māori: "Māori are traditionally tribal warrior people. . . . [T]hey identify strongly with the warrior culture of the New Zealand Defence Force."¹⁶ The name Ngāti Tūmatauenga is "an unprecedented fusion of Māori and European Warrior Cultures towards something ancient and timeless."¹⁷ The third reason provided was that the name changes represented the long-term contributions Māori have made to the New Zealand Defence Force, including "participation in major conflicts of the 19th and 20th century."¹⁸

To explain the rationale further for its personnel, the New Zealand Defence Force makes available documentation that includes a *whakapapa* (genealogy) by listing events "leading to the New Zealand Army becoming Ngāti Tūmatauenga." The *whakapapa* begins with "Māori vs European (the Kororāreka Association—1828)." British settlers formed

the Kororāreka Association in lieu of a British policing system to control settlers in the Far North of the North Island of New Zealand. It is possible that this beginning of the *whakapapa* represents the time when Māori and Pākehā were separate (military) entities, opposed to one another. The second tier of the *whakapapa* is "Māori vs European & Māori (the Armed Constabulary—1867)." This appears to indicate a merging at least of some Māori who fought alongside the Crown during the land wars of the 1860s, although other Māori were still an opposing (military) force. At this next point on the *whakapapa*, the two sides were brought together in the wars where Māori fought alongside Pākehā against third party military forces: "Boer War (1899), NZ 1st and 2nd Expeditionary Forces (1914 & 1939), Māori Pioneer BN [Battalion] (1914), Te Hokowhitu a Tū (1915), 28th Māori BN [Battalion in Second World War]."19

Quentin proposes that a defining moment for the New Zealand Defence Force came with the suspension of New Zealand from the alliance between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States in the 1980s. The New Zealand government had introduced a nuclear-free policy in 1987, which meant that U.S. nuclear-powered frigates could no longer visit New Zealand ports. Quentin states: "Following the exclusion, during the 1980s and 1990s the New Zealand Defence Force went through a number of restructures in order to rebrand itself as a credible defense force. Previously, the New Zealand Defence Force had leaned heavily on the U.S. for equipment and training support. Throughout this period, morale suffered, and a number of personnel left feeling disillusioned."20

The rebranding of the New Zealand Defence Force, Quentin says, was seen as a way forward to inject some identity and purpose back into the forces: "The concept of a bicultural partnership acknowledges both Māori and Pākehā as warriors and our shared history of warfare including achievements and losses as New Zealanders. The Māori aspect gives New Zealand its uniqueness, and the ethos and values of the New Zealand Defence Force (commitment, comradeship, courage, integrity) are similar to tribal values and virtues."21

Quentin's views are reiterated by the New Zealand Defence Force's "Bicultural Policy," which states that the "bicultural approach enhances the New Zealand Defence Force's: 1) military ethos; 2) fighting spirit; 3) camaraderie and behaviours; 4) unique ability to accept and engage with diverse cultures in operation settings; 5) ability to attract, recruit and retain Māori members of the Armed Forces."22 This view has also been expressed throughout the New Zealand Defence Force. For example, in a navy presentation regarding the integration of Māori into the New Zealand Defence Force, the author argues that "the ability to practice Māori traditions enhances identity and morale within the RNZN [Royal New Zealand Navy]."23

One of the other reasons for having a Māori name for the New Zealand army might be that approximately 22 percent of the army (including regular force, reserves, and civilians) are Māori (19.9 percent of the navy and 6.6 percent of the air force).²⁴ Having a Māori name for the organization possibly indicates that the services are for Māori. For the army, which has struggled to recruit and retain personnel over the past decades, appealing to people's identity may be one part of the solution.

In other countries, the timing of militaries encouraging the enlisting and serving of nonmajority populations has reflected the short-to medium-term needs of the military. In Canada, the traditional demographic of the military has been people of European descent, and the numbers of those people enlisting in the military are declining. As a result, a new discourse has begun to emerge within the Canadian forces about the military's need to reflect the ethnic diversity of the population; therefore, its focus has turned to encouraging minority groups to enlist.²⁵ Defense studies scholar Grazia Scoppio has compared the ways that Aboriginal Canadians and Māori have been integrated into the militaries of Canada and New Zealand. She argues that such integration has been more successful in New Zealand because of the legacies of what she describes as Māori warrior culture and the inclusion of Māori cultural practices within the New Zealand Defence Force.²⁶

The use of the *haka* (dance) and *kapa haka* (performances/songs) and the construction of an army *marae* (meetinghouse) are examples of the inclusion of Māori cultural practices.²⁷ *Haka* has many functions; the most well known, however, is its use in Māori battles long before colonization as a psychological weapon.²⁸ The use of *haka* by Māori in the New Zealand Defence Force even before the First World War was a Māori initiative. The introduction of *kapa haka* and the construction of the first navy *marae* at Devonport in 2000 is described in an internal navy presentation about Māori integration as "able to embrace both the Māori and military cultures of the Royal New Zealand Navy. . . . It is a memorial to our forebears and a beacon for those yet to come."²⁹ *Kapa haka* is seen by many Māori as an avenue to maintain cultural traditions and Māori language, while the *marae* plays an important role for Māori, as traditionally the meetinghouse was the location for discussion political, cultural, and social matters.³⁰ The first army *marae* was built in Waiouru in 1995.

These are some of the ways, in internal New Zealand Defence Force presentations and documents, that the idea of Māori as a warrior people has been used within the organization, but what about in the private military industry? A number of scholars have explored the ways the private military industry is utilizing the notion of martial races. Scholar Paul Higate, for instance, has examined the ways that Fijian contractors are constructed as "members of a martial race, with

lines of continuity reaching back to the intervention of the imperial powers who, mirroring the Kamba tribe in Kenya, recruited into the British army 'believed that certain sections of their subject populations had inherent combative and militaristic qualities that made them naturally suited for military service.'³¹ Gender studies scholar Amanda Chisholm has conducted research into the concept of a martial race with Gurkhas in the private military industry. Gurkhas are Nepalese soldiers who historically had a unit in the nineteenth-century British army and are commonly referred to as members of a martial race. As Chisholm discovered, Gurkhas express pride in their identity as a martial race; however, they have complained that private military and security companies exploit this reputation for an economic gain that is not adequately repaid to Gurkha employees.³²

From his experiences in the private military industry, Quentin argues that "Gurkhas were more commonly identified as warrior people than Māori. When people said, 'He's a Gurkha,' it meant a whole association with warriorness: a good fighter, very disciplined and professional. If people say, 'He's Nepalese,' it doesn't mean anything, but if you say, 'He's a Gurkha,' that's different." There is an implication of a ranking of peoples according to their apparent "warriorness."

Although Māori share a historical discourse of being descendants of a warrior race with the Gurkhas and Fijians, this appears to not be widely known in the private military industry. Quentin suggests that while Gurkhas and Fijians have a clear reputation as warrior people, Māori are not perceived in quite the same way:

Māori don't have a reputation, because we're usually lumped in as Kiwis. We're identified as New Zealanders, not as an individual race. So, for example, when they talk about an operator who's doing a really good job, they see him as a New Zealander first, and then if he has a Māori name, then he is identifiable as Māori. We are identifiable as different from other Kiwis because of our Māori names. There are, of course, also Māori with European names, and then it wouldn't be until it is brought to an outsider's attention—that person is Māori.

In large part, this perception of Māori as predominantly Kiwis may be a result of American companies dominating the private military industry and their limited knowledge of Māori.³³ Quentin explains:

The Americans don't really know about Māori. It's only through recent conflicts where we've fought side by side with them that they realize Māori make up a significant part of the defense force. In the private military industry

it might be their first contact with a Māori. At one time there were two Māori guys who worked in security at the U.S. Embassy in the Green Zone, Iraq. From working with Americans and through work association, then some Americans knew who Māori were. Māori were noticeably different from other Kiwis because they had either a first or last name that was Māori and they had to teach people how to pronounce it. Māori were often confused with Hispanics, possibly because the other big group of brown people that the Americans know are Hispanics. Brits were a bit different. They know us by culture. There's been a close association since they colonized us. Those Brits who were in the private military industry that had served in the military with New Zealanders knew more about Māori as warrior descendants.

Why is it that while Gurkhas and Fijians are treated as martial races in the private military industry, Māori are not, despite coming from similar discursive contexts about warriors? Does it have something to do with the other images associated with Māori? One of the other dimensions of Māori being described as a martial race is the accompanying assumption about the potential for Māori to be civilized.

The use of the image of Māori as noble savages has been subtler in the 1990s and 2000s than the warrior image, and the term is not now used explicitly. Many early British settlers to New Zealand understood Māori as being both of a warrior culture and a noble savage because Māori cultivated the land and showed a keen interest in commerce.³⁴ According to Adam Smith and others who adhered to the theory of stages of history, if societies showed signs of cultivation or commerce, then they were at a more advanced level of civilization than, say, those who "hunted and gathered."³⁵ As scholar Michaela Moura-Koçoğlu also points out, Māori were deemed noble savages in the 1800s because they were seen as "amenable both to civilisation and to survival" and as "superior to the Natives of the 'new world.'"³⁶

Although British settlers in the 1800s perceived Māori as having an inherent savagery (as manifested in their warriorness), they were also perceived as being able to be trained and assimilated, supposedly placing them slightly higher than the average "savage" on the hierarchy of humanity.³⁷ The population may be noble and one step above the savagery of others, but still at heart Māori were savage and therefore could not be entirely trusted by British colonizers to manage their own Māori affairs.³⁸

Some of these kinds of views about Māori could explain the different treatment of Māori from other peoples categorized as martial races when it comes to management positions in the private military

industry. Quentin suggests that the role that race and ethnicity play in selection criteria for management or other senior positions in the private military industry is not always overt or transparent:

There are unofficial selection criteria for management positions. Fijians are seen as good fighters. Gurkhas and Fijians stand out. There are guard forces that are entirely one of those. However, they never really occupied management positions, but Māori were sometimes headhunted for management positions because we're seen as being "smart buggers"! Māori are seen as more intelligent and independent. The other aspect of this is that many of those guard forces that were entirely Fijian or Gurkha didn't tend to mix with their generally white supervisors, whereas because of their management positions Māori did mingle with other team leaders. I've never seen a Gurkha or Fijian out of their group. They tend to stick with their own. Māori are seen as able to assimilate. We're seen as having been assimilated into Kiwi / New Zealand identity.

MĀORI AS LOCALS

In interviews I conducted in 2013 and 2014 (and subsequently published) with Māori serving in the private military industry, interviewees made numerous comments about the distinctive nature of Māori (and often by association of Kiwis) in the private military industry.³⁹ Interviewees suggested that Māori have more of an ability to relate to and empathize with local (Indigenous) peoples in whichever country they are operating because of shared experiences of colonization, occupation, and being Indigenous peoples. This idea of Māori as being able to bond and identify easily with locals (Indigenous peoples) in a place is one that is commonly discussed in the New Zealand Defence Force, particularly with regard to Māori deployed in the Pacific.

In 1997–98 the New Zealand Defence Force deployed peacekeeping operations in Bougainville in response to the civil war between Bougainville and Papua New Guinea and to East Timor in 1999 as part of INTERFET after the East Timorese voted to become independent from Indonesia.⁴⁰ The New Zealand Defence Force often presents the peacekeeping operations in Bougainville and East Timor as success stories in large part because of the presence of Māori soldiers and Māori cultural practices. Some have described Māori *tikanga* (cultural practices) and protocols as being the key part of New Zealand peacekeeping in those places, with the *kapa haka* often mentioned as also essential.⁴¹ In relation to the New Zealand peacekeepers being sent to Bougainville in 1997–98, the commander of the coalition, Brig. Roger Mortlock, stated that "the

Māori concert group and a good shipment of guitars are going to be the main weapons in our arsenal."⁴² Others argued that in Bougainville, "Māori are highly respected."⁴³ Rhys Puddicombe from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, who joined the Truce Monitoring Group, noted, "The New Zealand military was heavily weighted with Māori who had instant and close empathy with Bougainvilleans. The predominance of Māori officers and soldiers was a deliberate and very effective choice."⁴⁴

In the private military industry, non-New Zealanders perceived this trait of being able to engage with locals easily as a Kiwi way of doing things, rather than as something specific to Māori. Quentin stated,

In the private military industry, people don't generally comment directly to you about how you do things and if they recognize it as a "Kiwi way" or not, but you hear from others. One of the general comments I heard about us is that Kiwis are seen to be more friendly with the locals and too trusting of locals who are working in their teams. Most of the Western guys had a more reserved attitude toward locals in their teams and only really trusted other expats [expatriates], particularly in situations that involved conflict. Once when I was a team leader, my driver told me that if anything happened, the team would look after me because of the way I treated them and interacted with them. I took that to mean the Kiwi/Māori way I interacted them. Some of the other Pākehā guys shared similar views and experiences.

Despite the perception from other people of the way Māori interacted in the private military industry as being a Kiwi trait, Māori themselves in the industry described aspects of engaging with locals as being uniquely Māori and bound up with Māori legal and social values of building working relationships and alliances through actively making connections with other peoples. Quentin argued, "In places where Māori and Indigenous peoples have things in common like religion, family, histories of colonization, this enables you to bond with each other. The perception from locals in places like Iraq was that generally white or expat colleagues predominantly think they're superior. When Māori are in charge, say, as team leaders, they have a different approach to creating a working environment. The white or expat colleagues base their methods more on the carryover from colonial times, whereas Māori aim for a more inclusive approach." Making connections and highlighting commonalities, Quentin indicated, is philosophically *whakawhanaungatanga*, a Māori way of building and maintaining any good relationships with other peoples. "In every country I worked in," Quentin recalls,

regardless of whether English was spoken, I always took the time to learn some basic phrases to help bond with locals. They were only too happy to teach you new words and phrases daily and would test your retention randomly. I suspect this was their way of determining how genuine you were about learning their culture. As a Māori, food plays an important cultural role in connecting with people. I love food and would jump at an opportunity to experience local food. It was a great way to bond with locals in a relaxed setting. Being invited to share a meal was always an experience, but not everyone was keen to try the local food, for reasons ranging from "I don't trust it!" to "I hate the food!" Some colleagues (mostly U.S./Brits/Australians) would make excuses not to participate or to eat with locals, which I thought was insensitive and I'm sure the locals regarded as disrespectful. These types of attitudes did nothing to help build relationships with locals.

By trying to engage with local people by spending time with them and participating in informal rituals of connection like sharing food, Māori were building working relationships and bonds with those people.

Quentin describes showing an interest in history as another means of connecting with locals: "Taking the time to learn about the history and culture of the people helped build an understanding of them, and in return it was an opportunity to share things about my own culture. From my experience, Indigenous people are very good at reading body language and can tell if you're genuine or not. Being Māori you definitely relate to other Indigenous peoples in regard to colonization—shared experiences certainly resonate with you regardless of nationality." Quentin notes that for some Māori who looked like the locals, the Indigenous peoples of those places, that also provided an opportunity for bonding—and mistaken identity. "One time," Quentin says, "in Afghanistan I was at a meeting, and some local Hazara people were trying to talk to me, and the interpreter picked it up, because he saw them staring at me when I didn't respond. He managed to explain to them that I wasn't being rude—I just wasn't Hazara." In my aforementioned interviews with other Māori in the private military industry, I also recorded comments that support Quentin's perspective.⁴⁵ One of them, T, suggested, "It's not so much being 'a Māori' that gives you a point of difference; rather, it's being brought up 'as Māori' that may be of assistance to getting work or helping you in your work, especially when working in foreign countries where locals don't speak English and don't share recognisable customs and beliefs. You learn that different groups of people have different *kawa* [cultural practices usually relating to formal procedures at a meetinghouse] and *tikanga* [correct

procedures and customs] relating to everyday activities, and you learn to be respectful of those differences."⁴⁶ The sense of connection that Quentin articulates reflects Māori values and concepts of *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whakawhanaungatanga* (fostering family connections). *Whakapapa* and *whakawhanaungatanga* were central aspects of Māori legal and social traditions in which relationships with others were crucial in political and economic interactions.⁴⁷ By using Māori cultural practices like *kapa haka* and/or Māori language, Māori in the private military industry are to some extent reasserting those traditional Māori concepts in new ways and in different settings.

CONCLUSION

This article has explored how the interconnected ideas of Māori as warriors and as locals or Indigenous peoples are articulated from the New Zealand Defence Force and through the private military industry. We have argued that, unlike other peoples described as martial races, Māori are not predominantly seen and do not often speak about themselves as a martial race in the private military industry. We suggested that this is a result of the image of Māori as warriors being historically qualified by the accompanying image of Māori as noble savages who are capable of being civilized and assimilated. We argued Māori do not describe themselves as a martial race in the industry because there are other peoples labeled in that way, namely, the Gurkhas and Fijians.

The private military industry popularly perceives Māori engagement with locals as a Kiwi trait. Although in some instances Māori have agreed with their inclusion in this Kiwi identity, some also described their connections with local Indigenous peoples as a uniquely Māori feature. Building diplomatic and working relationships by actively making connections with other peoples has long been a key feature of Māori practices relating to *whakapapa* and *whakawhanaungatanga*.

We suggest that research on Māori and other Indigenous peoples in the private military industry needs to be attentive to the multiple ways that Indigenous peoples actively renegotiate colonial perceptions of them. Much of the critical scholarship on the private military industry is conducted from afar or focuses on structural inequalities or racialization in the industry.⁴⁸ It might be useful for this research to be cautious and not to assume too much, to generalize about those peoples in the industry, or to skim over their agency in the industry.

Although this article has focused primarily on the perspectives and experiences of one individual and is therefore tentative in its findings, it could be appropriate for researchers in the field to consider that just because a group of people has been defined as a martial race in colonial discourses and in the military does not automatically mean this will continue to be the case in the private military industry. The

political and cultural context and dynamics amongst the actors in the private military industry can change how peoples are perceived. One of the ways that we have suggested might assist in foregrounding the complex roles of Indigenous peoples is by engaging in collaborative storytelling or dialogues between those with experiences in the industry and those from outside it.

GLOSSARY

Aotearoa. One of the Māori names for New Zealand.

baka. Performance.

kapa baka. Performances/songs.

kaupapa Māori. Issues pertaining to Māori.

kawa. Māori procedures and protocols, usually pertaining to the *marae*.

mahaki. Humility.

mana. Authority.

manaakitanga. Hosting, sharing, and demonstrating generosity.

marae. Meeting place / meetinghouse.

Ngāti Tūmataunga. The New Zealand army's Māori name.

Pākehā. A New Zealander of European descent.

Te Reo. The Māori language.

tikanga. Māori cultural practices. Also used to describe Māori legal principles.

Tūmataunga. The god of war.

whakapapa. Genealogy.

whakawhanaungatanga. Fostering relationships with family.

whānau. Family.

AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHIES

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Quentin Whanau is from the Te Atiawa Māori tribe. He has served in the New Zealand military and has worked in the private security industry.

NOTES

1 A kiwi is a flightless bird that is endemic to New Zealand. It is also used, however, by many New Zealanders as a nickname to de-

scribe people who are from New Zealand, and its usage dates back to military contexts before the First World War.

- 2 See, for example, P. Charman, "Kiwi Sees Fighting Off Pirates as Just a Job," *New Zealand Herald*, July 20, 2013, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10900435; L. Cleave, "Kiwi in Iraq Died Doing Work He Loved," *New Zealand Herald*, July 13, 2007, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10451295; Staff Reporters, "Ex-SAS Men in Secret Rescue," *New Zealand Herald*, March 9, 2000, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=124856.
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