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Reeling Them In

Printed New Zealand Army Recruiting Material 1899 – 1999

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Abstract

The decision to join the army, or any other armed service, is a significant one. Unlike most jobs, the prospect of death in violent circumstances, particularly during periods of armed conflict, is a realistic possibility. Regardless of how unattractive this proposition might be, New Zealand maintained an army made up largely of volunteers throughout the period under review: beginning with the South African War in 1899, through to the deployment to East Timor in 1999. Whether militia forces, part-time Territorials, or full-time Regulars, the army has used printed recruiting material to attract New Zealanders, both men and women, to join the potentially fatal occupation of soldiering. To be successful as items of advertising, printed recruiting material has to resonate with its audience. By assessing the various themes used to encourage generations of men and women to enlist in the army, it is possible to identify what was relevant to various audiences at particular times, and by extension, what was valued within society during certain periods. In addition, how the army portrayed its worth to society, not just its worth to potential recruits, is an important aspect of recruiting material, and one that provides further opportunities to understand New Zealand society. This thesis will demonstrate significantly greater continuity among the themes used in recruiting material, and by extension, greater continuity in social values during the period than there was change.

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Introduction

What a society gets in its armed services is exactly what it asks for, no more and no less. What it asks for tends to be a reflection of what it is. When a country looks at its fighting forces it is looking in a mirror: if the mirror is a true one the face that it sees there will be its own.¹

General Sir John Winthrop Hackett

During a tour of Archives New Zealand as a young graduate student, I came across a recruiting poster laid out on a table. The poster was undated, but it was undoubtedly old and unmistakably from another period in New Zealand's history. It was not the state of the paper that gave the poster's age away, but rather its content. The poster depicted a fully-grown lion supported by four young lions, while the text sought men for war service. Any doubt as to what the adult lion and young lions represented was clarified by the text of the poster, 'The Empire Needs Men!'² The adult lion represented Great Britain, while the young lions represented Australia, Canada, India and New Zealand - a point made clear in the subtext of the poster. The message was obvious: it was the duty of all male citizens of the Empire to answer the call to help the elder lion defy its foes; to enlist in the armed forces for war service.

The poster's content struck a chord for a number of reasons. Months previously, I had graduated as a Lieutenant into the Regular Force of the New Zealand Army, having completed three years' training at the Officer Cadet School of New Zealand, while simultaneously completing an undergraduate degree at Massey University. Furthermore, while undergoing training at Officer Cadet School, I had myself appeared in a contemporary army recruiting campaign and was, therefore, familiar with the content of that material. The contrast between the army recruiting material of the late 1990s and this early twentieth century recruiting poster – later identified as a First World War poster – could not have been more striking.

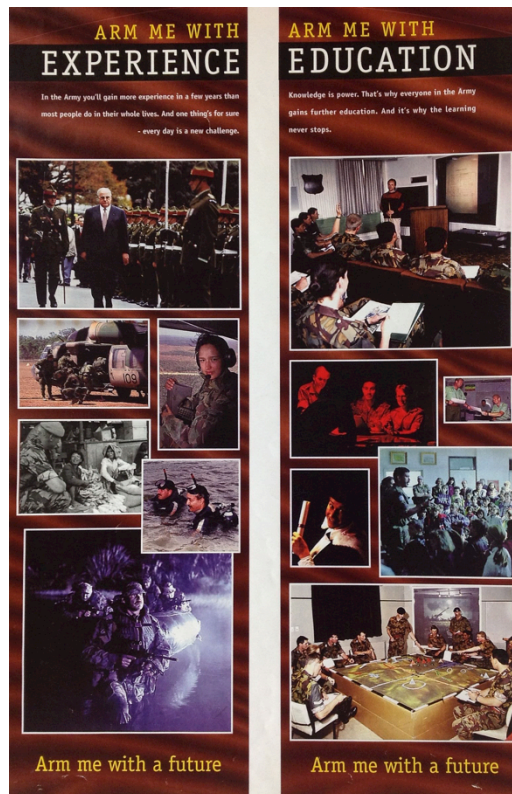
¹ J.W. Hackett, *The Profession of Arms: The 1962 Lees Knowles Lectures given at Trinity College, Cambridge*, Centre of Military History, U.S. Army, 1986, p.34.

² Poster, *The Empire Needs Men!*, 1915, (original design by Arthur Wardle, United Kingdom; redesigned and printed in the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland), Archives New Zealand Reference: AD 1 9/169/2/1 SEP 598.



The Empire Needs Men!, 1915 (original design by Arthur Wardle, United Kingdom; redesigned and printed in the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland). Archives New Zealand Ref:

AD 1 9/169/2/1 SEP 598.



Arm Me with Experience and *Arm Me with Education*, late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

In the late 1990s, the army started using the advertising slogan ‘Arm Me’ to attract recruits. The slogan emphasised the opportunities offered to individuals who enlisted in the New Zealand Army, with a range of posters carrying variations on the ‘Arm Me’ theme: ‘Arm Me with a Future’; ‘Arm Me with Skills’; ‘Arm Me with Education’; and ‘Arm Me with a Career’, among others.³ It was posters like these, and the associated booklets and leaflets that supported the ‘Arm Me’ recruiting campaign, that I was familiar with, had participated in, and, in many respects, was uncomfortable with; my view being that soldiering in the army stood for service to others rather than focusing on self-advancement. Seeing the lion poster at the Archives, one could not help but be struck by the contrast with the ‘Arm Me’ campaign, which triggered a range of thoughts and questions, as well as a profound sense of shame. Was our society more patriotic in the past? Are people today only motivated by what they can gain from something? Does this make us selfish? How did we go from being a society inspired by patriotic loyalty to one motivated by personal gain? Whatever the answers to or implications of these wider questions, I was also left questioning my motivations for joining the army.

I grew up in a family with a proud history of service in the British Army, being raised to value public service over personal enrichment and filled with an inherent desire to serve ‘Queen and Country.’ An important part of this upbringing, however, was the avoidance of glorifying war; war was always undesirable, but sometimes an unavoidable necessity. My decision to join the army was, therefore, not solely made as a result of recruiting material, but was part of a broader socialisation to the concepts of service inculcated within the family environment - as is the case for many who join the armed forces. Nevertheless, the recruiting booklet *Officer Careers in the New Zealand Army* undoubtedly tipped the balance between choosing a career in the army over a career in graphic design.⁴ The booklet achieved this by the inclusion of a range of themes that effectively targeted the values of service and patriotism instilled during childhood. Recruiting material may not be the sole influence on whether individuals join the army, but it can be an influential factor in the final decision.

While full-time service in the army prevented academic exploration of the topic for more than a decade, the experience of seeing the lion poster lingered in the back of my mind.

³ Posters, *Arm Me with a Future*, *Arm Me with a Career*, *Arm Me with Skills*, *Arm Me with Education*, late-1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴ Advertisement, *Officer Careers in the New Zealand Army*, 2000, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Throughout that time, whether in New Zealand, on overseas posting, or on active service in East Timor and Afghanistan, thoughts persisted regarding the role recruiting material has played in encouraging generations of New Zealanders to enlist in the army and how that reflects our society. It also became apparent that, beyond First World War propaganda posters, there was a general lack of scholarly research on the subject. The value of this thesis, therefore, lies in filling a significant gap in the existing literature, as well as analysing the means used to encourage enlistment into one of New Zealand's oldest and most significant state institutions. It is the first study to consider the themes used to maintain the strength of the nation's army during times of both peace and conflict; how those themes reflected New Zealand society; and the position the army portrayed itself as filling in that society.

In seeking to assess General Hackett's observation that a nation's fighting forces are a reflection of the society from which they are drawn, this thesis will address three key questions. The first is what themes were used in army recruiting material to attract recruits? The second asks why those themes were used, while the third asks how the themes reflected the army's self-projected place in New Zealand society.

Answering the question of 'what themes have been used?' is a critical first step to further analysis. By understanding what themes have been used, how, when and where, the second question can be addressed. Furthermore, understanding the range of themes is also necessary to understand the complexity of the topic, and to facilitate the development of hypotheses for the second question. The collated data for the first question provides insight into trends in advertising themes, which has value in itself as a record of twentieth century advertising methodology. From this data we can identify themes that have enduring appeal, as well as those that were transiently considered useful.

The second question in this thesis, 'why the themes were used?', is important for the insights it provides into New Zealand society. The primary aim of recruiting material is to persuade civilians to volunteer for service. The themes used in advertising can, therefore, be seen as a reflection of what was socially appropriate and likely to be successful at the time of its production. While the army's advertising undoubtedly 'missed the mark' at times, it is logical to assume that such advertising themes would have been short-lived. By looking at all recruiting themes over time, however, it is possible to draw conclusions as to why themes were used and why they were thought likely to succeed as aids to recruiting. In posing and

addressing these questions, this thesis assesses the validity of General Hackett's observation. This assessment will also provide an answer to the question triggered by the lion poster of whether society had, over a century, become more self-centred.

The third question this thesis answers is 'how did the themes reflect the army's self-projected place in society?' The secondary aim of recruiting material is to enhance public perceptions of the army. The relationships between the army's public relations and recruiting functions is always close, whether it involves recruiting material or the deployment of the Army Band to perform at a regional A&P Show. At the centre of the army's self-portrayal, particularly in recruiting material, is the role the organisation fills in society. Within that role, and more importantly in some respects, is the message of what value the army provides society. The costs associated with the maintenance of a standing army, particularly in times of peace or economic hardship, is often contentious. Analysing how the army has sought to project its place in society through recruiting material can, therefore, provide unique insights into New Zealand's social and economic past.

The decision to join the army, or any armed service, is a significant one. Unlike most jobs, the prospect of death in violent circumstances is one that cannot be separated from service in the armed forces, particularly during times of war. Likewise, service in the military also requires the surrender of some basic freedoms enjoyed by society in general. Some of the liberties lost are seemingly insignificant, such as the ability for men to grow long hair or for women to dye their hair unnatural colours. Others, however, are more significant, such as limitations on political involvement or the ability to refuse an order to go into a potentially fatal situation. Despite this, New Zealand has maintained armed forces since its earliest times, whether militia forces, part-time territorial forces, or full-time regular forces. To do this, New Zealand has relied on a mixture of compulsion and voluntarism to maintain the strength of its army, with voluntarism playing the predominant role, even in times of war and other armed conflicts. The role recruiting material has played in the decision-making process is, therefore, a significant one, not just in the life of those influenced by the material, but also for society in general, particularly during times of war when the army's presence in the consciousness of society is often at its greatest.

Existing international literature on recruiting material is limited in scope and interpretation. It can broadly be broken down into two categories: that which focuses on First

and Second World War recruiting posters as items of propaganda,⁵ and that looking at the efficacy of military marketing campaigns following the introduction of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). The AVF was introduced in the United States during the 1970s, alongside similar voluntary service systems in other English-speaking nations around the same time.⁶ There are two other categories of literature relevant to the topic outside of New Zealand general and military history. The first is advertising and marketing literature⁷, which is relevant to recruiting material as items of advertising. The second are official studies, reports, papers and research designed to increase the effectiveness of New Zealand Army recruiting efforts.⁸

⁵ J. Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication*, London, Thames and Hudson, 2007; J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007; E. Bernays, *Propaganda*, New York, Ig Publishing, 2005; B. Bray, "From Flag-Waving to Pragmatism: Images of Patriotism, Heroes and War in Canadian World War II Propaganda Posters", *Material History Review* 42, Fall 1995; M. Bryant, "Poster Boy", *Cartoon Times, History Today*, July, 2009; S. Carruthers, "'Manning the Factories': Propaganda and Policy on the Employment of Women, 1939-1947", *The Journal of the Historical Association*, June, 1990, Vol. 75 Issue 244, pp.232-256; M.G. Chaktsiris, "'Our Boys With the Maple Leaf on Their Shoulders and Straps': Masculinity, the Toronto Press, and the Outbreak of the South African War, 1899", *War & Society*, Vol. 32 No. 1, March 2013; J. Darracot, *The First World War in Posters*, New York, Dover Publications, 1974; S. Gibson, "Display Folk: Second World War Posters at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa", *Tuhinga*, Number 19, 2008; S. Gibson, "First World War Posters at Te Papa", *Tuhinga*, Number 23, 2012; C. Ginzburg, "'Your Country Needs You': A Case Study in Political Iconography", *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 52, 2001; P. James, *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture*, University of Nebraska, USA, 2009; G.S. Jowett and V. O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 5th edition, California, Sage Publications, 2012; J. Palermo, "Patriotic Poster Boys: Uncle Sam Wasn't the First-or Last-Recruiting Icon to Point the way into Service", *Military History Magazine*, July/August 2007; J. Taylor, *Careless Talk Costs Lives*, London, Conway, 2010; J. Taylor *The Secret History of the Propaganda Poster*, Scotland, Saraband, 2013; D. Welch, *Propaganda: Power and Persuasion*, London, British Library, 2013.

⁶ G. Bachman, et al, *The All-Volunteer Force: A Study of Ideology in the Military*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1977; M.T. Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in U.S. Military Recruiting Advertising during the All-Volunteer Force*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012; P. Padilla & M. Laner, "Trends in Military Influences on Army Recruitment Themes: 1954-1990", *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 2002, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Summer): 113-133.

⁷ C. Ankersen & L. Tethong, "Retain or Perish: Why Recruiting Won't Save the CF", *Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies*, Strategic Datalink #95, March 2001; J. Eighmey, "Why Do Youth Enlist? Identification of Underlying Themes", *Armed Forces & Security*, Vol 32, No. 2, January 2006, pp.307-328; C. Flood, *British Posters: Advertising, Art & Activism*, London, V&A Publishing, 2012; D. Francis, *Selling Canada: Three Propaganda Campaigns that Shaped a Nation*, Vancouver, SA&D Publishers, 2011; T. O'Reilly & T.M. Tennant, *The Age of Persuasion; How Marketing Ate Our Culture*, Toronto, Vintage Canada, 2010; H. Phillips, *SELL! Tall Tales from the Legends of New Zealand Advertising*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2013; H. Thompson, *Paste Up: A Century of New Zealand Poster Art*, Auckland, Random House, 2003; P. White, "Grabbing Attention: The Importance of Modal Density in Advertising", *Visual Communication*, Vol. 9, Dec 2010.

⁸ Director of Recruiting, *Recruiters' Aide Memoire*, Director of Recruiting, Wellington, October 1967; A.B. Howie, "A Recruiting Strategy for the New Zealand Regular Army," *Commandant's Papers*, RNZAF Staff College, Staff Course No. 29, November 1988; H.T. McKubre, *DPRS Research Report 88/76: Morale and Retention in the New Zealand Army*, Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services, Personnel Branch Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1976; R.C. Mortlock, *A Blueprint for Army Recruiting Strategies 1985 Onwards*, Army General Staff, Wellington, 1985; R.C. Mortlock, *Minute: Report on Recruiting Activities in the New Zealand Army 1984/85*, Army General Staff, Wellington, 9 May 1985; P. Phipps, *DRPS Research Report 67/74 Civilian Attitudes to Employment A Report on a Study of New Zealand Males*, Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services, Personnel Branch, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, New Zealand, April 1974; RNZAF Command and Staff College, *Commandant's Papers* (various), 1965 - 1995; The Recruiting Strategy Study Group, *Report No. 1: The Demographic Study*, Defence Recruiting, Wellington,

One section of literature that has not been used in this thesis approaches wartime recruiting posters via the academic disciplines of semiotics and iconography. Scholars using this approach have argued that the aesthetic features of a recruiting product reflect the beliefs and assumptions of the society in which it operates.⁹ While the themes used to influence the audience is a core feature of this thesis, it will not be studied from a semiotic or iconographical perspective. Both of these approaches focus on how the technical process itself occurs, theorising in detail how signs and symbols are thought to affect internal attitudes and emotions.¹⁰ Given the focus of this thesis is on the themes used and why at a broader social and historical level, such approaches have not been adopted.

Various authors have recognised that recruiting material, and posters in particular, are powerful tools of persuasion in the effort to convince individuals to enlist in the army during times of war. Key texts in this area have included Edward Bernay's seminal work *Propaganda*. In his assessment of the role propaganda played during the First World War, Bernays noted:

It was ... the astounding success of propaganda during the war that opened the eyes of the intelligent few in all departments of life to the possibilities of regimenting the public mind. ... They not only appealed to the individual by means of every approach – visual, graphic, and auditory – to support the national endeavour, but they also secured the cooperation of the key men in every group... At the same time, the manipulators of patriotic opinion made use of the mental clichés and the emotional habits of the public to produce mass reactions against the alleged atrocities, the terror, and the tyranny of the enemy.¹¹

In Bernays' view, recruiting posters would have formed part of the visual and graphic approaches used by the propagandist to achieve their aims. The view of wartime posters as items of propaganda is echoed by Joseph Darracott in *The First World War in Posters* (1974), who discussed how governments exploited posters, and by extension their population, to call

1985; The Recruiting Strategy Study Group, *Report No. 2: The Demographic Study*, Defence Recruiting, Wellington, 1985.

⁹ K. Harvey, *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p.4.

¹⁰ W. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures 'Really' Want?", *The MIT Press*, Vol. 77 (Summer, 1996), p.71.

¹¹ Bernays, pp.54-55.

for recruits and channel emotions of courage and hate.¹² Likewise, in the book *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication*, James Aulich focused on the exploitative and misleading nature of wartime recruiting posters. He described how recruiting posters capitalised on feelings of loyalty, affirmed dominant social values and repressed discontent, by presenting an ‘illusion of a coherent reality’.¹³ James Taylor, likewise, identified posters as using a variety of psychological techniques to ensure their messages were remembered and acted upon, using various forms of emotional bribery to achieve their desired effect - enlistment.¹⁴ Aulich and John Hewitt, in *Seduction or Instruction?*, also described how many of the popular images of the war depicted the transformation of a civilian into a soldier as painless and instantaneous, while simultaneously presenting actual fighting in grossly unrealistic terms.¹⁵ Both depictions were, according to Aulich, a deliberate attempt to avoid the harsh realities of war and tap into long-standing social values encouraged through a popular culture of imperialism, militarism, monarchism, and patriotism.¹⁶

This view of recruiting material as items of propaganda, though arguably valid, particularly with respect to First World War recruiting posters, encourages analytical bias. The term ‘propaganda’ is inherently negative and suggests manipulation on the part of the propagandist in their interests and by inference against the interests of those subjected to the propaganda.¹⁷ The New Zealand army, however, served the society from which it was drawn at the direction of the government elected by that same society.

While the most common interpretation of recruiting material has been to view them as items of propaganda, largely because the literature has focussed on First and Second World War recruiting posters, alternative interpretations exist. In 1973, it was announced that the United States would move to an AVF. One consequence of this announcement, and the subsequent implementation of the AVF system, was a greater need for analysis on what makes people join the military, what keeps them in, and the best means of attracting people to the service. The resulting body of literature is less focussed on moral judgments of recruiting material and more focussed on issues of efficacy. Shortly after the introduction of the AVF, Jerald Bachman, for example, suggested two broad approaches to recruitment, namely:

¹² Darracot, p.vii.

¹³ Aulich, p.162.

¹⁴ Taylor, *Secret History*, p.60.

¹⁵ Aulich and Hewitt, p.41.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.36.

¹⁷ Jowett and O’Donnell, p.13.

recruiting material that concentrated on traditional military values and practices, focussing recruiting efforts on those already favourably disposed to the idea of military service;¹⁸ and an alternative approach, whereby the themes depicted in recruiting material are expanded to encourage a broader range of people to consider a career in the military.¹⁹

Melissa Brown acknowledged that the likely success of recruiting material depends on its ability to appeal to the self-image of potential recruits, in effect mirroring the interests of those already pre-disposed to the idea of military service.²⁰ Furthermore, Brown noted that recruiting material, in order to be effective, must reflect what the public wants to see, which is where advertising firms and marketing survey companies become important.²¹ Brown also concurred with Bachman by recognising the importance of using recruiting material to shape the public image of those who serve and of the service as an institution, not just to recruit personnel, but to broaden the appeal of military service amongst the population.²² Peter Padilla and Mary Laner used a similar approach, conducting an analysis of the themes used in recruiting material, then assessing why this had been done. They concluded that a wide variety of themes were both present and necessary in recruiting material in order for it to be effective, including: patriotism, adventure, challenge, career, education, social status, remuneration, travel and a miscellaneous category, where many varied themes were used with no single theme being dominant.²³ Collectively, Bachman, Brown, Padilla and Laner's analysis of recruiting material avoided the emotional and analytical bias the 'recruiting as propaganda' approach introduces. Recruiting material is instead viewed as a reflection of society's values at an individual and collective level.

In addition to literature on recruiting posters as propaganda and advertising efficacy, there are a few texts specifically dedicated to analysing posters used during wartime in New Zealand. Stephanie Gibson's first published article on the subject, 'Display Folk: Second World War Posters at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa', provided an informative account of the organisation of the Second World War recruiting campaign in New Zealand. The nature of the posters themselves, which Gibson described as 'flashes of intense colour in towns and cities throughout New Zealand,' the context in which they were

¹⁸ Bachman, et al, p.143.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.144.

²⁰ Brown, p.7.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p.8.

²³ Padilla & Laner, p.115.

displayed, and the efficacy of recruiting posters, are all discussed.²⁴ Gibson's assessment of how the posters were received by the public at the time is particularly engaging and is a strength of her research. Her second article, 'First World War Posters at Te Papa', considered the fundamentally diverse posters used in New Zealand during the First World War compared to those used in the Second.

Despite appearing only thirty years earlier, the content of recruiting posters was markedly different from those of the later conflict. Gibson described how the New Zealand Government relied heavily on British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) posters to do the emotional and psychological work of recruitment during the earlier conflict. This was achieved through various appeals to patriotic duty, courage, and service to empire, using what Gibson described as 'colourful works of graphic art with hard-hitting emotional and manipulative images and messages'.²⁵ Compared to the austere notice-style posters in use by the New Zealand Government at the time, British PRC posters had the benefit of Britain's superior print manufacturing techniques and advertising industries. The fact that the posters were produced in Britain provided no impediment to their effectiveness, as imperial sentiment and a sense of common identity with the empire was high amongst New Zealanders. By the time of the Second World War, New Zealand's poster industry had developed significantly following the creation of the New Zealand Railways Advertising Studios in 1920, along with other commercial print agencies.²⁶

While limited to the two world wars, Gibson's papers set a high standard for future New Zealand-specific research into recruiting material. The quality of the papers was sufficient for Taylor, in his book *The Secret History of the Propaganda Poster*, to describe Gibson's work as 'excellent' and to note as a strength the papers' examination 'in detail how [the posters] were acquired and the reception of the posters at the time'.²⁷ This particular feature of Gibson's approach, to place posters within their historical context in terms of events and display location, is vital to understanding printed recruiting material as social markers. When, where and how the material has been displayed, and where possible received by its audience, is as important as the content of the material itself. Gibson also saw the value of recruiting posters as cultural artefacts, stating 'New Zealand's reliance on war posters from

²⁴ Gibson, "Display Folk", p.7.

²⁵ Gibson, "First World War Posters", p.69.

²⁶ Thompson, p.8.

²⁷ Taylor, *Secret History*, p.114.

Britain and Australia [during the First World War] is not surprising considering the political, cultural, social and economic ties of empire at the time... New Zealanders saw themselves as imperial subjects, sharing an empire-wide culture'.²⁸

A third text specifically dealing with New Zealand's wartime propaganda – including recruiting posters – is Greg Hynes' M.A. thesis 'Propaganda, Perspective, and the British World: New Zealand's First World War Propaganda and British Interactions, 1914-1918'. Hynes' thesis analysed how New Zealand's First World War propaganda campaign reflected the country's place within the concept of the British world. For Hynes, propaganda, often transmitted in poster form, provided an ideal window to view the ideological, national and British identities operating in New Zealand and the wider imperial world. Hynes' thesis successfully demonstrated the complexity involved in analysing New Zealand's cultural and social identities due to the 'multifarious bundle' of loyalties, patriotism and identities operating within New Zealand during the First World War.²⁹ Furthermore, Hynes showed how identity in New Zealand, while influenced by the imperial world, was not imposed on New Zealand by Britain. It was instead New Zealand that selectively internalised and reshaped imperial rhetoric to the country's specific situation, accepting a shared cultural legacy with Britain. Another strength of Hynes' thesis is his avoidance of an overly negative definition of the term 'propaganda'. Hynes viewed propaganda used during the First World War as seeking to reinforce existing beliefs and prejudices, rather than being manipulative or coercive.³⁰

The most recent New Zealand-specific text to consider the use of propaganda during wartime is Jessica McLean's thesis, 'Images and Identity: The Demonstration of New Zealand's National Identity through the Propaganda of the Second World War'.³¹ McLean described how New Zealand's wartime propaganda, including recruiting posters, was specifically publicised with its New Zealand audience in mind.³² This was achieved through the use of symbols designed to appeal to New Zealanders. Amongst those images used were the nation's flag and depictions of New Zealand soldiers in their distinctive lemon-squeezer

²⁸ Gibson, "First World War Posters", p.74.

²⁹ G. Hynes, "Propaganda, Perspective, and the British World: New Zealand's First World War Propaganda and British Interactions, 1914-1918", M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, September 2013, p.146.

³⁰ Ibid, pp.17-18.

³¹ J.A. McLean, "Images and Identity: The Demonstration of New Zealand's National Identity through the Propaganda of the Second World War", M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 2016.

³² Ibid, p.26.

hat.³³ McLean also explored how New Zealand's strong cultural ties to Britain ensured there remained a place in New Zealand for propaganda produced by Britain's Ministry of Information.³⁴ British material, however, was only used when expected to be no less effective than a locally developed and New Zealand-specific campaign. British-produced propaganda was, therefore, found to supplement New Zealand's own publicity and propaganda material.

Another New Zealand text to consider the use of recruiting posters during wartime is Hamish Thompson's book *Paste Up: A Century of New Zealand Poster Art*. Thompson briefly considered the use of posters during wartime, sharing the common view that they acted as items of persuasion and propaganda.³⁵ Thompson also gave an insight into how New Zealand's newly developed print industry responded to the war. He noted, for example, that 'A few days after New Zealand declared war on Germany, the government began recruiting soldiers for an army expeditionary force... the recruitment posters employed appeals ranging from nostalgic reminders of the conquering Anzac spirit to ... personal messages from the commander of the New Zealand force'.³⁶ What Thompson did not discuss was the inherent cynicism of the posters' content when viewed in light of the social context of the time. Despite the monumental sacrifices made by much of New Zealand's youth during the First World War, their post-war treatment by the government was still a point of contention for many returned servicemen. Likewise, in the early part of the 1930s the Regular Force strength of the army was allowed to drop to fewer than six hundred,³⁷ while for much of the 1930s government expenditure on Defence was less than one per cent of total government spending.³⁸ Added to this, 'anti-war sentiment – pacifism, even – had become widespread and respectable, voiced even at Anzac Day parades'.³⁹ Employing the Anzac legend may have been a useful recruiting theme to evoke the emotive memories of heroic deeds on the shores of Gallipoli, but it also overlooked the relative neglect that returned servicemen, as well as serving army personnel, received during the inter-war period.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., p.48.

³⁵ Thompson, p.47.

³⁶ Ibid., p.49.

³⁷ M. R. Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: A History from the 1940s to the 1980s*, Wellington, P. D. Hasselberg – Government Printer, 1982, p.31.

³⁸ Statistics New Zealand, *Long Term Data Series: D2.4 Defence expenditure.xls*, Accessed 15 December 2014, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/economic_indicators/NationalAccounts/long-term-data-series/government.aspx.

³⁹ P. Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988, p.233.

Overall, the literature on recruiting material to date has been significant in volume but limited in scope. These limitations have included a focus on posters at the expense of other printed recruiting material; a focus on wartime recruiting at the expense of peacetime recruiting; and a focus on relatively short periods of time, precluding the opportunity for comparative analysis over longer periods. To address these limitations, this study will encompass all available printed recruiting material during a hundred-year period, beginning with the South African War in 1899 and closing with East Timor in 1999. The inclusion of other forms of printed material has provided a greater body of sources from which to analyse the themes used. Meanwhile, the inclusion of all available recruiting material for a hundred-year period has allowed for comparative analysis across time in order to answer the question of how social values have changed.

The value of this thesis is twofold. First, it analyses recruiting material across a much longer time period than previous studies. This avoids the pitfall of treating all recruiting material as wartime propaganda, viewing them instead as part of a continuous advertising effort to recruit during periods of peace and war. Likewise, it fills a gap in the New Zealand literature on the relationship between the army and society. Second, it challenges perceptions as to what motivates New Zealanders to join the army. Have Kiwi soldiers always been motivated by a sense of patriotic duty? Or have there been other, less righteous, factors that influenced soldiers, even our honoured First and Second World War veterans, to enlist for service? And have women been ignored as a potential recruiting pool, or Māori featured as prominently within the army as contemporary thinking would suggest? Or are these perceptions simplified narratives to support current social debates and ideals? This thesis offers insights into many of these questions, challenging commonly-held views.

Several important decisions have been made regarding the geographic and chronological scope of this thesis. The first was to focus on printed material used to recruit personnel into the New Zealand Army, rather than the armed services as a whole. Of the three armed services in New Zealand, the army has the longest history, as well as the greatest number of members to have served within it both past and present. For that reason, the army was chosen out of the three services as it provides the necessary material for a comparison between the organisation and the society from which it is drawn. With respect to the other two services, the length of the thesis would have precluded a complete analysis of their respective recruiting material. This thesis will, however, provide a basis for future historians

to conduct a comparative analysis of recruiting material used by the Royal New Zealand Navy and Royal New Zealand Air Force with that of the New Zealand Army.

The second parameter was the focus period of 1899-1999. The year 1899 was chosen as the South African War represented the first time New Zealand deployed troops in an expeditionary capacity, while the end-point of 1999 provides a period sufficiently long for meaningful temporal analysis to be conducted. The New Zealand Army's contribution to East Timor in 1999 was also significant in its own right as the country's largest military operation since the Korean War.⁴⁰ The thesis therefore encompasses all the conflicts of the twentieth century in which New Zealand became involved, as well as a period of significant change in society.

The third parameter was to focus on printed recruiting material. The decision to cap the scope of advertising material in this way was largely pragmatic. Printed recruiting material existed throughout the period under review, while radio, television and Internet advertising did not, denying the ability for comparisons to be made throughout the entire period. Furthermore, including radio, television and computer advertising would have increased the volume of material requiring analysis beyond that which could be sufficiently covered within the word count available. Contemporary research, however, shows that the themes used in recruiting material, irrespective of media type, remain largely the same, thereby indicating that the conclusions drawn from an analysis of printed recruiting material will be equally valid for other delivery modes.⁴¹ As a result, placing non-printed forms of recruiting material outside the scope of this study has had little influence on the validity of the conclusions made.

Printed recruiting material is at the heart of this thesis as both a source and as the primary subject of analysis. Printed recruiting material shares a value inherent in many other types of ephemera, which stems from their being designed to be useful for a short period. As a result, ephemera tends to act like a time capsule and manifestation of social sentiment.⁴² In other words, ephemera provide defining images of a period they outlive, which is

⁴⁰ J. Crawford & G. Harper, *Operation East Timor: The New Zealand Defence Force in East Timor 1999-2001*, Auckland, Reed, 2001, back cover.

⁴¹ Padilla & Laner, p.115; Brown, p.14.

⁴² J.D. Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?", in Lubar and Kingery (eds), *History from Things*, Washington, Smithsonian Books, 1995, p.1.

undoubtedly true of army recruiting material.⁴³ Printed recruiting material also provides a novel, vivid and often dramatic snapshot of the past, not dissimilar to a photograph.⁴⁴ Also, like a photograph, such material can present a distorted view of the past - especially when, why, how and by whom it was created is considered.⁴⁵ This is why exhaustive lengths have been taken to establish the wider social context in which the material existed, as well as that of the army as an organisation requiring new recruits and seeking public support.

In addition to a detailed reading of published texts on New Zealand's social, political and military history, a wide range of other primary and secondary sources was also used to provide context. Other primary sources consulted included memoirs and diaries written by individuals involved in the development of recruiting material within the army, alongside official documents relating to army recruiting efforts. Every effort was made to source information on the effect recruiting material had on its target audience and the significance of items in influencing an individual's decision to join the army. A wide range of secondary sources, many of which were contemporary with the recruiting material, were also used. These sources included magazines, newspapers and journals. Of particular value were the articles written by students at the Royal New Zealand Air Force Command and Staff College during the period 1965-1995. Several of these articles, published in the *Commandant's Papers*, directly addressed challenges facing the army in terms of recruitment, not least of which were the negative public attitudes held towards the army during the 1970s and 1980s.⁴⁶

As the central focus of this thesis, it was first necessary to establish that a sufficient body of material was available for review. Ultimately more than 450 individual items of printed recruiting material were identified during the research. These items were sourced from the following institutions: Archives New Zealand; National Army Museum; Auckland War Memorial Museum; *Te Papa* Museum of New Zealand; Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force; and National Library of New Zealand. Other sources approached included: Returned and Services' Association (RSA); Malaya Veterans' Association; Vietnam

⁴³ C. Flood, *British Posters: Advertising, Art & Activism*, London, V&A Publishing, 2012, p.10.

⁴⁴ T.J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past*, Tennessee, American Association for the State and Local History, 1989, p.11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁴⁶ G.T. Bowes, "What Motivates People to Join the Territorial Force Volunteers", RNZAF Command and Staff College, *Commandant's Papers*, Auckland, No.14, 1973; I.W. Collins, "A Review of Recruiting in New Zealand's Armed Forces", RNZAF Command and Staff College, *Commandant's Papers*, Auckland, No.18, 1977; G.E.A. Cook, "The Relationship Between The New Zealand Army and the Community", RNZAF Command and Staff College, *Commandant's Papers*, Auckland, No.20, 1979; J.R. McLeod, "Improving Professional Satisfaction of New Zealand Army Officers", RNZAF Command and Staff College, *Commandant's Papers*, Auckland, No.32, 1991.

Veterans' Association; Korea Veterans' Association; Army News; and the New Zealand Military Historical Society. Although few items of recruiting ephemera were uncovered by approaching veterans' associations, the effort was nevertheless valuable. The quality of responses generated from articles advertising my research in the *RSA Review*, *Army News* and on the *W3 Company RNZIR* website was excellent. Responses included personal recollections of the recruiting process, to accounts of the challenges faced by recruiters. Some unique recruiting items not found in any formal institutions were also obtained in this way for which the author is deeply grateful. A small number of oral history interviews were also conducted with army personnel, including Brigadier (retired) Roger Mortlock and Lieutenant Colonel Richard Taylor, while other interviews were conducted via email. These interviews, though small in number, proved valuable in providing essential context to decisions made around army recruiting, including contemporary sentiment within the army not captured in official records.

Printed recruiting material appeared in various forms; primarily as posters, pamphlets, leaflets, booklets, and advertisements within magazines and newspapers, with one bumper sticker, one box of matches and one pocket itinerary also included amongst the items identified. Despite the seemingly large number of items discovered, there is little doubt they constitute an incomplete sample, with many having been discarded or destroyed over time. Serendipity has played no small part in determining those items that have survived and those that have been lost to history. The Hope Gibbons office building fire in 1952, for example, likely destroyed archival documents of potential relevance to this research.⁴⁷ Other events have likewise contributed to the loss of valuable historical sources, including the destruction of as much as 90 per cent of the country's War Archives during the 1930s.⁴⁸ Added to these unfortunate events, as well as challenging the 'military efficiency' stereotype, the army has also proved somewhat haphazard in its record keeping, making the historian's job of tracking down documents difficult.⁴⁹ On at least one occasion, for example, Archives New Zealand had to remind the army of its obligations to forward copies of its recruiting material to the National Archive.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/41758/hope-gibbons-fire-1952>.

⁴⁸ F. Walker, "'Descendants of a Warrior Race': the Maori Contingent, New Zealand Pioneer Battalion, and Martial Race Myth, 1914-1919", *War & Society*, Vol. 31 No. 1, March, 2012, p.3.

⁴⁹ Email to author from T. Williams, "RE: Old recruiting strategy docs," 5 January 2016.

⁵⁰ Archives New Zealand, *Service Recruiting: Publicity/Advertising: Publications and Pamphlets - NZ Army (1975-1984)*, Ref: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 313.

Where gaps have been identified in recruiting material, most notably during the South African War and the 1930s, every effort has been made to determine why this is the case. A thorough survey of primary and secondary sources has been conducted to determine whether the items were destroyed, lost to time, or, in some cases, never produced. In cases where it became clear that recruiting material was never produced, an explanation as to why has been provided. From an analytical perspective, particularly given the focus of this thesis on assessing the link between social values, recruiting themes, and the place of the army society, understanding why recruiting material was not produced during a given period can be as revealing as the content of recruiting material. During the South African War, for example, there was no need for formal recruiting material; the job of recruiting was largely done by a highly patriotic Press, selling the war to an already receptive public.

With respect to analysing printed recruiting material, a mixed methodology using both quantitative and qualitative analysis has been used. Melissa Brown applied a similar approach in her analysis of the construction of gender in military recruiting material in the United States. In her study, Brown used content analysis to prepare quantitative information for analysis and an interpretive textual approach, seeking to ‘make explicit the meanings encoded in the published words and images’, to assist qualitative analysis.⁵¹

In this thesis, individual items were categorised according to their various attributes, including the type of material (poster, pamphlet, advertisement, booklet, etc.); date of publication; as well as the thematic content within the text and images. This allowed the mass of material available to be codified, and for quantitative data to be established for review. Information derived from the quantitative analysis helped identify trends over time, as well as pointing to areas and periods requiring further scrutiny. An example of how this was useful to directing further inquiries, as well as the development of early hypotheses, was the absence of recruiting material during the 1920s compared to the more than 180 items produced during the 1970s. Another useful result from the quantitative analysis, one that validated the decision to include all forms of printed material, not just posters, was the 2:1 ratio of advertisements used compared to posters. A complete list of the quantitative data derived from recruiting material is contained in the *Appendix*. Content analysis formed the basis for the quantitative methodology used.

⁵¹ Brown, p.12.

The qualitative facet of the methodology used was more interpretive. It required a detailed assessment of the language, imagery and symbolism used to convey respective themes in each item. Analysis of how images and text were used individually and collectively, either in single items, in specific advertising campaigns, or between recruiting items used over an extended period, was conducted to identify coded themes; those that were not explicitly articulated. Once the various themes used in the recruiting material were identified, analysis was conducted as to why those themes were used. Critical to this part of the qualitative analysis was an assessment of the social, economic and physical context in which the material appeared. With respect to the later context, this concerned where the item featured, e.g. a school career advisor's office, shop window, newspaper, magazine, etc. The significance of display or dissemination location stems from what it reveals in terms of the intended target audience, as well as what was considered socially acceptable space for advertising military service. An example of this is the prevalence of recruiting material in *The Students' Digest*, indicating attempts to influence career decisions long before the decisions were made and that this was considered socially acceptable by most people.⁵²

When analysing recruiting material as an item of advertising designed for public consumption, it might be assumed that the items 'speak for themselves.' This assumption may be valid for the generation who made and viewed it, but not so for the historian interpreting the items years after its creation.⁵³ Herbert Butterfield wrote 'it might take a hundred years for historians to regain the knowledge of the past that an intelligent newspaper reader had at the time'.⁵⁴ Recruiting material acted within a broader world, since past, necessitating a reconstruction of that world in order to make a reading of the ephemera accurate.⁵⁵ Connected to the issue of context has been the need to remain conscious of one's own biases, both individual and generational. As a result, every effort has been made to avoid judging the past by today's standards in recognition that the past is not always as we would like it to be and, therefore, cannot be judged by modern standards.⁵⁶

During this thesis it has also, at times, been necessary to make generalisations. This is not to diminish the experience of individuals or smaller groupings of people, but to allow

⁵² Advertisements for the New Zealand Army appeared in the Digest from 1953 until it went out of publication in 1980.

⁵³ James, pp.3-4.

⁵⁴ H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 1965, cited in J. Vincent, *An Intelligent Person's Guide to History*, London, Duckworth, 1996, p.9.

⁵⁵ James, p.22.

⁵⁶ J. Vincent, *An Intelligent Person's Guide to History*, London, Duckworth, 1996, pp.11-12.

observations and conclusions to be drawn from the evidence available. Where generalisations have been made, they have been used alongside the adjectives *some*, *many*, or *most*, indicating the prevalence of particular social view or social group at a given point in time.

Reflecting the content analysis methodology used, the chapters of this thesis have been structured using a thematic approach. Each chapter analyses a specific theme, with the larger themes broken up into two chapters. Within chapters, themes are examined chronologically, placing the items within their broader social and historical context, allowing for an analysis of the key questions of why the themes were used and how they reflected the army's self-perceived and projected role within society. A thematic approach has also allowed the analytical results of the thesis to be presented in a more coherent and digestible manner than would have been possible using a strictly chronological approach. A traditional chronological approach would have made it difficult to present a concise analysis of how and why respective themes were used across time, with each theme being spread across multiple chapters. The thematic approach has, therefore, allowed analysis of specific themes within respective chapters to be provided with minimal requirement to recap information contained in other chapters.

Using the thematic approach, this thesis begins by examining the concept of *obligation* promoted in various themes within recruiting material. Appealing to themes linked to a sense of social obligation was one of the most significant and enduring of all concepts used. As a result, the concept is discussed in Chapters One and Two, exploring how themes such as duty, honour, loyalty, patriotism, and righteousness of the cause were used to encourage enlistment. The equally significant concept of the army as an *opportunity* is then explored in Chapters Three and Four. The variety of opportunity-linked themes used ranged from remuneration to job security; from travel and adventure to a life-less-ordinary; and from lifestyle to sex. The final three chapters of the thesis analyse the use of masculinity (Chapter Five), women in the army (Chapter Six), and ethnicity (Chapter Seven) as important recruiting themes. Chapter Five will explore how themes of manliness, masculinity and rites of passage into manhood have been used to encourage generations of young men to join the army. Chapter Six will then analyse a series of apparent contradictions in how women have been depicted, from the equals of their male counterparts to prizes for male soldiers. The final chapter, Chapter Seven, will then explore the representation of ethnicity in recruiting material, with a particular emphasis on the depiction of Māori.

Through the chapters outlined above, this thesis will demonstrate how printed army recruiting material has reflected New Zealand social values. Furthermore, the thesis will demonstrate the efforts the New Zealand Army took to remain relevant to the society it served, as well as remaining attractive to those it sought to recruit, predominantly the country's young people. The thesis will also show how recruiting material has deliberately sought to shape public perceptions of the organisation, building a positive image of the army and its value to society. Ultimately, this thesis will demonstrate the close relationship between the army and society. It will show that, far from being a social outlier, the New Zealand Army has closely reflected the values of the society from which it has been drawn and which it has served. The thesis will also reveal how social values, while adapting to changing times and events, have at their core remained largely the same. Broad continuity of social values, rather than change, is the surprising insight resulting from this study and the analysis of printed recruiting material.

Chapter One: Obligation, part one – Heroes, duty, and empire

Printed recruiting materials are cultural artefacts that reflect the social era in which they were used. The material reveals social values of its time by illustrating public attitudes towards patriotism, justice, personal character, and other important social virtues. It does this by virtue of its designated purpose as items of public advertising; recruiting materials seek to make a strong and instant connection with the viewer. To achieve this, recruiting materials refer to accepted cultural norms and values to demonstrate that the army, as a career and an organisation, reflects prevailing and familiar social values. The manner of representation, in both word and text, is often dramatic and surprising, particularly when reviewed in light of today's values. Recruiting material also provides a record of changing social values through both the themes employed as devices of influence, as well as by the way they are represented. As noted by Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell in *Propaganda and Persuasion*, people respond to persuasion that promises to satisfy their wants and needs.⁵⁷ New Zealand's recruiting material from 1899 to 1999 has historical significance as a unique record of such changing wants and needs.

The next four chapters will explore how the army used recruiting material to encourage recruitment by depicting a particular type of values. The term *values* refers to something that people prize or esteem, which may be an objective, a reward, an ideal or a principle.⁵⁸ These values can be broadly divided into two categories; those connected to a sense of social *obligation* and those linked to individual *opportunity*. *Obligations* refer to values that need no justification and are accepted as having intrinsic, if not altruistic, value. Examples of such values include the concepts of patriotism, honour and duty. In contrast, *opportunity* values are those justified by something else worth valuing, such as financial reward, overseas travel, adventure or vocational training. As will be established, recruiting material often includes both types of values in an attempt to be an effective persuasion tool. The distinction between what might be termed an obligation or an opportunity can at times be blurred, reflecting that not all people in society hold the same values. As a generalisation, however, the two terms have proven useful for the purpose of breaking the thesis down into meaningful sections for further analysis.

⁵⁷ G.S. Jowett and V. O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 5th ed., California, Sage Publications, 2012, p.33.

⁵⁸ J. Harold, "Between Intrinsic and Extrinsic Value", *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. 36 No. 1, Spring, 2005, p.85.

The constellation of obligation-based themes seen in recruiting material and discussed in the next two chapters includes patriotism, duty, honour and defending that which is 'right', including; democracy, security, freedom and the innocent. These values, and the themes that appeal to them, provide insight into the moral and ethical basis of both the army and wider society. Likewise, these themes show how the army sought to portray itself as an organisation and to position itself as the defender of a range of social values.

South African War to pre - 1914

The official announcement that war in South Africa had broken out in October 1899 was welcome news to many New Zealanders. Such was the level of imperial patriotism, the majority of the country's citizens thought only of the chance to prove their loyalty to Britain.⁵⁹ This feeling of eager excitement to prove the nation's worth and commitment to empire also extended to government. Premier Richard Seddon offered a contingent of mounted rifles for the war two weeks before it was declared, stating in Parliament on 28 September, 'the occasion now exists for us to prove our devotion to the Empire'.⁶⁰ The sense of imperial patriotism and loyalty had, as John Crawford and Ian McGibbon noted in *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, been 'given a fillip by the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897'.⁶¹ War represented a welcome opportunity and outlet to express feelings of loyalty, faith and devotion to imperial ideals.

Remarkably, the already significant level of public support for the empire grew as a result of the conflict. Likewise, there was an increase in the perception and standing of the empire's military strength. This is in marked contrast to the situation in the United Kingdom, where the British Army's reputation diminished during and after the war. The British press had been scathing in its assessment of their army's performance against a numerically inferior and relatively poorly equipped force.⁶² By contrast, in New Zealand the press had been openly supportive of the war and the performance of New Zealand troops. As a result, rather than shake confidence in the empire and its strength of arms, the New Zealand public's faith

⁵⁹ M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Penguin, 2003, p.285.

⁶⁰ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, Vol. 110, 28 September 1899, p.75.

⁶¹ J. Crawford and I. McGibbon, *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British and the South African War 1899-1902*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2003, p.2.

⁶² T. Bowman & M. Connelly, *The Edwardian Army: Recruiting, Training, and Deploying the British Army, 1902-1914*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.148.

in empire increased. The country's sense of value to the Empire also increased - a value that was ostensibly recognised and rewarded by the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall in June 1901.⁶³ Such was the level of jingoism and support for New Zealand's involvement it appears no official recruiting material was produced during the war. The job of recruiting had instead been primarily completed by the press and patriotic societies inside the country.

A simple explanation for how New Zealand as a small nation, far from the seat of imperial power, developed such a strong sense of loyalty, is that a large proportion of the population were born in Britain. Though the 1886 census revealed that for the first time over half of New Zealand's population was born locally, the sense of being British endured.⁶⁴ Describing New Zealand and its ties to England, New Zealand author and British Army Officer John Mulgan wrote at the end of the Second World War:

Close ties bound the New Zealanders to England. If the form that clothed these ties was sentiment and tradition, their content and reality was economic dependence and the fact that we were a small country with no nationality of our own ... They have never questioned the unity that joins them to England ... The kind of loyalty that New Zealanders possess is stupid, irrational, and, in some melancholy way, satisfying to the heart. It has the texture of family relationships that can be full of internal bitterness but united against the outside world, that can be relied upon beyond ordinary friendships in times of sickness and death.⁶⁵

As Mulgan pointed out, for all its apparent sentimentality, the emotional connection many New Zealanders felt towards Britain also had an underlying pragmatism in the form of economic dependence.

In addition to its economic wellbeing, New Zealand also relied on the empire for its military security. New Zealand had no army of its own other than militia forces, no navy and only limited coastal defences. While much of the rhetoric justifying and supporting New Zealand's involvement in the South African War was jingoistic, it was still freely admitted that more practical considerations lay at the core of Premier Seddon's calculations:

⁶³ A.H. McLintock, "The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, 1901", from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 1966, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/royal-visits/page-3>, accessed 12 February 2016

⁶⁴ K. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.31.

⁶⁵ J. Mulgan, *Report on Experience*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2010, p.52.

I say it is a connection so closely interwove with our interests, so inseparably bound are we together, that if you take from the Empire her colonies you weaken that Empire. If, on the other hand, you keep together the Empire is strengthened ... The British flag is our protection; without belonging to the Empire where would New Zealand be? ... We should be under some other nation, perhaps treated as are the outlanders in the Transvaal.⁶⁶

With respect to which potential adversary New Zealand might require protection, Japan was the primary country of concern at the time. The outcome of the First Sino-Japanese War in Japan's favour and the subsequent strengthening of the Japanese fleet caused Seddon significant concern.⁶⁷

Another important explanation and one of the most significant factors negating the need to employ official recruiting material was the inescapable presence of imperial propaganda. Symbols and stories of imperial achievements abounded. From the press to juvenile literature, from classroom to church sermon, and even to the promotion of consumer goods, the empire's achievements were lauded.⁶⁸ The dominant ideology of the age as described by John MacKenzie was 'patriotic, militaristic, and imperialistic'.⁶⁹ The reign of Queen Victoria and the age of empire imbued many New Zealanders with a set of beliefs and values that became an essential part of individual and collective identity. Furthermore, among the many forms of imperial endeavour, including intrepid exploration, war provided the greatest outlet for values of patriotism, militarism and imperialism to manifest themselves outwardly and proudly.

The press also played a central role in harnessing public support for the war. On 6 January 1900, for example, the *Evening Post* reported:

Canterbury Province, and the Christchurch City in particular, are to be congratulated upon the worthy example of patriotism they have set. The whole colony is responding

⁶⁶ *NZPD*, Vol. 110, 28 September 1899, pp.75-8

⁶⁷ J. Crawford and I. McGibbon, p.9.

⁶⁸ J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1984, pp.2-3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.46.

loyally to the call from South Africa, but the City of the Plains has taken a noble lead in devotion to the Imperial idea.⁷⁰

In addition to providing nearly daily coverage of all aspects of the South African War and New Zealand's contribution, the principal daily newspapers also produced special editions and commemorative booklets linked to the war. Examples include the *Evening Post's* coverage of the Second Contingent's departure, citing its own publication as 'The Fullest, Most Accurate, Most Picturesque Description published of the Farewell to Our Boys'.⁷¹ The following month the *Otago Witness* published 'Scenes in Camp and Departure for S.A.'.⁷² Included in this particular advertisement were three 'Union Jack' flags and only one New Zealand flag, symbolically indicating that New Zealand's involvement was primarily an imperial endeavour, not a national one. A third example of press support for the war, again in the *Otago Witness*, covered the departure of the Fourth and Fifth Contingents, with the headline, 'RALLYING AROUND THE FLAG... A GREAT DEMONSTRATION. MAGNIFICENT PROCESSIONS'.⁷³ It is almost certain that the flag the *Otago Witness* encouraged New Zealanders to rally around was the Union Jack - New Zealand's current flag was not formally instituted until the passing of the New Zealand Ensign Act, 1901.



Otago Witness, 22 February 1900, p.33.

⁷⁰ *Evening Post*, 6 January 1900, p.4.

⁷¹ *Evening Post*, 25 January 1900, p.6.

⁷² *Otago Witness*, 22 February 1900, p.33.

⁷³ *Otago Witness*, 29 March 1900, p.22.

RALLYING ROUND THE FLAG.

—
DEPARTURE OF THE FOURTH
CONTINGENT.

—
SEND-OFF TO THE FOURTH AND
FIFTH.

—
A GREAT DEMONSTRATION.

—
MAGNIFICENT PROCESSIONS

—
THE FINAL FAREWELLS.

Otago Witness, 29 March 1900, p.22.

The press coverage of official speeches during contingent departures was also supportive of the war. In reporting addresses given by Governor Lord Ranfurly and Premier Seddon, the *Evening Post* included indications of public endorsement using parenthesised depictions of audience 'cheers'. Governor Ranfurly was reported as stating that the First Contingent would:

...do their duty nobly-(cheers)-and prove themselves no unworthy descendants of that dauntless Island race whose colours waved over them, and whose records were second to none in the history of the world. (Cheers.). The spectacle of the Mother Country and her colonies thus standing shoulder to shoulder must rouse feelings of heart-felt patriotism in British breasts, and was an object lesson of deepest significance to the enemies of England.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ *Evening Post*, 23 October 1899, p.2.

Reports of Premier Seddon's words indicated an equally 'stirring address':

From the North Cape to Invercargill the people, as far as lay in their power, would fight for one flag, one Queen, one tongue, and for one country – Britain. (Cheers). It might be that the blood of some of the pride of their country now before them would flow, but there was consolation in the fact that they would be fighting shoulder to shoulder with the forces of the Imperial Army, and from that would spring up and be maintained a bond of union which would last for ever and ever. (Loud cheers.)⁷⁵

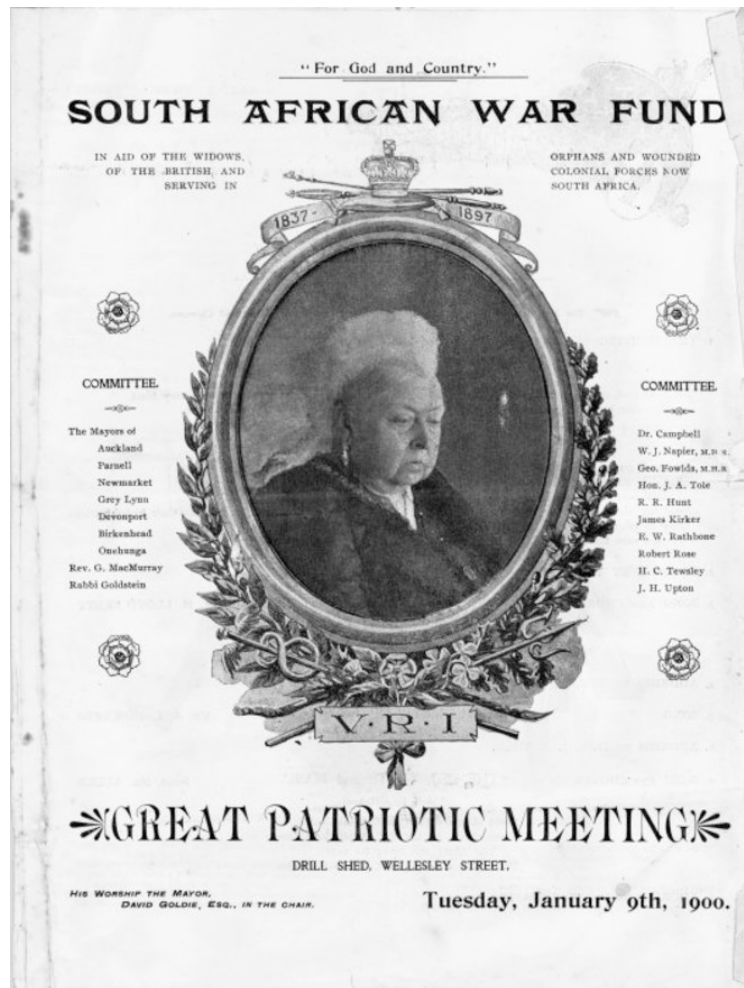
Reporting of the farewell speeches given to the First Contingent provides insight into the 'official view', as well as evidence of unabashed press support for the war. Likewise, it would have stimulated recruiting, helping to make it unnecessary to produce printed recruiting material.

Following the outbreak of war, popular committees were immediately established to raise funds for the war effort, organise recruitment, and prepare troops for departure.⁷⁶ While searching South African War recruiting material, the first items uncovered related to these patriotic committees, and they revealed how the business of recruiting was done by the public and not through official means. One fundraising event programme produced for the 'South African War Fund' in January 1900, stands out in particular for its use of imperial symbols and appeal to patriotism.⁷⁷ In many respects the programme foreshadowed recruiting material of the First World War. The cover of the programme, headed for 'For God and Country' prominently featured Queen Victoria in the centre and referred to her sixty-year reign as monarch (1837-1897). The programme also promoted the event as a 'GREAT PATRIOTIC MEETING'. While the purpose of the meeting was to raise money for the widows and orphans of the war, it is easy to see how the public's patriotic fervour could inspire potential recruits to volunteer for the next contingent. The programme's reference to Victoria's Diamond Jubilee served as a reminder of the monarch's lengthy reign and portrayed her as a figure to whom imperial allegiance was owed.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ I. McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli*, Christchurch, GP Books, 1991, p.113.

⁷⁷ Booklet, *South African War Fund. Great Patriotic Meeting, Drill Shed, Wellesley Street. Tuesday, January 9th, 1900*, National Library, Reference Number: Eph-B-WAR-SA-1900-01-cover



South African War Fund. Great Patriotic Meeting, Drill Shed, Wellesley Street. Tuesday, January 9th, 1900. National Library, Reference Number: Eph-B-WAR-SA-1900-01-cover.

During the course of the war, New Zealand sent ten contingents totalling more than 6,000 troops.⁷⁸ With vocal support from the public and press alike, recruiting for these contingents was made sufficiently easy that formal recruiting was unnecessary. Further evidence of the ease with which recruits were obtained was seen in the growth of the nation's volunteer forces during the same period. The strength of the volunteer force stood at 7,000 men just months before the war began, increasing to a peak of more than 17,000 two years later in July 1901.⁷⁹ For a country with a population of less than 800,000 in 1899, such a commitment to the war and the volunteer force, both in terms of personnel and government finance, was significant.⁸⁰ The sense of obligation at an individual and collective level must

⁷⁸ Crawford and McGibbon, p.vii.

⁷⁹ J. Crawford, "The Role and Structure of the New Zealand Volunteer Force: 1885-1910", M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1986, pp.180-185.

⁸⁰ Statistics New Zealand, *Long-term data series: A1.1 Total Population*, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/economic_indicators/NationalAccounts/long-term-data-series/population.aspx, accessed 12 February 2016.

have been significant to sustain such a contribution to the war effort. The absence of recruiting material during the South African War also testifies to the overwhelming patriotic fervour of the time. It also reflected that the army's place in society was a privileged one and enjoyed a level of public approval that remains unmatched to this day. The army and soldiering were the natural embodiment of patriotic duty, which, coupled with the job done by newspapers and informal public organisations to promote the war effort, made the production of official recruiting material unnecessary.

New Zealanders felt significant pride in their contribution to the war and the fighting capacity of their troops. All praise afforded the troops by notable persons of empire, or foreign correspondents, was proudly reported in the press. A domestic audience hungry for external validation then greedily consumed the news.⁸¹ This validation engendered a sense of responsibility for New Zealand to sustain and even increase its capacity to contribute toward the burden of Imperial defence.⁸² Following the war, memorials were soon raised to honour those who had died during the conflict. The memorials, built by many of the same people involved in the patriotic societies associated with the war, were not treated as a sombre opportunity to mourn those lost. The memorials instead represented 'tributes to the Empire and outpourings of pride about New Zealand's place in that Empire'.⁸³ The memorials served as a reminder, not of war's human cost, but of its purported glory, encouraging patriotism for empire and romantic notions of war, particularly in young boys.⁸⁴ Such praise and perfect faith in the empire ushered New Zealand into a period described by Roberto Rabel as 'the high point of peace-time militarism in New Zealand history'.⁸⁵

While the number of volunteers in New Zealand was reasonable, their reliability as a force was uncertain. Against a growing sense of New Zealand's responsibility to contribute to Imperial defence, it was not long before some form of compulsory military training was discussed. The system of voluntary recruitment, as Sir Howard Kippenberger would later comment, had 'not taken its chance', and was replaced after a period of fifty-two years with

⁸¹ *Evening Post*, 28 July 1900, p.5.

⁸² McGibbon, p.124.

⁸³ C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Wellington, Bookprint Consultants Ltd, 1990, pp.48-9.

⁸⁴ J. Crawford and E. Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland, Reed, 1999, p.97.

⁸⁵ R. Rabel, "New Zealand's Wars." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.250.

the passing of the 1909 Defence Act.⁸⁶ The 1909 Defence Act fundamentally changed the nature of New Zealand's defence structure and recruitment. The Act, designed to 'make Better Provision for the Internal Defence of New Zealand', introduced a compulsory military service liability on all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty.⁸⁷ The system, which entered into force in 1911, was based on a Territorial Force structure consisting of men aged 18-25 who had received prior training in the cadet force. It was anticipated that by 1915 the Act would provide a peacetime Territorial Force establishment of 30,000 troops, and a Reserve establishment as large as 87,000.⁸⁸ With the passing of the Act, there continued to be little requirement for recruiting advertisements to be produced, other than public notices outlining service liability.⁸⁹



Military Training, 10 April 1911, National Library: Eph-D-ARMY-1911-01.

⁸⁶ H. Kippenberger, "The New Zealand Army", *Royal United Service Institution Journal*, 102:605, p.69.

⁸⁷ Defence Act 1909 (9 EDW VII 1909 No 28), p.306.

⁸⁸ F.W. Perry, *The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organisation in Two World Wars*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p.176.

⁸⁹ Poster, *Military Training. Dominion of New Zealand. Notice as to Military Training*, National Library, Reference: Eph-D-ARMY-1911-01

The general public, still fervently imperialistic in their outlook, accepted the legislation with only limited resistance. This acceptance reflected the country's developed sense of responsibility following the South African War to maintain itself in military readiness to protect the Empire.⁹⁰ Support for the Act, however, was not universal. Among those unhappy with the legislation were a section of educationalists who considered military training a danger to students' 'moral, physical and emotional development'.⁹¹ Other members of the small, but vocal, anti-war group were pacifists and Quakers.⁹² Their concerns were assuaged somewhat with the passing of the Defence Amendment Act 1912, which repealed the earlier Act's requirement for those aged between twelve and fourteen to be trained in the Junior Cadets.⁹³ Others within the educational system were less critical, with many schools at the time enthusiastically promoting the principles of patriotism and duty. Empire Day was widely celebrated amongst the country's schools and was commonly marked by flag salutes and patriotic speeches.⁹⁴ This enthusiasm was also officially encouraged by the Education Department. In a circular forwarded to school committees in 1903, schools were encouraged to make 'suitable observance' of Empire Day and to address the children, 'reminding them of the privileges and duties of the citizens of the Empire'.⁹⁵

First World War

A mixture of militarism, military preparation and continuing imperial patriotism in the years following the 1909 Defence Act ensured that when war came again, New Zealand was ready to do its duty. The public's response to news of the First World War's outbreak was predominantly loyal and enthusiastic. There were, however, several minority groups that opposed the war, ranging from women's organisations and pacifists, to intellectuals and some Māori tribes.⁹⁶ As in Britain, newspapers reported with some pride the 'loud cheers' with which the announcement of war was met by the public.⁹⁷ Also reported was the King's message to the Governor of New Zealand, which expressed the monarch's pride to have received 'spontaneous assurances of their [the Dominions] fullest support recall to me the

⁹⁰ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, Auckland, Penguin, 1987, p.153.

⁹¹ "Schools and the First World War: Turning boys into soldiers", <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/children-and-first-world-war/cadet-training>, accessed 12 February 2016

⁹² P. Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1998, p.73.

⁹³ Defence Amendment Act 1912 (3 GEO V 1912 No 20), section 44, p.68.

⁹⁴ "Empire Day", <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/empire-day>, accessed 2 February 2016

⁹⁵ *Otago Witness*, 20 May 1903, p.25.

⁹⁶ G. Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War 1914-1918*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2015, p.25.

⁹⁷ *Evening Post*, 5 August 1914, p.8.

generous self-sacrificing help given by them in the past to the Mother Country'.⁹⁸ The Governor, Lord Liverpool, replied 'New Zealand desires me to acknowledge Your Majesty's gracious message, and to say that come good or ill she, in company with the dominions and other dependencies of the Crown, is prepared to make any sacrifice to maintain her heritage and her birthright'.⁹⁹

In the days following the official declaration of war, the press in New Zealand became even more vocal in its patriotic prose, giving some insight into wider public sentiment. On 8 August the *New Zealand Herald* reported:

War! There is no conception more inspiring, no condition nobler, no call that rings more grandly in the ears of those who are to possess the earth. For they fight for peace and safety, as in peace and safety they are blessed and uplifted by the heroic virtues, the national brotherhood, that only comes to those who know they must conquer together or lose for ever what is dearer than life.¹⁰⁰

Not only was war welcomed as a grand and noble endeavour by the majority of New Zealanders, it was also promoted as the definitive expression of patriotic commitment. The same article emphasised, 'We are at war, we British... the British know themselves brothers all the world over... from loss will come gain, from individual death will come the national life that is the life everlasting... To-day, the British are brothers... All that is noblest and best in us rises to the challenge of circumstance. We know that we are the custodians of a sacred trust, the guardians of the national life of the British'.¹⁰¹ The mixture of religious overtones in the article also reflected the prominent role the Christian faith played in New Zealand at the time. Other motives of a more opportunistic nature also existed and will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

As in the South African War, the press helped sell a war that initially sold itself - a phenomenon also seen in other dominions.¹⁰² The preconditions for a patriotic embrace of war had been set through the dominant social values of the age: imperialism, patriotism,

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Supplement to *New Zealand Herald*, 8 August 1914, p.1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² D. Francis, *Selling Canada: Three Propaganda Campaigns that Shaped a Nation*, Vancouver, SA&D Publishers, 2011, p.70.

adventure, and righteous military action.¹⁰³ The war was seen by many as a crusade for the freedom of the British Empire.¹⁰⁴ This complex amalgam of ideals, exploited in official recruiting material, found their common element in war. Posters and other recruiting material capitalised on feelings of loyalty and prevailing war fever to recruit unprecedented numbers of soldiers to the armies of Britain and her dominions - including New Zealand.¹⁰⁵ These products, largely produced by the British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC), were used widely throughout New Zealand. Furthermore, many of the posters remained unchanged from the originals used in Britain.

While the use of PRC posters was partly pragmatic given the nature of New Zealand's nascent print industry, it also reflected the common visual and textual language shared across the empire.¹⁰⁶ The PRC campaign addressed the viewer as 'a dutiful citizen loyal to King and Country through the use of simple devices such as the Union flag, the portrait of the King or a map of the British Isles'.¹⁰⁷ Throughout New Zealand, men were commonly called to duty with the slogan 'Your Country Needs YOU'.¹⁰⁸ Whether these calls referred to New Zealand or Britain as 'your country' seems to have been irrelevant at the time, with press articles and recruiting posters failing to differentiate between the two.¹⁰⁹ The place and fate of New Zealand were seen as inseparably tied to Britain. Prime Minister William Massey summed up New Zealand's position and relationship with Britain in an address to the departing first echelon in August 1914:

When the Empire calls it is for the citizens of this Dominion to respond, and when the Empire calls it is for the soldiers of the Dominion to obey. When you leave the shores of New Zealand, in probably a very few hours from now, you carry with you a very great responsibility, but I am sure you all realise the trust that is reposed in you. You go forth to uphold the honour of New Zealand and to fight for King and country in the greatest crisis the Empire has ever seen.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1984, p.5.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ J. Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication*, London, Thames and Hudson, 2007, p.50.

¹⁰⁶ S. Gibson, "First World War Posters at Te Papa", *Tuhinga*, Number 23, 2012, p.74.

¹⁰⁷ J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007, p.39.

¹⁰⁸ J. Taylor, *The Secret History of the Propaganda Poster*, Scotland, Saraband, 2013, p.114.

¹⁰⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 May 1915, p.3.

¹¹⁰ *Auckland Star*, 15 August 1914, p.6.

That others shared the Prime Minister's convictions and beliefs is reflected in the recollections of some of those who served in the war. One veteran stated, "I went for King and country, flag and adventure. I would do the same today".¹¹¹

In addition to using text to encourage men to do their duty for King and country, many recruiting posters also included symbols of empire to enhance visual appeal and effectiveness. One such poster, titled *The Empire Needs Men!*, was produced by the PRC in 1915 for distribution throughout the empire. The poster was reprinted in the *New Zealand Herald* and was soon visible on public buildings and recruiting stations throughout the country.¹¹² The poster depicted a fully-grown male lion backed by four adolescent lions in a pride. The text accompanying the poster read, 'The Empire Needs Men! All answer the call. Helped by the YOUNG LIONS The OLD LION defies his Foes. ENLIST NOW'. A list of the four dominions of empire was also provided, confirming the four adolescent lions as representing Australia, Canada, India, and New Zealand.

The poster itself not only encouraged men to enlist to serve the empire; it also promoted the idea of imperial unity and shared community. Interestingly, the *New Zealand Herald* had already carried the imperial lion and lion cubs as a symbol of empire relating to the country's involvement in the First World War. On 22 August 1914, the *Auckland Weekly News* featured a cartoon titled 'THE BRITISH LION AND CUBS AROUSED'.¹¹³ While the poster was an official recruiting advertisement, such unofficial cartoons found in the *New Zealand Herald* fulfilled a similar recruiting function. Both used imperial imagery as a form of visual shorthand to communicate a complex range of ideas in the most compelling manner possible.¹¹⁴ Likewise, both helped sell the war and thereby aid in recruitment. After the war, the Dominions would again be depicted as young lions, eager to fight alongside the leader of the imperial pride; those who served in the Great War received a Certificate of Services in the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, which featured the symbolic lions.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Soldier 'GM', in V. Hopner, "Home from War", PhD thesis, Massey University, 2014, p.192

¹¹² Poster, *The Empire Needs Men!*, 1915 (original design by Arthur Wardle, United Kingdom; redesigned and printed in the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland). Archives New Zealand Ref: AD 1 9/169/2/1 SEP 598

¹¹³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 August 1914, p.4.

¹¹⁴ B. Bray, "From Flag-Waving to Pragmatism: Images of Patriotism, Heroes and War in Canadian World War II Propaganda Posters", *Material History Review* 42, Fall 1995, p.76.

¹¹⁵ AWMM, Call Number: MS 2012/4.



Auckland Weekly News, 22 August 1914, p.4.



Edward Harold Whiting's Great War Certificate of Services in the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, AWMF, Call Number: MS2012/4.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Major Harold Whiting was active during the Second World War as a recruiter, travelling the length of the country in his staff car adorned with the recruiting poster 'Men Wanted for Overseas Service'.

One of the most familiar features of First World War recruiting material seen in New Zealand was the image of the Union Flag. Like the imperial lion, this symbol had the ability to link recruiting pleas to a set of beliefs and values held by the viewer; beliefs and values encouraged in New Zealand children from a young age through popular culture including the *Boys' Own Paper*.¹¹⁷ The Union Flag also appeared in a variety of other colonial campaigns, much as the lion poster had featured in the four dominions.¹¹⁸ The PRC poster *Rally Round the Flag* provided the most obvious example of the use of the Union Flag as a persuasive device in recruit advertising.¹¹⁹ Another PRC poster featuring the Union Flag and distributed in New Zealand was visible in a photo of Auckland's Queen Street recruiting station taken on 23 April 1917.¹²⁰

The poster, *It's Our Flag, Fight for It, Work for It*, was created three years earlier in October 1914, which demonstrates its lasting significance to the New Zealand public.¹²¹ The date of the picture also reveals that voluntary recruiting was still encouraged despite the introduction of compulsory military service in New Zealand through the Military Service Act 1916. According to Paul Baker, the volunteer was still preferable to the non-volunteer for the act of volunteering 'suggested virtues of patriotism, manliness, and initiative'.¹²² This may explain why the poster of official notice for the *Enrolment of the Expeditionary Force Reserve* continued to mention both 'duty' – now referring to legal compulsion rather than moral obligation – as well as continuing provisions for voluntary recruitment.¹²³ The sense of obligation was keenly felt, with anecdotal evidence captured in a love letter from Fred Stewart to Kate Chirside while Fred was training at Trentham Camp in February 1915:

...To think that my offering my services, and if necessary my life, is going to cause unhappiness between us - well Katie it is hard. It makes me feel miserable because, as a man, I can't refuse. I must go, and if I should not return, it will be my fate. I will have given my life in doing what I honestly think is my duty. The sacrifice I make is a

¹¹⁷ K. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.234.

¹¹⁸ Aulich and Hewitt, p.85.

¹¹⁹ Poster, *Rally Round the Flag*, PRC, October 1914, Museum of New Zealand, Registration Number: GH016014.

¹²⁰ Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, Reference: 1-W1595.

¹²¹ Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, as Poster No. 107, 1914, National Army Museum (UK), Accession Number: 1977-06-81-45.

¹²² Baker, p.58.

¹²³ Poster, *Military Service Act, 1916: Enrolment of Expeditionary Force Reserve*, Government Statistician, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: Eph-D-WAR-WI-1916-01.

big one, for I leave my home and you, dear, which is everything that I wish to live for...¹²⁴



Photo: Henry Winkelmann. Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries; 1-W1595, cited in S. Gibson, 'First World War Posters at Te Papa', *Tuhinga*, Number 23, 2012.

A third example of the Union Flag being used in recruiting is the poster *Why Britain is at War*.¹²⁵ Unlike the earlier examples, however, this poster was not a copy of a PRC poster, but rather a local adaptation by the *Lyttelton Times* of a British poster extracted from *The Times*.¹²⁶ Notably, *The Times* original did not include the Union Flag. The reason for introducing the flag into the *Lyttelton Times* version can only be guessed at, but it can be reasonably concluded that it had a dual purpose of both brightening the poster and making clear that Britain's reasons for war also applied to New Zealand.

¹²⁴ I. Stewart, *The Twigs of My Tree: Stories from the Past, A Grandfather Writes for his Grandchildren*, Auckland, Polygraphia Ltd, 2006, p.104.

¹²⁵ Poster, *Why Britain is at War*, Archives New Zealand, Reference: R22444093.

¹²⁶ Poster, *Why Britain is at War*, *The Times*, London, 1915, Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Catalogue Number: Art.IWM PST 0948.



Lyttelton Times, Christchurch, 1915,
Archives New Zealand, Item ID: R22444093.

The poster, like so many of the First World War throughout Britain, the empire and New Zealand, implored citizens to do their duty. In this case, the call was subtle, captured in the justification 'To save her Good Name', which made clear the empire's honour was at stake. The poster then demanded the viewer to 'FIGHT - for your honour', taking what was a national matter of honour and personalising it down in the individual level. The poster also provided an illustration of other important values-based themes that often appeared in printed New Zealand army recruiting material during the remainder of the century: freedom, liberty and society at large. The poster *Why Britain is at War* illustrated the need to ensure the war was accepted as having just cause (*Jus ad Bellum*), however strong the level of patriotic sentiment. It was simply not enough to fight for King, country and empire; it was also important for the fight to appeal to a higher moral sense of right and wrong.



The Times, London, 1915,

Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Catalogue Number: Art.IWM PST 0948.

Various atrocities were attributed to German soldiers in France and Belgium to help make plain the just cause for war. In the PRC poster *Cold-Blooded Murder!* the viewer was reminded of Germany's infamy over the 'Sinking of the Lusitania, with hundreds of women and children'.¹²⁷ A list of other alleged atrocities perpetrated by Germany was then provided, ranging from wanton sacking of holy places to murdering thousands of innocent civilians and killing wounded British soldiers. The poster concluded with the statement such atrocities were crimes against 'God and Man', which emphasised the religious and humanitarian basis for claiming a just cause for fighting. At the time, 96% of New Zealand's population self-identified as Christian, many of whom being devout practicing Christians, making references to crimes against God a powerful message.¹²⁸ The war, to repeat a phrase from the locally

¹²⁷ Poster, *Cold-Blooded Murder!*, PRC, 1915, Museum of New Zealand, Registration Number: GH016325.

¹²⁸ 41% Church of England, 23% Presbyterian, 14% Catholic, 9% Methodist, 2% Baptist, 7% Other: Statistics New Zealand, *Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand (1911)*, Wellington, Registrar General, 30

produced recruiting leaflet *A Manifesto by the Recruiting Board to the People of New Zealand*, was a fight to 'save Civilization'.¹²⁹

The Recruiting Board Manifesto, released in 1916, claimed that 'keeping the Bosches out of English territory [would] save civilization... [and] the Empire'. Volunteering for the fight was also claimed to be a 'privilege' and a 'duty' that if 'deferred or neglected may cause ... life-long tribulation and anguish of mind'. The idea that duty postponed or ignored might cause distress or anxiety represented a last-ditch effort on the part of the Recruiting Board to save New Zealand's system of voluntary recruitment, a motive made clear in the Manifesto with the statement 'The Call is still for Volunteers'. In December 1915, Prime Minister William Massey had announced a new recruiting scheme to begin in February 1916. The scheme sought to appeal to men's consciences and ensure they realised 'beyond all doubt that 'the call' had finally come'.¹³⁰

The move to conscription in New Zealand had been debated at length with strong arguments for and against. One of the primary concerns for those who opposed conscription was the fear it would insinuate New Zealanders were less patriotic than other citizens of empire.¹³¹ Concern that New Zealanders might be seen as less patriotic was palpable in the press, with numerous cartoons and opinion pieces seeking to shame men into enlisting. One such example in the *Observer* opined that 'The decent, smart, brainy young men who go to Gallipoli die in Gallipoli for these drones, and the parasites are to be left to propagate parasites and hangers on'.¹³² In some cases, white feathers signifying cowardice were distributed to men who had not enlisted. Contemporary stories of the time also suggest young men could not enter a train in some places without being insulted for not being at war or in military service.¹³³

The actions of some moralists and patriotic groups led former Prime Minister Joseph Ward, as a member of the Recruiting Board, to state that no person had the right to send a white feather. The government, however, bore at least some responsibility for creating such a

December 1912, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1911-census/1911-results-census.html?_ga=2.156127986.813426767.1523048475-1626466630.1369372697#d50e120530, accessed 7 April 2018

¹²⁹ Poster, *New Zealand's Manhood: The Call to Battle*, Recruiting Board, Wellington, 1916, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1980.6574.

¹³⁰ Baker, p.79.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.31.

¹³² *Observer*, 21 August 1915, p.3.

¹³³ Baker, p.51.

powerful sense of ill feeling towards men not in military service.¹³⁴ As early as February 1915, when 'little or no difficulty was experienced in providing recruits', the government had begun to use shame as a recruiting theme.¹³⁵ For example, an official full-page advertisement for *New Zealand Expeditionary Force Reinforcements* published in the *Evening Post*, stated, 'Don't feel for the rest of your life you shirked your duty when your Empire's existence depended on your help'.¹³⁶ Moral suasion and shame was not a tool used solely by private individuals or groups with an over-developed sense of patriotism; it was also employed by a government keen to pull as many emotional levers as it could to achieve its ends. It was also somewhat hypocritical of the government to condemn patriotic groups for being overzealous in their condemnation of men who had not joined up, given that local Defence Offices relied on many of those same volunteers, local bodies and Patriotic Societies as 'feeders'.¹³⁷ In his report on the New Zealand Expeditionary Force's recruiting efforts, Captain Cosgrove (as Director of Recruiting), wrote 'In the principal centres, however, where large and influential committees were set up, they practically did all the work of recruiting except that of calling up the men for the purpose of proceeding to Camp'.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Captain Cosgrove, Director of Recruiting, New Zealand Military Forces, *New Zealand Expeditionary Force 1914 – 1918; Recruiting 1916-1918; Report by the Director of Recruiting, New Zealand Military Forces*, D.R./47/D.C., Wellington, 31st March, 1919, Defence Library, HQNZDF, p.1.

¹³⁶ *Evening Post*, 15 February 1915, p.10.

¹³⁷ Captain Cosgrove, Director of Recruiting, New Zealand Military Forces, *New Zealand Expeditionary Force 1914 – 1918; Recruiting 1916-1918; Report by the Director of Recruiting, New Zealand Military Forces*,

D.R./47/D.C., Wellington, 31st March, 1919, Defence Library, HQNZDF, p.2.

¹³⁸ Ibid.



NEW ZEALAND EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

REINFORCEMENTS

To the Manhood of New Zealand between the ages of 20 and 40 years.

HALT!

YOUR EMPIRE CALLS YOU, AND—ENGLAND EXPECTS!—

IN order to maintain a regular supply of REINFORCEMENTS for the NEW ZEALAND EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, every man of the required age who is a British subject and is medically fit owes a duty to his EMPIRE. REGISTER YOUR NAME AS A RECRUIT TO SERVE YOUR KING AND COUNTRY.

Due to the patriotism of your forefathers, ENGLAND is to-day able to assert the principle of JUSTICE and RIGHT. Are you by your neglect going to deprive our Empire of this privilege and power?

PROVISION IS MADE FOR YOU WHEN SERVING YOUR COUNTRY to receive PAY at the following rate: As a Private, from the day of leaving for Camp you will receive 4s. per diem for seven days in the week. This will be paid to you in full at intervals of ten to fifteen days for the first calendar month. After that date the daily rate will be 5s. You will be fed and clothed until discharged. Arrangements can be made to enable you to allot any portion of your pay to relatives or friends, or to a bank until your return, but only 2s. a day can be drawn after embarkation. The balance, if not allotted, will be held as deferred pay, and paid to you on discharge or on return to New Zealand.

REGISTER NOW

Registration-cards can be obtained from any post-office or Defence Office. When filled in, send to the nearest Defence Office, or to the Officer commanding your Unit. DONT GIVE UP WORK UNTIL ORDERED TO DO SO.

Don't feel for the rest of your life you shirked your duty when your Empire's existence depended on your help.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

CONDITIONS.—INFORMATION FOR INTENDING RECRUITS.

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| <p>1. HOW TO ENLIST.—
Apply to the nearest Defence Office or Post-office for information and registration-card. Fill in the card and send it to the nearest Defence Office (no stamp required). When you are called on for medical examination do not give up your civil employment. Medical examination is only a stage in the proceedings, after which you return to work and wait until you are ordered to parade. Due notice will be given as to arrangements to be made to settle private affairs. Serving Territorials must register through their Unit Commanders.</p> <p>2. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF REGISTRATION.—
Registration-cards received by the Defence Authority will be acknowledged. The acknowledgment will be given a registration serial number, which should be referred to in all subsequent correspondence.</p> | <p>3. CHANGE OF ADDRESS.—
Intending recruits who change their place of residence must notify the Defence Office with whom they registered. Should they go to another district they must re-register in the new district.</p> <p>4. TERMS OF ENLISTMENT.—
Enlistment is for the period of the war and until such time thereafter as may be necessary for return and discharge in New Zealand.</p> <p>5. OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.—
Every recruit is required to take the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty the King in a prescribed form.</p> <p>6. REQUIREMENTS.—
Age must be between twenty and forty years. Height must be over five ft. six in. Weight must be under twelve stone. Fit for service.</p> | <p>7. MEDICAL TEST.—
The medical examination requires, amongst other matters, that a recruit should have good straight, good bearing, no eruptions, no defects, and subject to fit, and be possessed of sufficient work for efficient enlistment.</p> <p>8. VACCINATION AND INOCULATION.—
In the interests of health and of his comrades, every soldier is required to have been vaccinated and inoculated for measles. The recruit will be assigned unless he agrees to vaccination and inoculation.</p> <p>9. EQUIPMENT.—
All equipment, including blankets, etc., will be provided free by the New Zealand Government.</p> <p>10. TRAINING.—
Before leaving New Zealand men are liable to be trained for four (4) months at Trentham or for any shorter period ordered.</p> | <p>11. PAY.—
Men who enlist for service with the Expeditionary Force receive pay at Territorial Force rates for the first month in camp—that is, 4s. per day in the case of privates. The whole of this money is paid direct to the man at intervals of ten to fifteen days.</p> <p>At the end of the first month pay is increased to Expeditionary Force rates—that is, 5s. per day in the case of privates. From this pay is deducted any allotment that the man desires to make.</p> <p>Only 2s. a day can be drawn after embarkation, the balance, if not allotted, being held as deferred pay, and paid to the soldier on discharge or on return to New Zealand, in case of death, paid to next-of-kin or legal representatives.</p> |
|--|--|--|--|

Evening Post, 15 February 1915, p.10.

The focus on recruiting diminished with the introduction of compulsory service, though men could still volunteer and most did. As the war's end drew near in early November 1918, attention shifted to honouring the sacrifice of the country's soldiers as well as their performance. In Prime Minister William Massey's eyes, the soldiers' deeds were heroic, gallant, and 'equal to the best of the fighting men of the British stock of which history gives us record'.¹³⁹ That same month, he added, 'what country had done its part and performed its share better than this Dominion? The soldiers of no part of the Empire have excelled those of New Zealand'.¹⁴⁰ New Zealand's soldiers had done the country proud, much as the Prime Minister had expected and predicted in his address to the First Echelon more than four years earlier. New Zealand's troops had departed for war as citizens of empire with a great

¹³⁹ NZPD, Volume 183, p.109.

¹⁴⁰ NZPD, Volume 183, p.277.

responsibility and they had not been found wanting. The nation's honour had been upheld and the legacy of the 'Anzacs' would provide a new chapter in popular culture and the nation's collective memory. That legacy would become the 'legend of Anzac', a story of dutiful, brave, honourable and patriotic soldiers.

Between World Wars

To cement this legend as accepted wisdom, it was necessary for the country to be selective in its remembering. There was no place, for example, to remember that Australasian troops - including New Zealanders - had a high venereal disease rates.¹⁴¹ Nor would there be room to consider how many New Zealand troops volunteered out of fear of being 'despised for not answering the plain call to duty'.¹⁴² The myth to keep alive was a simple one of 'outstanding heroism and courage' where the achievements of New Zealanders in battle were promoted as the 'essence of nationhood'.¹⁴³ As one New Zealand historian has noted, 'Developing ... a romantic view of war has been a tendency for ex-soldiers to protect the image of their achievements. As time passed, the triumphs were magnified and the failures all but forgotten'.¹⁴⁴ The soldier, and soldiering, was represented as the embodiment of patriotism and duty; a powerful message that would be drawn upon in subsequent recruiting campaigns.

The promotion of New Zealand's soldiers as virtuous and patriotic was insufficient to convince the population of the need for compulsory military training after the war. The Minister of Defence met resistance when he moved to amend the Defence Act, substituting weekly parades and an annual camp for a four-month period of continuous training. In a booklet titled *The Dark Shadow of Militarism Hangs Over the Dominion*, produced by 'The Worker Print'¹⁴⁵, the proposed amendment was strongly opposed in a style that acted as a form of counter-recruitment activity. For a start, the pamphlet cited the British Premier's statement following the war that 'it was the existence of conscript armies on the continent that inevitably rushed the world into war...' It then argued, using distinctly socialist lexicon, that

¹⁴¹ D. Novitz and B. Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, p.102.

¹⁴² Minute, Colonel Potter to Minister of Defence, 'Character of Soldiers', 20 April 1917, Archives New Zealand, Accession Number: AD1 735, Territorial Force - Statistics - Moral, Mental and Social Changes in Consequence of War (1917-1919).

¹⁴³ Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.192.

¹⁴⁴ J. McLeod, *Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War Two*, Auckland, Reed Methuen Publishers, 1986, p.12.

¹⁴⁵ Pamphlet, *The Dark Shadow of Militarism Hangs Over the Dominion*, The Worker Print, Wellington, ca. 1919, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: 355.2236 DAR 1919.

militarism was the 'handmaid of IMPERIALISTIC VENTURE AND CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITATION'. Ironically, for one Second World War veteran, it was the rise of militarism in Europe between the wars that subsequently left him, in his own words, with “no option ... but to enlist”.¹⁴⁶

The pamphlet further stated, less vociferously and with somewhat greater reasoning, that a standing force of soldiers justified on the grounds of defending New Zealand was unnecessary; 'we have come through our history with practically no defence worth mentioning, and it should be less necessary now than ever when the League of Nations, which is assured, proposes the reduction of armaments'. The pamphlet then added, 'Besides, we were told emphatically that this war WAS TO END WAR!' The pamphlet also raised concerns that military training captured the youth of New Zealand, moulding their character towards militarism. No doubt 'The Worker Print' would have welcomed the lapsing of the country's Junior Cadet scheme around the same time they published their pamphlet.¹⁴⁷ Not all viewed the Cadet Scheme as militaristic, with Colonel Sleeman explaining in 1919 that the education of young boys might have been militaristic, though citizenship and not militarism was the 'real aim of the new Cadet Force.'¹⁴⁸ For the large part, the concerns of the pamphlet's authors turned out to be unnecessary, as prevailing economic circumstances would soon force the government to significantly reduce military spending.

Despite the domestically lauded performance of New Zealand's troops during the First World War, the standing of the army within society failed to reach the high position it held following the South African War. While still valued as an institution, other social and economic pressures would overshadow the social standing of the army. Furthermore, between the two world wars, the near universal support for the army, and for war as an expression of patriotic imperialism, was increasingly called into question. For the army and wider New Zealand society, the 1920s and 1930s would prove to be a challenging period. Referring to this time, Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger wrote:

¹⁴⁶ Soldier 'RDC', Hopner, p.192.

¹⁴⁷ Sinclair, p.229.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

1930-38 was probably the most discouraging the New Zealand Army has survived. Those who soldiered on, Regular and Territorial, knew that they had no support or sympathy from the Government or the great majority of the public.¹⁴⁹

The Army itself went through a period of retrenchment during the 1920s and 1930s as government funds were allocated elsewhere. In 1923, the size of the army was reduced by nearly thirty percent, with the number of mounted rifles regiments decreased from twelve to nine and infantry battalions from seventeen to twelve.¹⁵⁰ The size and efficiency of the army were further damaged by the economic crisis of 1929. In October 1930, compulsory training for the Territorial Force was suspended and the force reduced further to just three mounted regiments and six infantry battalions - less than a third of the force's pre-1923 strength.¹⁵¹ Worse, however, was to come. On 31 March 1931, the army's already small Permanent Force was reduced by a total of 136 officers and men due to financial constraints brought about by the halving of defence spending. The Permanent Force was left with fewer than 250 full-time personnel. The Territorial Force was similarly affected by the decline in defence spending, with its establishment reduced from 16,990 to 3,655. On the same day, the Territorial Force also became a voluntary organisation.¹⁵² To quote New Zealand military historian Glyn Harper, it was a period in which 'New Zealand's defence forces all but went out of existence'.¹⁵³ It should be noted that the army was not the only part of the public sector to suffer the impact of the economic depression. The Government also cut civil service salaries by 10 per cent and empowered the Arbitration Court to amend any wage if economic circumstances called for it, which resulted in a 10 per cent cut to all wages.¹⁵⁴

The groups that continued to champion the idea of empire, its associated ideologies and patriotism, included the Royal New Zealand Plunket Society, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's Division of Federated Farmers.¹⁵⁵ Schools, an important agent of influence in the development of social ideals, also continued to promote these values. School Cadets remained a significant feature of school life; the empire's military

¹⁴⁹ Kippenberger, p. 71

¹⁵⁰ Perry, p.179.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² NZ Army Publication 78 (P78), Section 6 - Between the Wars (1920-1938), updated February 2011.

¹⁵³ G. Harper, "Major General Howard Kippenberger: The Education of a Commander". In G. Harper & J. Hayward (eds), *Born to Lead? Portraits of New Zealand Commanders*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2003, p. 120.

¹⁵⁴ M. McPhee, *New Zealand Yesterdays: The Illustrated Story of how we Lived, Worked and Played*, Sydney, Reader's Digest, 2009, p.132.

¹⁵⁵ K. Pickles, "Colonisation, Empire and Gender." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.229.

successes were recounted in class; the national flag was saluted weekly - a compulsory activity for public schools after 1921 - and the national anthem, 'God Save the King', was sung.¹⁵⁶ The textbook *The Story of the British Nation* was also reprinted several times during the 1920s with 80 out of 137 pages dealing with war and its results. War, patriotism, duty, honour and empire represented important building blocks in a child's education.¹⁵⁷

Children were also taught the importance of Anzac Day, with essay competitions held on the subject and 'innumerable addresses at school assemblies'.¹⁵⁸ Monuments to the country's fallen soldiers were also built at the entrances to many schools or within their grounds. The purpose of these monuments was not merely commemorative. They were also intended to have an educational effect on students.¹⁵⁹ They promoted military heroism, service in the name of empire and country, and taught future generations that soldiers, particularly war veterans, held a special social status. The archway built at the entrance of Otago Boys High in Dunedin provides an example of the educational agenda of many memorials, with the phrase 'Dulce et Decorum Est Pro Patria Mori' - It is sweet and glorious to die for one's country - chiselled into the archway under which students pass daily. The same phrase was made infamous by Wilfred Owen's poem *Dulce et Decorum Est*, referring to the stark contrast between the phrase's educational message and the reality of war.¹⁶⁰ At Auckland's King's College, the foundation stone for the memorial chapel, laid in 1922, was inscribed 'To the glory of God and in memory of the Old Boys who gave their lives in the Great War, 1914-1918'.¹⁶¹ King's, like many of its contemporaries, promoted the 'Spartan virtues of hardihood, patriotism, military training and corporate spirit' to mould boys into men.¹⁶²

While the patriotism, imperialism and arguable militarism of the country continued to be widely promoted as essential social values, resistance to the status quo was growing. Efforts to educate students through the use of memorials for example, was by no means universally endorsed. Dan Sullivan, a Labour councillor in 1920, said 'he did not stand for the promotion of the spirit of war, or for instilling into the minds of young New Zealanders

¹⁵⁶ Sinclair, p.232.

¹⁵⁷ Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.193.

¹⁵⁸ Sinclair, p.232.

¹⁵⁹ C. Maclean & J. Phillips, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Wellington, Bookprint Consultants Ltd, 1990, p.72.

¹⁶⁰ J. Stallworthy, *The Oxford Book of War Poetry*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988, p.188.

¹⁶¹ B. Hamilton, *O Floreat Semper... The History of King's College 1896-1995*, Auckland, AGM Publishing Limited, 1995, p.80.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.11.

imperialistic designs, or thoughts of that kind'.¹⁶³ Sullivan was not alone, with an increasing number of New Zealanders believing in pacifism and anti-militarism.¹⁶⁴

Rejection of war and the promotion of peace, however, were not necessarily seen as diametrically opposed to nationalism or the positive virtues war could engender. Sullivan for example, did approve of memorials to fallen soldiers for the characteristics of courage and self-sacrifice they had shown.¹⁶⁵ Likewise the Rector of Waitaki Boys High School, Frank Milner, an individual known for his 'fervent nationalism and patriotism' deplored war.¹⁶⁶ Speaking to a group of Rotarians in Boston in 1933, Milner stated:

Now, many of you are fathers. You have your children who carry on for you, even in this life, some form of immortality. Their mothers went down to the portals of death to give them life. You encompassed them with love and tender nurture. You have fondly imagined lives of honour and usefulness for them. But again breaks in this ruthless cycle of armaments, of fears, and national hatreds, and shatters your dream, and what do you see? Behold I show you the 'nobility' of warfare, for warfare is not noble, though it gives rise at times to noble virtues...¹⁶⁷

Both Sullivan and Milner's views were illustrative of the difficulty many had in condemning war fully. While neither wanted to see war promoted, they nevertheless found it could give rise to honourable virtues. In this way, whether militarist or anti-militarist, in favour of compulsory full-time training or against, war service was seen as an opportunity to exhibit esteemed social values.

Jim Henderson, in his cathartic and often poignant autobiography *Gunner Inglorious*, condemned war more fully. He also noted the gap between the popular notion of war as promoted in schools and the reality of war:

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ R. Rabel, "New Zealand's Wars." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.255.

¹⁶⁵ Maclean and Phillips, p.72.

¹⁶⁶ "MILNER, Frank, C.M.G.," from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 10-Nov-11, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/milner-frank-cmg>, accessed 17 February 2016.

¹⁶⁷ H. Templeton, et al, *Speeches that Shaped New Zealand 1814-1956*, Cambridge, Hurricane Press, 2014, p.219.

If I should die, think only this of me ...' ...That's a twice-told tale. We've heard that one before. A corner of a foreign field? Or give me a home where the buffalo roam? A richer dust concealed? Oh yeah? Cold comfort in this unflowering wilderness. We learned all this at school and it's false, empty...¹⁶⁸

Henderson also made specific mention of patriotic posters and the deliberate misrepresentation of war's reality:

As he came nearer I could see he was heading for the iron stool at the foot of my bed. He didn't look at all like the wounded heroes you see on patriotic posters. No. He was only a little man, about five foot two, with long black hair. But the hair couldn't grow above his left ear. That was bare. There was a huge dent there. You could have buried half your fist in it. It was an angry red now, through his exertions, and you could see the thin skin pulsating and throbbing. This unsightly wound had paralysed his right arm and leg. Triandifilos Lagos couldn't speak, either. His tongue, too, had been paralysed. ... This is the sort of exhibit which should be put in war museums. Not cannon and helmets and maps and shells and pictures and inhuman data concerning 'personnel'. Not the means but the ends of war. A little Greek soldier. Paralysed and dumb.¹⁶⁹

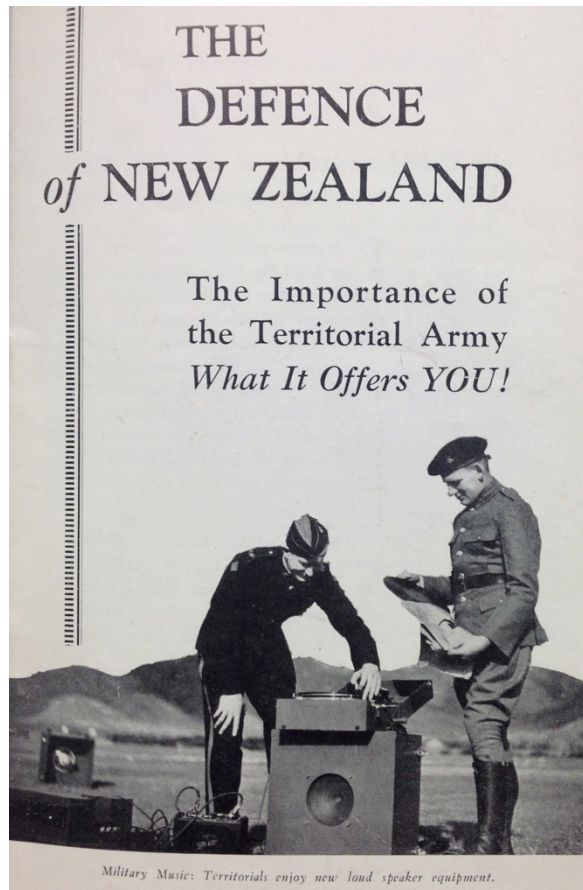
The 1920s and 1930s saw little need for recruitment to take place because of a combination of factors: the small nature of the Permanent Force; the eventual reduction in the size of both the compulsory Territorial and voluntary Permanent Forces; and the suspension of compulsory service in the territorials. The one item found for the period between the wars (not directly related to the Second World War), quoted the League of Nations Union: 'the existence and maintenance of an efficient Territorial Army is in no wise incompatible with the aims of the League of Nations'.¹⁷⁰ The booklet went on to state that 'If you are an ordinary citizen, peaceful minded, anxious that this country should not go to war - yet prepared to fight to the death for the priceless heritage of freedom, you will find in our Territorial Force just that type of force which suits the British Commonwealth and the League of Nations'. Reference to the League of Nations and principles of freedom and peace, not only reflected

¹⁶⁸ J. Henderson, *Gunner Inglorious: 24563 Jim Henderson*, Auckland, Radio Pacific Publishing, 2000, pp.30-31.

¹⁶⁹ Henderson, p.75.

¹⁷⁰ Booklet, *The Defence of New Zealand: The Importance of the Territorial Army. What it Offers YOU!*, W. & H. Ltd, circa 1935-7, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 355 P.

prevailing social concerns of the time, but also foreshadowed changing perspectives on New Zealand's defence - namely ties to a powerful security guarantor and the presence of an international organisation for the peaceful settlement of disputes.



The Defence of New Zealand, circa 1935-37, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: 355 P.

Another notable exception to the apparent suspension of recruiting occurred in 1922 with the 'Chanak Crisis'. The crisis arose after the Turks were victorious against Greece, allowing them to advance towards the neutral zone guarding the Dardanelles. The British Government asked whether the Dominions would contribute to any forces raised in response to the crisis; on behalf of New Zealand Prime Minister William Massey answered in the affirmative.¹⁷¹ New Zealand's Cabinet reportedly made its decision in three minutes.¹⁷²

The 'Call to Men' was proudly reported in the press, as was the 'rush of men anxious to enrol in the Expeditionary Force' on the first day.¹⁷³ More than 1100 volunteers signed up

¹⁷¹ *Press*, 20 September 1922, p.8.

¹⁷² M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Penguin, 2003, p.391.

¹⁷³ *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 19 September 1922, p.5.

to serve on that first day, a greater number than in any single day for the First World War.¹⁷⁴ That first day was, according to the *New Zealand Herald*, 'A PROUD DAY' that 'should thrill the most lethargic mind and stir the slowest imagination' for 'No appeal had been issued'.¹⁷⁵ The paper went on to opine that the 'patriotic exaltation and spirit of service which possesses the country' was worthy of the 'spirit of 1914 and of Anzac' and a continuation of the 'path of nationhood' on which the country had embarked in 1914. During the next four days over 12,000 officers, soldiers and nurses volunteered for the proposed expeditionary force.¹⁷⁶ The crisis on the peninsula abated, however, and the expeditionary force was never raised.

Patriotism continued to be nurtured in the nation's youth and in society as a whole during the years between world wars. It would be difficult to argue, however, that it had increased as a result of the First World War in the same way it had following the South African War. The Chanak Crisis, taken as a litmus test of patriotism, indicates both men and women members of the public remained eager to do their patriotic duty. Yet supporting the call to duty when a crisis arose was different from supporting militarism or the army as an institution. As discussed earlier, service in war could be seen as virtuous when there was a war to be fought, even by those who were fundamentally opposed to war itself. It is also possible the reported public response to the crisis reflected a vocal minority, where those most eager to serve were highly visible, while others remained quietly apprehensive of another conflict draining New Zealand of its young men.

As war approached in the late 1930s, New Zealand's land forces were in a poor state of readiness. In 1938, as war seemed increasingly likely, four Territorial Force Colonels, in what came to be known as the 'Colonels' Revolt', publicly declared their trepidation regarding the state of the army.¹⁷⁷ The Colonels frankly listed the facts as they saw them while also noting the 'very poor measure of support accorded to the forces by the public'.¹⁷⁸ The perceived lack of public support likely stemmed from the recent economic hardship experienced in the country along with the expense of maintaining military forces. Despite the formation of a Territorial Special Reserve in 1937, further expansion of the national military reserve did not take place until after the Colonels' Revolt. Despite the accuracy of their claims, and the subsequent action taken by the Government to rectify shortfalls, the four

¹⁷⁴ NZ Army Publication 78 (P78), Section 6 - Between the Wars (1920-1938), updated February 2011.

¹⁷⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 September 1922, p.6.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Kippenberger, p.71.

¹⁷⁸ *Press*, 19 May 1938, p.12.

Colonels were posted from the Active List to the Reserve List less than a month after their public declaration.¹⁷⁹

The Colonels were not, however, the only group concerned with improving the state of the nation's defence forces. Nor was the public entirely unsympathetic towards matters of defence. The New Zealand Territorial Association and the New Zealand Defence League both sought to increase the profile of defence issues. The stated aim of the Territorial Association was to create a healthy public opinion on matters of defence and to develop in men a sense of duty.¹⁸⁰ The association was patriotic, as well as imperialistic, with New Zealand's Governor-General, Viscount Galway, as their patron. Having the Governor-General as patron is testament to the standing of the organisation. Similarly, the standing of the Defence League within New Zealand is evidenced by the Minister of Defence citing the letter of congratulation he received from the League's Wellington branch for 'pushing forward the strengthening of the land forces of the Dominion'.¹⁸¹ As Major General John Duigan, then General Officer Commanding New Zealand Military Forces, reported to Parliament in 1937 'success in the voluntary system of defence depends largely on the [support] and encouragement it receives from the Government, the employers and the General public. Without this support it can never reach a high standard of efficiency, and unless this standard is attained, uneconomic expenditure is involved'.¹⁸²

Second World War

After nearly two decades of relative inactivity, army recruiting was revived in 1939 when the threat of war turned from possibility to probability. New Zealand's response to the threat of war in Europe had been sluggish before April 1939, but once started, its recruitment began in earnest. The flourish of recruiting activity that began in May 1939 continued until conscription was introduced in July 1940 under the National Service Emergency Regulations of that year. That New Zealand left its war preparation recruiting as late as April 1939 is partially explained by the prevailing belief the country was protected from military threat by British defence strategy that held Singapore as a keystone of Imperial Defence. New Zealand

¹⁷⁹ NZ Army Publication 78 (P78), Section 6 - Between the Wars (1920-1938), updated February 2011.

¹⁸⁰ Booklet, *Jubilee Souvenir Programme: 1910-1935*, New Zealand Territorial Force Association, 1935, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Reference Number: GT4380 JUB.

¹⁸¹ *Press*, 13 October 1938, p.23.

¹⁸² J.E. Duigan, *Annual Report to Parliament*, 31 July 1937, cited in *Territorial Force Officers Handbook: 1988*, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: 508695.

also had a Labour government at the time, with trade unions having traditionally acted as centres of resistance to militarism. Furthermore, Britain declared that no security concerns in the Mediterranean would deter her from despatching a fleet to the East, and so there was little apparent urgency for New Zealand.¹⁸³ It was not until the Pacific Defence Conference, held in Wellington during April 1939 that the 'tenuous state' of Britain's promise of security was exposed.¹⁸⁴ The timing of the conference, and the late exposure of Britain's fragile promise, both help explain New Zealand's slow start and the surge of activity from May 1939. The Government ultimately agreed to increase the establishment of the Territorial Force from 6,000 to 15,000.¹⁸⁵ In early-June, the Council of Defence established a recruiting committee to publicise the campaign, followed later that month by the full-page advertisement featuring Prime Minister Savage (see page 56).¹⁸⁶

THE AUCKLAND STAR, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 1939

**CIVIL DEFENCE
IS THE BUSINESS
OF THE CITIZEN!**

Rally to the Call

Made by His Worship the Mayor, for

1000 MEN

**to bring the Territorial Forces
in Auckland up to peace time
establishment!**

Remember—

**TRAINED MEN ONLY CAN
PROVIDE SECURITY
FOR AUCKLAND**

JOIN the TERRITORIALS NOW!



Auckland Star, 26 April 1939, p.7.

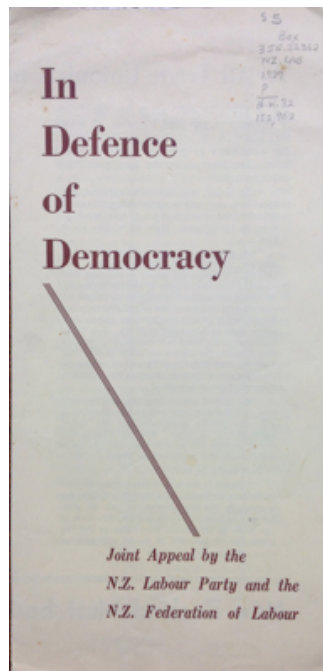
¹⁸³ W.D. McIntyre, "The British Commonwealth of Nations as an Unwritten Alliance", *New Zealand Army Journal*, No. 22, December 1999, p.4.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ W.D. McIntyre, *New Zealand Prepares for War*, Christchurch, University of Canterbury Press, 1988, p.216.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.235-236.

The flurry of recruiting material produced during the period April 1939 to July 1940 provides a fascinating insight into how social values promoted during times of peace become the emotional levers of wartime recruiting. The first official recruiting item to be published following the Pacific Defence Conference was a full-page newspaper advertisement stating 'Civil Defence is the business of the citizen! Rally to the Call'.¹⁸⁷ The advertisement borrowed its headline from a poster campaign, already begun in London, described as being 'reminiscent of the days of the Great War'.¹⁸⁸ The Mayor of Auckland used the advertisement and 'call' to start the process of bringing the Territorial Forces in Auckland up to peacetime establishment. The reference to citizenship was a reminder of the unwritten, but well understood, social obligation to fight for the state in times of war. Notably, it was not just the Mayor in his capacity as a member of the establishment that was calling for men to join. The Federation of Labour¹⁸⁹ backed the Mayor's campaign, despite having a historical hatred of war. Federation president, Mr F.C. Young, backed recruiting efforts out of 'a feeling of responsibility in the defence of the Dominion'.¹⁹⁰ A sense of responsibility nurtured in the country's citizens from school textbook to church sermon to Anzac Day speech, had ensured that even those opposed to the establishment would back that same establishment in the cause of defending New Zealand.



In Defence of Democracy, Labour Party & Federation of Labour, Standard Press, Wellington, 1939, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: P Box 355.22362 NZ.LAB 1939.

¹⁸⁷ *Auckland Star*, 26 April 1939, p.7.

¹⁸⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 1 April 1939, p.13.

¹⁸⁹ The Federation of Labour was a collaborative grouping of Trade Unions in New Zealand

¹⁹⁰ *Auckland Star*, 26 April 1939, p.16.

In one of the first recruiting items to emerge after the Pacific Defence Conference, the Federation of Labour went even further in a 'joint appeal' with the Labour Party, issuing a leaflet titled *In Defence of Democracy*.¹⁹¹ Though strictly not an official example of recruiting ephemera printed by, or for, the army, as the ruling party of the day, the Labour Party's role as co-producer made it at least semi-official. The leaflet was addressed to 'all trade unionists and members of the New Zealand Labour Party' and contained a clear message:

National security can only be assured by personal service. It is not sufficient to believe in democracy or to be opposed to dictatorship, aggression and domination. The workers of New Zealand must prove their devotion to the principles of freedom, liberty and equality in a practical way, and this they can best do by joining the defence force of this country.¹⁹²

Jointly, the Federation of Labour made it clear that their policy remained opposed to conscription, but nevertheless implored their members to make New Zealand 'Safe for New Zealanders by New Zealanders'. Furthermore, it was their hope that all trade union and party members between the age of twenty and fifty-five would volunteer for the defence forces. The justification for such a heavy commitment was that the living conditions of New Zealanders were the 'envy of other nations' and, therefore, worth defending as a 'beacon light'.¹⁹³ Finally, the leaflet resorted to an appeal to conscience:

There may be some people who are prepared to give lip service to the ideals, aims and objective of the Labour Movement, but refuse to take their part in the defence of the country which we can say without fear of contradiction is leading the world in putting into operation the ideals of human justice and international peace. If there are such people in New Zealand, they either do not understand Labour's objective or are false to the best interests of the Labour Movement.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Leaflet, *In Defence of Democracy*, Labour Party & Federation of Labour, Standard Press, Wellington, 1939, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: P Box 355.22362 NZ.LAB 1939.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

New Zealand's United government passed the Unemployment Act in 1930 and in 1938 the First Labour government passed the Social Security Act. Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage described the second of these Acts as providing 'cradle to the grave' security.¹⁹⁵ The Acts represented an unequalled level of social security and it was, according to the country's labour movement, worth defending. Interestingly, and possibly reflective of the movement's socialist leanings, there was no reference to empire, Britain, or 'Mother Country' in their leaflet. Service to country was just that, service to New Zealand as an independent state, for its people by its people.

On 5 September 1939, Prime Minister Savage announced that New Zealand was at war with Germany. Given the previous stances of the Labour Party and the Federation of Labour, the Prime Minister's choice of words represented a distinct departure from recent messaging about military service. No longer was service to be justified on the grounds of protecting New Zealand, or its social and economic well-being. Instead, Savage announced:

I am satisfied that nowhere will the issue be more clearly understood than in New Zealand - where, for almost a century, behind the sure shield of Britain, we have enjoyed and cherished freedom and self-government. Both with gratitude for the past, and with confidence in the future we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes, we go, where she stands, we stand.¹⁹⁶

This arguable turn-around in the justification for service from one of civil defence and defending New Zealand to one of imperial loyalty, speaks to the latent potential that popular culture has as a means of influence to encourage recruitment in times of war. Manipulation of popular culture helped to construct the citizen within an imagined community worth fighting for.¹⁹⁷ This can be seen through the continued use of obligation-based themes in recruiting material, where the themes and messages contained speak to established beliefs and social values as a means of persuasion.

¹⁹⁵ J. Stenhouse, "Religion and Society." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.348.

¹⁹⁶ M.J. Savage, *Broadcasts to N.Z. Outbreak of War*, 5 September 1939, National Broadcasting Service, Wellington, Nga Taonga: Sound and Vision Archive, Reference Number: 31615.

¹⁹⁷ Aulich and Hewitt, p.39.



A VITAL MESSAGE TO EVERY NEW ZEALANDER

DISTRICT HONOURS LIST

The following centres are included in the District Honours List because they have already completed their appeal for the Territorial Force or National Military Reserve. Their appeal for the Territorial Force or National Military Reserve, had been fulfilled, the quota in each centre, as recruits will be turned away.

Table with 4 columns: District, Territorial Force, National Military Reserve, and Recruits. Lists various districts like Auckland, Dunedin, etc.

CITIZENS: BRING YOUR LOCAL TERRITORIALS UP TO STRENGTH! Don't leave it to the Other Fellow! Apply nearest District Office for particulars of pay, uniform and equipment. IMPORTANT NOTE: Every recruit who is up to standard will be accepted at any training centre, even although the quota for that centre may already be filled.

I APPEAL to every patriotic New Zealander to do his duty towards the defence of the Nation. The way is simple. The need is urgent. If an educated democracy takes determined measures for its own defence, it will not suffer defeat if attacked.

If you are a loyal Citizen, peaceful minded, anxious that this country should not go to War—yet prepared to defend a precious heritage, the best service you can render the cause of peace in these shores is by service in the Territorial Force or enrolment in the National Military Reserve.

The establishment of the Territorial Force has been increased to a total of 16,000 all ranks. I therefore appeal to all young men of spirit between the ages of 18-32 to take their place in the Territorial Force with that splendid body of men already rendering national service of the highest value.

I appeal also to the Mayors, County Chairmen and Councilors and local Government Officials to do all in their power to recruit their local units up to strength. I appeal to employers of labour to assist in granting leave and facilities for employees to attend camp. A good Territorial is a good workman.

I appeal to the manhood of New Zealand, if not eligible for the Territorial Force, to enrol in the National Military Reserve.

Finally, the women of the Nation can do their part by encouraging enlistment in either the Territorial Force or the National Military Reserve. The man who is ready and willing to defend your home is worthy of your highest respect.

M. S. Savage
Prime Minister

EVERY MAN CAN DO HIS PART

JOIN UP-NOW

IN THE TERRITORIAL FORCE OR THE NATIONAL MILITARY RESERVE

WHO BEGINS TO SERVE YOUR COUNTRY

Auckland Star, 29 June 1938, p.5.

Despite Prime Minister Savage’s apparent reframing of the situation, the majority of official recruiting material, both before and after the outbreak of war, appealed to values of democracy and to country rather than empire. In June 1939, an advertisement bearing Savage’s kindly face appeared in newspapers across the country. The Prime Minister’s message was advertised as a vital one ‘to every New Zealander’ and the appeal was personal: ‘I APPEAL to every patriotic New Zealander to do his duty towards the defence of the Nation... If you are a loyal Citizen, peaceful minded, anxious that this country should not go to War - yet prepared to defend a precious heritage, the best service you can render the cause of peace in these shores is by service in the Territorial Force or enrolment in the National Military Reserve’.¹⁹⁸ In comparison to recruiting from the First World War, the lack of references to Britain, empire or commonwealth was conspicuous. It was also effective for some members of the target audience, with one veteran recounting; ‘...really the only reason I joined up was a patriotic one’.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ *Auckland Star*, 29 June 1938, p.5.

¹⁹⁹ Soldier ‘VDH’, Hopner, p.192

AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE to *all* EX-TERRITORIALS

The Authorities have had their attention drawn to the fact that thousands of men, who served in the Territorials under the compulsory training system, still believe that their names are listed on the military reserve and that if danger threatened they could be immediately mobilised.

This is not strictly true and in this stage of emergency every ex-territorial is urged to re-enlist in Class (I) of the National Military Reserve.

Full particulars of those eligible for Class (I) are given in the panel below. Don't take it for granted that you are on the Reserve. Fill in your "Offer of Service" Card at the Post Office and be sure.



THOSE ELIGIBLE FOR CLASS (I)

Men of the ages of 20 to 25 years, inclusive, who have served during peace time for not less than two years in the New Zealand Territorial Army or in any of the military forces of the Empire. These men are required (a) to build up the Territorial Army to war strength on mobilisation, (b) to furnish reinforcements for the Territorial Army after mobilisation.

Enquire at Post Office for your "Offer of Service" Card

JOIN UP—NOW

IN THE NATIONAL MILITARY RESERVE

BE PROUD TO SERVE YOUR COUNTRY

Evening Post, 30 August 1939, p.15.

Another pre-war newspaper advertisement titled *An Important Message to all Ex-Territorials* similarly contained no reference to empire, commonwealth or king.²⁰⁰ Instead, it called on readers to 'Be Proud to Serve Your Country'. The imagery used in the advertisement was also noteworthy, containing a soldier wearing a lemon-squeezer hat – a symbol associated with New Zealand's Anzac soldiers – rather than the symbols of empire common in the previous era of mass recruiting. The apparent reluctance of official recruiting material to use symbols of empire, such as the Union Jack for example, reflected the ruling Labour Party's ideological hostility towards war, conscription, empire and monarchy, as well as lingering ill feeling towards the cost of the First World War. To invoke the image of empire when that image was so closely associated with the carnage of the First World War would have been counter-productive to recruiting. It has also been suggested that because so many First World War posters used 'strongly sentimental, romantic or bellicose images', the public

²⁰⁰ *Evening Post*, 30 August 1939, p.15.

now preferred posters that provided information; appeals to reason to justify volunteering, rather than emotive and often inaccurate propaganda.²⁰¹

Recruiting material from the First World War had largely promoted the conflict as an imperial fight, but it was also a fight that cost the country dearly in human and financial terms. Furthermore, there was discontent with respect to how the government had treated many First World War veterans after the war. In a February 1939 letter to the Editor of the *Evening Post* on the subject of 'Why Young Men Hang Back', one returned soldier wrote:

We risked our lives in the Great War, and those of us who returned were promised that this country should be "A land made fit for heroes to live in." What did we get? On every hand we were told that returned soldiers could not be employed "owing to war injuries".²⁰²

He went on to add that 'Should another war break out I can guarantee that my son... will be one of the first to enlist, but I sincerely trust that when he returns (if he should) then he will receive better treatment than present-day returned men have received'.²⁰³ The experience of First World War servicemen and their families had not been a good one. In addition to the often-damaging physical and psychological effects of the war, they had lived through an influenza epidemic, the Great Depression and general hardship. Many had learned not only of war's cost, but also the absence of a fair return on their investment.

The government was conscious of such sentiments amongst the public and the issue of veterans and their treatment was directly tackled in contemporary recruiting material for the new conflict. In one advertisement from early 1940, Prime Minister Savage is quoted saying:

To those who enlist I have only one pledge to make, that is, that they will not return to this land to take part in an unseemly struggle for the right to live. It will be the duty of the Government to safeguard them against that and it will be my duty as Prime Minister to take the initiative in this matter.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ S. Gibson, "Display Folk: Second World War Posters at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa", *Tuhinga*, Number 19, 2008, p.14.

²⁰² *Evening Post*, 16 February 1939, p.12.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Evening Post*, 4 March 1940, p.5.

To add sincerity to the promise, the statement was accompanied by the Prime Minister's signature. How much stock was put in his promise, however, is difficult to judge. Though a largely popular figure in New Zealand politics, his ill health was widely known, though the severity of his illness was largely concealed. As a consequence, some may have considered it unlikely Savage would be in a position to deliver on any promises made. In the end, Savage died before the end of the same month the advertisement was published. Ultimately, government attempts to address the concerns of First World War veterans were unsuccessful. In the lead up to the Korean War (1950–53) Second World War veterans voiced many of the same complaints and concerns of the previous generation regarding their post-war treatment by the government.²⁰⁵ Ex-servicemen, including those of the much-vaunted First and Second World Wars, clearly felt their commitment and sacrifice during war was inadequately compensated post-war. An explanation for this can be found in the shift in need between war and peace, moving from the government needing soldiers to soldiers needing the government. With that shift in need also occurs a shift in power. Combined, these changes make veterans less valuable to the government than they had been in war and therefore arguably less valued. The result: a not unfounded sense amongst veterans of being cast off by government.

Once New Zealand's involvement in the war was formally announced, references to Britain and Empire crept in to recruiting material, albeit in a muted way compared to the First World War. One advertisement headed *Your Pal is in the first Echelon DO YOUR SHARE!* for example, quoted Lord Kitchener's First World War appeal to the reader's conscience that they should not shirk their duty to country.²⁰⁶ In another, again featuring the Prime Minister's face, the Prime Minister's message was stated as being "Unless Britain and her Allies Win All is Lost".²⁰⁷ His call to the 'young men of this country to offer themselves, in their thousands, now, for military service' emphasised the link between the nation's future security and the fate of Britain. As noted by Roberto Rabel, 'war was not simply an instinctive manifestation of imperial loyalty, but reflected a sober appreciation of national interests. As in 1914, there was acute awareness that the country's economic, political and security ties to the United Kingdom meant that a British defeat would have been disastrous for New Zealand'.²⁰⁸ Despite a reference to Britain, the advertisement did not include any imperial

²⁰⁵ M. King, *After the War: New Zealand Since 1945*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p.53.

²⁰⁶ *Evening Post*, 23 December 1939, p.16.

²⁰⁷ *Evening Post*, 4 March 1940, p.5.

²⁰⁸ R. Rabel, "New Zealand's Wars", in G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.256.

symbols, which had been common during the First World War. In the place of imperial symbols were two distinctly New Zealand icons: Prime Minister Savage and a soldier wearing a lemon-squeezer. The advertisement finished with the line 'your country needs you'. Unlike earlier First World War references to country, however, the symbols used in the advertisement left the viewer in no doubt the country referred to was New Zealand and not Britain.

Another newspaper advertisement, published shortly before compulsion was introduced, implored readers to not 'Sit [and] Doing Nothing', but to 'Come and Help! New Zealand and the Empire are menaced as never before'.²⁰⁹ The advertisement went on to claim 'The very existence of the British Commonwealth of free peoples depends upon victory... the forces of evil... are threatening Democracy and Freedom'. Reference to the British Commonwealth of free peoples was distinct from that of Empire and reflected the tendency of Labour MPs to talk of the 'Commonwealth' rather than 'Empire'. In 1931 the Statute of Westminster had provided for the near full legislative independence of the Dominions and equality of status with the United Kingdom. New Zealand did not, however, formally adopt the Statute until 1947 with the Statute of Westminster Adoption Act.

The only British symbol to appear in a recruiting appeal came from Adam Hamilton, then leader of the Opposition in parliament, in a newspaper advertisement. The advert, titled *Now is the time for Service*, pictured Mr Hamilton and two flags; the New Zealand flag and a largely obscured Union Flag behind it.²¹⁰ The image of the two flags, so represented, clearly put New Zealand at the forefront of the issue at hand, with Britain as a secondary concern. This message was further expressed in the text of the advertisement when it talked of the 'high and sacred cause' to 'fight for our independence and our very existence... We fight for human justice against brute force'. Nowhere did the advertisement refer to Britain, the Empire, or Commonwealth. An indication that Hamilton's message may have resonated with New Zealand soldiers is reflected in Jim Henderson's book *Gunner Inglorious* when he wrote; 'Looks like Freedom and Democracy going west with a bang now', when New Zealand troops had their front lines turned.²¹¹ His remark indicates the message that the soldiers well understood that democracy was what they fought for, as opposed to 'King and Country', as was the case during the First World War.

²⁰⁹ *Auckland Star*, 31 May 1940, p.9.

²¹⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 16 April 1940, p.11.

²¹¹ Henderson, p.30.

James Belich has argued that the Second World War battlefield, like that of a rugby field, was an ‘acid test’ of Better Britishness.²¹² Belich further argued that ‘New Zealand made its own decision for war, but the decision was determined by New Zealand’s belief that it was British. This was not an act of cringing colonialism, but it was not an act of independent nationhood either’.²¹³ This argument, though supported by Savage’s words declaring New Zealand’s entry to the war, is not supported by the content of found in recruiting material. New Zealand’s Second World War recruiting material, both prior to and after the outbreak of war, was strongly New Zealand-centric.

The Prime Minister's Message

**“UNLESS
BRITAIN and her ALLIES
WIN
ALL IS LOST”**





“I ask the young men of this country to offer themselves, in their thousands, now, for military service, anywhere, whether in New Zealand or abroad, for the place where freedom can be best defended is the place for our fighting men to be. But I want that service to be the service of men who bear willingly the arms that they have taken up freely. I wish it to be said that every New Zealand soldier is a volunteer on whom no compulsion was brought to bear but that of his own conscience.”

“To those who enlist I have only one pledge to make, that is, that they will not return to this land to take part in an unseemly struggle for the right to live. It will be the duty of the Government to safeguard them against that and it will be my duty as Prime Minister to take the initiative in this matter.”

M. J. Savage
PRIME MINISTER

ENLIST NOW
your country needs you.

Evening Post, 4 March 1940, p.5.

²¹² J. Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, Penguin, 2001, p.270.

²¹³ *Ibid*, p.271.

"Now is the time for Service"
HON. ADAM HAMILTON




HOW TO ENLIST
Call at the nearest Army Office or obtain a Registration Form at any Post Office or Railway Booking Office. Fill in the form and post it as directed, and you will be notified when to report for medical examination.

"WE have a high and sacred cause. We fight for our independence and our very existence. We fight for our homes, our families, and for the future of our children and generations to come. We fight for human justice against brute force, and for all that makes life worth while.
"New Zealand has dedicated herself to this task. We have given our promise. In the Army, Navy and Air Force to date part of that promise has been fulfilled. Our men are there. I am sure that our men at home will not let their mates down.
"Young men, the call to you is clear. More men are needed. Your answer in the past has been unhesitating. I appeal to you—you with the blood and traditions of your fathers—to spring to the side of your mates in the struggle today."

Enlist TODAY

New Zealand Herald, 16 April 1940, p.11.

The most dramatic item of recruiting material used during the war, and one that referred to Britain, was "BOMPHLET" No. 1.²¹⁴ 'Bomphlet No.1' was a small leaflet aerially dropped on Friday night shoppers in Auckland, Dunedin, Christchurch and Hamilton by low-flying aircraft.²¹⁵ The text of the leaflet stated, 'If this were a BOMB where would you be? Our kindred in Great Britain are living under constant threat of aerial attack and facing it with fortitude... We are at war to defend their rights and ours. What are you doing to help?' The link from New Zealanders to Britons was strongly made in this item, calling on the reader to empathise with British citizens. The call, however, was arguably more human and personal

²¹⁴ Leaflet, *Bomphlet No. 1: If this were a Bomb Where Would You be?*, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Call No. UB320 BOM.

²¹⁵ N.M. Taylor, *The Home Front, Volume 1: Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War*, Historical Publications Branch, Wellington, V.R. Ward Government Printers, 1986, p.79.

than similar calls in the First World War, reflecting the public's rejection of the more manipulative First World War recruiting posters. Also noteworthy in the leaflet was the reference to defending 'their rights and ours'. Service in the Second World War was principally represented as a patriotic duty to defend the values of New Zealand, though there was still some room for reference to Britain. To be effective, the leaflet was relying on the sentimental connection many New Zealanders still felt for Britain.²¹⁶ If it was thought that New Zealanders no longer considered those in Great Britain their 'kindred' it is unlikely 'Bomphlet No. 1' would have been used. In Christchurch, 4000 copies of 'Bomphlet No. 1' were dropped over Cathedral Square with the aim of increasing interest in recruiting. According to the *New Zealand Herald*, the 'roar of the machines' achieved its aim, with 'wild rushes' made by many thousands of people to collect leaflets as they floated towards the ground.²¹⁷



Auckland War Memorial Museum, Call No. UB320

²¹⁶ J. Aulich, *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication*, London, Thames and Hudson, 2007, p.168.

²¹⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 23 January 1940, p.9.

Despite Prime Minister's Savage's announcement with respect to standing alongside Britain, the representation of patriotic duty in the majority of wartime recruiting material was specific to New Zealand rather than Britain. It is likely the observed differences were at least partially a product of locally developed New Zealand recruiting material, which marked a critical departure from First World War reliance on posters produced in Britain.²¹⁸ The reduction of imperial imagery and reference to Britain, however, can only partially be explained by the development of New Zealand's print industry. The recruiting themes used in the country's Second World War recruiting material were consistent with the ruling Labour Party's anti-conscription feelings; expressed by the Prime Minister in the statement, 'But I want that service to be the service of men who bear willingly the arms that they have taken up freely. I wish it to be said that every New Zealand soldier is a volunteer on whom no compulsion was brought to bear but that of his own conscience'.²¹⁹ The tone and content of material from this period reflected the social realities of the time, being designed to appeal to contemporary norms and values, just as First World War material had. The difference was that the predominant norms, values and concerns of the Empire-focused New Zealanders of 1914 had changed by the late 1930s to reflect a nation growing in confidence and independence.

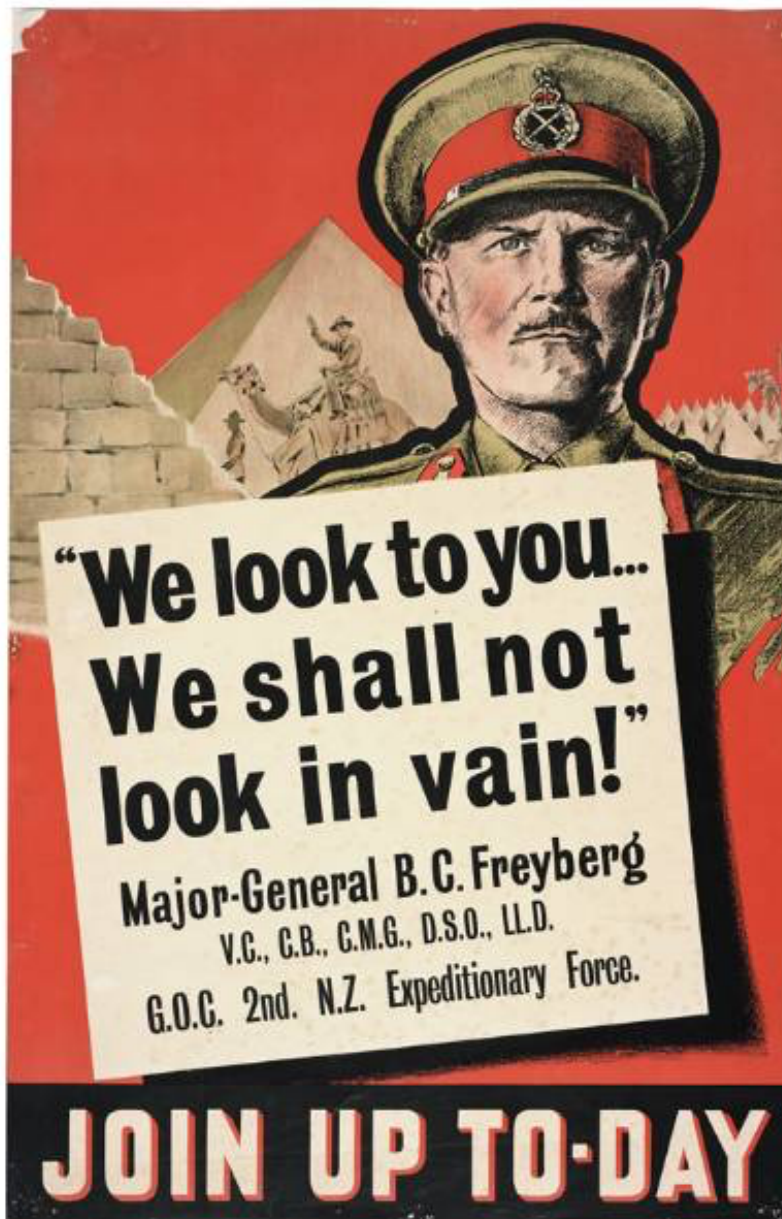
Appeals to conscience were also common in Second World War recruiting material. One of the country's more memorable recruiting items is a poster featuring Major-General Bernard Freyberg in front of Egyptian pyramids, with the accompanying text "We look to you... We shall not look in vain!"²²⁰ The poster did not provide any other justification or reason for service. Instead, it relied on Freyberg's gaze, reminiscent of the First World War Kitchener poster, to convey the message that the viewer is expected to do their duty. It is noteworthy, however, that Freyberg was chosen as the symbol of wartime leadership. Born in the United Kingdom, though raised in New Zealand, Freyberg was a symbol of New Zealand success and ability. In addition to being a New Zealand swimming Champion, he was also awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO), a decoration earned during his service in Gallipoli - an experience he shared with many New Zealanders. He also went on to earn a

²¹⁸ S. Gibson, "Display Folk: Second World War Posters at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa", *Tuhinga*, Number 19, 2008, p.14.

²¹⁹ *Evening Post*, 4 March 1940, p.5.

²²⁰ Poster, *JOIN UP TO-DAY: We Look to You... We Shall Not Look in Vain!*, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Call No. UB325.N45 JOI.

Victorian Cross at the Somme, and two further DSOs before the end of the First World War.²²¹



Auckland War Memorial Museum, Call No. UB325.N45 JOI

While some references to Britain crept back into recruiting material once the war commenced, the symbols of empire did not. There were no imperial lions, no Union Flags, and no images of the King. Instead, it was symbols of New Zealand including the distinctive lemon squeezer, the Anzac legend, Prime Minister Savage and Freyberg. In making the case to defend New Zealand, recruiting material of the Second World War used nationally specific

²²¹ G. Harper and C. Richardson, *In the Face of the Enemy: The Complete History of the Victoria Cross and New Zealand*, Auckland, Harper Collins Publishers, 2006, p.102.

visual symbols to strengthen the message, rather than symbols of empire. One advertisement, produced in 1940, titled *Enlist NOW and CHOOSE your Unit!*, featured a soldier's face adorned with large lemon-squeezer, pointing to the words 'Enlist NOW'.²²² The advertisement called on the viewer to 'join NEW ZEALAND'S VOLUNTEER ARMY', reflecting both the army's distinctly New Zealand nature and purpose for being - to defend New Zealand. Given the timing of the advertisement, the reference to 'volunteer' also reflected the government's attempt to avoid compulsion. Interviews with Second World War veterans indicate the government's message that New Zealand's fight was for a high and worthy cause reached the intended target audience: "...you felt you were fighting the good fight for the dreadful things Germany had imposed upon other human beings in their country and this was something you didn't want for the world at large".²²³

The absence of imperial symbols in Second World War recruiting material may be construed as evidence of New Zealand's coming of age and the national identity story. During the 1980s, this would almost certainly have been the case, with historians, as well as others in popular culture seeking to carve out a distinctive New Zealand identity. Such a narrative would also argue that recruiting material of the period demonstrates fundamental changes were occurring in the country. As recruiting material from the 1950s onwards shows, however, many of the country's social values remained the same. It was only the symbolic manifestation of those values within the recruiting material that changed as the army continued to use obligation-based themes to recruit new personnel. The symbols of empire seen in the South African and First World Wars were exchanged for 'Kiwi' symbols in the Second World War. As the following chapter will show, Kiwi symbols were still used for the Korean War but alongside and in competition with the symbols of the United Nations. The values that underpinned the symbols, however, showed more continuity in society than change. The outward expression of these values did not indicate a fundamental shift in social values. To use advertising parlance, the shifting use of value-laden symbols was simply a form of re-branding and re-packaging more enduring values. The intrinsic values of duty, patriotism and defending what is right remained visible in recruiting material throughout the first half of the century; during periods of peace, and throughout the three wars in which New Zealand soldiers fought.

²²² *Evening Post*, 18 March 1940, p.13.

²²³ Soldier 'ELG', Hopner, p.192.

Chapter Two: Obligation, part two – Peace, protection, and country

Army recruiting material employed during the second half of the twentieth century saw the continued use of *obligation* as a theme. No sooner had the Second World War finished than New Zealand was faced with a new recruiting challenge: finding soldiers in sufficient numbers to fulfil New Zealand's post-war obligations. From the end of the war to the end of the century, army recruiting material appealed to patriotism, loyalty, duty and honour as much as it always had – despite clear changes in the dynamics of New Zealand society. The form in which potential recruits' social obligations were depicted, however, continued to evolve – adapting to the various changes occurring within the country.

Post-war – Jayforce and K-Force

Recruiting material used for the Occupation Forces in Japan, known as Jayforce, provided an adjunct to the recruiting material employed during the early stages of the Second World War. Participation in the force was even advertised as 'a chance to help finish the job' against Japan.²²⁴ New Zealand's contingent for British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) was formed in Italy on 19 November 1945 under the name 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force (Japan).²²⁵ Despite initial hopes that the force could be raised through a request for volunteers, it soon became clear that to meet the personnel numbers required for the first contingent - 4,320 - some element of compulsion would be required. A decision was eventually made by Prime Minister Peter Fraser and Lieutenant General Bernard Freyberg to conscript single men from the 13th to 15th Reinforcements, alongside a call for volunteers in New Zealand by the Minister of Defence, Frederick Jones.²²⁶ Jones appealed to the public's sense of duty, describing the country's participation in Jayforce in terms of standing alongside other commonwealth countries and making the region 'safe from future aggression'.²²⁷ The first contingent arrived in Japan on 19 March 1946.²²⁸

After the first contingent, those who served in Jayforce did so voluntarily. Echoing the Minister of Defence's earlier broadcast appealing to the public's sense of responsibility

²²⁴ L. Brocklebank, *Jayforce: New Zealand and the Military Occupation of Japan 1945-48*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.80.

²²⁵ New Zealand J Force and BCOF Veterans website, *Formation*, <http://riv.co.nz/jf/forming.htm>, accessed 22 February 2016.

²²⁶ Brocklebank, p.21.

²²⁷ Brocklebank, pp.79-80.

²²⁸ NZ Army Publication 78 (P78), *Section - Korea to Vietnam (1946-1963)*, 2014 update.

for the job at hand, one advertisement stated in a banner laid over the globe, 'Our Ocean and Our Job'.²²⁹ The advertisement directed the viewer to 'VOLUNTEER NOW for the Occupation Force for Japan', noting New Zealand's responsibility alongside other 'Empire countries' to provide troops for the 'British Commonwealth Force'. That the country had a continuing sense of loyalty and common security interest with Britain is remarkable given Britain's inability to defend its Pacific dominions was 'laid bare' in 1942 with the fall of Singapore.²³⁰ These phenomena may be viewed as a reflection of the strong cultural ties between the two countries and the endurance of loyal sentiment, despite the fact that New Zealand had arguably done more to defend Britain than Britain had done to defend New Zealand.

While rhetoric may have alluded to empire, imperial symbols remained noticeably absent from the recruiting poster. The idea of global security was introduced by the use of the globe and emphasis on New Zealand's responsibility to provide troops in 'Our Ocean'. Regardless of whether it was done for empire or country, there is evidence that many who volunteered saw it as the right thing to do. Lewis Oliver, for example, recalled that while too young to participate in the Second World War, service in Jayforce offered an opportunity to serve the interests of regional security and democracy: 'There was a real concern that although Japan had been defeated they would not lie down for long ... We helped lead them from feudalism into democracy, and I am proud to have played a part'.²³¹ The first call for volunteers in 1946 was relatively successful, with 8,828 volunteering within a few weeks – a number double that required.²³² By contrast, only 3,213 volunteered in 1947 for the next Jayforce rotation.²³³ The overall drop in interest and response compared to early recruiting efforts goes some way to explaining why, at this time, there was a discernible shift towards emphasising conditions of service, as will be discussed in the chapters relating to *opportunity*. One advertisement from 1947, for example, featured the headline '...the soldier has never been so well off...'.²³⁴ Another advertised the opportunity to gain an experience never to be forgotten and to see 'one of the strangest lands in the world'.²³⁵

²²⁹ Advertisement, *Our Ocean and Our Job*, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: Eph-A-WAR-WII-Japan-1946-01.

²³⁰ R. Rabel, "New Zealand's Wars". In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.260.

²³¹ L. Oliver, "My Democratic Duty", New Zealand J Force and BCOF Veterans website, 1999, <http://riv.co.nz/jf/demoduty.htm>, accessed 24 February 2016.

²³² Brocklebank, p.80.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ *Alexandra Herald and Central Otago Gazette*, 5 March 1947, p.9.

²³⁵ *Opunake Times*, 11 March 1947, p.3.

To Japan
WITH THE OCCUPATION FORCE

The Japs never reached New Zealand, but you can go to Japan. Here's a chance for service in unusual conditions, in a country few New Zealanders have seen. It's a chance to help finish the job. Join the Japan Section, 2nd N.Z.E.F. which forms part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force for Japan.

HOW TO ENLIST
Call at the nearest Army Recruiting Office or obtain a registration form from any Post Office or Railway Booking Office. Fill in the form and post it as directed.

ENLIST NOW

RECRUITING OFFICES:
Central District—Dannevirke, Gisborne, Ruatoria, Hastings, Hawera, Masterton, Napier, New Plymouth, Palmerston North, Marton, Taihape, Stratford, Wanganui, Wellington.
E.L.S.—J.3

L. Brocklebank, *Jayforce: New Zealand and the Military Occupation of Japan 1945-48*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.80.

Our Ocean AND Our Job

To provide troops for the British Commonwealth Force for the occupation of Japan is a responsibility New Zealand shares with other Empire countries. Men are needed now for J-Force. There is an important and interesting job ahead for every man who enlists in J-Force.

HOW TO ENLIST
Call at the nearest Army Recruiting Office, or obtain a registration form from any Post Office or Railway Booking Office. Fill in the form and post it as directed.

RECRUITING OFFICES:
Northern District—Whangarei, Dargaville, Whitianga, Kaitiaki, Auckland, Hamilton, Te Kaiti, Paeroa, Taranaki, Manawatu, Tauranga, Motu.
Central District—Dannevirke, Gisborne, Ruatoria, Hastings, Hawera, Masterton, Napier, New Plymouth, Palmerston North, Marton, Taihape, Stratford, Wanganui, Wellington.
Southern District—Nelson, Blenheim, Westport, Greymouth, Christchurch, Ashburton, Yvonne, Oamaru, Dunedin, Invercargill.

VOLUNTEER NOW
for the Occupation Force for Japan

E.L.S.—J.3

Our Ocean and Our Job, 1946, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: Eph-A-WAR-WII-Japan-1946-01.

Following the withdrawal of most of New Zealand's Jayforce personnel in October 1948, debate intensified around the issue of conscription. Despite the Labour Party's pacifist and anti-conscription pedigree prior to the Second World War, Prime Minister Fraser was in favour of it. Fraser believed that New Zealand would be called to participate in another war in the near future in either Europe or the Middle East – most likely against communist forces – and he wanted to ensure the country was better prepared than it had been in 1939.²³⁶ A national referendum was held on the issue of conscripted territorial (part-time) service on 3 August 1949. The result of the referendum was conclusive, 553,016 voted in favour of conscription and 152,443 voted against.²³⁷ Fraser's concerns that New Zealand would be required to contribute forces to a conflict zone in the near future were well founded, though the conflict would be in Asia, not in Europe or the Middle East as he had expected. The timing of the conflict, however, gave little time for conscription to have much impact in preparing the country for war. The first soldiers to march in under the Compulsory Military Training scheme entered camp on 3 May 1950, less than three months before New Zealand announced on 26 July 1950 its intention to contribute to the United Nations forces on the Korean peninsula.²³⁸ Compulsion had once again had an impact on reducing the requirement for recruiting material to do the work of recruiting. Compulsory Military Training did not, however, fully negate the need for recruiting, as both the Regular Force and those deployed on active service were volunteers.

Recruiting material for the Korean War echoed many of the sentiments used during previous wars. It appealed to the viewer's sense of righteousness, not in a religious sense, but in an ethical one. Advertisements and posters called on potential volunteers to protect New Zealand and its values, to fight for peace against the aggressor, and to fight alongside other like-minded nations. Recruiting material also sought, as in past conflicts, to explain why a fight so far away from New Zealand was still New Zealand's fight. The fight was also couched in terms of the broader ideological fight against the spread of Communism in Asia. When North Korea invaded the South, New Zealand's National government considered the attack reflective of a pattern of Soviet-inspired expansionism.²³⁹ A cartoon by Gordon Minhinnick, published in a November copy of the *New Zealand Herald*, summed up many

²³⁶ M. King, *After the War: New Zealand Since 1945*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p.43.

²³⁷ NZ Army Publication 78 (P78), *Section - Korea to Vietnam (1946-1963)*, 2014 update.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Rabel, p.261.

people's perceptions of the threat posed by Communist China in Asia – representing China as a monstrous octopus extending its tentacles to Tibet, Malaya, Indo-China and Korea.²⁴⁰



New Zealand Herald, 7 November 1950, p.8.

The North's invasion of the South was strongly condemned in recruiting material as aggression, with one advertisement reminding the reader of the destruction brought about by unchecked aggression during the Second World War. The advertisement stated; 'Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia - in all these places aggression went 'unchecked'. By our unwillingness and inability to fight aggression wherever it appeared, we drifted into Hitler's War of 1939-45'.²⁴¹ The argument, clearly made, was one for early intervention and 'forward defence', a mind-set that would soon become policy and lead New Zealand into a series of Cold War defence alliances.²⁴² The advertisement also included a picture of the globe, pointing out where the aggressions of the last war had occurred and where Korea is in relation to them geographically. The image clearly reinforced the message that North Korea's aggression and potential consequences were comparable to those of the Second World War, suggesting the potential for a global crisis. It also made clear Korea's closer proximity to New Zealand than Manchuria, Abyssinia or Czechoslovakia, thereby making the case even more relevant. To further reinforce this message the advertisement stated, 'Do not let us repeat this blunder'. The use of the globe is also noteworthy for being reminiscent of the

²⁴⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 November 1950, p.8.

²⁴¹ Advertisement, *UNCHECKED AGGRESSION brought the destruction of 1939-1945*, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁴² King, p.53.

earlier Jayforce recruiting advertisement. The globe encouraged the viewer to think beyond the bounds of New Zealand's own territory and to think regionally if not globally.



UNCHECKED AGGRESSION brought the Destruction of 1939-1945, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Another recruiting advertisement for the Korean War stated unequivocally in its bold title 'THE FIGHT IN KOREA IS NEW ZEALAND'S FIGHT'.²⁴³ It argued that 'Only by taking full part in the collective action against Aggression can we safeguard our own small nation'. Collective action in the case of the Korean War, however, was different to those of previous wars. While the values for which New Zealanders were being called to fight for, namely the 'Free Nations' of the world, were similar to the past, it would be done primarily as part of the 'United Nations Forces' and not the empire or commonwealth's, despite being part

²⁴³ Advertisement, *THE FIGHT IN KOREA IS NEW ZEALAND'S FIGHT*, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

of the Commonwealth Brigade.²⁴⁴ This change clearly reflected the shifting national security context New Zealand was placed in following the Second World War; one where the limitations of British military power were clearly exposed. The absence of any reference to fighting under the auspices of the empire or commonwealth also marked a continuation of the pattern seen in most Second World War recruiting material. The Army was New Zealand's army, not an army of empire, with interests in contributing to the maintenance of global security within a United Nations, as opposed to imperial, framework.

By Telegraph-Press Association.
 SEOUL, November 28 (Rec. 11 27)
 Nations offensive to "and"

THE FIGHT IN KOREA IS NEW ZEALAND'S FIGHT

Only by taking full part in the collective action against Aggression
 can we safeguard our own small nation.

If you are YOUNG, FIT and INTERESTED IN THE SECURITY OF
 NEW ZEALAND, THE FIGHT IN KOREA IS YOUR FIGHT

If you are young, fit, and of stout heart, you are one of the 500 needed
 to train as members of the gun teams, as Bren gunners, despatch riders
 and regimental signallers.

If you have been trained in any of these trades, your skill will help you to
 become a valuable member of that great team, the First Commonwealth
 Division.

- CLERKS
- COOKS
- DRIVERS
- FITTER and TURNERS
- GUNSMITHS
- LINESMEN
- MOTOR MECHANICS
- NURSES (MALE)
- PROVOST
- RADIO MECHANICS
- STOREMEN
- SURVEYORS
- TELEGRAPH MECHANICS
- TYPISTS (MALE)
- WIRELESS OPERATORS

Good educational qualifications will enable you to train for specialist
 positions such as Technical Assistants.

Officers are urgently required. Every man who is found suitable will, at
 an early stage of his training, be selected to attend an officer training
 course.

If you have already held a commission or Warrant or N.C.O. rank in any
 Corps (particularly in Artillery, Signals, A.S.C. or Engineers), your
 leadership is vitally necessary.

Age limits are: Over 21 (or with parent's consent, over 20) on July 1,
 1952. Officers under 40, Warrant Officers and N.C.O.'s under 38. All
 others under 35 at time of enlistment.

VOLUNTEER TODAY

For Service With K'FORCE

Call at Your Nearest Army Office

The Fight in Korea is New Zealand's Fight, 1950, National Army Museum Archive,
 Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁴⁴ Advertisement, *UNCHECKED AGGRESSION brought the Destruction of 1939-1945*, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Kayforce deployed under United Nations auspices, something that would become more frequent in later decades, with only one reference to New Zealand fighting as part of the First Commonwealth Division.²⁴⁵ The decision to fight with the First Commonwealth Division, however, was likely one of pragmatism. Armies of the commonwealth largely used the same equipment, were structured along similar lines, shared a common doctrine, and had recent experience fighting alongside each other in the European theatre of the Second World War. The country and its leadership also remained linked by tradition and trade. This was exemplified by New Zealand being one of only two countries to offer support to British involvement in the Suez invasion in 1956.²⁴⁶ This was not, however, reflected in recruiting material of the era, which had become noticeably muted with respect to the empire and commonwealth.

The number of willing volunteers for the Korean War indicated that themes used in recruiting material were largely effective – including obligation-based themes. The first twenty-four hours of voluntary enlistment saw 3,000 volunteers. By the end of the week, the number increased to a total nearing 6,000.²⁴⁷ The reasons people enlist, particularly in wartime, can vary greatly and be driven by a variety of factors including adventurism, escapism or economic necessity. An insight into the motivations of recruits, and by extension their acceptance of the themes contained in recruiting material for Korea, was provided in the song sung by recruits while in training for the war. In the book *K Force in Korea: A Soldier's Life in the 16th New Zealand Field Regiment*, Wilfred Poulton recounted how recruits at Waiouru Military Camp learned the 'very jingoistic song':

We are the volunteers for Korea
For the cause of liberty.
We're going to wipe out all the commo force
For the sake of democracy.
... *Chorus* ...
We take the honour of our Maoriland
Just to sail the seven seas.
The United Nations call to arms

²⁴⁵ Advertisement, *YOUR help is NEEDED! To Stop Aggression in Korea*, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁴⁶ D. Capie, "New Zealand and the World: Imperial, International and Global Relations." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.587.

²⁴⁷ S. Boag, *Ice and Fire: New Zealand and the Korean War 1950-1953*, Wellington, Agenda, 2000, p.11.

Just to keep the world in peace.²⁴⁸

It is evident from the lyrics of the song that 'K' Force recruits had a clear understanding of the justification for why they were fighting, if not a strong belief in their cause. The themes contained in the song, like many of the themes used in recruiting material, reflected pre-existing social values and sense of obligation to serve.

As in previous conflicts, interest in volunteering waned after the initial call to service. In past wars, this was largely explained by the natural phenomenon that those who were most eager to go volunteered quickly, while those who were less eager took longer or failed to volunteer at all. In the case of the Korean War, the positive impact the war had on New Zealand's economy made finding employment much easier and in so doing served as a disincentive to join the army.²⁴⁹ Overall, however, recruiting material used during the war indicated social obligation and a call to duty still resonated amongst those sought as recruits.

New Zealand's involvement in the Korean War led to two important developments. First, was the realisation that the United States and not Britain would be New Zealand's most important defence ally in the future.²⁵⁰ Though the war in Korea was fought under the mantle of the United Nations, it was primarily a United States initiative with ninety per cent of forces coming from the United States.²⁵¹ As such, it was the United States that had demonstrated its willingness and ability to protect smaller nations within the region. Second, was the 1951 signing of the Australia New Zealand United States (ANZUS) Treaty, which came into effect the following year. The Treaty obligated each party to 'separately and jointly... maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack'.²⁵² ANZUS was in part a response to continued fear in New Zealand of Japan. Three years later in 1954, New Zealand signed another collective defence agreement alongside the United States (the Manila Pact) that formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).²⁵³

²⁴⁸ W. Poulton, *K Force in Korea: A Soldier's Life in the 16th New Zealand Field Regiment*, Palmerston North, Stylex Print, 2004, pp.15-16.

²⁴⁹ Boag, p.23.

²⁵⁰ King, p.51.

²⁵¹ W. Chambers, *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*, Oxford University Press, 2000, cited in http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Korean_War.aspx, accessed 24 February 2016.

²⁵² *ANZUS Treaty, Article II*, Archives New Zealand, Reference: R22848909, folio 519-521.

²⁵³ J.K. Franklin, *The Hollow Pact: Pacific Security and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization*, ProQuest, 2006, p.1.

During the period, appeals to defend the country were not simply limited to recruiting material for the Korean War. As exemplified by the signing of the ANZUS Treaty and Manila Pact, New Zealand's political and military leadership had strong concerns that the spread of communism threatened the country's security. In the introduction to *Your Career in the REGULAR FORCE*, Minister of Defence Tom Macdonald wrote, 'To ensure the security of New Zealand, the citizens of this country, by an overwhelming vote, decided for a system of compulsory military training'.²⁵⁴ Macdonald went on to argue that Regular Force soldiers 'have the satisfaction of knowing that [they are] performing a service of great value to New Zealand and the Commonwealth'. It is interesting that while recent wartime material referred to 'free nations' and the United Nations, the Minister's appeal in peacetime returned to the commonwealth. This choice reflected the enduring sense of social connectivity with the commonwealth, despite the country's changing security realities and principal Defence partners.

Conflicts of the Cold War

The 1950s had in many respects, however, given a boost to feelings of shared community with Britain through a series of significant events. During the decade Queen Elizabeth would ascend to the throne, while Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay would 'conquer' Mount Everest. Hillary and Norgay's ascent of Mount Everest just days before the Queen's coronation led the *New Zealand Herald* to claim the conquering of Everest as the 'richest of all the loyal gifts to mark an epic Coronation Day'.²⁵⁵ Even greater royalist feeling would flow through the country later that year when the Queen – the first reigning monarch to visit New Zealand – arrived to tour the country in December.²⁵⁶ Despite these events and references to the commonwealth, however, symbols of empire remained notably absent in recruiting material of the 1950s, as they had during the 1940s.

Loyalty was more frequently expressed in national terms. Appeals to patriotism and 'service to your country' featured routinely in the 1950s, with the inference that such loyalty would also convey upon the recruit a heightened social status. Advertisements carried titles

²⁵⁴ Booklet, *Your Career in the REGULAR ARMY*, circa 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁵⁵ M. McPhee, *New Zealand Yesterdays: The Illustrated Story of How We Lived, Worked and Played*, Sydney, Reader's Digest, 2009, p.310.

²⁵⁶ King, p.61.

such as: *A Career of SERVICE*;²⁵⁷ *Mine's a Worth-While Job*;²⁵⁸ and *You're "Somebody" in the Regular Army Today!*²⁵⁹ These titles reflected the patriotic nature of serving in the army as honourable, as well as one respected by society. This could be viewed as two sides to the obligation-based theme; obligation of the individual to serve and obligation of society at large to value those who serve. The results of the referendum on Compulsory Military Training clearly demonstrated that National Defence was seen as important, and by extension those institutions charged with maintaining the ability to defend the country – the New Zealand Army, Royal New Zealand Navy, and Royal New Zealand Air Force – were seen as valuable to society.

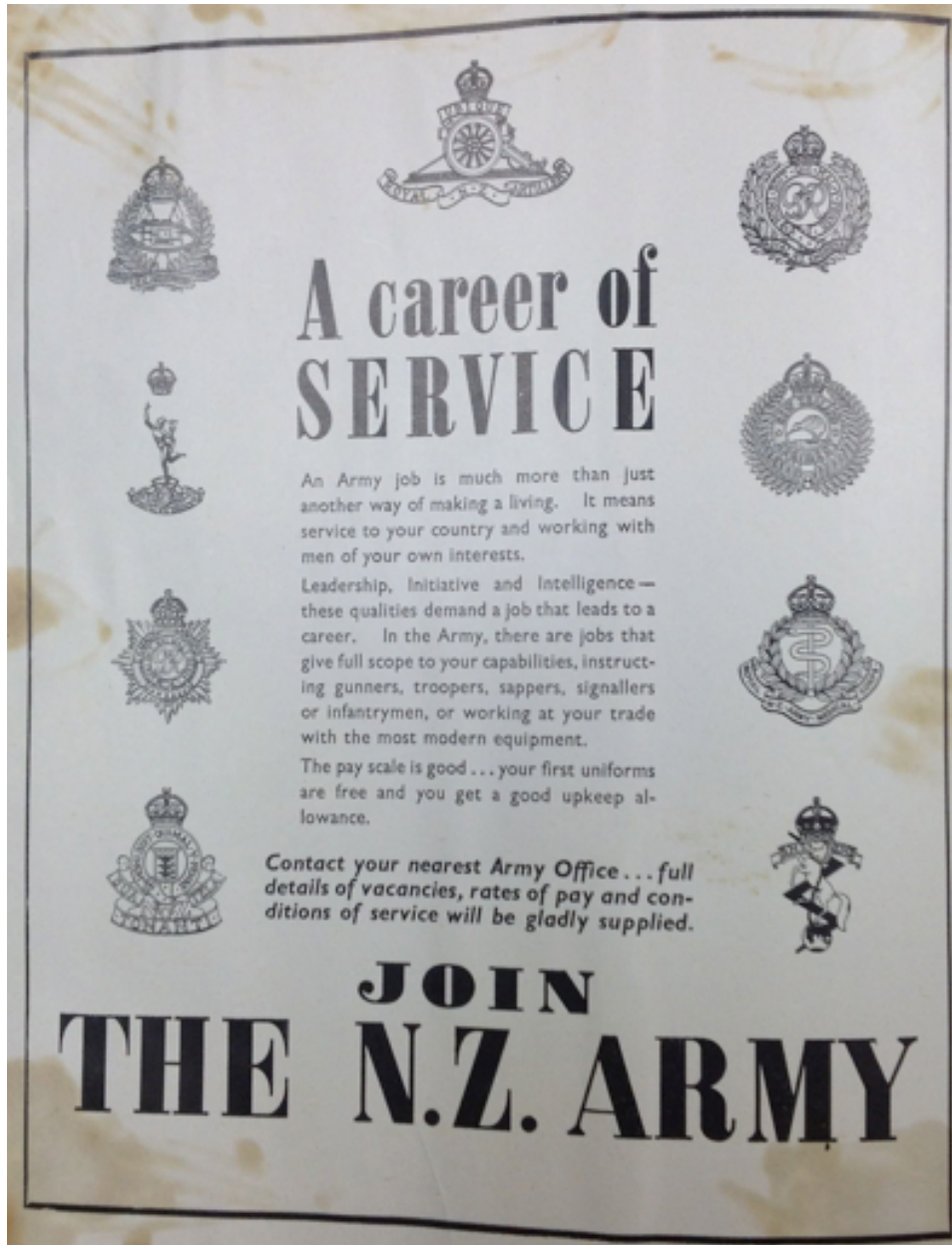
Appealing to the belief that the army is a 'worth-while' job suggested that soldiers work not just for pay, but also something bigger and more meaningful. Likewise, the notion of being 'somebody' in the army attempted to use the social status of the soldier as an incentive to join. For such an appeal to be effective, there needed to be a realistic perception amongst potential recruits that the army's status within society was indeed high. The number of veterans in positions of social influence safeguarded the standing with which the army was held, and would continue to be held. Tom Macdonald, Minister of Defence from 1949 to 1957, a veteran of both the First and Second World Wars, for example, enjoyed significant credibility because of his wartime service and influence. Maintaining that same level of social status for the army, however, would become more difficult as the number of New Zealanders with wartime service experience decreased.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Advertisement, *A Career of SERVICE*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁵⁸ Advertisement, *Mine's a Worth-While Job*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁵⁹ Advertisement, *You're "Somebody" in the Regular Army Today!*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁶⁰ M. Templeton, 'Macdonald, Thomas Lachlan', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 12-Nov-2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5m11/macdonald-thomas-lachlan>, accessed 24 February 2016.



A Career of SERVICE, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



You're "Somebody" in the Regular Army Today!, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

As New Zealand entered the 1960s, scientific and technical developments would have a major impact on how people led their lives. The arrival of television, cheaper international travel and the pill, amongst other developments, stimulated change in society – as well as increasing the rate of change.²⁶¹ Through television, news travelled faster and more viscerally, in turn influencing how New Zealanders viewed the world and their place within it. The decade would also see an expansion of New Zealand's military involvement in Southeast Asia, from Malaya to Borneo and Vietnam. New Zealand's involvement in Vietnam was sufficiently controversial that almost no references to the war featured in recruiting material from the period. The absence of direct references to Vietnam reflected the government's wider public relations challenge presented by the war and the fact that New Zealand was a reluctant participant.²⁶² Recruiting material during the Vietnam War was

²⁶¹ King, p.8.

²⁶² R. Rabel, *New Zealand and the Vietnam War: Politics and Diplomacy*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2005, p.103.

unique in this respect, reflecting the diminished level of domestic support for the war in comparison to previous wars in which New Zealand soldiers had served.²⁶³

The absence of all but a handful of recruiting products explicitly advertising for service in Vietnam contrasted greatly with the country's previous wars, including recent deployments to Malaya. Vietnam was instead captured through the generic, and somewhat euphemistic reference, to Southeast Asia. Despite the significant social changes occurring in New Zealand at the time, the absence of reference to the Vietnam War was one of the few noticeable changes in recruitment advertising. The values of patriotism, pride, service, tradition and protecting free nations – now clearly defined as those within the Southeast Asian region – remained a feature in recruiting material, as they had in the past.

Along with other technological and social changes occurring in New Zealand during the 1960s, demographic change also had a major impact on recruiting. Between 1951 and 1971, the number of adult male veterans within the population dropped from approximately one in three to one in five.²⁶⁴ The figure would continue to dwindle over the coming decades as these veterans – principally veterans of the First and Second World Wars – aged and passed away. Meanwhile, the number of personnel to serve in Malaya and Vietnam, as well as future conflicts, was so small that the percentage of veterans within the country's population dropped into single digits. The army was acutely aware of these changing social circumstances. With a veteran population of somewhere between 20-30% of adult males, however, the army still viewed veterans as a powerful ally in recruiting efforts. In a direct appeal to Second World War veterans to help with recruiting, the army produced a poster in the 1960s titled *Remember 1939-45*.²⁶⁵ The appeal to veterans to do the work of recruiting played on their sense of patriotic duty by asking them to encourage 'young men to enlist' to do 'in peace...the job you did in war'. The poster also revealed what the army perceived as the ability, through the social status afforded veterans, to influence young men.

²⁶³ C. Hall, *No Front Line: Inside Stories of New Zealand's Vietnam War*, Auckland, Penguin, 2014, p.12.

²⁶⁴ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, Auckland, Penguin, 1987, pp.269-270.

²⁶⁵ Poster, *Remember 1939-45*, circa 1960s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Remember 1939-45, circa 1960s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The army, however, was not blind to the reality that some veterans may not have enjoyed their service. During the Second World War in particular, conscription for the armed forces began relatively early, meaning that many of those who served during the period may not have done so willingly. In a 1967 handbook for recruiters published by the Director of Recruiting, it was noted: 'The impressions held by many civilians stem from war-time experiences of conscripted friends and relatives who looked upon this period as an unattractive interruption to normal life; pushed around, ordered about'.²⁶⁶ The booklet suggested that these views could be countered by promoting the opportunity afforded those in the army to develop personal character traits including initiative, self-reliance and self-discipline. The difference between wartime and peacetime service for members of the Regular Force was also stressed, with recruiters being encouraged to explain how soldiers could take part in civilian activities, did not have to wear uniform outside working hours, and had most weekends free. The army in other words was a much freer place to serve in a

²⁶⁶ Director of Recruiting, *Recruiters' Aide Memoire*, Director of Recruiting, Wellington, October 1967, Annex P.

peacetime environment than it had been in war. The advice could also be viewed as reflecting the army's consciousness of prevailing social norms and individual aspirations.

At the beginning of the 1960s, service abroad with the army was still sufficiently acceptable for popular Radio and Television presenter Selwyn Toogood to feature 2 NZ Regiment personnel on his shows *Your Magic Carpet* and *It's in the Bag*.²⁶⁷ Toogood had also supported efforts to publicise previous deployments of New Zealand troops to Malaya, providing what was considered to be 'excellent Army publicity to a wide listening public'.²⁶⁸ Despite the support of notable personalities like Toogood, however, the army still had difficulty finding sufficient recruits for full-time service overseas.²⁶⁹ The continued difficulty in obtaining sufficient personnel provides some justification for the National Government's move, when newly-elected in 1949, to reintroduce compulsory military training – this time known as National Service Training.²⁷⁰ The reintroduction of compulsory military training occurred after a national referendum where four out of five voters voted in favour of compulsion.²⁷¹

Similar moves were made in Australia during the period where appeals to patriotism were considered insufficient motivation for volunteers to fight in a conflict 'justified more by the broader geo-strategic implications of the spread of communism than by an immediate challenge to Australian security'.²⁷² The United States, though a powerful ally, did not have the same social and historical connections that Britain had enjoyed, removing the potential lever of fighting in defence of one's kin, nor was the United States itself under threat. Though not involved in the Vietnam War, Britain was also beginning to lose its special status, accelerated after Suez by the country's disengagement from empire and increasing involvement with the European Economic Community.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Army Headquarters, Signal Message to all Army elements, 10 March 1961, Archives New Zealand, Far East Land Forces (FARLEF): NZ Army Force Recruiting, Publicity and Advertising Policy 1957-1964, Accession Number: AALJW350872 91 Box 300.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Adjutant General, Letter to Minister of Defence, 9 July 1964, Archives New Zealand, Far East Land Forces (FARLEF): NZ Army Force Recruiting, Publicity and Advertising Policy 1957-1964, Accession Number: AALJW350872 91 Box 300.

²⁷⁰ M.R. Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: A History from the 1940s to the 1980s*, Wellington, P. D. Hasselberg – Government Printer, 1982, p.73.

²⁷¹ H. Kippenberger, "The New Zealand Army", *Royal United Service Institution Journal*, 102:605, p.73.

²⁷² S. Ville and P. Siminski, "A Fair and Equitable Method of Recruitment? Conscription by Ballot into the Australian Army during the Vietnam War", *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 51, No 3, November 2011, p.283.

²⁷³ W. D. McIntyre, "The British Commonwealth of Nations as an Unwritten Alliance", *New Zealand Army Journal*, No. 22, December 1999, p.10.

Patriotism to country may have been considered insufficient - certainly in Australia - to recruit sufficient volunteers for the war, but this was not the case in New Zealand with respect to general recruiting and public relations material. In the foreword to 1962 document, *Joining the Army: A Guide for National Servicemen*, then Chief of General Staff Major-General Leonard Thornton expressed his 'hope' that those who joined to do National Service, either as volunteers or under ballot, would consider it their 'good fortune'. General Thornton believed that a strong Territorial Force was not only necessary for the country, but beneficial to those being trained – views reflected in recruiting material of the period.²⁷⁴ Underpinning the general's hope was the premise that National Servicemen would be 'serving [their] country in a positive way'.²⁷⁵ Two years later, in a pamphlet titled *Your Place in National Security*, General Thornton extended the idea of service to country to include 'the defence of the way of life we value... and which we share with the free world'.²⁷⁶ He went on to address the policy of Collective Defence and New Zealand's security paradigm: 'we could not by ourselves hope to defend our country against major aggression. For this defence we rely on the support of the United Kingdom and Australia, and ultimately, on the military power of the United States in the Pacific'.²⁷⁷ In return for this support, General Thornton explained that New Zealand must contribute to the wider defence needs of the nation's allies.



Lieutenant General Sir Leonard Thornton²⁷⁸

²⁷⁴ P. Reid, "Lieutenant General Sir Leonard Thornton: Command in War and Peace". In G. Harper & J. Hayward (eds), *Born to Lead? Portraits of New Zealand Commanders*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2003, p. 216.

²⁷⁵ Booklet, *Joining the Army: A Guide for National Servicemen*, Government Printer, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁷⁶ Pamphlet, *Your Place in National Security*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1964, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference Number: PAM 355.409 93 DEF 1964.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2002.203.



Your Place in National Security, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1964, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference Number: PAM 355.409 93 DEF 1964.

Developing in the minds of potential recruits a sound justification for the maintenance of an army, including a rational argument for its use in overseas conflicts, featured significantly in recruiting material of the period. In the absence of a direct challenge to New Zealand's territorial integrity, recruiting material necessarily made a strong case for security co-operation, the country's policy on Collective Defence and forward defence. As explained in a late 1960s recruiting leaflet, 'It has always been recognised that our first line of defence lies many thousands of miles from our coast and ... we believe that our security must lie in association with other free-world countries which by acting together become stronger and safer than as individual nations'.²⁷⁹ The inclusion of these themes directly reflected the social conditions of the time, as well as the army's attempt to gain public acceptance of, if not support, for its role as a state institution.

The case the army was making for its role and purpose, including its operational role, can be seen in the leaflet, *Serve with the Infantry*: 'New Zealand is committed squarely in the defence of Malaysia and in deciding to serve with the infantry you can share in the notable

²⁷⁹ Leaflet, *Aim high... Join the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment*, late 1960s, Government Printer, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

contribution the Battalion will continue to make to the stability of South-East Asia'.²⁸⁰ The question as to what threatened stability in Southeast Asia was explained in the earlier pamphlet *Your Place in National Security*: 'It is Communism as a world power, threatening to impose on us, by force, a way of life which would deny us our basic freedoms, which we must oppose. In this struggle there is no immediate threat to New Zealand... The immediate threat which is of vital concern to New Zealand is in South-East Asia. This is our area of defence interest'.²⁸¹ This recruiting item provides a clear example of another aspect of the obligation-theme, namely the obligation of the country as a whole and on the world stage to defend its values.

The effort placed on justifying the need for an army reflected the changing social dynamics of the time. The nation was moving away from Britain and equally – if not more importantly – Britain was moving away from New Zealand. These factors, coupled with nightly television coverage of the fighting in Vietnam and public protests against the war, had forced the army to justify its involvement in an armed conflict overseas – a function that decades earlier would have been carried out by a supportive press, patriotic and war effort organisations, and politicians in a united front. The government's decision in May 1965 to commit combat troops to the Vietnam War was controversial, with anti-Communists considering the commitment insufficient and anti-war protestors believing it to be a mistake.²⁸² This explains, at least from 1965 onwards, why the case for New Zealand's involvement in Southeast Asia featured so prominently in recruiting material in its attempt to counter anti-war arguments.

Many of those who joined with the specific purpose of serving in Vietnam did so out of a sense of social obligation and patriotism reminiscent of New Zealand volunteers in earlier conflicts. One Vietnam War veteran stated simply; "I joined the army to serve my country", while another recalled how good it felt to be "doing something about it" and was "proud of doing [his] bit".²⁸³ A further veteran stated he was "... very proud to be a Vietnam veteran and serve in the army".²⁸⁴ It is also worth noting that the last two veterans quoted both stated that in addition to being proud of their service they also had no regrets –

²⁸⁰ Leaflet, *Serve with the Infantry*, Directorate of Recruiting, Army Headquarters, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

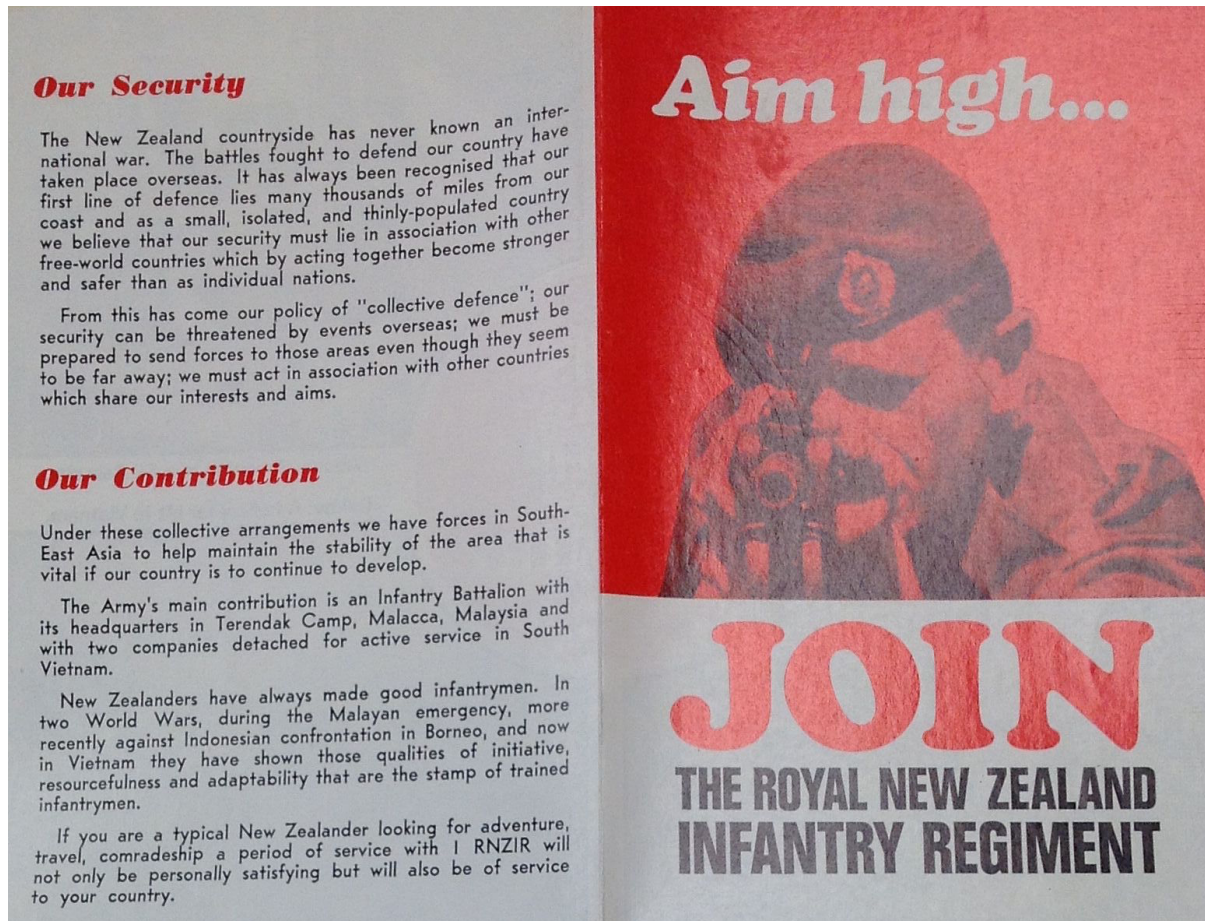
²⁸¹ Pamphlet, *Your Place in National Security*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1964, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference Number: PAM 355.409 93 DEF 1964.

²⁸² King, p.91.

²⁸³ Soldier 'ET', in V. Hopner, "Home from War", PhD thesis, Massey University, 2014, pp.192-193.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p.193.

comments reflective of their deeply held belief that their decision to volunteer was the right decision. This despite the personal criticisms many veterans received as a result of their war service and lack of public or official recognition.²⁸⁵ Others saw their role as fighting the ‘evils of Communism’ as one veteran recalled, a belief reinforced during army indoctrination prior to deployment.²⁸⁶ The veterans still felt that they had met an obligation to their country to serve during a time of conflict.



Aim High... Join the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, late 1960s, Government Printer, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Concerning the Vietnam War, only one advertisement has been found where the war itself was used as an aid to recruitment. The advertisement headlined 'Go with the artillery to Vietnam', stated 'New Zealanders now stand shoulder to shoulder with the forces fighting for

²⁸⁵ The Crown issued a formal apology to Vietnam Veterans on 28 May 2008, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/ministerial-statement-parliament-crown-apology-viet-nam-veterans>, accessed 25 April 2016.

²⁸⁶ I. McGibbon, *New Zealand's Vietnam War: A History of Combat, Commitment and Controversy*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2010, p.306.

peace in Vietnam'.²⁸⁷ The justification of fighting to achieve peace is almost identical to those used in previous wars in which New Zealand became involved. Notably, the advertisement for Vietnam came out shortly after the 1965 announcement that New Zealand would be sending combat troops.²⁸⁸ In the interests of what was acceptable at the time, however, there were few specific recruiting products advertising service in Vietnam. Instead, recruiting material adhered to the less contentious justification of being 'committed squarely in the defence of this vital area'. Even if such items do exist, it is fair to conclude that their use was not widespread, with recruiting for Vietnam predominantly occurring within the existing ranks of the Regular Force.

Tom Roche, a veteran of the Vietnam War and recruiting officer during the period, remembered how the social situation in Wellington had become sufficiently 'ugly' and 'uncomfortable' when the war was in its last throes that 'service personnel did not wear uniform on the streets except in special circumstances'.²⁸⁹ While the army shied away from direct references to the war, anti-war protestors did not. One example saw the iconic *Uncle Sam Wants You* poster by artist Montgomery Flagg turned into an anti-war poster. The poster replaced the face of Uncle Sam with that of Prime Minister Keith Holyoake, inferring Holyoake was acting in the interests of the United States and not New Zealand.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Advertisement, *Go with the Artillery to Vietnam*, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁸⁸ Leaflet, *Go Where the Action Is: Join the Infantry Now. Be in SOUTHEAST ASIA by November*, Government Printer, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁸⁹ T. Roche, *Memo to Dan Wildy*, dated 11 April 2016

²⁹⁰ Poster, *Holyoake Wants You*, October 1967, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Reference Number: EPH-2014-5336.



Holyoake Wants You, October 1967, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Reference Number: EPH-2014-5336.

Carving out a history of its own rather than building on British traditions, New Zealand Army recruiting material in the 1960s increasingly focussed on the military achievements of past generations of Kiwi soldier. The booklet *You as a Soldier* begins by stating that, 'Soldiering in New Zealand goes back to the early days of organised pakeha settlement... In 1863 the Colonial Defence Force, of 250 mounted men, was formed and from that force the New Zealand Army can trace its continuous existence'.²⁹¹ As will be discussed in the later chapter on ethnicity, the traditions on which the army was built would later be expanded to include the Maori warrior. The pamphlet goes on to provide a brief summary of New Zealand's military tradition, recounting the battle honours of New Zealand units that brought the Dominion 'greater military fame'. Furthermore, the relevance of that pride to the potential recruit is made clear, 'It is a proud story the New Zealand Army has to tell. It is a pride you as a New Zealander can share, particularly as a soldier in the New Zealand Regular Army'. A similar message was conveyed by General Thornton's successor as Chief of General Staff, Major-General W.S. McKinnon, in a later version of the booklet,

²⁹¹ Booklet, *You as a Soldier*, Directorate of Recruiting, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1960s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Joining the Army.²⁹² In the foreword to the 1965 edition, General McKinnon chose to emphasise tradition, stating 'You will have served in the fighting service which is the oldest and has the longest traditions of any in this country, the New Zealand Army, and I am sure that you will always regard this as a period of your life well spent'. While the army's public image may have been tarnished as a result of its involvement in Vietnam, the standing of the Anzacs was not. In emphasising the army's heritage and the standing of the country's World War veterans, the Army was undoubtedly seeking to enhance its public image.

The idea that New Zealanders were natural soldiers, if not uniquely good at it (something addressed in the chapters on masculinity and ethnicity) as well as it being something in which New Zealanders could take pride, was demonstrated in the leaflet *Royal New Zealand Artillery*.²⁹³ The leaflet claimed that New Zealanders as Artillerymen had shown 'undeniable skill and ingenuity' during the Korean War, citing the 800,000 shells fired by 16 Field Regiment during the war as 'a record for Artillery units in that theatre'. Somewhat ironically, and reflective of the growing defence relations with the US, the leaflet is printed in red, white and blue colours. Further adding to the look and feel of the leaflet as emblematic of the country's growing defence relations with the US were numerous stars and images of soldiers using US made equipment.

²⁹² Booklet, *Joining the Army: A Guide for National Servicemen*, Government Printer, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁹³ Leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Artillery*, Directorate of Recruiting, Army Headquarters, Wellington, August 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

JOIN THE GUNNERS IN THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW ZEALAND ARTILLERY

The History of the Royal New Zealand Artillery is a proud one dating from 1862. In 1903 the prefix 'Royal' was bestowed and those serving the guns have steadily built up a fine reputation comparable with those of their affiliated Artillery Regiments of the British Commonwealth.

In two World Wars and more recently in Korea New Zealanders have demonstrated their undeniable skill and ingenuity as Artillerymen.

The 16 Field Regiment, a Battery of which is now serving in Vietnam, established its name in Korea. It fired almost 800,000 shells—a record for Artillery units in that theatre.

The traditions and distinctions of Infantry Regiments can be traced by the names of famous battles or campaigns emblazoned on their 'Colours'. Artillery units have no Colours. But the word "UBIQUOUS" meaning "EVERYWHERE" is proudly borne in their badge to show distinguished service in all theatres of war through two and a half centuries since the first Regular Artillery Regiments were raised in England.

★ ★ ★ ★ AT HOME



PAPAKURA CAMP.

The home of the 16 Field Regiment, major artillery unit, is at Papakura Camp, 18 miles from Auckland.

The Camp is a pleasant one and has all the sporting social and recreational facilities to make life enjoyable for the Gunner recruit.

Ample opportunity exists for the Gunners to "Go out on the town" in Auckland City and a convenient rail system ensures him fast and adequate transport.

YOU CAN BE ACCEPTED

You are eligible to enlist for service with the Royal Regiment of New Zealand Artillery (RNZA) if you are:

- A British subject
- Between 18-42 years except for overseas service the age limit is 20-40 years (the lower limit for overseas needs parental consent)
- Be physically fit
- Up to Form II (Std 6) standard of education.

NEW WEAPONS and EQUIPMENT



ON THE SPOT SURVEY.



HIGH ANGLE FIRE.

You can look forward to working with the latest equipment. On issue to you personally will be the self loading rifle or Sterling submachine gun while your Corps or gunner training will be centred around the highly versatile 105mm pack Howitzer. That these guns can be "air lifted" gives an indication as to the exciting prospects of service for you as a Gunner.

★ ★ ★
The New Zealander is without a peer as an Artilleryman and instructors are zealous that 16 Field Regiment should maintain its reputation. A recruit can be trained in one of the trade categories shown overleaf, and thus become an important part of a special team whose job it is to provide the protection for the infantry which accurate Artillery fire affords. In addition to serving the guns, men in other RNZA units provide 'survey' to allow unseen targets to be engaged and man radar equipment to detect enemy mortar positions. You can make your choice of job.

PAY and LEAVE ★ ★

Pay is shown in a separate leaflet and the notes in the pay leaflet will be of particular interest to you. Any Army Office will discuss pay details with you.

Annual leave for Regular soldiers is 24 days a year. This is in addition to statutory holidays. There is also provision for special leave in certain circumstances including generous sick leave.

SPORT ★ ★ ★

Sport has an important place in Army training as a means of keeping fit, apart from anything else. Army representative and unit teams are usually good and do well in competition. A good range of sports equipment and facilities are provided by all camps, including rugby, tennis, hockey, basketball, cricket, softball, golf, swimming and athletics. The Army makes the time available for participation.

SPECIAL MEMO ★ ★

This leaflet describes only one Corps in the New Zealand Army.

Should your preference be for another Corps you can still be offered exciting opportunities for overseas service.

The tradesman, too, has great prospects in the Army and the young man still at school may make an early start to an Army career, by applying to join the Regular Force Cadets or for an Officer Cadetship.

TERMS of ENGAGEMENT

Initial engagement may be for three, four or five years. At the end of your first term you may re-engage making your three years into five, your five into eight, or your eight into twelve or sign on until retiring age for rank. Thus you can serve a brief period or build your career with the guns.

WHERE TO APPLY

ANY ARMY OFFICE IN NEW ZEALAND
CAN ACCEPT YOUR APPLICATION
AND PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION

PREPARED BY THE DIRECTORATE OF RECRUITING
ARMY HEADQUARTERS, WELLINGTON. AUG 65.

Royal New Zealand Artillery, Directorate of Recruiting, Army Headquarters, Wellington, August 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The use of pride, tradition and honour to attract recruits is based on the premise articulated in the booklet *You as a Soldier*, that joining the army conferred upon the recruit those qualities simply by joining. Other values-based character traits advertised as incentives for joining in the 1960s included integrity and personal enterprise. In the 1967 booklet *The Queen's Commission* it stated 'The New Zealand Army looks for young men of integrity and personal enterprise'.²⁹⁴ The same booklet also referred to the New Zealand Army's British roots, seeking to develop a sense of pride based on continuity with the past. Reference to the army's British roots is interesting, as New Zealand was at that time carving out its own defence policy and moving toward closer defence relations with the United States, as the nation's involvement in the Vietnam War demonstrated. According to Roberto Rabel, the Vietnam War was a more nationalistically distinctive event for New Zealand than previous wars, despite its controversial nature; arguing that despite New Zealand fighting in British-led coalitions to demonstrate 'Better British-ness', the country's involvement in American-led coalitions did not occur in pursuit of a kind of 'Better American-ness'.²⁹⁵ This assertion is

²⁹⁴ Booklet, *The Queen's Commission*, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

²⁹⁵ Rabel, p.265.

supported by the evidence provided by 1960s recruiting material that avoided, for the most part, reference to the United States, choosing instead to focus on a wider and more inclusive 'free world'. Just as recruiting for the empire had lost favour as a clarion call by the Second World War, so too were references to fighting alongside the new American Empire avoided.



The Colour Party at Duntroon.

THE QUEEN'S COMMISSION

"To Our Trusty and Well Beloved . . . Greetings."

This wording, taken from an officer's parchment commission, is the traditional mode of address from the Sovereign or Her Representative to the proud holder of the Queen's Commission.

Up to 100 years ago you could have purchased a commission—the higher the price, the better the regiment. This practice was not necessarily bad and under it many gallant officers added lustre to the annals of the British Army. It did however tend to limit appointment to those with influence and wealth. Today the officer corps is open to all aspirants, regardless of social standing, financial backing, and family connections.

The New Zealand Army looks for young men of integrity and personal enterprise, who have a sound education on which to build their careers. The tasks an officer is called upon to perform are many and varied, both in New Zealand and overseas. Up-to-date and progressive training helps the young officer shape a rewarding and satisfying life.

Army officers follow the one professional career that really is different.

3

The Queen's Commission, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The 1970s saw the continued use of several values-based themes present in earlier decades. The way in which these themes were presented morphed over time, adjusting to the changing social circumstances in which the material operated. An example of this is the way patriotism was increasingly depicted in a distinctly New Zealand fashion. Connected to this was the depiction of the army as a way to demonstrate New Zealand's independence and identity on the world stage. Similarly, the emphasis on supporting free nations continued to develop, with greater reference to the United Nations and ANZUS. Both the United Nations and ANZUS were advertised as a means by which New Zealand could express commitment to the region and achieve collective defence – objectives that were a key theme in recruiting material of the previous decade. References to personal character traits that emerged during

the 1960s also continued. Advertising for Regular Force Cadets, and for officers in particular, focussed on character traits such as leadership, integrity and responsibility to motivate potential recruits. Another area to develop in emphasis during this period was gaining personnel for the Territorial Force – something that had required little attention while military training remained compulsory.

While traditional publications such as the *School Journal* continued to promote the idea of citizenship and achievement as part of the British Empire, New Zealand society continued to develop a sense of independence.²⁹⁶ Key among the figures to promote a distinctive New Zealand identity was Prime Minister Norman Kirk. Though only Prime Minister for a relatively brief period of two years, Kirk played a significant role in New Zealand's domestic and foreign policy. While Prime Minister, he brought to an end compulsory military training and withdrew New Zealand troops from Vietnam. In 1973 he also spoke out against US involvement in the Chilean coup d'état, demonstrating New Zealand had an independent voice - even from its ANZUS ally. Kirk also refused entry to the South African rugby team and sent two frigates to protest French nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll. Kirk outlined his view on New Zealand independence when he stated the country had 'come of age and must now stand on our own feet to reject the role of the dependent and at every opportunity seize the initiative'.²⁹⁷ While this comment was made with respect to the nation's sentimental attachment to the United Kingdom and was reflected in the actions he took as Prime Minister, it was also equally relevant to New Zealand's relationship with the United States.

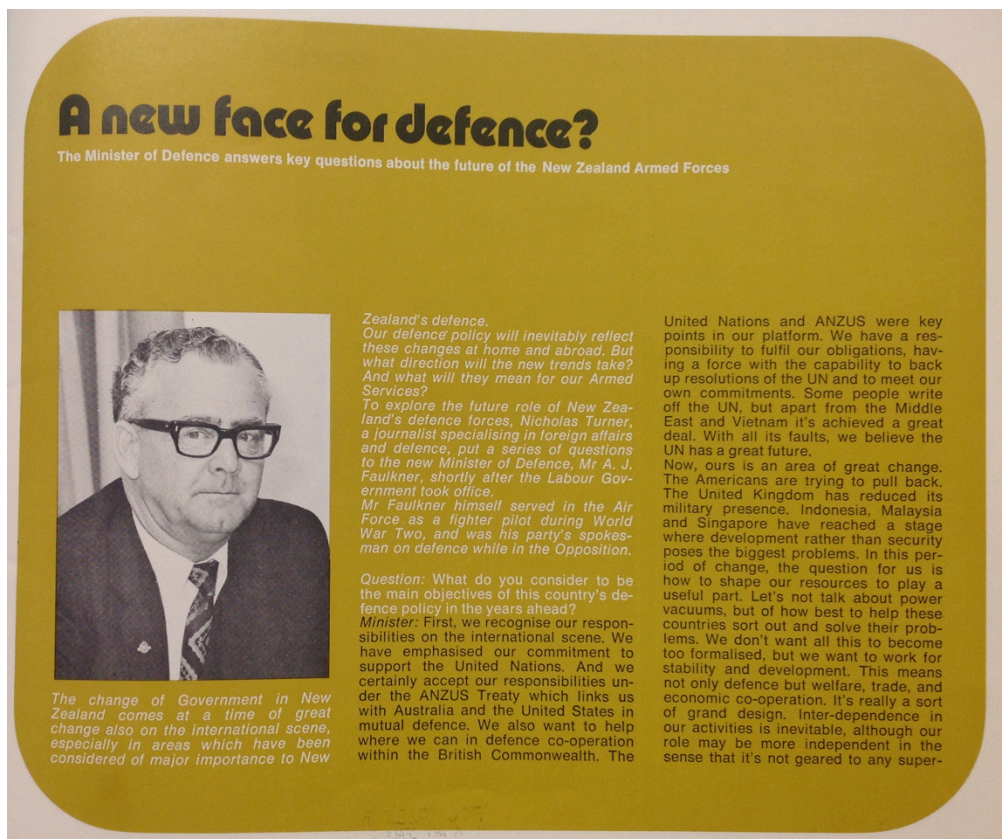
Post-Vietnam

The strongly independent action taken by the Prime Minister during 1973 was also reflected in recruiting material of the period. At the inside cover of the booklet *Command73*, Kirk's mood and actions were reflected in the statement; 'New Zealand's defence policy is established within the country's broad national aims and is an integral part of its foreign policy. This foreign policy is designed to assist in expressing our country's national identity in the international field as well as maintaining the security and sovereignty of the

²⁹⁶ K. Pickles, "Colonisation, Empire and Gender." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.233.

²⁹⁷ King, p.135.

homeland'.²⁹⁸ Evidence that such logic influenced Government policy was established on the following page of the booklet; presented as a series of questions to, and answers from, Minister of Defence A. J. Faulkner who built on the Prime Minister's arguments. The inclusion of so much input from the Government of the day in a recruiting booklet is somewhat unusual outside of wartime. Generally, recruiting material for the army, both prior to and after that time, had been apolitical. The inclusion of government policy in the booklet reflects the politically charged environment in which the military existed largely due to its involvement in the Vietnam War. The absence of political comment more generally can be considered a reflection of society's view that while the army could be used as an extension of politics in the international arena, the army itself was an apolitical institution.



Command73, Director of Recruiting, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1973, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: Per COM.

Protecting the 'homeland' as an appeal to patriotism occurred in other recruiting material of the period. In the booklet *Command: The Life of a Young Army Officer*, Major-General L.A. Pearce, Chief of General Staff, wrote in his foreword:

²⁹⁸ Booklet, *Command73*, Director of Recruiting, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1973, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: Per COM.

I can imagine that the thought uppermost in the minds of many young men who will read this booklet is whether there is a place at all for an Army in the New Zealand world of today. My response would be to make the simple observation that every nation of any standing in the world finds it necessary to retain an Army as one means of ensuring the way of life it holds dear is safeguarded.²⁹⁹

General Pearce's appeal to a sense of patriotism and status reflected the social reality that many New Zealanders – especially young people – questioned the very need for the country to maintain an army. Protests against the Vietnam War and the New Zealand military's involvement in it had been significant and affected public thinking long after the nation's military contribution had ended. This had in turn seen the army and wider defence force's standing within the community diminish. Such feeling was exhibited through protest at ANZAC Day services and the defacement of war memorials, actions that would have been inconceivable prior to the Vietnam War.³⁰⁰ The 'New Zealand world of today' described by General Pearce was cynical towards Defence matters and the need for a Defence Force. Rather than ignore the issue, General Pearce chose to adapt his approach. In so doing he demonstrated that he, as leader of the nation's army, understood public sentiment within the society he was charged with serving.


In another booklet aimed at recruiting officer cadets into the Armed Forces, Chief of Defence Lieutenant General Sir Leonard Thornton demonstrated a similar understanding of public sentiment. He wrote: 'I have often been asked why I joined the Regular Army six years before the outbreak of the Second World War and at a time when enlistment as an officer cadet in the Armed Forces was not overwhelmingly popular'.³⁰¹ General Thornton also appeared in the booklet wearing civilian attire rather than in ceremonial uniform, which was traditional, most likely in attempt to remove another symbolic barrier between the military and the public. General Thornton's comment, designed to show empathy for the youth of the day, can be viewed as indicative of the falling esteem with which the army was held at the time, to levels not seen since the early 1930s. General Thornton's efforts to maintain both

²⁹⁹ Booklet, *Command: The Life of a Young Army Officer*, Director of Recruiting, Defence Headquarters, Format Publishers Ltd, Wellington, 1973, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: Per COM.

³⁰⁰ C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Wellington, Bookprint Consultants Ltd, 1990, pp.161-2.

³⁰¹ Booklet, *Command '75*, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1975, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: PAM 355.309 93 COM 1975.

recruiting during a challenging period, as well good relations with the public, reflects the dual challenge and roles of printed recruiting material. General Thornton's clear appreciation for of contemporary sentiment also demonstrates the harsh and arguably unwarranted nature of Prime Minister David Lange's later reference to 'geriatric generals' and 'unreconstructed military neanderthals'.³⁰²



THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NEW ZEALAND

Unfortunately far too complicated for such treatment.

Here then in an abbreviated form are the qualities I would look for in a junior leader:

Personality:

That indefinable quality which identifies a person as an individual, able — and willing — to stand out in a group of his contemporaries. Apart from exceptional cases, the personality must be such as to attract rather than repel others, and so enable its possessor to work effectively with those above and below his level in the pyramid of command.

Intelligence or Commonsense:

If a leader is less bright than the median of the group for whom he is responsible he will have considerable difficulty in making his decisions stick, simply because there will usually be someone with better and more logical ideas than his own. A good leader can and will make use of bright ideas flowing up from his group, large or small; but if he finds himself obliged to rely habitually on that source, his authority will soon be undermined. The leader does not need to be an academic giant but rather to possess what is sometimes known as "horse sense" — the ability to examine the boundaries of a problem thoroughly and to come up with a sound and practical solution. The higher the level of aspiration the better must be the subject's mental acuity.

Determination:

This word covers a multitude of virtues short of obstinacy. We all know individuals who discourage easily when an unpleasant task has to be performed or when other people mock or misfortunes multiply — or simply when life ceases to be "exciting". Such individuals will fail as leaders.

Determination brings us close to physical courage. Can there ever have been an unfledged Serviceman who has not asked himself how he will stand up to his first experience of combat. "Born heroes" are a scarce commodity and all men experience fear in some degree. In the end, it is determination which enables them to carry out their allotted or self-appointed tasks in spite of uneasy feelings in the stomach. The bravest men I have known have all had the quality of dogged determination, not only in the face of the enemy but in their ordinary lives.

Adaptability:

The Service officer will face constant change in physical environment, in the nature of the tasks he is called on to perform, and the people with whom he works and plays, and this can be very unsettling unless the individual is prepared to meet it half-way. The Services themselves do not stand still. They must frequently change their equipment or methods, adopt more advanced technology, or adjust to new policy directives. The leader

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Command '75, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1975, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: PAM 355.309 93 COM 1975.

Further evidence the army felt it necessary to convince the public of its worth is contained in a Minute titled, *Speech Notes for Army Public Relations Plan*.³⁰³ The Minute, produced by Army General Staff, showed the level of sensitivity and awareness within the army over public perceptions. The Minute stated that 'within the bounds of security and

³⁰² I. McGibbon, "New Zealand Defence Policy from Vietnam to the Gulf", in B. Brown (ed), *New Zealand in World Affairs III: 1977 – 1990*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1999, p.126.

³⁰³ Minute, *Speech Notes for Army Public Relations Plan*, Army General Staff, Wellington, 18 May 1979, Archives New Zealand, Accession Number: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 198.

political sensitivity, lecturers have a free hand in how they choose to present a talk and should be guided, above all, by the facts that: a. We have nothing to hide, b. We have a good Army, proud of its record and reputation overseas, and c. We have skills and capabilities which are as much use to the nation in peace as in war'.³⁰⁴ Despite the Army's sensitivity regarding public perceptions the organisation remained confident in its own legitimacy, demonstrated by the reference to 'facts', giving lecturers a 'free hand', and the emphasis on the army being a 'good Army' with nothing to hide. In a list of subjects predicted as being likely topics to be raised for discussion by the public, referred to later in the document, the two leading topics were 'Why do we have an Army?' and 'Why are troops still stationed in Singapore?'.³⁰⁵ These topics again demonstrated that the army understood those questions officers and soldiers who engaged with the public would most likely be asked, as well as the army's commitment to addressing public concerns adequately.

Appealing to a sense of social obligation in the form of patriotism and service was most prevalent in recruiting material for the Territorial Force Volunteers. With the end of compulsory military training, including compulsory territorial service, the army found itself in a position where it had to start 'selling the TF [Territorial Force] to the Public'.³⁰⁶ Given some of the public cynicism faced by the army, the end of compulsory service – from a force strength perspective – came at an inopportune time. It also came as little surprise that the army had difficulty meeting its Territorial Force Volunteer (TFV) recruiting targets.³⁰⁷ Territorial service was advertised as 'The ideal combination of Service with civilian life'.³⁰⁸ In a leaflet by the same title, it stated that Territorial Service also offered a chance to 'play an important part in the life of the community'. Emphasis on service was often nuanced in terms of that service being applied to the local or community level. One example of this was the booklet produced for the 6th Battalion (Hauraki) Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, titled *Join the Bay of Plenty's Own*.³⁰⁹ The booklet emphasised the local identity of the unit and its proud history of representing the Hauraki region.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ *TF Advertising Market Research Study*, Army Headquarters, Archives New Zealand, Accession Number: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 199.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Leaflet, *T.F.V. The Ideal Combination of Service with Civilian Life*, Wellington, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁰⁹ Booklet, *Join the Bay of Plenty's Own: the 6th Battalion (Hauraki) Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment*, 1973, Alexander Turnbull Library, Accession Number: PAM.10993 JOI 1973.

[9000811/11]

Territorial Force Volunteer service in the New Zealand Army

As an integral part of the N.Z. Army, the Territorial Force Volunteers offer men from all occupations and educational backgrounds the ideal opportunity to become part of this country's armed strength in their spare time.

The modern technological Army needs skilled men for a wide range of jobs... from combat soldiers and technicians to engineers and communications experts. So whichever T.F.V. Unit you join, you will find a great deal to interest you. Under qualified instructors you will receive expert training in the handling of the most up-to-date weapons and equipment. Furthermore, opportunities may be available to participate in training exercises in Australia and Fiji after you have completed your whole-time training.

The T.F.V. is the ideal combination of Service with civilian life, providing you with an absorbing, paid interest, plenty of outdoor activity, good comradeship and the chance to play an important part in the life of your community.

Here are all the facts you'll want to know about joining the T.F.V.



T.F.V. The Ideal Combination of Service with Civilian Life, Wellington, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

In the advertisement *It's More Than Just A Job*, soldiering was referred to as 'shared service'. Such a reference might, given aforementioned public cynicism, be considered somewhat out of touch or otherwise misplaced. The cynical view, however, was not the only one, as a survey by the Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services (DRPS) revealed. In a report titled *DRPS Research Report 67/74 Civilian Attitudes to*

Employment: A Report on a Study of New Zealand Males, it was discovered that those in the community categorised as 'pro-Army' were ranked 'highest of all groups [surveyed] for patriotic motives'.³¹⁰ In addition to valuing work that benefited the country, pro-Army respondents were also found to value organisations that demand loyalty; performed work that other people respected; and provided an opportunity to help others.³¹¹ The army's emphasis on patriotism, community service, status and helping others can, therefore, be seen as directly addressing the desires of the sector of society most amenable to the army.

MORE THAN JUST A JOB:

Peace keeping, Overseas assistance. Military capability. The Army's about all of these things, and it needs trained military specialists to carry out its rules.

However, we're not going to pretend the job's a cushy one. It's not. Nor will you automatically be sent overseas to Fiji, Singapore, Hawaii, Australia or Europe. There are a lot of soldiers to choose from for these exercises and training attachments, — you have to be good.

Still, if you have the guts, intelligence and resilience, plus a load of adaptability, you'll get a chance at anything that is going. In between hard work, routines and responsibilities you wouldn't get in civilian life.

You'll also meet plenty of genuine people in the shared service, hardship, and structured life of the Army. That's one of the best things — the comradeship. You can ask about the other benefits like pay, uniforms and accommodation at your nearest recruiting office if you're really interested in becoming a professional soldier. We only want people who are. Meanwhile, take a look at the kind of jobs that are available.

Clerks All Arms
Soldiers must have ammunition, food, clothing, medical supplies. Their vehicles must have petrol and oil. The responsibility of ensuring that troops are supplied with these essentials, as well as with mail and pay, falls on the shoulders of clerks. You could be involved in anything from the classification of important documents and confidential personal files to map planning and computer programming. The range of jobs is wide — both in scope and variety. You may start off in the corps of your choice, and from the rank of sergeant you're posted on merit. Which means there are no corps limitations: your career's as versatile as you are.

Storemen (RNZAO)
The Ordnance Corps runs New Zealand's largest warehousing organisation. It provides, stores, and issues all vehicles, weapons, ammunition and technical replacement parts required by the Army. Sophisticated mechanical handling equipment and electronic accounting systems are used to control the 160,000 different items held in store. As a member of this Corps you will combine basic military skills with your prime trade. You could get further specialist training in automotive spare parts, merchandising, and accounting machine operation. Specialist storemen are also required in other Corps, with similar prospects of advancement and specialist qualifications.

Drivers (RNZASC)
The Transport companies of the Army Service Corps move anything that needs moving — fuel, armoured vehicles, casualties, supplies, engineering equipment, containers. Which means you'll drive dump trucks, 10-ton articulated transporters, staff cars, ambulances, motor scooters, landrovers, buses, vans and oil tankers — over all kinds of terrain. It's an action-packed job for an alert, mechanically-minded person with fast reflexes.

Artillerymen (RNZA)
This is no job for the nervous or the trigger-happy. The job of the Artillery is to provide close support to the Infantry in combat zones. Today, an artilleryman can look forward to working with the latest guns and technical aids. He's part of a team responsible for the plotting and firing of a 105 mm howitzer. There are also many specialists serving in Artillery. Wireless operators who transmit vital target information, radar operators who electronically detect enemy positions, survey and meteorological assistants. All are necessary.

Infantry (RNZIR)
You cannot get into the Infantry simply by choosing it. You must first prove you have the abilities. After an 8 week basic course at Waiouru, we'll know your strengths and so will you. You'll be fitter, more confident and ready to face the challenge of specialist infantry training. At Burnham you'll learn weapons handling, jungle survival, bush navigation. How to travel long distances on foot, operate from helicopters and armoured personnel carriers. At the end of it all you will be capable of moving and fighting as one of a close-knit team.

Tradeswomen
Under the latest regulations, women can now work with men in 74 trades. Some of these positions are as communications technicians, drivers, electricians, armourers, dental assistants, instructors, meteorological assistants, military policemen, medical corporals, intelligence operators, radar operators, storemen and vehicle mechanics. If you have the qualities the choice is yours.

Contact your nearest Army Recruiting Office for details, or complete the coupon below.

To: The Director of Recruiting, Defence Headquarters, Private Bag, Wellington. Please send me further information without obligation.

Name: _____
Address: _____
Age: _____

More Than Just A Job, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³¹⁰ P. Phipps, *DRPS Research Report 67/74 Civilian Attitudes to Employment A Report on a Study of New Zealand Males*, Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services, Personnel Branch, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, New Zealand, April 1974, p.17.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, pp.16-17.

In addition to values of patriotism and service, the army's role in defending the nation continued to be emphasised throughout the 1970s. Defending the country, however, increasingly came to be conveyed in terms of 'peacekeeping'. Peacekeeping was referred to in multiple recruiting items as a key role for the army, including: *Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment*,³¹² *Are You a Leader?*³¹³, and *More Than Just a Job*.³¹⁴ Tied to the idea of peacekeeping and consistent with the altruistic theme of community service, was the army's role in delivering disaster relief and aid projects. In the advertisement *Are You a Leader?*, being able to lead soldiers in a 'crunch' was described as occurring during conflict as well as 'peacekeeping, overseas assistance, civil emergency' operations.³¹⁵ The accompanying image of an officer and radioman was also devoid of any weapons, as if to emphasise the pacific nature of contemporary military operations.

In the booklet, *Command73*, General Pearce described a soldier's duties in New Zealand in terms of co-operation with civilian authorities, including 'joint action civil defence and disaster relief exercises and incidents'.³¹⁶ He also emphasised the army's similar work overseas, including the construction of a ninety-mile highway in Thailand, civic tasks in Malaysia and creating a boat harbour in the Tokelaus. All of these were cited as having 'established lasting bonds between the New Zealand Army and the local communities'.³¹⁷ The use of exemplars involving civil tasks and building projects were designed to appeal to those members of the public who desired to help others. This theme also appeared in the advertisement *Prove Yourself as an Army officer and Prove Yourself Anywhere*. According to the advert, reconstruction tasks in 'hurricane-torn villages on Pacific Islands' and planning roads through rough terrain in New Zealand were just two examples of the tasks a young officer graduate could expect to complete.³¹⁸

³¹² Booklet, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³¹³ Advertisement, *Are You A Leader?*, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³¹⁴ Advertisement, *More Than Just A Job*, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³¹⁵ Advertisement, *Are You A Leader?*, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³¹⁶ Booklet, *Command73*, Director of Recruiting, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1973, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: Per COM.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Advertisement, *Prove Your Self as an Army Officer and Prove Yourself Anywhere*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The concept of Collective Defence also endured from the 1960s into the 1970s, alongside the concept of New Zealand's first line of defence lying far from its own territory. The policy of 'collective defence' was explained in the leaflet, *Join-In... Join-Up*, in terms of New Zealand's security being threatened by events overseas and, as a result, New Zealand 'must be prepared to send forces to those areas even though they seem to be far away'.³¹⁹ Such action, the leaflet argued, must be taken 'in association with other countries which share our interests and aims'.³²⁰ The tone of the leaflet, produced in 1970 and closely reminiscent of 1960s recruiting material, reflected the continuation of the National Government's defence policy. Following the election of the third Labour Government in 1972, the tone changed somewhat, though the underlying premise of defence through collective security co-operation remained the same.

In *Command 73*, Minister of Defence A. J. Faulkner, in answer to the question of what the main objectives of the country's defence policy in the years ahead would be, stated:

First, we recognise our responsibilities on the international scene. We have emphasised our commitment to support the United Nations. And we certainly accept our responsibilities under the ANZUS Treaty, which links us with Australia and the United States in mutual defence... The United Nations and ANZUS were key points in our platform. We have a responsibility to fulfil our obligations, having a force with the capability to back up resolutions of the UN and to meet our commitments.³²¹

The words 'certainly accept' the nation's responsibilities under the ANZUS Treaty intimated that the Government was less than happy with the arrangements. While commitment to support the UN was 'emphasised', ANZUS was 'accepted'. In addition to seemingly giving the UN primacy over the ANZUS relationship, the term 'accept' also sounds as though the Labour Government may not have chosen such an arrangement for itself. The qualified statement of support for ANZUS reflected the Labour Government's overall policy towards the Vietnam War and United States for dragging a reluctant New Zealand Government into the war. It was only through sustained diplomatic pressure and the fear of alliance relations

³¹⁹ Leaflet, *Join-In... Join-Up...*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Booklet, *Command 73*, Director of Recruiting, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1973, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: Per COM.

being seriously weakened that former Prime Minister Holyoake had acquiesced.³²² In the end, Holyoake's fear of the economic and security implications of not becoming involved outweighed those for involvement.³²³

As noted earlier, 1970s recruiting material saw a growing emphasis on personal character traits. In these items the army was depicted as a vehicle toward self-fulfilment, to become the person the viewer or reader wanted to be. Territorial Force Service for example, was advertised as increasing 'self reliance and self confidence',³²⁴ while a career as a Regular Force officer was advertised as a chance to 'prove yourself'.³²⁵ The items, therefore, sold the image of an army made up of people of the highest character traits and qualities. The broad range of character traits included integrity, leadership, enterprise, and responsibility. A recruiting booklet for the Regular Force Cadets, aimed at fifteen to seventeen-year-old boys, advertised the army as an opportunity for 'young men of integrity and personal enterprise [to be] educated to serve their country'.³²⁶ The same message was reiterated in other recruiting booklets for the Regular Force Cadets throughout the period, conveying the message that the army needed 'young men of integrity and personal enterprise [to] serve their country'.³²⁷ Seeking boys as young as fifteen using integrity and personal enterprise as a selling point indicates these character traits were identified as being desirable in the eyes of the target audience – adolescent males, their parents, and society more broadly.

Leadership was also emphasised in recruiting material, particularly for the officer corps. In one advertisement, for example, it was stated that commanding men 'demands special qualities - intelligence, imagination, courage. Above all, the ability to lead by example'.³²⁸ In another booklet, an apparent attempt to reach the widest possible audience involved describing natural leadership as including 'The tough kid in the playground who decides what game is to be played - and usually who succeeds in having the major role - is

³²² R. Rabel, *New Zealand and the Vietnam War: Politics and Diplomacy*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2005, pp.45-51.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Programme, *The Hamilton Centennial Military Pageant 1978*, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³²⁵ Advertisement, *Prove Yourself as an Army Officer and Prove Yourself Anywhere*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³²⁶ Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets: A Career That's Satisfying, Interesting, Rewarding!*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³²⁷ Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets*, Catts-Patterson Advertising Ltd., Wellington, circa 1976, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³²⁸ Advertisement, *Army Officer: The Unique Profession*, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

exercising leadership just as surely as the captain of the 1st XV or the organiser of a protest demonstration or a factory manager'.³²⁹ While the breadth of examples itself is interesting, the mention of a protest demonstration organiser clearly reflected the era in which the booklet was produced. Protests were a feature of the decade, whether it be against nuclear testing, the Vietnam War, apartheid, the lake level at Manapouri, or land ownership; passionate New Zealanders were exercising their democratic right to protest for what they believed in, and it was New Zealanders with passion that the army wanted as recruits.

Like protests, the values-based themes used in army recruiting material during the 1970s would continue to be seen in the following decade. Central among the various issues being protested in New Zealand at the time was nuclear weapons.³³⁰ On 14 April 1982, for example, a motion by City Councillor Helene Ritchie to declare Wellington a Nuclear-Free City was carried with a vote of ten to eight.³³¹ Wellington followed a pattern set by other towns and cities within the country, a ground swell that would soon become a political issue at the national level. In the run-up to the 1984 elections, Labour campaigned against nuclear weapons and ship propulsion. Once election victory had been secured, the new Prime Minister, David Lange, tried to soften his party's anti-nuclear policy, but to no avail.³³² In 1987, the Government passed the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act; but only after the Government had denied a US Navy ship from port access in New Zealand.³³³ The Act established the Nuclear Free Zone, prohibiting the presence, development or acquisition of nuclear or biological weapons within New Zealand, as well as outlawing visits by nuclear powered or armed ships of any other nation. In response, the United States Congress passed the Broomfield Act, reducing New Zealand's diplomatic status from ally to friend. The New Zealand Government's decision had in effect destroyed the ANZUS alliance.³³⁴

The changing political and social landscape in the country can be clearly traced through the recruiting material of the period. In addition to the nuclear-free status of New

³²⁹ Booklet, *Command '75*, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1975, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: PAM 355.309 93 COM 1975.

³³⁰ King, p.175.

³³¹ J. Ulrich, *Journey Towards World Peace: A History of the New Zealand Peace Council*, Wellington, Lake Ohia Publications, 1998, p.105.

³³² New Zealand History, "Nuclear-free New Zealand: Nuclear-free legislation", <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/nuclear-free-new-zealand/nuclear-free-zone>, accessed 1 March 2016.

³³³ G. Hensley, *Friendly Fire: Nuclear Politics & The Collapse of ANZUS, 1984 – 1987*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2013, Chapter 5.

³³⁴ King, p.175.

Zealand, the Labour Government also brought in major economic reforms, often referred to as 'Rogernomics' after Finance Minister Roger Douglas.³³⁵ The reforms brought in by Douglas opened up the New Zealand economy through a process of sweeping deregulation, creating a period of unparalleled financial gain - for some. Wage, income and foreign exchange controls were removed; subsidies for agriculture and industry ceased; tariffs were reduced; the move toward free trade with Australia was accelerated; transport and energy regulations were removed; the Reserve Bank was freed from political interference; and top tax rates were slashed from sixty-six to thirty-three per cent.³³⁶ The boom, made possible by deregulation, was followed by an inevitable bust in 1987. Despite the bust, however, the 1980s saw a change in the way people viewed economics and business opportunities, placing more emphasis on business entrepreneurship, financial trading and financial gain. According to one contemporary army officer, the effect of this was the creation of a public 'more concerned with 'tangible' economic issues than with, for example, funding ANZAC ship projects to counter unidentified external threats'.³³⁷ These changes in public perception were reflected in recruiting material content and context – where they were used.

In 1988, the army launched a series of advertisements that used the image and language of contemporary business to target potential officer candidates. Officers were referred to as 'a very special breed' and noted for 'their physical and intellectual superiority'.³³⁸ The description of an army officer in terms of being special and superior would have sat uncomfortably with many serving officers of the time, yet for Carlton Advertising it was considered the best way to reach the army's target audience. The advertising company's choice of titles - *Board of Protectors* and *It's Your Honour* - reflect their understanding of society, as well as what the target audience of young men and women valued.³³⁹ The two advertisements show that business and its associated trappings, coupled with ambition and an inflated sense of self, would do the art of persuasion best. The two advertisements remained, however, anchored in their appeal to the more socially-minded values of protection and honour. While the form of the advertisement may have changed, the core theme had not.

³³⁵ P. Dalziel, "The Economic Summit: What People Were Thinking", in P. Dalziel, in B. Easton (ed.), *The Making of Rogernomics*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1989, p.53.

³³⁶ S. Stratford, *The Dirty Decade: New Zealand in the 80s*, Auckland, Tandem Press, 2002, p.46.

³³⁷ A.B. Howie, "A Recruiting Strategy for the New Zealand Regular Army", *Commandant's Papers*, RNZAF Staff College, Staff Course No. 29, November 1988, p.1.

³³⁸ Advertisement, *The Board of Protectors*, Carlton-Carruthers du Chateau Limited, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³³⁹ Advertisement, *It's Your Honour*, Carlton-Carruthers du Chateau Limited, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

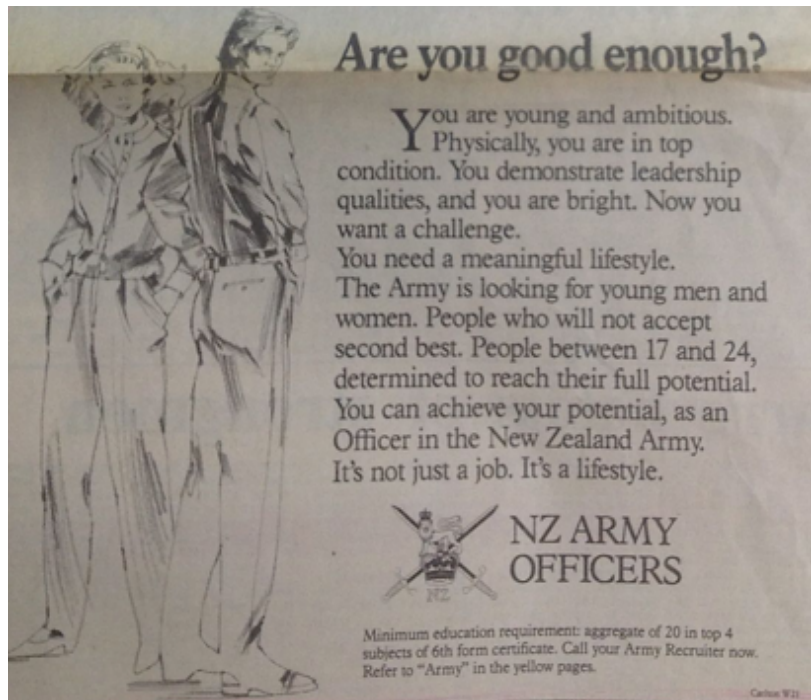
These values and themes were also reflected in another advertisement published in 1988 titled *Are You Good Enough?*³⁴⁰ The advertisement featured a sketch of a young man and woman striking poses in fashionable attire. The image and its supporting text did not promote an ideal of service and sacrifice. Instead, the advertisement appealed to an inflated sense of self, stating 'You are young and ambitious. Physically you are in top condition. You demonstrate leadership qualities, and you are bright'. Having appealed to the ego of its target audience it finished with the statement, 'It's not just a job. It's a lifestyle'. While the statement may have been true, depicting an officer career as a 'lifestyle', as well as a career of service as advertised in the 1950s, marks a noteworthy change in the presentation of an officer career as one with meaning beyond that of simply being a 'job'.³⁴¹



The Board of Protectors, Carlton-Carruthers du Chateau Limited, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁴⁰ Advertisement, *Are You Good Enough?*, Carlton-Carruthers du Chateau Limited, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁴¹ Advertisement, *A Career of SERVICE*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Are You Good Enough?, Carlton-Carruthers du Chateau Limited, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

It was not just the advertising industry that was aware of the social changes occurring in New Zealand and the concomitant need to adjust the tone of army-recruiting material. Several internal army documents from the 1980s showed the depth of consideration given to the problem. In a Minute from the Director of Defence Recruiting (Army) to the Deputy Chief of General Staff, he cited a lack of an identifiable role for the Army in society and a lack of public esteem for the officer profession as causing fluctuations in recruiting results.³⁴² The minute went on to state that the position traditionally enjoyed by the army with respect to the community was reducing in line with the declining number of ex-servicemen. The lack of any overt external threat to mobilise public opinion was also noted as having an adverse effect, making potential recruits less likely to be motivated by patriotic appeals than by 'practical bait like career opportunities and pay'.³⁴³ The minute even suggested that recruitment advertising should advertise the army and its 'lifestyle' in order to be seen as more appealing.³⁴⁴ The recommendation to provide more practical bait than patriotic appeals should not only be viewed as a reflection of social values in the 1980s, but also as a reflection

³⁴² Minute, DD Rec(A) to DCGS, 10 November 1980, Archives New Zealand, Accession Number: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

of the period of relative peace in which the army existed. After all, in the same decade, the Falkland's War, supported by the tabloid press, had given rise in Britain to a sense of patriotic jingoism not seen for decades.³⁴⁵ New Zealand, however, had no Falklands conflict of its own to trigger a comparable sense of patriotism, and no obvious prospect of being involved in armed conflict, with the possible exception of responding to a coup in Fiji.

An appraisal of the challenge faced by the army in recruiting personnel, along with a way of meeting those challenges, was provided in 'A Recruiting Strategy for the New Zealand Regular Army'. The paper, written as a professional academic appraisal by a student at the Royal New Zealand Air Force Staff College, provided a comprehensive account of army recruiting in the late 1980s. It cited a report by advertising agency Carlton-Carruthers du Chateau Limited that the 'Army was perceived to be anachronistic with no *raison d'etre*'.³⁴⁶ In addition, the author suggested that the ANZUS 'impasse', alongside the cost of Defence during a time of economic hardship and budgetary constraints, made it 'understandable that many perceptions about Army are unfavourable'.³⁴⁷ In order to counter this perceived lack of *raison d'etre*, the army employed two advertising agencies to assess the best way to address the issue. Unfortunately for the army, the recommended course of action provided by the two agencies differed. MDA McKay King believed that 'pride' was the key to a successful campaign, while CCdC recommended 'interest, challenge and lifestyle'.³⁴⁸ The seemingly contrary recommendations, however, reflected the reality that not everyone joined for the same reason or set of reasons. One experienced Territorial Force officer of the time, providing a 'personal view' on the subject of recruiting and retention, wrote that the main reasons people gave for joining the Territorials were challenge and achievement; comradeship; variety; adventure and the outdoors.³⁴⁹ Secondary to their reasons quoted for joining were keeping fit, patriotism and extra cash.³⁵⁰ MDA McKay King and CCdC's difference of opinion simply reflected the complex range of reasons for why people joined the army.

Despite the rise of business-oriented recruiting material, complete with appeals to the reader's ego, many recruiting products continued to employ appeals related to more

³⁴⁵ D. Welch, *Propaganda: Power and Persuasion*, London, British Library, 2013, p.111.

³⁴⁶ Howie, p.2.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, p.5.

³⁴⁹ NZ Army, *Territorial Force Officer Handbook 1988*, 1988, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: 508695.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

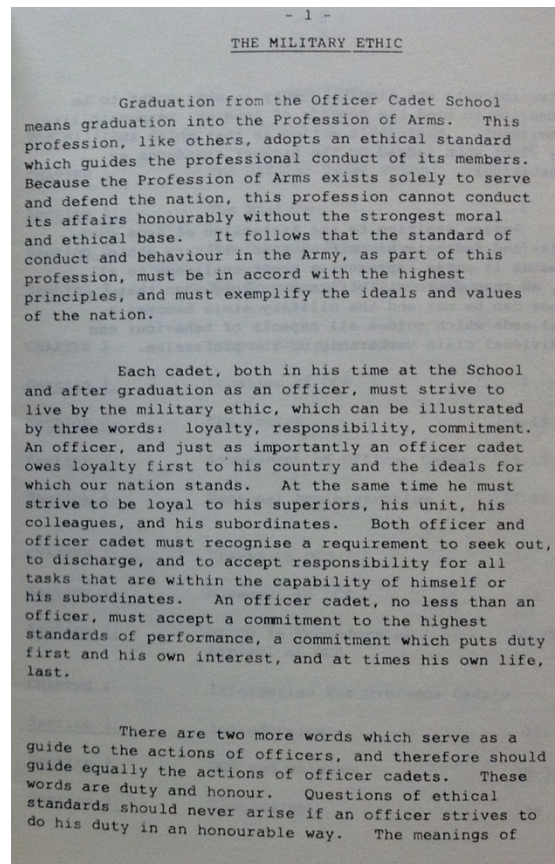
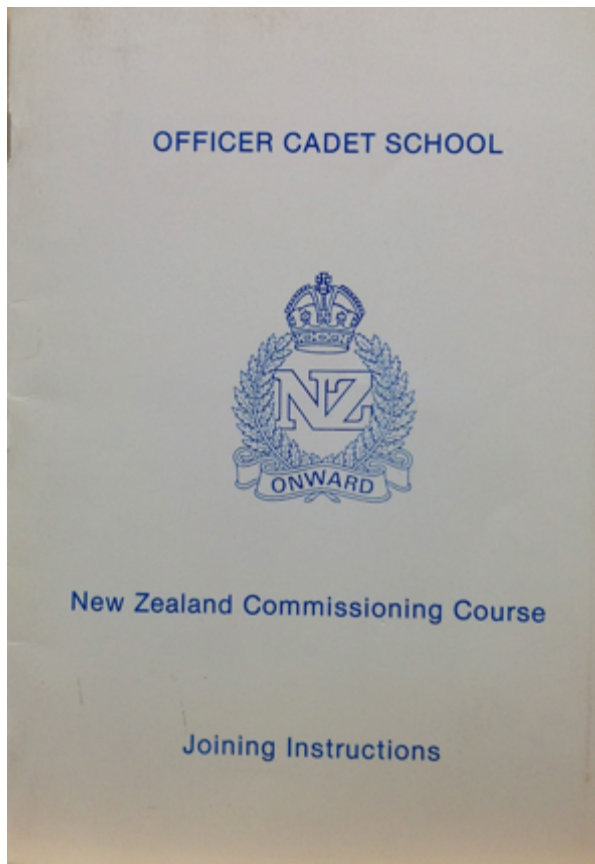
traditional values. The continuation of these values demonstrated that, while aspects of social change making it necessary for advertising approaches to be adjusted, many of society's underlying values endure and thereby retain value as recruiting lures. Three of the values that continued to appear across a range of recruiting material were personal character traits, patriotism, and fighting for peace.

A booklet for those on the cusp of joining the army as officer cadets, but still with an opportunity to withdraw their interest, dedicated its first two pages to the topic of military ethics. The first paragraph stated that 'the Profession of Arms exists solely to serve and defend the nation, this profession cannot conduct its affairs honourably without the strongest moral and ethical base'.³⁵¹ The paragraph went on that the values exhibited by the army 'must be in accord with the highest principles, and must exemplify the ideals and values of the nation'.³⁵² Five words were then added as summing up the personal character traits needed in an army officer; loyalty, responsibility, commitment, duty, and honour. These five values are notable not only for being in stark contrast to the egotistical and self-centred appeals made in other material of the period, but for being values that are recognisable in recruiting material as far back as the First World War. The explicit connection between the values of the country and those of the army made in the booklet also demonstrate that the army continued to see its role in New Zealand society as one of service to the people. This point is further reinforced by the booklet's statement: 'an officer cadet owes loyalty first to his country and the ideals for which our nation stands'.³⁵³ It also demonstrates how the army considered obligation-based themes linked to social values as being of continued value as a recruiting tool, including, in the case of this booklet, in the final push towards enlistment.

³⁵¹ Booklet, *Officer Cadet School: New Zealand Commissioning Course*, circa 1986, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁵² Ibid.

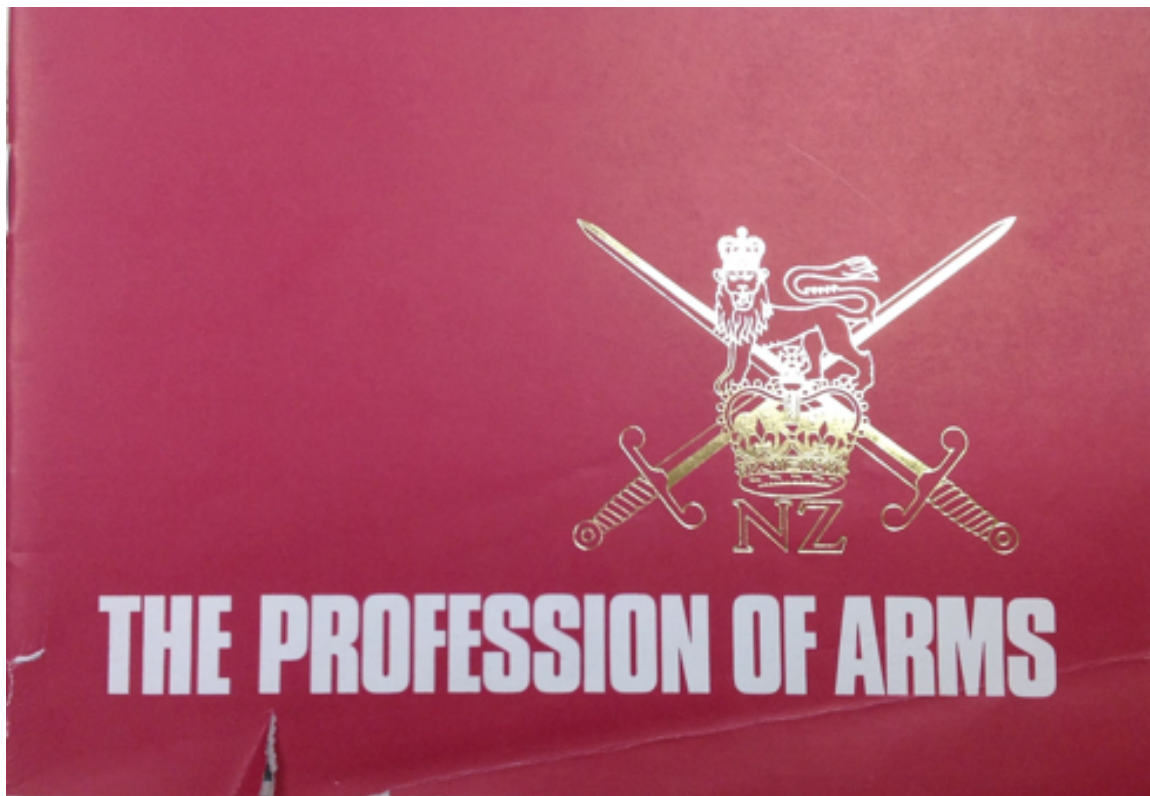
³⁵³ Ibid.



Officer Cadet School: New Zealand Commissioning Course, circa 1986, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1

The idea of service, so forcefully made in the Officer Cadet School booklet, was also made in the advertisement *Leadership is Our Business*. While the latter used the term 'business' in an attempt to attract a generation influenced by the economic deregulation of the time, the values employed as recruiting devices were more traditional. *Leadership is Our Business* cited character as the 'basic quality of a leader'.³⁵⁴ The advertisement then broke down character into integrity, loyalty, courage and capacity for self-sacrifice. In addition to advertising officer careers in its own right, the advertisement also advertised the booklet *The Profession of Arms*. The booklet, which could be obtained by filling in a small application form contained within the advertisement, brought into play other traditional values as recruiting devices.

³⁵⁴ Advertisement, *Leadership is Our Business...*, 1981, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



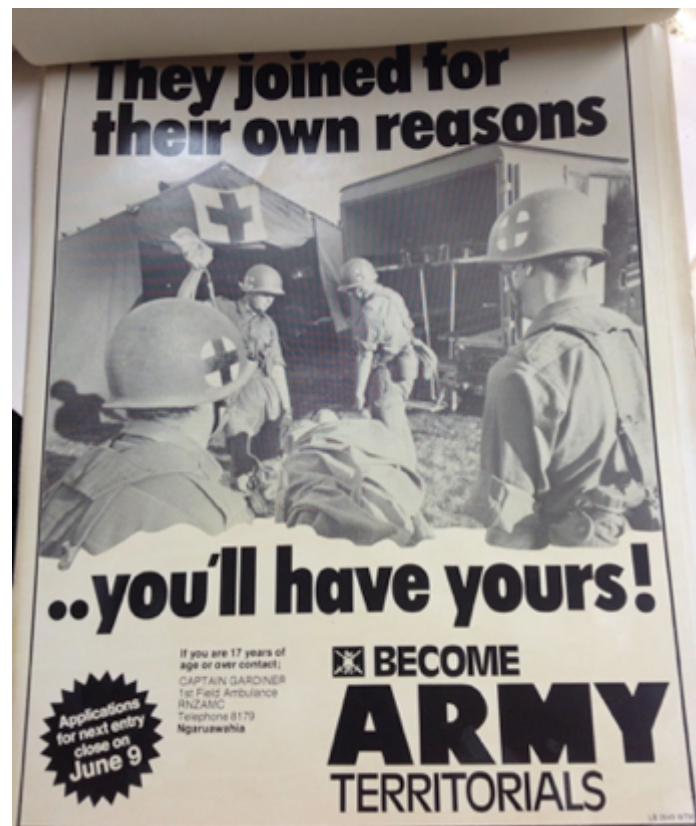
Profession of Arms, 1981, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1

The *Profession of Arms* promoted the idea of fighting for peace. The booklet described the army's 'dual role in contemporary society' as being the preservation of peace while still being prepared for war.³⁵⁵ It also stated that the army 'plays a vital role in keeping the balance of peace and preventing outbreaks of conflict in our areas of primary interest'. Building on the idea of preserving peace, the booklet also stated an officer was responsible not only for their own actions but the actions of their subordinates, adding to the qualities of courage and initiative the quality of humanity. The introduction of humanity as an officer quality could be viewed as a reflection of the growing peace movement in New Zealand and a general suspicion of the military. By promoting the army as a force for peace rather than war – in a form of Orwellian 'doublespeak' – the army sought to develop a public perception of the organisation in contemporary and socially acceptable terms. The promotion of such virtues was also subtly contained in the advertisement, *They Joined for their Own Reasons ..You'll Have Yours!*³⁵⁶ This advertisement is noteworthy for its representation of the army in non-combatant terms and as deliverers of aid and assistance. In keeping with previously mentioned advertisements from the 1970s, the image used in *They Joined for their Own*

³⁵⁵ Booklet, *Profession of Arms*, 1981, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁵⁶ Advertisement, *They Joined for Their Own Reasons.. You'll have Yours!*, circa 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Reasons deliberately contained no weapons, despite having at least four soldiers within the picture.



They Joined for their Own Reasons ..You'll Have Yours!, circa 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1

The 1990s built on the changes to values-based representations introduced in the 1980s, such as the use of 'business speak', as well as the concept of the army being a force for good. Material of the 1990s also built on the idea of international cooperation to achieve global peace. The United Nations emblem was one of the most prominent visual symbols used in recruiting material during the decade. Even with such heavy emphasis on the United Nations, however, patriotism and service to New Zealand remained a significant feature of many recruiting products during the period.

Service to New Zealand was an important feature in recruiting items of the 1990s, particularly for officer careers. This may be explained by research in New Zealand and the United Kingdom that indicated potential commissioned officers were more conscious of

political and patriotic motives than enlisted soldiers.³⁵⁷ These values were strongly promoted in the recruiting booklet *Officer Cadet School: Serve Proudly Lead Wisely* – a booklet visually wrapped up in the New Zealand flag.³⁵⁸ The booklet started with the line, 'The oath we take as members of the Armed Forces of New Zealand is to serve our country faithfully and well. For the Officers in this Army, this is not just a lofty ideal but a solemn duty'. The case for patriotic service made, the booklet moved on two paragraphs later to modestly note that as officers 'We must strive to act properly in the knowledge that we cannot always be right, and we must learn the power of humility in a leader'. This representation of leadership, though promoting similar values as seen in the 1980s, presented the role of officer in a significantly less egotistical way, a choice reflecting a social mood that may have been embarrassed by some of the socially adolescent excesses of the 1980s.³⁵⁹

Post-Cold War

Patriotism and the New Zealand Flag also featured on the cover of the recruiting leaflet *Proud to Serve New Zealand*.³⁶⁰ A unique aspect of this leaflet was its attempt to address every possible target group including potential Territorial Force officers and soldiers, as well as Regular Force officers and soldiers. The leaflet advertised New Zealand as part of the community, globally and locally: 'Today we are serving with the UN around the world, placing the Army, and NZ, in the international spotlight. Closer to home, we provide assistance to the South Pacific community and to New Zealanders themselves'.³⁶¹ This service, the leaflet added, required 'everyone who serves the New Zealand Army [to] place the interests of the nation before their own'.³⁶² The seemingly anachronistic appeal to patriotism, a value dismissed in a previously discussed minute recommending more 'practical bait', was found in the US survey to be the strongest factor relating to the propensity for people to enlist in the army.³⁶³

³⁵⁷ Minute, DD Rec(A) to DCGS, 10 November 1980, Archives New Zealand, Accession Number: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

³⁵⁸ Booklet, *Officer Cadet School: Serve Proudly Lead Wisely*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁵⁹ Stratford, back cover.

³⁶⁰ Leaflet, *Proud to Serve New Zealand*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

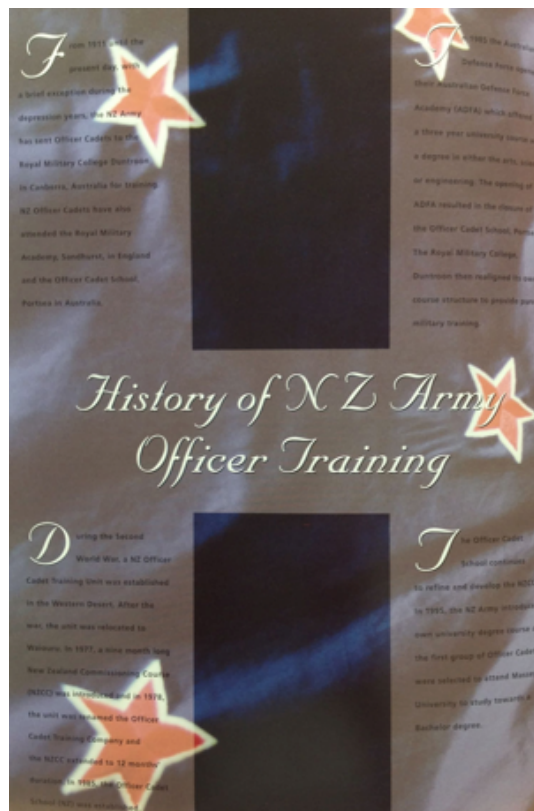
³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ J. Eighmey, "Why Do Youth Enlist? Identification of Underlying Themes", *Armed Forces & Security*, Vol. 32, No. 2, January 2006, p.309.



Proud to Serve New Zealand, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Officer Cadet School: Serve Proudly Lead Wisely, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Promoting the army's contribution to UN peacekeeping missions provided an opportunity to align patriotic adventure with the concept of peace and doing good. The duties of a peacekeeper were described in one brochure, *What Do You Want Out of Life?*, as 'monitoring treaties and safe areas and carrying out mediation between opposing forces'.³⁶⁴ The concept of doing good was, at the end of the 1990s, encapsulated in the army's recruiting motto, *Kiwis armed to make a difference*. The 'catchy motto', as Robert Ayson described it, helped convey the sense that the New Zealand Army served in the interests of good causes.³⁶⁵ The motto and associated recruiting material also reflected the Government's commitment to a rules-based system of international security, more concerned with global causes of instability than with a direct threat to its territory.³⁶⁶ One of the dozens of recruiting items to carry the *Kiwi's armed to make a difference* motto begins by stating:

The New Zealand Army is here to serve the nation, protecting and helping all New Zealanders in peace time as well as in times of conflict. We also give assistance to South Pacific communities and, internationally, we participate in UN peacekeeping missions around the globe.³⁶⁷

1990s recruiting material, as much as any other period, represented the army as 'more than just a job'.³⁶⁸ It appealed to patriotism, service and upholding the country's values to a level of prominence not seen since the World Wars, though it was never entirely absent.

³⁶⁴ Brochure, *What Do You Want Out of Life?*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁶⁵ R. Ayson, "New Zealand: Armed to Make a Difference?" In L.M. Elliott and G. Cheesman (eds), *Forces for Good: Cosmopolitan Militaries in the Twenty-First Century*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004, p.258.

³⁶⁶ Rabel, pp.263-4.

³⁶⁷ Booklet, *Kiwi's Armed to Make a Difference*, circa 1999, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁶⁸ Booklet, *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

helping THE **Community** at home & overseas

The Army is a very versatile organisation.

We not only protect the local and international communities, we also help them in practical ways.

For example, when Mount Ruapehu was threatening to blow in 1995, we helped Civil Defence close off the area and were on stand-by in case a full-scale eruption occurred.

We also helped clean up and provide security for houses damaged in Wanganui's 1990 floods, and we helped farmers rescue stock caught in heavy snowfalls in the South Island high country.

Part of our role is to provide help for nations in the Pacific region. After Cyclone Ofa we sent a team of 45 to the Tokelau Islands to repair damage on three atolls. They helped with tasks like rebuilding sea walls and buildings as well as repairing or replacing power lines and generating machinery. Our soldiers also ran classes in basic building, plumbing and domestic electrical wiring so that the local people could start some of the work themselves.

These activities don't just benefit the local community and New Zealand's overseas interests. They also provide soldiers with invaluable training and experience.

overseas training

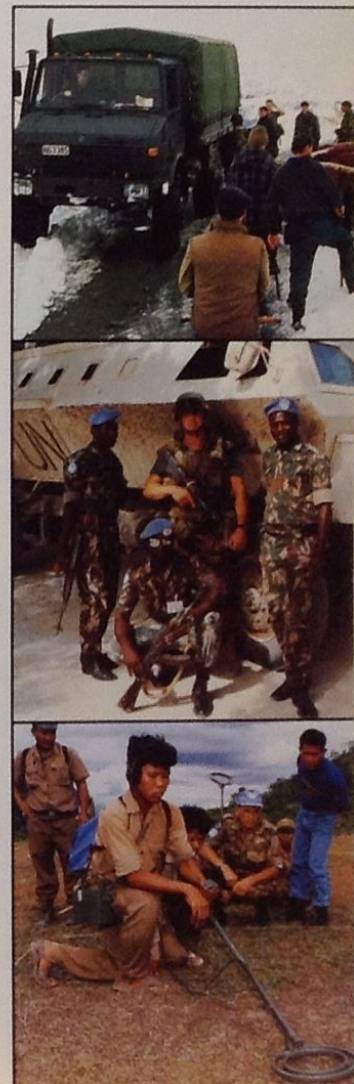
The Army's operations cover a much wider territory than just New Zealand.

To give them work experience in other environments and with other equipment, our soldiers take part in exchanges with overseas armies in the UK, Germany and Australia.

They also take part in exercises in countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji, Samoa and Australia.

Most soldiers also work overseas at some stage of their career as part of the Government's commitment to support the United Nations. They can be told to pack their kit for Europe, the Middle East, Asia, the Pacific, or anywhere else and they have to be ready to go. Sometimes quickly. It's all part of a professional soldier's life.

UN service means living and working with soldiers from other armies around the world. Our soldiers learn a lot about other cultures and have a chance to learn other languages.



Booklet, *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Brochure, *What Do You Want Out of Life?*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Depicting the army as a business, similar to any other business in the private sector, also continued to appear in recruiting material. The army was advertised as a 'management career like no other', reflecting the prevailing social attitudes with respect to professions that were valued.³⁶⁹ If the army were not valued by society for its own sake, it could be seen as valuable as a means of developing management skills. Recruiting material for the officer corps in particular routinely used references to officers in the army as 'leaders and managers' seeking to use language that would appeal to the target audience. Whereas references to gallantry and honour might have been deemed suitable recruiting ploys in the past, managing thirty people and an annual budget of \$1.5 million was, in the 1990s, considered more effective.³⁷⁰ In addition to emphasising the opportunities provided by the Army to manage large budgets and personnel at a young age, it also advertised the training in terms of its value in the private sector. The army advertised itself as providing 'superior management, leadership and military training as well the chance to take tertiary qualifications, which we

³⁶⁹ Brochure, *What Do You Want Out of Life?*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

³⁷⁰ Leaflet, *Proud to Serve New Zealand*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

pay for'.³⁷¹ In advertising the careers in this way, the army subtly reassured potential recruits that a career in the army was a stepping-stone to future success outside the Service. The army as a stepping-stone, particularly for officers, seems inconsistent with the idea of the 'solemn duty' to serve the 'country faithfully and well'. The apparent inconsistency was likely done consciously, not to provide contradictory messages, but to appeal to the widest possible audience, i.e. those that are motivated by duty and patriotism, as well as those motivated by corporate success and professional advancement.

A review of New Zealand Army recruiting material throughout the period 1899 to 1999 shows that continuity in social values was greater than change. While the manifestation of these values may have altered over time to maintain appeal, the values themselves remained, on the whole, consistent. The values of patriotism, duty and honour, for example, can be found in recruiting material throughout the period. Defending the country, its people and their way of life also features throughout the period. It is only at a superficial level that the manner in which these values are represented change. Instead of the Union Jack, we see the New Zealand flag. Instead of the imperial lion, we see the lemon squeezer hat. Where once we might have seen symbols of the sovereign, empire or commonwealth, we begin seeing the symbol of the United Nations. Throughout there is the underlying principle of service to one's country and its people. This is the place the army takes up in society and the one it projects through the advertising it produces to attract recruits.

As established in the last two chapters, themes appealing to a sense of social obligation endured in NZ Army recruiting material throughout the period. This shows that selflessness was seen as an effective recruiting pull, as well as one that was considered appropriate to successive generations of New Zealander. It is also noteworthy that appeals to obligation-based values also occurred during periods of both peace and war. The presence of selfless values suggests that these themes were not merely a propagandistic feature of wartime recruiting posters as some studies have concluded. These studies, which treat all recruiting posters as propaganda, have viewed the use of selfless values in recruiting material as an example of social manipulation; with the privileged minority seeking to exploit a heightened sense of social unity in the majority created in a war-time environment. The argument for this assessment, however, fails to acknowledge that selfless values have been consistently used in peacetime recruiting material.

³⁷¹ Booklet, *Kiwi's Armed to Make a Difference*, circa 1999, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

While obligation-based themes have endured as a feature of recruiting material, the nature of those values has not remained static. Reviewing the century of recruiting material used in this study reveals there have been four broad sub-sets of selfless values: Patriotism based on British or imperial identity; patriotism of a distinctly New Zealand nature; ideals including duty, honour, service, pride and citizenship; and the concepts of freedom, peace, democracy and justice. Within these sub-sets of selfless values, it is possible to trace changes in New Zealand society and of the New Zealand Army's self-perceived place within it.

The study of New Zealand Army recruiting material, from the South African War to East Timor, shows that the use of selfless values as a recruiting theme was significant. Patriotism, either British or New Zealand in its expression, as well as values associated with duty and concepts linked to peace and freedom, were used consistently as recruiting themes. The choice of these values was deliberate and sought to appeal to a set of selfless values widely shared amongst the New Zealand population. The strength with which the public held these values can be seen in two ways: first, by their use during wartime when people were being called to volunteer for service in a role that may result in their death; second, these values were also used in times of peace, including periods when there was no threat to New Zealand, demonstrating they were not contingent upon the presence of a perceived threat, but existed at all times as fundamental societal values. Lastly, the use of selfless values by the army shows that the army considered itself the embodiment of these values and the tangible manifestation of them through its actions.

Obligation-based themes, however, were not the only recruiting themes employed in army recruiting material. Opportunity-based values were also used widely and consistently throughout the period. Opportunity-based themes even appeared concurrently with obligation-based themes, often appearing alongside one another in the same recruiting material. The co-existence of what might be considered inconsistent or even wholly conflicting themes reflects the complex environment in which recruiting material operates. Not only does society share a wide range of values, each individual, or potential recruit, makes their decision to be swayed by recruiting material based on a variety of factors. The next two chapters will explore the range of opportunity-based themes used in recruiting material that have been consistently used to encourage enlistment.

Chapter Three: Opportunity, part one – Travel, adventure, and financial security

The previous chapters have demonstrated that there are a variety of reasons why individuals enlist in the army. It is, therefore, the task of the successful recruiter, using recruiting material, to touch on as many of those potential reasons as possible. The chapters on obligation showed that while the concepts of patriotism, honour and duty are powerful recruiting themes, they were insufficient to do the entire job of attracting recruits – themes of opportunity were also required. The idea that individuals will join the New Zealand Army for opportunity-based reasons is likely to sit uncomfortably with many, particularly serving military personnel, who are subject to powerful service sentiments, including a culture of military service, which can cloud memories of their original – and often complex – reasons for enlisting.

Serving and former members of the army are commonly heard expressing the sentiment that they 'didn't join for the money', the inference being a rejection of selfish motives in pursuit of more noble ones. The concept of higher motives is something the contemporary New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) continues to promote. In 2015, the NZDF adopted the slogan *A Force for New Zealand*.³⁷² This new slogan seeks to encapsulate and build on the idea that individuals join the military in New Zealand primarily for obligation-based reasons. Recruiting material shows, however, that regardless of how much military personnel, past and present, might wish otherwise, the New Zealand Army has consistently sought to leverage its target audience's desire to seize an opportunity to meet individual aspirations.

Like the many faces of obligation, there is no single opportunity-based theme that determines if an individual will join the army. Instead, there is a wide range of factors for recruiting material to address in order to maximise appeal to as many recruits as possible. Content analysis of New Zealand Army recruiting material reveals that consistent incentives presented to candidates include: pay, superannuation, vocational training, education, lifestyle, recreation, travel, adventure, job security, opportunities for advancement, and others. These themes have been routinely used in recruiting material, and, importantly, featured throughout

³⁷² The "A Force for New Zealand" campaign was launched on 6 September 2015 and was prepared by advertising company Saatchi and Saatchi. <http://www.campaignbrief.com/nz/2015/09/the-new-zealand-defence-force.html>, accessed 29 September 2017.

the period under consideration. While this fact may disappoint those who believe more altruistic motives should suffice, it should not come as a surprise. Evidence of opportunity-based material has been consistently present in army recruiting material and publicly displayed for recruitment in both peace and war. The inclusion and focus on opportunity-based themes in recruiting material also demonstrates that the army's hierarchy and recruiting staff were fully aware of the need for such content. The same themes were also present in the recruiting material of many countries, including the United States, Canada, Britain and Australia. Given New Zealand's addiction to favourable comparisons with other nations, especially Australia, this last point should provide some consolation.

The South African War provides the earliest evidence that potential recruits to the nation's army would need to be offered more than just a sense of duty or imperial loyalty. When considering whether New Zealand troops should be recruited directly into the British Army, Premier Richard Seddon dismissed the idea, in part because imperial rates of pay were considered too low to be attractive to New Zealanders.³⁷³ Seddon's conclusion about pay was all the more noteworthy given the prevailing imperial fervour of the time. Popular sentiment for the empire, Queen Victoria and even the war itself was not considered sufficient – by Seddon at least – to make war service appealing to New Zealand men. Around the same period in Britain, Regular army officers were paid such meagre salaries that they required private incomes to defray the costs of service, which included their uniforms, mess bills, horses, and even personal weapons.³⁷⁴ It might be argued that, as wrapped in imperial sentiment as New Zealand was, its sense of loyalty was still second to that small section of British society that provided the British Army's officer corps.

As previously noted, the years between the war in South Africa and the First World War saw the introduction of the 1909 Defence Act, which included provision for compulsory military training. With this development, there was little need for recruiting material to attract volunteers until the massive mobilisation required by the outbreak of the First World War. Like the South African War, what might be considered opportunity incentives were recognised as important for the purposes of recruiting, particularly after the keenest of men had enlisted. The range of opportunity themes present in First World War recruiting material ranged from pay and economic security to travel and adventure.

³⁷³ I. McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli*, Christchurch, GP Books, 1991, p.130.

³⁷⁴ T. Bowman and M. Connelly, *The Edwardian Army: Recruiting, Training, and Deploying the British Army, 1902-1914*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.9.

Pay was a significant feature in the widely circulated public notice *New Zealand Expeditionary Force Reinforcements*.³⁷⁵ The notice informed prospective volunteers that 'Provision is made for you when serving your country to receive pay at the following rate... 4s. per diem for seven days in the week'. The notice went on to describe in detail the financial benefits of serving in the NZEF by rank and length of service. The regularity and predictability of pay was also emphasised, as was the free clothing and food on offer to all serving soldiers.

A soldier holding the rank of Private upon enlistment earned 28 shillings per week, plus board and clothing. By comparison, the weekly pay of a farm labourer in New Zealand at the time ranged between 20 and 30 shillings, which included board but not clothing.³⁷⁶ As in Canada, military service would have been viewed by those tired of labouring as a 'sensible alternative'.³⁷⁷ Enlistment into the NZEF also offered regular pay, which was a form of economic security not necessarily guaranteed to labourers or men in similar employment. Like many New Zealand labourers, economic security was also a consideration for many working-class recruits in Britain during the First World War.³⁷⁸

While First World War recruiting material explicitly addressed the incentive of pay, other opportunity themes were also present, even if their appearance was in more muted form. In Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) posters in particular, travel, adventure, camaraderie and uniforms that were 'claimed to be alluring to the ladies' were also present as recruiting themes.³⁷⁹ One of the best examples of travel being used as an incentive for enlistment featured in a recruiting poster for the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD). In the upper corners of the poster France, Italy, Malta, Gibraltar, Salonica, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Holland, Switzerland and Russia were listed as current locations in which VAD staff were serving.³⁸⁰ For women and men, the opportunity to travel, as well as experience the associated adventure and excitement, was one of the major incentives for war service. New

³⁷⁵ *Evening Post*, 15 February 1915, p.10.

³⁷⁶ G. Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War, 1914-1918*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2015, p.15.

³⁷⁷ D. Francis, *Selling Canada: Three Propaganda Campaigns that Shaped a Nation*, Vancouver, SA&D Publishers, 2011, p.70.

³⁷⁸ J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2007, p.45.

³⁷⁹ J. Taylor, *The Secret History of the Propaganda Poster*, Scotland, Saraband, 2013, p.52.

³⁸⁰ Poster, *V.A.D.*, 1915, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

Zealand veterans of the First World War identified travel³⁸¹, adventure³⁸² and excitement³⁸³ as important motivating features. The fear of missing out was also a motivation for some.³⁸⁴ Decorated First World War soldier, and later Second World War pacifist, Ormond Burton summarised prevailing sentiment at the time in his book *The Silent Division: New Zealanders at the Front: 1914-1919*:

There was an enthusiasm and a haze of rather splendid feeling. A great adventure was opening up. All the humdrum of life suddenly fell away and men were like young gods in a new world of romance.³⁸⁵

Between the two World Wars little in the way of recruiting activity took place in New Zealand. The result is an absence of recruiting material until the period immediately before the Second World War. As noted in previous chapters, the response to the Chanak Crisis in 1922 demonstrated the continued presence of willing New Zealand recruits. For those living in depressed economic circumstances in New Zealand, the opportunity to serve abroad was enticing. In March 1920, rumour spread, incorrectly, that a force of Territorials was to be sent to Samoa. Defence offices were ‘besieged’ by Territorials eager for the opportunity to serve abroad.³⁸⁶

Although the prevailing economic conditions in the 1920s constrained the size of the armed forces and, consequently, limited the amount of formal recruiting material produced in New Zealand, recruiting continued in Britain and the United States. The themes used in their recruiting material foreshadowed those that would be seen in New Zealand’s recruiting material in the years to come. In the 1920s, for example, life in the British services was advertised as an opportunity to travel and play sport.³⁸⁷ At the same time in the United States, army recruiting material variously appealed to travel, education, advancement, pay and

³⁸¹ Soldier ‘ELG’, V. Hopner, “Home from War”, PhD thesis, Massey University, 2014, p.123.

³⁸² Ibid, p.192.

³⁸³ S. Westmacott, *The After-Breakfast Cigar: Selected Memoirs of a King Country Settler*, Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1977, p.21.

³⁸⁴ Alfred Jennings, interview with Peter Liddle, June 1974, the Liddle Collection, cited in G. Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand Soldier in the First World War, 1914-1918*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2015, p.22.

³⁸⁵ O.E. Burton, *The Silent Division: New Zealanders at the Front: 1914-1919*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1935, pp.1-2.

³⁸⁶ P. Cooke & J. Crawford, *The Territorials: The History of the Territorial and Volunteer Forces of New Zealand*, Auckland, Random House New Zealand, 2011, p.209.

³⁸⁷ Aulich and Hewitt, p.201.

benefits.³⁸⁸ By the 1930s, recruiting material in the United Kingdom again foreshadowed later trends in New Zealand Army recruiting. Despite the desire for recruits 'motivated by higher instincts than the King's gold', the introduction of the 'dole', or unemployment benefit, in the United Kingdom, made it necessary to increase the rate of pay for soldiers.³⁸⁹ In a volunteer army, service pay had to be competitive with that of the prevailing labour market. This did not necessarily mean that pay had to be better than the labour market because the army offered and advertised other benefits such as travel, adventure, and a chance to satisfy one's social obligations. Regardless of the prominence many service-oriented observers would seek for higher recruitment motives, money is and always has been a factor that cannot be ignored or downplayed.

In New Zealand, the deteriorating economic situation of the 1930s influenced the First Labour Government's decision to introduce a social security system known as the Welfare State.³⁹⁰ Rampant unemployment led to the creation of 'make work' schemes, where unemployed men were put to work on government schemes, often roading infrastructure projects.³⁹¹ The 'make work' projects were also complemented in 1937 by the formation of a Territorial Special Reserve. The force was created to provide unemployed men the opportunity of five months military and vocational training. From a social welfare perspective, the training provided those involved with financial relief, as well as improved prospects for the future. For the army, it provided those who were eligible for regular or territorial service with the basic military skills for subsequent service – something that occurred a year later when the National Military Reserve was established.³⁹² It also had the benefit of increasing the number of men with military training at a time when war seemed increasingly likely.

The introduction of vocational training as an incentive for registering for the Special Reserve had, since 1937, been a significant theme in New Zealand army recruiting material. The obvious explanation for this is the attainment of saleable skills free of charge through a

³⁸⁸ M.T. Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in U.S. Military Recruiting Advertising during the All-Volunteer Force*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.45.

³⁸⁹ C. Hull, "The Crisis in British Army Recruiting in the 1930s", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1994, pp.131-2.

³⁹⁰ D. Novitz and B. Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, pp.178-179.

³⁹¹ J. Silloway Smith, "Looking Back to Look Forward: How Welfare in New Zealand has Evolved", Maxim Institute, 1 August 2010, http://maxim.org.nz/Policy_and_Research/Looking_Back_to_Look_Forward_How_welfare_in_New_Zealand_has, accessed: 5 September 2016.

³⁹² F.W. Perry, *The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organisation in Two World Wars*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p.179.

period of service. For an unemployed man of limited financial means, time became a powerful currency to trade for investment in their future. A less obvious explanation, and one that was true in the United Kingdom in the 1930s, was a desire to address the image of the 'ex soldier beggar, the product of a dead-end career in the army'.³⁹³ That many men, even gallant and well-decorated soldiers, could fall on hard times following their service is demonstrated by New Zealand's own John Grant, V.C. Grant was awarded the Victoria Cross in 1918, but fell on hard times after the war, struggling to hold down full-time employment and possibly suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.³⁹⁴

The theme of betterment through vocational training and rejection of the 'beggar' stereotype was common to the end of the century, and remained a critical part of attracting recruits. Anecdotal evidence of the 'dead-end career' image of soldiering prevailed as late as the 1990s when I, at the age of 17, was considering enlistment into the New Zealand Army. Parents of a school friend informed me that joining the army was tantamount to 'wasting one's life'. It should be noted that these parents were well-educated, economically prosperous, and valued tertiary education – which they erroneously did not associate with the army – over vocational training. This experience was not uncommon among my later colleagues. Some even experienced more formal discouragement from their secondary schools, which sought the reflected glory of their former students' tertiary and professional achievement.

Even when New Zealand turned to conscription relatively quickly during the Second World War, sufficient evidence exists to show that *opportunity* themes continued alongside the dominant appeals to *obligation*. Service in the Second World War NZEF was represented as an opportunity for adventure and camaraderie. In the poster *Join Your Pals!*, for example, New Zealand soldiers with the distinctive lemon squeezer hats were depicted marching together.³⁹⁵ A similar image of marching off to war with one's 'pals' was represented in the advertisement *To-Day, Your Place is Here*.³⁹⁶ The representation of service in wartime recruiting material is consistent with popular culture depictions of excitement and camaraderie, both arguably justified, while ignoring the brutal violence and destruction of armed conflict. The image of combat as blending excitement with camaraderie was graphically captured in the advertisement *Don't Sit Doing Nothing Come and Help!*.³⁹⁷ The

³⁹³ Hull, p.137.

³⁹⁴ G. Harper and C. Richardson, *In the Face of the Enemy*, Auckland, Harper Collins, 2006, p.126.

³⁹⁵ Poster, *Join Your Pals!*, circa 1940, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 1996.1703.

³⁹⁶ *Press*, 29 April 1940, p.4.

³⁹⁷ *Auckland Star*, 31 May 1940, p.9.

advertisement featured a three-person crew behind a Vickers machine gun in the midst of a battle, while the text implored the reader to 'help your pals'.

Adventure in the form of overseas travel was a recurring feature, which demonstrated continuity with earlier recruiting material of the First World War. The most famous example of this theme was the poster *We Look to You... We Shall Not Look in Vain!*, featuring then Major-General B.C. Freyberg backed by Egypt's pyramids (see page 65).³⁹⁸ To emphasise the travel theme, two New Zealand soldiers (distinguishable by their lemon squeezers) were shown silhouetted against pyramids, with one shown waving from atop a camel. The contrast in references to 'overseas service' as opposed to service at home was also a noteworthy feature of New Zealand's Second World War recruiting material. Evidence that overseas travel was influential in Second World War veteran's decision making is provided by one such veteran who recalled, '...we were keen to see the world, this was one chance to get out there and see something of the world'.³⁹⁹ The distinction made between home service and overseas service was clearly intended to act as a persuasive device. Interestingly, in posters where enlistment for overseas service was advertised, there was an overt depiction of army service as inherently manly. One example is the poster *Men Wanted for Overseas Service*.⁴⁰⁰ The ship in the poster, which looks more like a cruise ship than a troop transport, appears to be leaving port. This implies the opportunity to get on-board for a great travel opportunity might soon be gone and those who delay their decision may figuratively, and literally, miss the boat. The dual reference to masculinity and military service abroad is an idea explored in the chapter on men, manliness and masculinity. However, it is worth noting this poster contained an indirect appeal to what John Mulgan expressed as a sad restlessness and affliction that instils in New Zealand men a desire to 'set out across the wide seas that surround them in order to find the rest of the world'.⁴⁰¹

Whilst opportunity-based themes were undeniably present in New Zealand Army recruiting material, they remained relatively muted until the end of the Second World War. As the war came to a close attention shifted to recruiting members for Jayforce, and opportunity themes emerged from the shadows to take centre stage. Service with the British

³⁹⁸ Poster, *We Look to You... We Shall Not Look in Vain!*, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Call No. UB325.N45 JOI.

³⁹⁹ Soldier 'ELG', Hopner, p.123.

⁴⁰⁰ Poster, *Men Wanted for Overseas Service*, 1939/1940, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 1999.1702.

⁴⁰¹ J. Mulgan, *Report on Experience*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2010, p.38.

Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) in Japan as part of the New Zealand Brigade offered the same rates of pay as those for the Second NZEF.⁴⁰² This rather generous offer, considering that fighting had ceased and the threat to life had significantly diminished, was indicative of the need to offer sound remuneration. Those serving with the BCOF from New Zealand not only received the same rate of pay, they also received the benefits of tax-free deferred pay and a gratuity at the completion of their service. After six long years of war, it is unsurprising that incentives other than a sense of duty, or the need to fight for the concepts of freedom and democracy, would be required to recruit personnel in sufficient numbers to sustain New Zealand's contribution to Jayforce. Early Jayforce recruiting material also noted the Government's aim to ensure all those enlisted for Jayforce would serve a minimum of six months in Japan.⁴⁰³

NEW ZEALAND  MILITARY FORCES

The Chance of a Lifetime

Members of the New Zealand Jayforce now in Japan are enjoying an experience they will never forget. The fascinating sights and quaint customs of one of the strangest lands in the world will provide memories for the rest of their lives. Now YOU have the opportunity of seeing Japan. Volunteer for Jayforce. This may be your last chance.

HOW TO ENLIST. Call at the nearest Army Recruiting Office or obtain a registration form at any Post Office or Railway Booking Office.

Period of Service: 18 months or prior discharge.
 Age limits: Between 20 and 40 years (inclusive).
 Rates of Pay: As for 2NZEF.

Volunteers are advised not to give up civil employment until receipt of advice from Army to enter Camp.

SEE JAPAN

Join **JAYFORCE** Now

RECRUITING OFFICES: NORTHERN DISTRICT—Eggleston Whangarei
 Dargaville Auckland Ponsonby Hamilton Tauranga Gisborne
 Rotorua Taranaki.

CENTRAL DISTRICT—Palmerston North Wairoa Napier Hastings
 New Plymouth Stratford Havelock Tapanui Whangarei Manawatu
 Danversville Palmerston North Masterton Wellington.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT—Nelson Blenheim Wanganui Otago
 Christchurch Ashburton Timaru Dunedin Invercargill.

A real chance to travel which combines Oriental with Western style of architecture.

115-47

Dominion Post, 3 March 1947, p.11.

⁴⁰² *Alexander Herald and Central Otago Gazette*, 13 February 1946, p.7.

⁴⁰³ Poster, *British Commonwealth Occupation Force for Japan*, 1945-1946, National Library, Ref: Eph-C-WAR-WII-1946-01.

As New Zealand's commitment to Jayforce continued, and the challenge of recruiting personnel in sufficient numbers grew, so too did the use of opportunity themes. Service in Jayforce was represented as 'The Chance of a Lifetime' and an experience not to be forgotten.⁴⁰⁴ The same advertisement referred to New Zealanders already serving with Jayforce and claimed 'The fascinating sights and quaint customs of one of the strangest lands in the world will provide memories for the rest of their lives'. The representation of Japan as an attractive travel destination was reinforced by the inclusion of small sketches of temples, shrines and women in traditional kimono. The advertisement made clear that deferring the decision could result in missing out on this chance of a lifetime: 'this may be your last chance'. In common with their forebears in the First and Second World Wars, many soldiers purchased cameras before departing for Japan, which indicates the availability of technology, but also that appeals to their desire to travel and experience something out of the ordinary were effective.⁴⁰⁵ As a persuasive device, the introduction of urgency was clearly designed to trigger a timely response by the reader. In later decades and during periods of peace, recruiting material was as much focussed on shaping the perceptions of adolescents who may join the army at some point, as it was focussed on achieving immediate recruiting objectives.

Two days after the 'Chance of a Lifetime' advertisement, a second Jayforce advertisement appeared in newspapers. This one quoted a serving member of the force in Japan as saying '...the soldier has never been so well off'.⁴⁰⁶ The quote was used as the heading for the advertisement and was supported by a longer quote reportedly extracted from a recently received letter from a New Zealand soldier serving in Jayforce:

We now have curtains in the Mess, an issue of china plates and dishes and a small sofa in every room, and now that we have a suitcase and wardrobe for each person things are really how they should be. I am sure, from what I have heard from chaps who have been overseas before, that as far as living conditions are concerned the ordinary soldier has never been so well off.⁴⁰⁷

The advertisement further offered sport, recreation, generous leave, well-appointed clubs and camaraderie as experiences 'no young New Zealander should miss'. This broad range of

⁴⁰⁴ *Dominion Post*, 3 March 1947, p.11.

⁴⁰⁵ L. Brocklebank, *Jayforce: New Zealand and the Military Occupation of Japan 1945-48*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.87.

⁴⁰⁶ *Alexander Herald and Central Otago Gazette*, 5 March 1947, p.9.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

opportunity reasons to join the army remained common from that time onwards. This was a further evolution, since it was recognised that obligation and travel would need to be supplemented by competitive remuneration as adequate incentives to enlist. The introduction of sport, recreation, generous leave and first-class facilities became staple features of New Zealand Army recruiting material in successive decades.



NEW ZEALAND  MILITARY FORCES

“... the soldier has never been so well off...”

says a member of Jayforce now in Japan.

“We now have curtains in the Mess, an issue of china plates and dishes and a small sofa in every room, and now that we have a suitcase and wardrobe for each person things are really how they should be. I am sure, from what I have heard from chaps who have been overseas before, that as far as living conditions are concerned the ordinary soldier has never been so well off.”

(Extract from letter received from Japan recently from a New Zealand Jayforce soldier.)

Japan is a fascinating country and conditions for the New Zealand soldier with Jayforce are all that could be desired... Plenty of sport and recreation... Generous leave... Well-appointed clubs... And the company of a grand crowd of chaps. An experience no young New Zealander should miss.

HOW TO ENLIST. Call at the nearest Army Recruiting Office or obtain a registration form at any Post Office or Railway Booking Office.

Period of Service: 18 months or prior discharge.

Age limits: Between 20 and 40 years (inclusive).

Rates of pay: As for 2NZEF.

Volunteers are advised not to give up civil employment until receipt of advice from Army to enter Camp.

SEE JAPAN

Join **JAYFORCE** *Now*

RECRUITING OFFICES: NORTHERN DISTRICT — Kaitiaki, Whangarei, Dargaville, Auckland, Paeroa, Hamilton, Tauranga, Morrinsville, Rotorua, Taumarunui.

CENTRAL DISTRICT — Ruatoria, Gisborne, Wairoa, Napier, Hastings, New Plymouth, Stratford, Hawera, Taibape, Wanganaui, Marton, Dannevirke, Palmerston North, Masterton, Wellington.

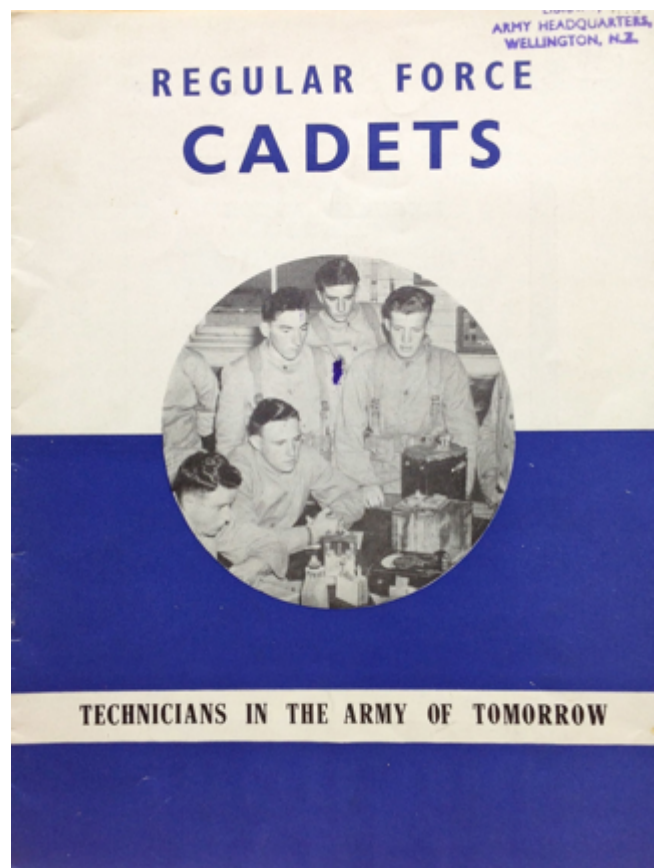
SOUTHERN DISTRICT — Nelson, Blenheim, Westport, Greymouth, Christchurch, Ashburton, Timaru, Oamaru, Dunedin, Invercargill.

39-47

Alexander Herald and Central Otago Gazette, 5 March 1947, p.9.

Before the end of the 1940s, the army further modified its recruiting material to achieve recruiting demands. These modifications consolidated and expanded the already growing range of incentives advertised to those who chose the job of soldiering. Following the immediate post-war economic adjustment, the continued growth of the New Zealand

economy meant the army would have to compete for labour with other sectors. Furthermore, recruiting material could no longer hook potential recruits with the wartime offers of adventure and the lure of overseas travel. There was also a strong sense that the New Zealand Army sought to manage public perceptions through recruiting material of the period. The army was seeking to re-create its image from a proud fighting force of amateur soldiers who fought in war ‘for the duration’, to an army that was equally proud but made up of professional full-time career soldiers.



Regular Force Cadets: Technicians in the Army of Tomorrow, Wellington, Universal Printing Products Ltd., 1948.

One newly devised means for an individual to commence a career in the army was via the Regular Force Cadets. The Regular Force Cadet School was established in 1948 with a view to ‘train potential leaders and tradesmen for long-term service with the Regular Force’.⁴⁰⁸ The school, originally open to 16 to 17 year olds, needed one hundred recruits per

⁴⁰⁸ D.S. Morris, *Ministerial Review into Allegations of Abuse at the Waiouru Regular Force Cadet School from 1948 to 1991*, Wellington, 1 December 2005, p.7.

year, half of whom were enlisted for an eight-year term.⁴⁰⁹ In the earliest recruiting booklet for the Regular Force Cadets, Cadets were described as ‘Technicians in the Army of Tomorrow’.⁴¹⁰ Trade training was literally the centre-piece of the booklet, with educational training taking a distinct second place. The booklet argued that as a result of the war the army had the ‘latest and most advanced equipment and plant in New Zealand’. As a result, trade training equipment and instruction was presented as second-to-none. If that was not enough to convince the reader that the training would be of the highest quality, it was also noted that trainees were encouraged to gain civilian trade qualifications. The benefit of a civilian qualification was specifically presented as a path for army tradesmen to pursue equivalent civilian employment at the end of their eight-year term.

Other benefits awaiting recruits to the Regular Force Cadets were excellent welfare, hobby, sport and recreation facilities. Pay, allowances, superannuation and gratuities were also explained in detail. So too was the promise of even higher pay as a soldier, which, according to the booklet, had been made attractive in order to ‘attract men capable of undertaking greatly increased responsibility in time of emergency’.⁴¹¹ A married private received 8/18/- a week, which was a princely sum compared to a Cadet’s starting rate of 2/2/- Money was not just used as an incentive for young men, but was also the principal incentive offered to attract adult recruits. In the 1948 leaflet *Regular Army Recruitment: Conditions of Service for an Army Career*, a foreword by Minister of Defence Fred Jones stated:

The Army offers an attractive career... The Government has introduced a new pay code which compares very favourably with that of Industry... Associated with the new pay code, there is a superannuation scheme for long service soldiers, whilst short service is compensated by gratuities payable on discharge.⁴¹²

What was additionally noteworthy in the leaflet *Regular Army Recruitment: Conditions of Service for an Army Career* was the absence of any reference to obligation. In the half decade following the Second World War, it was determined that opportunity as opposed to obligation incentives were those that would be most effective. The primary incentives the

⁴⁰⁹ Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets: Technicians in the Army of Tomorrow*, Wellington, Universal Printing Products Ltd., 1948, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Leaflet, *Regular Army Recruitment: Conditions of Service for an Army Career*, Wellington, Hartleys, 1948, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

army advertised were good pay, job security, trade qualifications, and travel and lifestyle, all of which suggested a public shift towards material well-being. After half a century of hardship involving two World Wars and the Great Depression, it is hardly surprising that New Zealanders wanted more for themselves.

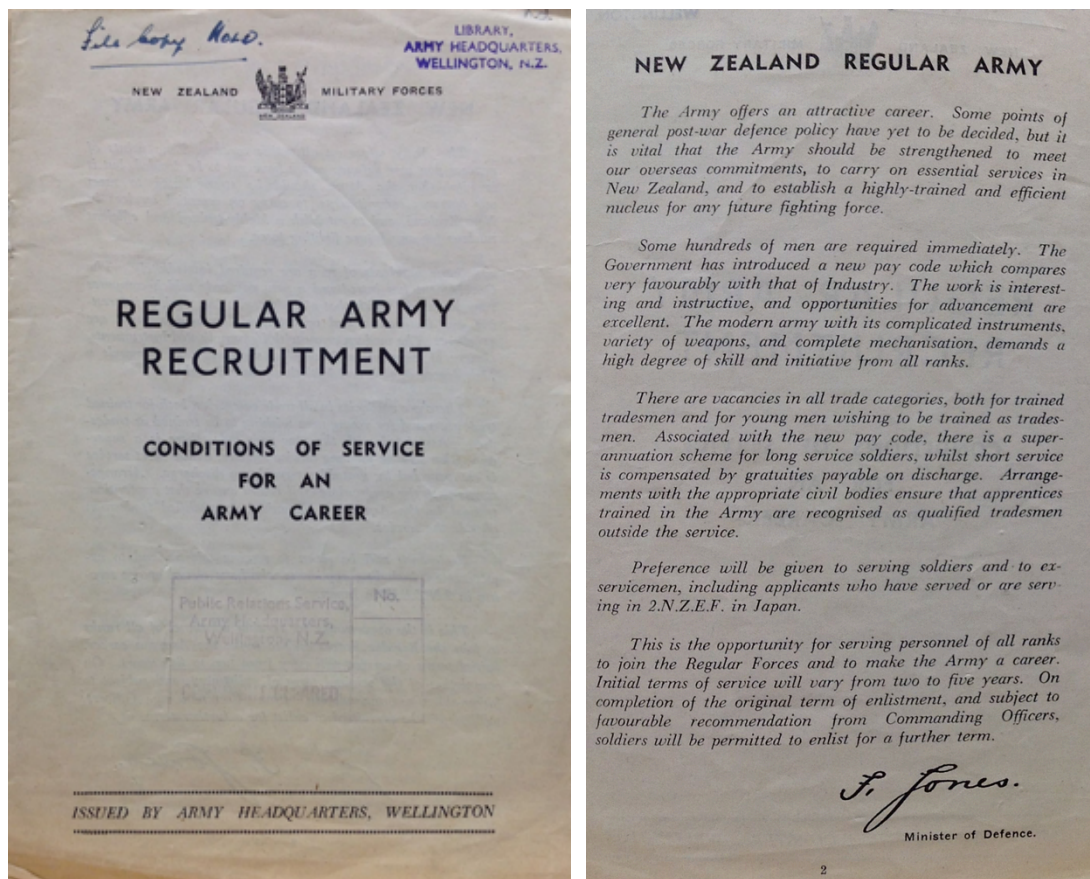
In the brief interlude between war or other forms of adventurous operational service overseas, the army had filled the void by emphasising other opportunities and benefits of army life. As soon as the prospect to serve overseas presented itself once more, the army was quick to seize on adventure and the chance to experience overseas travel as recruitment incentives. This was certainly true of the 1949 booklet *The Royal Military College Duntroon: A Guide for New Zealanders Interested in Cadetships*.⁴¹³ The booklet, which advertised opportunities for men to join the Corps of Staff Cadets at the Royal Military College (RMC) Duntroon in Australia, also emphasised that ‘since the war, some [RMC graduates] have been attached to British units in Hong Kong and Malaya. Selected officers also attend courses of instruction overseas, mostly in the United Kingdom’.⁴¹⁴ Other than the reintroduction of travel and the requirement for higher academic standards for entry, the RMC incentives designed to attract Officer Cadets echoed those for soldiers and Regular Force Cadets. Most notably, the RMC booklet stated, ‘To secure the right men, conditions of the service have been made attractive. Salary rates compare favourably with those of other professions’. Salaries and retiring allowances were also listed, which indicates the army recognised that potential officers considered many of the same factors as potential soldiers when weighing their decision to serve.

Eleven items of recruiting material containing opportunity themes were identified from the 1940s, while sixty-five items were identified from the 1960s. The marked increase in surviving recruiting material from the 1950s compared to earlier decades indicates the army experienced significant difficulty in recruiting and/or retaining personnel and became more proactive about recruitment. The increase in recruiting material even occurred in a decade when compulsory military training (CMT) had been re-introduced. The Military Training Act 1949 made all males liable for military service upon reaching the age of 18 and, barring those exempted for medical, compassionate or conscientious objector reasons, they

⁴¹³ Booklet, *The Royal Military College Duntroon: A Guide for New Zealanders Interest in Cadetships*, Wellington, Commercial Printing Company Limited, 1949, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

were required to undertake 14 weeks full-time training. A referendum held before CMT was reintroduced found that the measure was supported by nearly 80% of those who voted.⁴¹⁵ While a comfortable majority of the population were prepared for service to be made compulsory for young men, the need for parallel permanent recruitment drives indicates few young men wished for a life of military service themselves. This is understandable given the prevailing economic situation of the time, and the potential outlet CMT gave to their adventure-seeking without needing to commit to a career. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, which sparked an economic boom, added to the army's personnel challenges.⁴¹⁶ The boom led to a period of full employment that remained until recession hit in 1967.⁴¹⁷ During the 1950s and 1960s, army recruiting operated in an intensely competitive market for quality personnel, explaining the marked increase in recruiting material and the commensurate emphasis on opportunity themes.



Regular Army Recruitment: Conditions of Service for an Army Career, Wellington, Hartleys, 1948.

⁴¹⁵ D. Nohen, et al, *Elections in Asia: A Data Handbook: Volume II: South East Asia, East Asia, and the South Pacific*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.722.

⁴¹⁶ S. Boag, *Ice and Fire: New Zealand and the Korean War 1950-1953*, Wellington, Agenda, 2000, p.23.

⁴¹⁷ Novitz and Willmott, pp.178-179.

To boost success in this unprecedented period of economic prosperity, the army used a wide range of publications and approaches to reach its target audience. Posters, booklets, leaflets and advertisements abounded, with a clear focus on capturing recruits at a young age. Advertisements for the Regular Force Cadets were commonly placed in the *Students' Digest*, alongside articles on army careers and traditions. Amongst the *Students' Digest* articles were titles such as “Prep” School for Famous Soldiers,⁴¹⁸ *A Career in the Army*,⁴¹⁹ *New Zealand Boys Speak of Life at Duntroon*,⁴²⁰ and *Tradesmen in Khaki*.⁴²¹ The themes employed in the *Students' Digest* advertisements ranged from travel, education, sport, trade training, pay, and recreation facilities, to the good prospects for a long-term career. Various other printed recruiting items for the Regular Force Cadets were also produced during the 1950s, containing a similar set of opportunity themes. One example presented the bottom line up front, stating Regular Force Cadets offers boys aged 16 or 17 with ‘unequaled opportunities... a career with a future’.⁴²²

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TRADESMEN IN KHAKI

THE value of Regular Force Cadet training is now being proved. Of 253 cadets accepted for training at Trentham, NZ, have been posted to units. The praise given by their officers and A.S.S. reveals volumes, and the best recommendation for cadet training comes from the lads themselves.

Typical of those who have passed through the Cadet Wing is Private E. A. Gillespie, of Wellington, a radio enthusiast.

He entered camp with the second intake of cadets in January, 1949, having come straight from Nelson College. He is training as a radar mechanic, and when he has completed his apprenticeship, he intends making a career of Army radio.

INSTRUCTORS A number of Regular Force Cadets have been posted to various parts of the Army in January, 1950. Private J. W. Murray, of Lower Hutt, is now doing his industry apprentice course and finds that the Army offers a wide field of opportunity.

Signaller G. J. Stephenson, of Dunedin, entered the Army in July, 1948, with the first intake of cadets, after working in a hotel's dining room. After forty-two years in the service of the S. S. and before as an instructor.

MOTOR MECHANIC The Army gave Private J. E. Lange, of Christchurch, a fine opportunity when he did not have to go to school. Under his training in the transport workshops at Trentham as an apprentice mechanic.

Before joining, he was an unemployed factory mechanic with no knowledge of cars. Now he is on the way to completing an A.S.S. certificate with a full-time Army career ahead of him.

LIKES HOSPITAL WORK Many hospital jobs are available. Like a boy of Dunedin, Private J. M. O. Flay, of Dunedin, before he came to camp, had been working as a clerk before joining the Army.

Though he had no particular talents, opportunities with the Medical Corps opened to him.

These boys have found Army's opportunities.

(Reprinted from the "Southern Cross", Wellington, 25 Feb. 1950).

FITTER AND AN ELECTRICIAN Turner, S.O. Evans, of Pukekohe, is serving a five-year apprenticeship as a fitter and electrician in the Armament and General Workshop at Trentham. He is keen to learn his trade, but is hesitating to do so about making the Army a career.

He has found the life good so far, but feels that certain

may appeal more at the end of his service.

TRAINING FOR A COMMISSION The first Regular Force Cadet to train for a commission at the Royal Military College, Duntroon, Australia, is M. D. Stanley, who entered the Army in January, 1949, after passing his School Certificate and University Entrance examinations at Otago Boys' High School. While in the Cadet Wing, he was also a part-time student at Victoria University College.

TELECOM MECHANIC Another cadet, B. Spring-Rice, of Spring-Rice, is serving a four-year apprenticeship as a telecommunicator mechanic at Canterbury University College.

Cadet Spring-Rice, who was educated at the Hill Valley Memorial Technical College, Papanui, and at the Robdon Memorial Technical College, Auckland, passed his University Entrance examination while serving with the cadets last year. He obtained his School Certificate before entering the cadets in January, 1949.

He is serving as an apprentice telecommunicator mechanic. If he completes his degree, he will have qualified for a commission.

During the long university vacations he will work as directed by the Army so that he may gain the necessary practical engineering experience.

TRADE BACKGROUND The cadets who have been posted to units in New Zealand since are at the Artillery and Armoured Schools, Waiatarua; others are completing trade training at Papanui and Burnham.

Many are on building work with construction squadrons in the various military garrisons. Most of those at Trentham are doing laboratory courses.

Officers in charge of units to which cadets have been posted have no complaints. It has been found that the Cadet Wing gives the lads a good Army and trade background.

(Published by arrangement with Army Headquarters.)

Students' Digest, June 1950, p.19.

⁴¹⁸ *Students' Digest*, “Prep” School for Famous Soldiers”, October 1951, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴¹⁹ *Students' Digest*, “A Career in the Army”, May 1950, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴²⁰ *Students' Digest*, “New Zealand Boys Speak of Life at Duntroon”, November 1951, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴²¹ *Students' Digest*, “Tradesmen in Khaki”, June 1950, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴²² Advertisement, *Boys 16 or 17 - Join the Regular Force Cadets*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

The best example of the army seeking to compete with industry for young recruits was in the booklet *New Zealand Army: Regular Force Cadets: Careers for Boys* produced in 1957.⁴²³ Under the heading 'Your Decision and the Future' the booklet noted:

It is not easy to make up your mind what you are going to do when you leave school. For one thing, a developing economy like ours offers more and more *kinds* of jobs. Some of them look attractive. Some really are. But not all of them will bear the close investigation which is necessary if you are to be certain that your final choice is a wise one. How often have you heard people say they would have taken a different course if they had known all the facts at the outset? Well, it is in your own interest to find out all the facts and weigh them - to make sure that the job you choose now is not only in line with your *present* preference and ability, but offers in the future the things you would like to have for yourself and your family.

Having sought to establish itself as honest broker, the recruiting booklet went on to describe in detail the opportunities for commission, academic education, trade training and travel to England, Australia, Fiji, Japan and Korea. With respect to trade training, the booklet added - under the heading 'Points to Consider' - that cadets were encouraged to gain civilian qualifications and that the Army's salary scale also included free food and housing.

Recruiting material aimed at adult recruits was equally up front about the myriad of self-interested advantages of an army career. One such example was the advertisement *A Choice of Over 70 Careers... in the Army*.⁴²⁴ The advertisement was an early example of gender balanced recruiting to be further discussed in other chapters, which concluded with the statement: 'For Better Pay... For Better Prospects ... A Better Life All Round. Join the Regular Army!'. As with most recruiting material of the period, the advertisement also emphasised the 'first class' pay rates and conditions of service the army offered. In addition to clearly refining the *opportunity* incentives of pay, prospects and life all round, the advertisement was also noteworthy for having no reference to any obligation-based themes. It was common to blend opportunity and obligation themes throughout recruiting material in

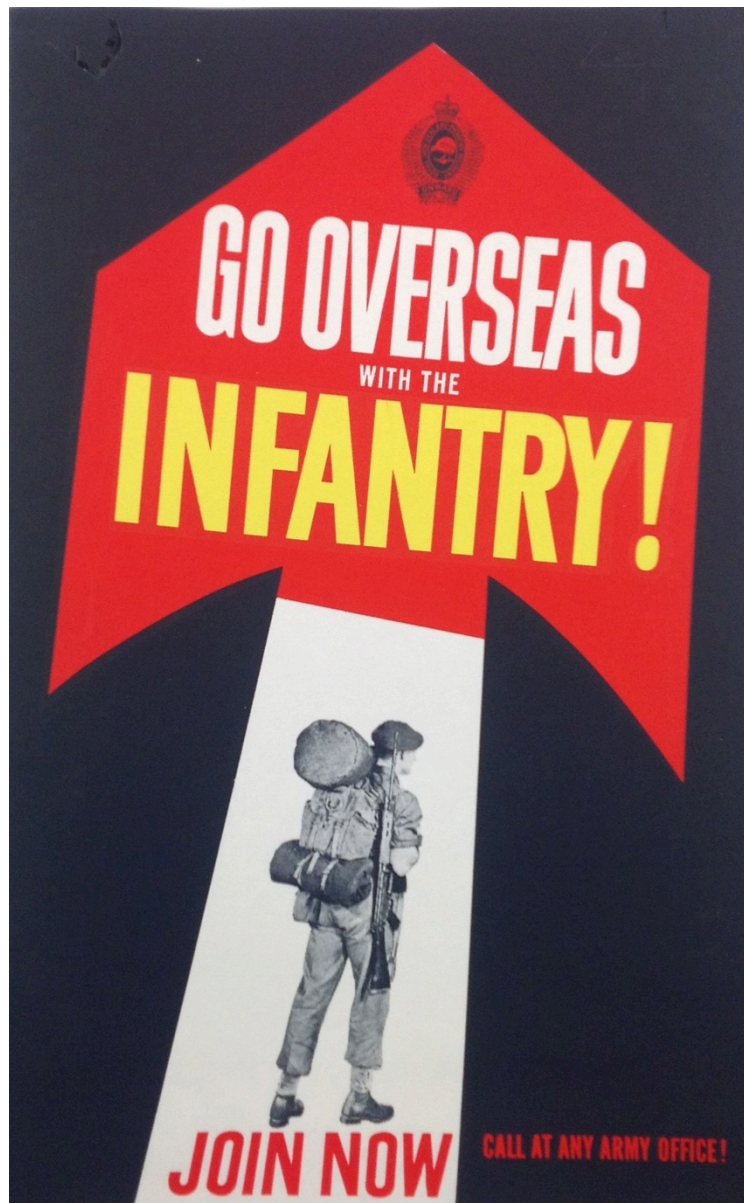
⁴²³ Booklet, *New Zealand Army: Regular Force Cadets: Careers for Boys*, Wellington, 1957, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴²⁴ Advertisement, *A Choice of Over 70 Careers... in the Army*, circa 1950, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

order to broaden appeal to as many potential recruits and motivations as possible. In the 1950s, however, the prevailing emphasis was on opportunity themes, with the exception of recruiting material for specific service in Korea and Malaya. This situation lends further weight to the assertion that the New Zealand public's focus on material benefits had grown.

When New Zealand's commitment to Malaya expanded in the 1950s, so too did the opportunity to produce travel-linked recruiting material. Throughout the decade, a series of posters and advertisements were released to advertise service in Malaya, which were reminiscent of earlier Jayforce advertising in their emphasis on comfortable living conditions and generous pay. Among the principal reasons to 'Apply Now!', one advertisement referred to the 'New Modern Quarters on Sea Coast', 'Good Pay and Allowances', and 'Opportunities for Travel when on leave in this exotic, exciting country'.⁴²⁵ The advertisement also features the image of a soldier interacting in a store with a young, attractive Malay woman. The undoubted intention of the advertisement, which was aimed at young men, was to present service in Malaya as a unique opportunity that blended good pay and allowances with an exotic environment and attractive local women. The suggestive nature of the advertisement is a reminder, if one was needed, of the timeless association between wartime service and sex. It is noteworthy that references to sex, or opportunities for promiscuity while serving abroad, were not featured in any First or Second World War recruiting material, despite the availability of brothels in rear echelon areas. The coupling of sexual undertones with recruitment for service in Southeast Asia that began in the 1950s continued into the 1960s and 1970s.

⁴²⁵ Advertisement, *Serve in Malaya with the 1st Battalion N.Z. Regiment*, 1956, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.



Go Overseas with the Infantry!, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Further printed recruiting material to promote overseas service included the 1950 poster *Go Overseas with the Infantry!*⁴²⁶ This poster, with its marked single focus, acknowledged the appeal overseas travel was thought to have at the time. Other advertisements used the appeal of overseas travel alongside other themes, such as the advertisement *Your Chance for Overseas Army Service*.⁴²⁷ The advertisement offered overseas travel in the title supported by an attention-grabbing photograph of New Zealand

⁴²⁶ Poster, *Go Overseas with the Infantry!*, 1950, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴²⁷ Advertisement, *Your Chance for Overseas Army Service*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

soldiers on jungle patrol. The advertisement then proceeded with a blend of opportunity and obligation themes:

Your enlistment will help New Zealand and Malaya. It'll help you, too. Any Army Office will gladly tell you all about conditions of service, pay and allowances, gratuity, superannuation etc.

As noted earlier, the coexistence of opportunity and obligation themes in the 1950s was limited, likely a result of the prevailing economic conditions that obliged a stronger opportunity focus. The increased physical risk associated with operational service in Korea and Malaya explains why these conflicts produced the exceptions to this trend. It is one thing to join the army in peacetime for purely opportunity reasons, but to do so in war would be mercenary. It would seem the army recognised most potential recruits would be happy to serve in dangerous operational environments, attracted by good pay, travel and adventure, but some would only be secured by the presence of a 'good cause' - an inherent obligation motive.

The economic boom of the period was not the only challenge the army faced when recruiting personnel. There was also a growing undercurrent of opposition to New Zealand's developing political and military links to the United States. The mood of this opposition was reflected in James K Baxter's 1956 poem *Harry Fat and Uncle Sam*. The poem, somewhat presciently captured what would become a more widespread public view: that the relationship between the New Zealand and United States governments was increasingly inequitable, with New Zealand allowing the US, as Baxter put it, to 'call the tune'.⁴²⁸

A representative collection of the dominant recruitment themes in the 1950s was offered in the 1955 booklet *A Man's Career*.⁴²⁹ The booklet (to be explored in greater detail in the chapter on masculinity) contains the sub-headings: Trade Training, Qualifications, Rank and Prospects, Education, Sports, Hobbies, Terms of Service, Pay and Allowances, Housing, Promotion, and Leave. These themes dominated recruiting material throughout the decade and, in many respects, set the blueprint for opportunity-based themes in future

⁴²⁸ J.K. Baxter, "Harry Fat and Uncle Sam", in H. Ricketts and G. McLean (eds), *The Penguin Book of New Zealand War Writing*, New Zealand, Penguin Random House, 2015, pp.407-408.

⁴²⁹ Booklet, *A Man's Career*, Wellington, Hatcheson, Bowman & Stewart Limited, 1955, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

recruiting material. The unique economic and social conditions of the late 1940s and 1950s forced the army to adapt its recruiting material to remain relevant. The shifting emphasis in army recruiting material towards *opportunity-based themes* was therefore indicative of broader changes in New Zealand society. Stated plainly, in little more than two generations New Zealanders had gone from enlisting in the nation's army out of a deep sense of patriotic duty to joining for largely *opportunity* reasons. Economic prosperity within New Zealand, both with respect to wages and living standards, was amongst the highest in the world at this time. Operating within this context the army had to compete with salary and lifestyle packages being offered in other professions, likely contributing to the increased use of opportunity themes in its recruiting material.

Army recruiting material of the 1960s continued using many of the same *opportunity* themes seen in the previous decade. The 45 distinct printed recruiting items to appeal to opportunity motives during the decade did, however, reveal a shift in emphasis. As always, this emphasis shift reflected changes in New Zealand society. The 1960s saw increased military commitments in Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, and also from 1967, the end of the halcyon period of full employment. From the middle of the decade, the generation born in the post-Second World War period also came of age and began to reject many of the social values and traditions respected by their parents' generation. The structure of the army had also changed by this time, with the Regular army now providing an important nucleus upon which to mobilise a deployable Division using supplementation from the Reserve Force. The maintenance of this nucleus had required near continuous recruitment over more than a decade, in a period when competition for human resources was fuelled by economic growth. As a result, army recruiting had in many respects professionalised their approach to recruiting, which was an evolution reflected in internal army documents and the recruiting material of the period.

New Zealand's growing commitments in Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaya, gave the army one of its most popular recruiting drawcards of the 1960s. The 1962 leaflet *New Zealand Regiment: The Infantry*, was one such example.⁴³⁰ The front cover of the leaflet showed two New Zealand soldiers travelling upriver on a sampan. The image could be mistaken for a tourism brochure, were it not for the rifles resting on the soldiers' legs. The two soldiers looked relaxed and happy, while their local coxswain casually smoked a

⁴³⁰ Leaflet, *New Zealand Regiment: The Infantry*, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

cigarette. The imagery inside the brochure also did little to dispel the impression that Malaya represented a military tourism destination, as opposed to a theatre of military operations. One image showed New Zealand infantrymen on patrol between rice paddies. The soldiers themselves appeared relaxed, with weapons slung and the lead soldier appearing to smile at the camera. Two further images appeared below, one with soldiers using helicopters on operations – albeit with no weapons or webbing in sight – and one image of soldiers playing rugby. None of these images projected Malaya as anything other than a great place to travel. The leaflet went to such lengths to give the impression of Malaya as a benign operating environment that it included a photo depicting the arrival in Malaya of New Zealand soldiers' wives and families.

Any concern that the content analysis of the leaflet *New Zealand Regiment: The Infantry* has been misinterpreted is put to rest by the poster *Fly to Malaya with the Army*.⁴³¹ The poster, which would not have been out of place in a travel agency window, offered little more information than two messages: the army was an opportunity to fly to Malaya and recruiting had begun for the 2nd Battalion New Zealand Regiment. Further supporting this information was an image of a young woman in traditional dress alighting a three-wheeled cycle-taxi. Completing the attractive image of Malaya was a stately building mixing oriental and European architectural styles, beset by palm trees. The use of the young woman as an attraction to overseas service is reminiscent of earlier Jayforce and Malaya recruiting posters of the 1940s and 1950s. The same themes were projected in the leaflet *Aim High... Join the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment*.⁴³² The leaflet explained that 'Concession fares for soldiers and reduced accommodation charges at Army Hostels and Hotels make travel well within the soldiers' reach'. Accompanying the text was a photo of a soldier being helped by an attractive female shop attendant. The implicit, albeit disguised, use of sex to sell life in the army, triggers memories of New Zealand soldiers of the two World Wars and their infamous liaisons with local prostitutes.⁴³³

⁴³¹ Poster, *Fly to Malaya with the Army*, 1963, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴³² Leaflet, *Aim High... Join the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment*, 1960s, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁴³³ J. McLeod, *Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War II*, Auckland, Reed Methuen, 1986, p.120.



Fly to Malaya with the Army, 1963, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

When viewed through a particular lens, there was sexual suggestiveness in the presentation of Malaya and the terms used to frame the opportunities of service there. One leaflet described how in ‘colourful Malaya’ the ‘striking picture of peoples of varying cultures - particularly the charming Malay - forms only a part of the vivid scene that is Malaya’.⁴³⁴ The same leaflet then described Penang Island, the most popular leave centre for

⁴³⁴ Leaflet, *Service with the 2nd Battalion New Zealand Regiment*, 1963, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

soldiers, as a place ‘where the conception of the “glamour of the East” comes closest to the truth. Palm-fringed beaches, exotic temples, duty free shopping, bright night-life, and all the colour and bustle of an international port live up to the visions of life in the East’. Yet another, using the same description of Penang added, ‘For longer breaks, trips to Singapore, Bangkok and Hong Kong are favoured by those with a taste to travel’.⁴³⁵ For the most part soldiering has historically been a young man’s game and young men are often preoccupied by sex. Leaving moral judgements aside, it is understandable that the army used sex, or the promise of opportunities to find it, to sell the army lifestyle at a time when it was struggling to recruit personnel in sufficient numbers. Furthermore, I have found no evidence to suggest that there was any backlash or criticism of the army’s approach. The army’s recruiting material had, therefore, been able to appeal to a motive important to its primary target audience, while avoiding a broader social backlash. In effect, the material had weaved a careful path through New Zealand’s moral sensibilities.

The lure of travel was not always associated with sex. In recruiting material for the Regular Force Cadets, overseas travel was mostly associated with adventure. The booklet *New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys: Regular Force Cadets*, described how the ‘army now offers, especially to its younger soldiers, a chance to serve overseas and a prospect of adventure’.⁴³⁶ The booklet was aimed at 16 to 17 year olds and noted that 18 former Cadets had gained commissions at Duntroon, Sandhurst or Portsea, while non-commissioned officers who had started in the Regular Force Cadets had travelled to England, Australia, Fiji, Japan, Korea and Malaya with the army. Another leaflet, targeting adult males rather than adolescents, promoted the Royal New Zealand Artillery as a chance to ‘Go Overseas with the Gunners’.⁴³⁷ The leaflet described how members of Royal New Zealand Artillery had recently undertaken ceremonial duties in Britain, allowing for sight-seeing opportunities in London; had been on exercise with Australian troops in Australia; and were currently fighting in Vietnam ‘alongside Australian and US Forces’.

Through its recruiting material, the army was positioning itself in the job market as an employer of choice for those seeking to go abroad and do something adventurous. It also sought to promote the idea of embarking on a ‘life less ordinary’. In the 1960s, when youth

⁴³⁵ Leaflet, *Serve with the Infantry*, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴³⁶ Booklet, *New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys: Regular Force Cadets*, 1960, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴³⁷ Leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Artillery*, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

became more exposed to the wider world through television and reduced travel costs, many were beginning to reject the country's suburban norms.⁴³⁸ By the mid-1960s, the army had identified this growing sense of dissatisfaction amongst the nation's youth and begun to target it for recruitment. Various pamphlets promoted the army as a uniquely satisfying career, either in the title or in a few bold subheadings. The reduction in word count within army advertisements, leaflets and booklets in this period is also indicative of a generation that was disinclined to patiently read through screeds of information. Unless the advertising grabbed their attention immediately and offered clear incentives, they were unlikely to read it. Examples of this can be seen in the 1966 poster *Variety & Satisfaction in Army Careers*, the 1966 *Lions Itinerary*, and the 1966 advertisement *Who Goes Here?. Variety & Satisfaction in Army Careers* simply carried the strapline 'Trade Training. Good Pay. Prospects for Promotion'.⁴³⁹ The 1966 *Lions Itinerary* was equally blunt, bullet pointing: Career Satisfaction; Sure Prospects; Escape from Routine; New Pay Rates; Superannuation; and Job Interest as reasons to join the army.⁴⁴⁰ *Who Goes Here?*, listed many of the same themes as the *Lions Itinerary*, with the addition of 'Recognition and reward for Effort'.⁴⁴¹ The idea of a 'life less ordinary' was summarised in the 1968 poster *For the Most Exciting Job Go Overseas with the Infantry*, as 'Variety is the spice of Infantry life'.⁴⁴²

Recollections of former service personnel confirm that the army's emphasis on travel was an effective recruiting theme. Barry Henderson, an infantry company medic deployed to Vietnam in 1968, said his motivation for joining the army was 'adventure, an opportunity to travel' - in effect, exactly what the army had been advertising.⁴⁴³ Wayne Lindsay, also a Vietnam Veteran, said adventure was one of the two things that motivated him, along with his father taunting him for not being man enough to face action in war.⁴⁴⁴ Ironically, while the comments of these two Vietnam veterans confirm travel and adventure as primary motivations for joining the army, there was far less direct advertising for Vietnam than there was for Malaya. This can partly be explained by the greater size and duration of the commitment to Malaya, but also likely reflects the greater controversy surrounding New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam War. In 1965 the Director of Army Recruiting,

⁴³⁸ M. King, *After the War: New Zealand Since 1945*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p.91.

⁴³⁹ Poster, *Variety & Satisfaction*, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁴⁰ Card, *1966 Lions Itinerary*, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁴¹ Advertisement, *Who Goes Here?*, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁴² Poster, *For the Most Exciting Job go Overseas with the Infantry*, 1968, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁴³ C. Hall, *No Front Line: Inside Stories of New Zealand's Vietnam War*, Auckland, Penguin, 2014, p.21.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.25.

Lieutenant-Colonel H.L. Jones, complained that organisations opposing the war had hampered recruiting efforts: ‘people go along to meetings and hear propaganda. They come away with doubts... The thing is that at present the country has given the Army a task, but is not encouraging the men to come forward to do the task’.⁴⁴⁵ An example of how the army used Southeast Asia as a drawcard, while avoiding specific reference to Vietnam, was the 1967 leaflet *Go Where the Action Is!*, which included the subheading, ‘Join the Infantry Now. Be in South East Asia by November’.⁴⁴⁶



ARMY WEEKLY PAY RATES

For SINGLE MEN

Soldiers	Basic	1 Star	2 Star	3 Star	4 Star
Private—17½ years	£11 14 6				
18 yrs and over on appt	£12 16 1	£13 3 8	£13 11 3	£19 7 4	£20 0 9
After 2 years	£14 12 3	£14 19 10	£15 7 5	£19 7 4	£20 0 9
3 "	£16 8 5	£16 16 0	£17 3 7	£19 7 4	£20 0 9
4 "	£17 17 7	£18 5 2	£18 12 9	£19 9 8	£20 6 0
5 "	£19 6 2	£19 13 9	£20 1 4	£20 18 3	£21 14 7
6 "	£19 19 0	£20 6 7	£20 14 2	£21 11 1	£22 7 5
7 "	£20 11 10	£20 19 5	£21 7 0	£22 3 11	£23 0 3
8 "	£21 6 5	£21 14 0	£22 1 7	£22 18 6	£23 14 10
9 "	£22 1 7	£22 9 2	£22 16 9	£23 13 8	£24 10 0

Lance Corporal—addition of £1-0-5 per week on all rates for Private.
Corporal—addition of £2-2-0 per week on all rates for Private.
Sergeant—on appt £25 14 6 £26 2 1 £26 9 8 £27 6 7 £28 2 11
After 4 years £26 9 8 £26 17 3 £27 4 10 £28 1 9 £28 18 1
8 " £27 4 10 £27 12 5 £28 0 0 £28 16 11 £28 13 3
Staff Sergeant £27 16 6 £28 4 1 £28 11 8 £29 9 9 £30 4 11
After 2 years £28 4 1 £28 11 8 £28 19 3 £29 16 2 £30 12 6
WO1 £29 3 11 £31 19 11 } Dependent on skill and length of service in rank.
WO2 £30 10 9 £33 14 11 }

Normal taxation deductions apply to your Army pay. £3-3-0 a week is deducted for board from the above rates if living in Camp.

NOTE THESE BENEFITS

- Initial FREE issue of Clothing to the value of £100.
(A saving—your Civilian clothes last longer.)
- Regular cash allowance for uniform upkeep.
- Job security . . . in the short term—or through to Superannuation.
- Cash grant at end of service.
(This could help set you up on return to civilian life.)
- Paid Sick Leave—Annual Leave—Special Leave.
- Holidays at low cost in MOTELS at the best resorts.
- Enjoyment of social and sporting amenities.
- Tax free allowances and deferred pay for overseas service.
- Free medical and dental care.
- Free travel warrants on leave.
- Rehabilitation.

LIBRARY, ARMY HEADQUARTERS, WELLINGTON, N.Z.

GO WHERE THE ACTION IS!

IF YOU ARE 20 YRS OF AGE YOUR MINIMUM PAY IS

£17-12-11

For MARRIED MEN

YOUR MINIMUM WEEKLY PAY is

£19-2-8

SUBJECT TO NORMAL TAXATION

TRADESMEN

NOTE THIS POINT:
The Army awards stars for trade skills; if you have trade qualifications you may be granted stars immediately on enlistment. This means more money.

FURTHER INCREASE IN PAY

THIS IS IN YOUR HANDS and the Army provides the means and incentive—so let the Staff at any Army Office show you how promotion and other qualifications can improve your rate of pay.

Prepared by
DIRECTORATE OF RECRUITING
ARMY HEADQUARTERS
FEB 67 (R1)



JOIN THE INFANTRY NOW

Be in SOUTH EAST ASIA by November.

Go Where the Action Is!, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

In addition to travel and adventure, remuneration remained a cornerstone *opportunity* theme in recruiting material of the period. There were signs, however, that army pay scales relative to other employers had dropped by the beginning of the decade and were not corrected until the mid-1960s. When considering army pay rates in 1960, readers were asked to bear in mind the other benefits of army life such as free food, accommodation and

⁴⁴⁵ *Auckland Star*, 2 September 1965, p.1.

⁴⁴⁶ Leaflet, *Go Where the Action Is!*, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

clothing.⁴⁴⁷ Army pay was also described as ‘regular as the tide’ and when added to ‘free clothes, free meals, free quarters, it is something worth getting’.⁴⁴⁸ Superannuation at a ‘comparatively early age’ was also cited as financial incentive to join the army.⁴⁴⁹ Free medical, dental and optical care were also advertised benefits of army service, as were its generous leave provisions and excellent recreation facilities. By 1966, however, the army was no longer couching its pay in terms of other benefits. Instead, the army was advertising ‘new pay rates’ in recruiting material and producing leaflets that solely dealt with pay rates and scales.⁴⁵⁰ The army’s pay-scales were considered a sufficiently powerful incentive that in the 1967 leaflet *Go Where the Action Is!*, pay details and other financial benefits took up nearly half the leaflet.⁴⁵¹ By 1969 the army was promoting itself as a secure job, with ‘pay scale and fringe benefits’ that are ‘really good money!’⁴⁵² One of the financial benefits was eligibility for a housing loan up to \$7,000 following ‘almost certain’ overseas service.⁴⁵³

As in the 1950s, the attainment of trade qualifications was also offered as a reason to join the army. Similarly, the army promoted the quality of its trade training as being equal to that of the best civilian standards, though this was more common in the 1960s.⁴⁵⁴ The army made an effort to emphasise civilian equivalency, noting that the New Zealand Trade Certification Board recognised some of the technical training soldiers undertook in Waiouru. The clear implication was that skills gained would set individuals up for their eventual life after the army.⁴⁵⁵ This point was made explicitly in the 1962 booklet *You as a Soldier*: ‘Civilian employers gladly accept Army-trained men when they go back to civvy street, where an “Army ticket” is guarantee that “this man knows his job”’.⁴⁵⁶ In addition to the attraction of gaining trade skills useful in civilian life, the army also emphasised its unique point of difference, such as working on armoured vehicles.⁴⁵⁷ In this way, the army sought to

⁴⁴⁷ Booklet, *New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys: Regular Force Cadets*, 1960, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁴⁸ Booklet, *You as a Soldier*, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁴⁹ Booklet, *New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys: Regular Force Cadets*, 1960, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁵⁰ Leaflet, *Join the New Zealand Army: Advance with the Regular Army*, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁵¹ Leaflet, *Go Where the Action Is!*, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁵² *Dominion*, 7 February 1969.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ Leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Electrical & Mechanical Engineers: The Craftsmen’s Corps*, 1961, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁶ Booklet, *You as a Soldier*, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁵⁷ Leaflet, *The Royal N.Z. Armoured Corps*, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

link the concept of something exciting - working on tanks - with the tangible opportunity presented by gaining a trade qualification.

By addressing the issue of civilian equivalency in trade qualifications, the army was also acknowledging that not everyone was looking for a lifetime career. This is noteworthy, because it is often assumed that during the middle of the century, a 'career for life' was what people sought; they chose a career after leaving school and stayed in it. The recognition that not all soldiers sought a long military career is a contrast to that given five years earlier in the booklet *New Zealand Army: Regular Force Cadets: Careers for Boys*, 'that the job you choose now is not only in line with your *present* preference and ability, but offers in the future the things you would like to have for yourself and your family'.⁴⁵⁸ While the army would no doubt seek to retain its trade-qualified staff, it was seemingly comfortable to encourage potential recruits to join for inherently opportunity-based reasons, such as gaining a qualification for later civilian life.

Internal army documents from the time prove the army was comfortable using *opportunity* themes in recruiting material. The 1967 handbook for army recruiters, produced by the Director of Army Recruiting, advised recruiters to know all of the advantages of army employment:

Know all its Advantages... It has been proved that the following are strong points of appeal to a young man seeking a job, and the Army can offer them: a. Variety & Interest (Job satisfaction), b. Out door work, c. Security of Employment, d. Good Prospects, e. Reasonable Pay and Regular Increases, f. Travel, g. Comradeship, h. Full Training... There are many others: - Free Medical and Dental care; Low cost Motels; Free uniform issue (value approx. \$200) plus upkeep grant, Removal expenses for household, Disturbance Grants; Good leave; Generous sick leave provisions; Social & sporting facilities; Travel warrants; Educational opportunities.⁴⁵⁹

While this advice may leave the impression that the army was focussed solely on opportunity-based themes to encourage recruitment, such themes were not the only

⁴⁵⁸ Booklet, *New Zealand Army: Regular Force Cadets: Careers for Boys*, Wellington, 1957, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁵⁹ Director of Recruiting, *Recruiters' Aide Memoire*, Director of Recruiting, Wellington, October 1967, Annex P.

inducements used. In 1967, the Director of Recruiting sombrely noted the army, like any firm, must alter its product to remain successful.⁴⁶⁰ For the army, however, failure to alter its product would not result in bankruptcy but failure to meet the army's commitments. This point, made in the context of the Cold War, clearly alluded to the duty placed on recruiters to keep New Zealand Army's up to strength in Southeast Asia.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

Chapter Four: Opportunity, part two – Outdoors, excitement, and education

The use of opportunity-based themes in army recruiting material during the 1970s is revealing for several reasons. The first is the subtle shift in priority given to certain themes. One example was an increased emphasis on the army as a career offering excitement, with a partial, but by no means absolute, reduction in emphasis on pay. The second was the added emphasis given to the theme of the army providing a unique opportunity to gain a positive start in one's working life, further building on an idea consolidated in the 1960s. The third was the influence of the newly introduced All Volunteer Force (AVF) system of recruitment in the United States Army. The AVF spurred a veritable genre in academic thinking relating to all facets of army recruiting, ranging from what motivated individuals to join to how best to recruit and retain them. These studies informed New Zealand Army thinking at the time, as well as the army's own studies into recruiting issues. New themes also emerged during the 1970s, including the army as an opportunity to gain a tertiary education. The end of compulsory military training in 1972 also brought about a subset of recruiting material specifically focussed on the Territorial Force Volunteers. Another theme to emerge was the idea of officer careers as an entry point into enhanced social status, with business world overtones. Recruiting material for specialist officers, including clergy, also emerged during the decade, providing a unique twist on opportunity-based themes.

The shifts in emphasis highlighted above, alongside the new themes to emerge during the decade, did not, however, displace many of the tried and true incentives for joining the army. Travel, recreation, sports, job satisfaction, and a life less ordinary continued to feature as important baseline themes within recruiting material. There is also evidence to suggest that the public's perception of the army had been tarnished both by changes in social norms and through its involvement in the Vietnam War. This is not to suggest that its reputation had been damaged to anywhere near the same extent as that of the United States' Army, but there is a hint within New Zealand Army recruiting material from the period that a subtle form of perception management was being employed. The army was in effect seeking to re-shape perceptions amongst the country's youth, promoting the individualistic nature of modern soldiers.



Join-In... Join-Up..., 1970,

National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

During the 1970s, virtually every printed recruiting item contained reference to army careers as offering excitement and adventure, often in close association with overseas travel. An example of this occurred in the leaflet *Join-In... Join Up...* where it was claimed, ‘We didn’t invent excitement - we just pay you and keep you while you enjoy it... .. Overseas!’⁴⁶¹ Another example was the advertisement, *Join the Young Professionals*, where Cadet training was promoted as a ‘chance to travel - see exciting places overseas’.⁴⁶² The idea of the army as a life less ordinary, promoted during the 1960s, had been upgraded to one of excitement. This tweak in emphasis was reflected in the army’s effort to attract young New Zealanders who were uninterested in the lifestyle their parents had been satisfied with during the post-war period. As veterans of the Great Depression and Second World War, their parents were often happy with the economic and social security achieved in the late 1940s to late 1960s. Their children, however, had grown up in a boom period, with little to

⁴⁶¹ Leaflet, *Join-In... Join-Up...*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁶² Advertisement, *Join the Young Professionals*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

contrast it with. The result was a generation that did not value as highly the life their parents had struggled to achieve and were looking for something more than the suburban bliss of the quiet Kiwi cul-de-sac.⁴⁶³

For those who viewed life in a state housing estate with dread, the army offered more. In the mid-1970s advertisement *If You Want a More Active, Outdoor Life Take a Job with Us*, the army made a strong case for adventure.⁴⁶⁴ The advertisement noted that ‘In the Army, weekends aren’t the only time you can sample the great outdoors - lead a more active, more adventurous kind of life’. It then reinforced this statement by comparing civilian tractor driving with driving a tank, and being a forestry worker with a radio relay-man in the army. The argument was clear; in the army you would do more than your friends who stuck with civilian jobs. To seal the army’s case, the advertisement countered the idea that a soldier’s life in peace-time was dull, stating ‘There’s nothing dull about slamming a 24-ton tank over rough country at 40 m.p.h’. The army had made its point of difference clear – the army offered an ‘out’ from the routine jobs awaiting young men – including those from rural and small-town New Zealand. The army was firmly positioning itself as an interest-packed job offering an alternative way of life to what most young New Zealanders could see for themselves outside the army.

The action and adventure offered by the army extended beyond the country’s great outdoors and driving tanks to exploring the orient and partying in Australia. Numerous recruiting products focussed on Singapore as the ultimate, and very attainable, objective of every soldier recruit. The army advertised itself as the metaphorical ‘road to Singapore’ and Singapore offered all sorts of opportunities for action, adventure and excitement.⁴⁶⁵ According to army recruiting material, the army was not just *a* road to Singapore; it was *the best* road to get there. In the 1975 advertisement, *The Best Way to See Singapore is to Work There*, three images of Singapore’s tourist attractions were used to support the headline.⁴⁶⁶ The central image was that of an attractive young Singaporean woman looking over her shoulder smiling. Furthermore, the advertisement pointed out that ‘off duty, your time’s your own’, you would enjoy ‘good money... an exciting, different way of life’, and leave could be

⁴⁶³ M. King, *After the War: New Zealand Since 1945*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p.91.

⁴⁶⁴ Advertisement, *If You Want a More Active, Outdoor Life take a Job with Us*, mid-1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁶⁵ Poster, *The Road to Singapore Starts Here: Join the Infantry*, 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁶⁶ Advertisement, *The Best Way to See Singapore is to Work There*, 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

taken ‘in places like Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong’. With a stated target audience of 17½ to 26-year-old men, the advertisement had clear, as well as familiar, base undertones. In effect, the message being deliberately conveyed to the young male mind was: Singapore is full of attractive young women; the army provides an opportunity to get there; you’ll have money in the pocket; and enough time off work to pursue those attractive women. ‘Action’ was not, it seems, something limited to driving tanks at 40 m.p.h.

**The best way to see
Singapore is to work there.
With us you can.**

The job is Infantry.

You want to travel, see something of the Far East maybe? We're offering you the best way. To work in Singapore, make friends, have time to get to know the people.

Join the Army as an Infantryman, and if you measure up in training, you'll be off to Singapore for two years. Enjoying good money, an interest-packed job, an exciting, different way of life.

Training, exercising with other armed forces, working at the specialist Infantry job you've been trained for.

And off duty, your time's your own. In Singapore itself of course.

And on leave, in places like Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong.

If you're between 17½-26, find out more now about life in the Infantry.

Contact your local Army Office (it's under 'Armed Services' in the Yellow Pages). Or post the coupon.

I'm interested — tell me more about the Infantry.
(There's no obligation)

Name.....Age.....

Address.....

**Make Army your
decision now.**

The Best Way to See Singapore is to Work There, 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

For potential officer candidates, training at overseas military colleges was also emphasised as a chance to see some non-combat related action overseas. In the 1978 booklet *A Challenge for a Chosen Few; The Royal Military College of Australia, Duntroon*, Duntroon’s proximity to Canberra was promoted as one of the college’s ‘greatest

attractions'.⁴⁶⁷ The advertisement went on to state, 'There'll be no shortage of action on the social front', followed by the line, 'Interested? If you're single, between 16 1/2 and 19 1/2 ... contact your local Army Recruiting Office for further information'. Though this advertisement had no images of attractive women, the underlying message remained the same. For the advertisement's young, predominantly male, target audience the army was an opportunity to go overseas and being overseas presented increased opportunities to fulfil one's carnal ambitions.

While overseas travel sometimes had sexual undertones, this was not always the case. Not every potential recruit was a young man, nor was every young man going to be attracted by sexual themes. For much of the army's target audience, the prospect of travelling overseas at no personal expense would have provided sufficient incentive. This was something the army clearly recognised, emphasising in recruiting material the various opportunities for both officers and soldiers to travel overseas. Singapore was promoted as a jumping off point to travel throughout Southeast Asia, while operational service in Vietnam offered five day rest and recuperation opportunities in Bangkok, Tokyo, Hong Kong and Taipei.⁴⁶⁸ Officer careers were also promoted as a chance to train at Duntroon, Sandhurst, Portsea, and Westpoint, in other words, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States.⁴⁶⁹ Other 'occasional' travel destinations listed in recruiting material during the period included Fiji, Hawaii and Europe.⁴⁷⁰ The army did not, therefore, limit itself to advertising travel as something that solely occurred in the period after enlistment, either as an officer at an overseas training college or a soldier in Singapore; the army offered a career of travel.

Like overseas travel, pay continued to be included as an opportunity-based reason for joining the army. A common subheading in recruiting material was 'pay and allowances', noting the 'generous' allowances for overseas service, including location allowance, field allowances, overseas transfer grants, home transfer grants, tax-free deferred pay whilst on active service, end of service grants and rehabilitation housing loans of up to \$7,400 following active service.⁴⁷¹ Proof that money continued to motivate, particularly for those on active service, was provided by a news article from the period titled 'Pay Packet's The Thing

⁴⁶⁷ Booklet, *A Challenge for a Chosen Few: The Royal Military College of Australia, Duntroon*, 1978, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁶⁸ Leaflet, *Join-In... Join-Up...*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁶⁹ Booklet, *Operation Career*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁷⁰ Advertisement, *Are You a Leader?*, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁷¹ Leaflet, *Join-In... Join-Up...*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

In Vietnam’.⁴⁷² In the article, a Gunner in the artillery on his second tour in Vietnam was quoted saying, ‘I’m up here for the money’. The article then explained the various allowances and tax-breaks available to those serving with the New Zealand Army in Singapore and Vietnam. The article noted, however, that ‘Even with overseas service benefits, New Zealand Army pay rates tail behind those of Australians and Americans’. Justification for the lower pay by the army was that New Zealand’s cost of living was lower, meaning that equivalent living standards could be achieved by New Zealand soldiers compared to their overseas allies.

Similar equivocation and relativism was used to explain army pay in recruiting material of the time. In one example, the reader was told they would ‘earn good money, and if you show leadership ability, promotion can come fast. Your living expenses will be lower than in any civilian job - so saving’s easier’. In this example, like many of the 1970s, what constitutes ‘good money’ was not stipulated, making comparisons difficult. Meanwhile the idea that promotion ‘can’ come fast and that saving will be ‘easier’ due to the relatively low costs of living were less than convincing. In one of the few printed recruiting items published during the period to provide actual pay rates for an individual serving in the Regular Army, the pay rate was low and the advertisement somewhat noncommittal in terms of future earnings. In the 1977 booklet, a Lieutenant’s salary was listed as \$7,900 per annum, while the reader was told they could, within eight years, ‘reasonably expect to hold the rank of Major’ with a salary of \$11,300.⁴⁷³ In 1977 the average wage in New Zealand was \$8,453, placing a Lieutenant’s salary 7% lower than the national average.⁴⁷⁴ Given that the target audience for the booklet were electrical engineering graduates from university, the pay offered was far from convincing. While the salary earned by a Major was relatively high at 30% above the national average, it was neither guaranteed nor attainable in the short term.

During the 1970s, there was a discernible shift in the emphasis on army pay from being a principal incentive for enlistment to secondary incentive. Far fewer printed recruiting items included detailed pay charts than during the previous two decades, while there were also fewer stand-alone leaflets detailing army pay scales. This shift reflected three social and

⁴⁷² *Evening Post*, 23 March 1971.

⁴⁷³ Booklet, *Opportunities in Military Communications*, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁷⁴ Statistics New Zealand, *B.3.1 Average Annual Earnings*, Long-term data series, <http://m.stats.govt.nz/~media/Statistics/browse-categories/economic-indicators/national-accounts/Long-term%20data%series/B%20Labour%20Market/table-b3-1.xls>, accessed 8 September 2016.

economic factors of the time. The first was that the target audience was increasingly motivated by considerations other than pay. Evidence of this was shown in the army's own research, which placed pay behind seven other working conditions desired by those with 'pro-Army tendencies'.⁴⁷⁵ Desired working conditions to trump pay included interesting work, job security, variety, merit-based promotion, learning new skills, prospects for advancement and freedom from monotony. The second was that the male unemployment rate had doubled from 0.9% in 1966 to 2.1% by 1976 and 4.5% by 1981, arguably easing the pressure on the army to compete for personnel.⁴⁷⁶ The third was simply that the army's pay was no longer as attractive as it had been. In 1968 the median annual salary for a Lieutenant was \$2,901, while the national average was \$2,907.⁴⁷⁷ Nor was army pay in the 1970s necessarily favourable when compared to the country's traditional allies. Research showed that in 1974 the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom had pay scales comparable to civilian employment.⁴⁷⁸

Research in the United States, resulting from the introduction of an AVF in 1973 and the period of debate preceding its introduction, helped inform thinking about recruitment in other countries. It was found that intrinsic job interest dominated all other factors, indicating that prospects for advancement and learning new skills were among the factors that exceeded the influence of pay.⁴⁷⁹ This would explain why the army continued to promote trade training and academic qualifications as important themes in recruiting material, with increasing emphasis on university degrees for officers.

The army promoted itself as offering a 'flying start', promising 'first class training' among other benefits.⁴⁸⁰ The Regular Force Cadets continued to be advertised as providing the 'best way' for young men aged 15 to 17 years to receive first-class training in a trade apprenticeship.⁴⁸¹ Furthermore, the Regular Force Cadets were advertised as providing a 'fast

⁴⁷⁵ P. Phipps, *DRPS Research Report 67/74 Civilian Attitudes to Employment A Report on a Study of New Zealand Males*, Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services, Personnel Branch, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, New Zealand, April 1974, p.53.

⁴⁷⁶ Statistics New Zealand, *B.2.3 Unemployment rate*, Long-term data series, http://m.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/economic_indicators/NationalAccounts/long-term-data-series/labour-market.aspx, accessed 8 September 2016.

⁴⁷⁷ Leaflet, *Annual Salaries of Regular Officers (Effective from 1 April 1968)*, 1968, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁷⁸ G. Bachman, et al, *The All-Volunteer Force: A Study of Ideology in the Military*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1977, p.21.

⁴⁷⁹ Phipps, pp.7-8.

⁴⁸⁰ Booklet, *Operation Career*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁸¹ Advertisement, *Get the Facts on Trade & Further Education in the Regular Force Cadets*, mid-1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

start' to an army career, a career it was claimed already provided a flying start in life.⁴⁸² The training, army recruiting material contended, offered career prospects 'few civilian occupations can equal'.⁴⁸³ As occurred in the 1960s, the enduring benefits of trade skills attained through the army were also emphasised.⁴⁸⁴ For those with academic rather than trade skills in mind, the army increasingly advertised the opportunity to gain tertiary qualifications. In the 1973 booklet *Command: The Life of a Young Army Officer*, a large section was given over to describing the 'The Officer at University' and the ability to gain a degree whilst at Duntroon.⁴⁸⁵ The booklet quoted Lieutenant R.L. Scott, a recent graduate of Duntroon: 'I wanted to go to Duntroon to learn about soldiering and warfare. But looking back, one year after graduation, I realise that perhaps the most lasting and significant part of my four years at Duntroon was the general, tertiary education'. The publication of this view was significant, for it could be seen as promoting the *selfish* attainment of a qualification ahead of *selfless* idea of servant leadership.

With respect to attracting potential officer candidates, other trends emerged in the 1970s that could be viewed as a subtle shift by the army to broaden its appeal. In *Command: The Life of a Young Army Officer*, for example, the role of the officer was described as 'gaining the respect and confidence of those serving under him'.⁴⁸⁶ This traditional projection of officer qualities, namely the ability to earn respect and instil confidence, was contrasted with later comments that army officers belong to 'the world's most exclusive professional club'. A club providing a 'social life no other profession can equal', in a profession held in such 'respect and prestige' that it would enable the officer 'to make a wide range of contacts at every level of society'. Being an army officer was advertised as an opportunity to climb the social ladder.

Management rather than leadership and command also appeared in recruiting material targeted at potential officers. One mid-1970s advertisement for officer careers stated 'the Army Officer probably receives the most advanced training in modern management

⁴⁸² Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets: A Fast Start to Your Army Career*, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ Advertisement, *If You Want a More Active, Outdoor Life take a Job with Us*, mid-1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁸⁵ Booklet, *Command: The Life of a Young Army Officer*, 1973, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

techniques obtainable anywhere'.⁴⁸⁷ This was reiterated elsewhere, referring to techniques such as cost benefit and critical path analysis as management techniques in which officers are trained.⁴⁸⁸



Get the Facts on Trade & Further Education in the Regular Force Cadets, mid-1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Both the shift towards emphasising tertiary qualifications and the introduction of commercial business terms provide evidence that the army was attuned to social changes occurring within New Zealand. One mid-1970s advertisement, for example, sought to dispel the perception that the army was overly restrictive: ‘Petty regulations are out. Off duty your

⁴⁸⁷ Advertisement, *Careers in the Army*, mid-1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: number 2013.195.1.

⁴⁸⁸ Booklet, *Command: The Life of a Young Army Officer*, 1973, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

time's your own - you dress how you want, go where you want'.⁴⁸⁹ Another, from 1975 titled *Individuals Count in Today's Army*, stated 'You'll be more than just a name, rank and serial number in today's Army'. Another, titled *Today's Army: Your Kind of Army, Your Kind of Life* from 1977, stated 'today's Army offers the kind of life that's more, much more than name, rank, serial number and a set of dazzling toe caps'.⁴⁹⁰ Reflective of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, the same advertisement appealed to 'Male or female, young or not so young, spare time or full time'. Perhaps the most interesting example of the army seeking to address public perceptions was a 1979 advertisement placed in the *Listener* for Regular Army careers for officers. Under the heading *Academic Freedom and the 'Military Mind'* The advertisement stated:

A Military University seems almost a contradiction in terms. In Western countries at least, universities have been the traditional bastions of intellectual freedom and enquiry. How then can a university preserve its essentially independent character within an overall framework of military discipline.⁴⁹¹

The advertisement answered the question by suggesting that Duntroon offered a campus that 'is far less regimented and conformist than one might suppose' and noted that all academic staff were civilians, independently appointed by the University of New South Wales.

Two unique examples of opportunity-based recruiting themes used in the 1970s were those for the Territorial Force Volunteers (TFV) and for Clergy, which the army colloquially refers to as Padres. With the end of Compulsory Military Training on 31 December 1972, the army created the TFV. Recruiting material for the TFV adopted a principally two-pronged recruiting approach, both of which appealed to opportunities sought by potential recruits. The two prongs consisted of adventure and pay. Significant emphasis was placed on the TFV as a place to 'get some action into your life'.⁴⁹² Rappelling down cliffs, jumping out of vehicles, crewing tanks and even underwater demolitions were depicted as part of the work done by the 'the Territorials'. The advertising motto of the Territorials

⁴⁸⁹ Advertisement, *If You Want a More Active, Outdoor Life take a Job with Us*, mid-1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁹⁰ Advertisement, *Today's Army: Your Kind of Army, Your Kind of Life*, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁹¹ Advertisement, "Army: Regular Force Officers", 1979, *Listener*, February 1979.

⁴⁹² Advertisement, *The Territorials. Your Kind of Army*, 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

was ‘active part-time soldiers’.⁴⁹³ The Territorials were literally depicted as *The Great Spare-Time Adventure* and a chance for a life-less-ordinary.⁴⁹⁴ The TFV were also advertised as a great way to ‘make your spare time pay’.⁴⁹⁵ These advertisements were mostly aimed at broad sections of society, noting that Territorials came from all walks of life. Others, however, were more targeted, aiming at those with specialist skills or, in the case of the *Make Your Summer Vacation Pay* campaign, at students.⁴⁹⁶ Detailed information on pay was provided in most TFV recruiting material, noting both the pay rates for attending Whole Time Training, as well as the annual tax free bonus paid to the Territorials.⁴⁹⁷ As identified in previous chapters on the use of *selfless values*, TFV recruiting material did not exclusively focus on *selfish* motives.

One of the most interesting items of army recruiting material produced in the 1970s was designed to recruit Clergy. What makes the advertisement interesting, however, is not so much the target audience, but the familiarity of the opportunity-based themes used within it. The army as a career offering action and adventure was contained in the title of the advertisement: *If You’re a Clergyman Looking for a Quiet, Secluded Life, You’d Better Turn the Page*.⁴⁹⁸ The advertisement also sought to dispel the preconception of the army as being a place where individual initiative was constrained, noting ‘the Army probably offers you more freedom than you’ll find anywhere, freedom to fulfil your ministry and freedom to develop your personal gifts’. The final incentive used in the advertisement was the most surprising - pay. While noting that money was not the most important thing in a clergyman’s life it stated, ‘it’s nice to know you’re appreciated. Your salary and allowances compare favourably with your fellow officers’. The use of opportunity-based themes to recruit soldiers and officers, Territorials and Regulars, as well as clergy, demonstrates that by the 1970s the army had accepted the central importance of appealing to individual’s opportunity-based themes. No one was exempted from the use of opportunity-based recruiting themes, confirming beyond

⁴⁹³ Bumper-sticker, *Territorials - Active Part-Time Soldiers*, 1974, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁹⁴ Advertisement, *The Great Spare-Time Adventure*, 1979, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁹⁵ Advertisement, *The Territorials. Your Kind of Army*, 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁹⁶ Leaflet, *Make Your Summer Vacation Pay!*, 1974, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁴⁹⁷ Advertisement, *Put Yourself in this Team: the Territorials*, 1974, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.


⁴⁹⁸ Advertisement, *If You’re a Clergyman Looking for a Quiet, Secluded Life, You’d Better Turn the Page*, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

doubt that the army could not rely on themes associated with a sense of social obligation to do the job of recruiting.

**IF YOU'RE A CLERGYMAN
LOOKING FOR
A QUIET, SECLUDED LIFE,
YOU'D BETTER TURN
THE PAGE**

We can't offer you a relaxing existence in a sleepy backwater. If you join us as an Army Chaplain, after initial training you will be thrown in at the deep end, sharing life with a complete cross-section of society, which could be based anywhere from Singapore to Burnham. You'd be dealing with soldiers, their wives and young children, as well as lively teenage recruits who are finding their feet away from home for the first time. But don't think joining the Army makes you any less of a Clergyman. You will have unique opportunities to communicate the Faith and preach the Gospel, and your spiritual duties are the same as your civilian counterpart. And yet the Army probably offers you more freedom than you'll find anywhere, freedom to fulfill your ministry and freedom to develop your personal gifts. We know that money is not the most important thing in your life, but it's nice to know you're appreciated. Your salary and allowances will compare favourably with your fellow officers.

If you're under 40, are up to our standards and have completed three years parish work, drop a line to the Revd. Paul Cronin, Principal Defence Chaplain, at Ministry of Defence, Private Bag, Wellington. Tell him your age and what experience you've had, and he'll send you details of a four year Short Service Commission.



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If You're a Clergyman Looking for a Quiet, Secluded Life, You'd Better Turn the Page,

National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1

As the 1980s began, the opportunity-based themes of action, challenge and adventure continued to be used as army recruiting themes. Likewise, the idea of the army as an organisation promising a good start to a successful career and a chance to get overseas also continued. The prominence of travel as a recruiting theme, however, reduced in proportion to New Zealand's diminishing Defence commitment in Southeast Asia. In its place, the army as a place to learn business and management skills increased. These changes in recruiting theme reflected the army's efforts to adapt to the changing political and social context of the time. The 1980s were a time of considerable change for New Zealand. The country's military presence abroad diminished, the adoption of an anti-nuclear policy led to suspension from ANZUS, the effects of the 1977 Human Rights Commission Act continued to be felt, and sweeping deregulation of the business sector led to economic boom followed by bust.

The army of the 1980s was represented as a career offering action and adventure. These themes, represented in both written and graphic forms, featured in most recruiting items. If it was a life less ordinary, or ‘altogether different’, that one wanted, then the army offered it.⁴⁹⁹ Action and adventure was equally applied to the Regular Force and the Territorials. A series of posters in 1980 carried the theme, offering the choice of adventure on both a full-time, Regular Force, and part-time, Territorial Force, basis. Whether it be patrolling down a river, abseiling down a cliff, parachuting, or driving armoured vehicles through the snow, the army represented a chance to do something exciting.⁵⁰⁰ Interestingly, none of the posters had a link between adventure and overseas military service, which was common during the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1980s the army remained attuned to the pull of action and adventure to their target audience, but also to the question many in that audience were asking - *What does the army do when it's at home?*⁵⁰¹

In contrast to the bold use of action and adventure to attract recruits into the army, the early 1980s also saw a set of other themes used to encourage enlistment, particularly for officers. In 1981 the army represented officer training as a place where an individual's ability would be taken ‘well beyond command leadership to management skills’.⁵⁰² The same recruiting item went to describe how some officers were encouraged to take post-graduate courses at regular universities. The academic facilities offered by the army, according to the advertisement, were ‘unexcelled’. The emphasis on tertiary education and management skills reflected the growing importance placed on higher education amongst those viewed as suitable for recruitment into the army as potential officers. It also reflected the army's view that many from this sector of society could most effectively be drawn to the idea of service by offering qualifications and skills they could later apply to civilian life; being an army officer in itself was not being sold as a long-term career choice.

For potential soldiers, trade training, rather than academic education or management skills, continued to be used as a theme. In the poster, *Amazing, How Many Great Jobs Begin*

⁴⁹⁹ Advertisement, *A Career in the Modern Army*, circa early 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰⁰ Poster, *Become Army Territorials*, 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1. Poster, *Become Army Regular Force Infantry*, 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: number 2013.195.1.

Poster, *Become Army Regular Force*, 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰¹ Advertisement, *What Does the Army Do When It's at Home*, 1981, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰² Advertisement, *How Does the Army Always Produce the Right Man for the Job?*, 1981, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

with 'A', for example, it stated, 'Apprentices, tradesmen, or anyone keen to be a tradesman - you don't have to look further than 'A' to find a really good job. There's dozens of opportunities for you in the Army'.⁵⁰³ In line with the continued use of this theme, consistently used in recruiting material for soldiers over the past several decades, was an emphasis on living and working conditions.⁵⁰⁴ The difference in emphasis in selfish themes used in officer and soldier recruiting material reflected the difference in target audience. Though New Zealand may not have had a class-based society as pronounced as that seen in the United Kingdom, socio-economic differences were undoubtedly present, leading to differences in what young New Zealanders were looking for in a career.

By the mid-1980s the army was struggling to enlist sufficient new recruits to maintain its overall personnel numbers. Despite adopting a more scientific approach to recruiting during the 1970s, which it continued to pursue in the 1980s, the army could not recruit and retain sufficient personnel. The army had carefully studied the country's changing demographics, identifying in 1984, for example, that in two years 28% of New Zealand's 15 to 24-year-olds would live in the Auckland region.⁵⁰⁵ By contrast, Canterbury and Wellington respectively would have little over 10% of 15 to 24-year-olds. The army was also cognisant of what the other armed services were doing in their own recruiting campaigns. Evidence that the army saw itself in competition with the Royal New Zealand Air Force can be seen in the comparison made with one of its new posters, noting that it 'compares more than favourably with the RNZAF Skyhawk one'.⁵⁰⁶ Considerable effort had gone into the creation of the poster, in order to compete directly with the RNZAF and to match as best as possible the appeal of the Skyhawk poster. The result was two visually arresting posters promising thrilling careers, both of which were destined for school noticeboards and magazines throughout the country.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰³ Advertisement, *Amazing, How Many Great Jobs Begin with 'A'*, 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰⁴ Advertisement, *What Does the Army Do When It's at Home*, 1981, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰⁵ Memo, *The Recruiting Some-Times*, July 1984, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰⁶ Memo, *The Recruiting Some-Times*, October 1984, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.



Fly Me!, Headquarters RNZAF, Wellington, 1980s, Bill Hopper - Private Collection.



Army Officer, Headquarters Army, Wellington, 1984,
National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

As previously noted, the army was facing a recruiting and retention problem by the mid-1980s, despite its best efforts. In February 1985, the army's SO2 Recruiting⁵⁰⁸ explained the situation to his subordinates:

Predictions for this year, to say the least are grim. We are now chasing the discharge tail. So many are leaving which is causing an accelerating turnover in the manning of our Army. We, as Recruiters, can do little about the discharge rate but we can do something about the flow of recruits. We need every potential recruit of the approved standard that we can lay our hands on. Steps are being taken to increase the capacity of Basic Courses, starting with April's [recruit course number] 207 which hopefully will be of double size. But we need recruits to fill them. Our exercise to increase advertising finance is about to go to the Defence Executive Committee where hopefully it will be approved, giving us near double 1984/1985's finance. The ball is in your court chaps. Get out there, into over-drive, and recruit. Basic 207 at 120

⁵⁰⁸ The designation of SO2 stands for Staff Officer Grade 2, a term used to describe an officer of Major, Squadron Leader, or Lieutenant Commander rank, working in a staff as opposed to command appointment.

strong is our first objective. So speed up anyone you have in the pipeline. If there are any problems with medical clearances etc, let me know.⁵⁰⁹

The army's situation in early 1985 was in stark contrast the situation in December 1980, when plans were put in place to cancel recruit courses due to the army reaching its 'authorised manpower ceiling' – a product of successful recruiting and retention.⁵¹⁰ Army Recruiting's emphasis on strategic planning, psychological studies on what young people looked for in a job, and which region the majority of young New Zealanders would live, had been replaced by an urgent need to shift recruiting gears into 'over-drive'. Somewhat counter-intuitively, New Zealand's unemployment rate at this time was rising.⁵¹¹ It was also a period of economic uncertainty that led then-Prime Minister Robert Muldoon to impose a wage and price freeze between 1982 and 1984.⁵¹²

A likely contributing factor to the army's troubling retention rate could have been a failure to meet expectations. During the 1970s and early 1980s, army recruiting material had increasingly used action and adventure as a major recruiting theme. Many of those who joined during the period may well have been attracted to the army by the offer of a 'life less ordinary'. This phenomenon of failing to meet expectations was identified in a Canadian study titled *Retain or Perish: Why Recruiting Won't Save the CF* [Canadian Forces]. The study found that individuals signed up to experience those things that are depicted in recruiting posters. The Canadian study found that the reality of contemporary military life, namely its bureaucratisation, were not why people joined the military and worked as a disincentive for people to stay in.⁵¹³ A recent study of the New Zealand Army has similarly found a gap between expectations of soldiering as highly active and the reality of soldiering where soldiers 'routinely sat around doing nothing'.⁵¹⁴ In the case of New Zealand Army recruiting material of the period, prospective recruits were led to believe that life in the army would involve abseiling down cliffs, parachuting and driving armoured vehicles through the

⁵⁰⁹ Memo, *The Recruiting Some-Times*, February 1985, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵¹⁰ Signal from NZ Land Forces, 22 December 1980, Archives New Zealand, Accession No. ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18, Service Recruiting - New Zealand Army – Policy.

⁵¹¹ Long Term Data Series, *Labour Market: Unemployment: Table B.2.2*, Statistics New Zealand.

⁵¹² J. Singleton, "An Economic History of New Zealand in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", Victoria University of Wellington, <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/an-economic-history-of-new-zealand-in-the-nineteenth-and-twentieth-centuries/>, accessed 22 September 2016.

⁵¹³ C. Ankersen and L. Tethong, "Retain or Perish: Why Recruiting Won't Save the CF", *Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies*, Strategic Datalink #95, March 2001, p.3.

⁵¹⁴ N. Harding, "You Bring It, We'll Bring It Out": Becoming a Soldier in the New Zealand Army', PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2016, p.238.

snow as norms of activity. Reality, however, would be more mundane, with the staples of military discipline – equipment inspections, parades and physical training – making up the bulk of a soldier’s daily routine.

The image shows a two-page spread from a 1987 magazine titled "ARMY CAREERS". The left page is titled "Regular Force Cadets" and "Today's Army". It describes the aim of the Regular Force Cadet School at Waiouru, which is to prepare young men for a military career by providing the best military and trade training available to suit the needs of the service and the individual. It details the training course, eligibility requirements (ages 16-19), and the 12-month commissioning course. The right page is titled "Army Offers Plenty" and lists various career paths and benefits, including "General Conditions of Service", "Manpower", "Entry", and "University Graduates". It also mentions "Australian Defence Force Academy" and "Officer Cadet School of New Zealand (OCS NZ)".

Parent and School Magazine, Vol. 18, No.4, Summer, 1987, pp.34-35.

Although the mid-1980s brought challenges to recruit under pressure, this did not result in any significant change in the recruiting themes used by the army. The continuity of themes within the decade was an indication that the army considered its approach sound, underpinned by quality research provided by the Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services. In the 1987 advertisement *Army Careers*, featured in the official magazine of the New Zealand Parent Teacher Association, the army spelt out the many benefits of being a soldier: ‘Job satisfaction, pay rates that compare favourably with civil employment, travel, comradeship, security, All this and training second to none - making every officer and soldier a professional in his or her own right’.⁵¹⁵ Added to these familiar themes were references to free medical and dental care, generous leave provisions, and an attractive superannuation package. As might be expected in an advertisement featured in the

⁵¹⁵ *Parent and School Magazine*, “Army Careers”, Wellington, Vol. 18, No.4, Summer, 1987, pp.34-35.

New Zealand Parent Teacher Association magazine, the army also noted that promotion courses were now ‘worth degree credit’. This point, designed to appeal to parents and teachers who valued education, also reflected the army’s growing awareness that tertiary qualifications were increasingly prized by New Zealand society.

Trade training also remained a staple of army recruiting material. In the 1988 recruiting advertisement *Life Begins at 16 1/2*, it stated ‘you’ll receive some of the best training available in a trade that’s best suited to your own abilities. Starting from the ground up, we’ll make you an expert in your own field. Make the Army your career and your future will be assured’.⁵¹⁶ According to recruiting material, the army offered trade training qualifications and long-term prospects. The theme of self-improvement, a mainstay of opportunity-based themes, was not unique to New Zealand Army recruiting material or New Zealand society. A 1982 survey of newly enlisted recruits into the U.S. Army also identified self-improvement as a motivating factor, alongside other selfish factors including money for education, escaping current circumstances, and opportunities for travel.⁵¹⁷

As briefly discussed in previous chapters on obligation-based themes, the late 1980s saw a variety of army recruiting items take on business overtones. Advertisements such as *It’s Your Honour*⁵¹⁸ and *The Board of Protectors*⁵¹⁹ used references to the business world to appeal to a new generation of young New Zealanders. Accompanying the reference to business world in these advertisements was the theme that army officers lived ‘for the lifestyle that only the Army can deliver’. It might be thought that individuals attracted to business references and lifestyle would not have sat comfortably with more traditional army officers, but advertising company Carlton Carruthers clearly thought it would. Reflecting the stereotypical 1980s businessperson was the advertisement’s complete absence of humility, a feature seemingly at odds with the army’s traditional self-projection and perception:

New Zealand Army Officers are a very special breed. It’s not just their physical and intellectual superiority that sets them apart from the average Kiwi. No, it’s much more

⁵¹⁶ Advertisement, “Life Begins at 16½”, *Listener*, 4 June 1988, p.46.

⁵¹⁷ J. Eighmey, “Why Do Youth Enlist? Identification of Underlying Themes”, *Armed Forces & Security*, Vol 32, No. 2, January 2006, p. 308.

⁵¹⁸ Advertisement, “It’s Your Honour”, *Tearaway Magazine*, November 1988, p.11.

⁵¹⁹ Advertisement, *The Board of Protectors*, 1989, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

than that. N.Z. Army Officers share a common passion: Simply, to be the best. They are driven by ambition...⁵²⁰

Further evidence of the army's attempts to match changes in society was provided by the variety of publications in which recruiting advertisements appeared. As noted by A.B. Howie in his paper, *A Recruiting Strategy for the New Zealand Regular Army*, the best way to use direct response advertising was to ensure it appears in a range of printed media.⁵²¹ This would cast the net as wide as possible in the hope of reaching the target audience through one, if not multiple, publications. During the 1980s, army recruiting advertisements appeared in a wide range of publications, ranging from nationally distributed magazines such as *New Zealand Listener*, to national and regional newspapers, educational magazines *New Zealand Student Gazette* and *Parent and School*, and a broad range of popular magazines including *Metro*, *Shake*, *RTR Countdown*, and *Tearaway*.

As with preceding decades, the 1980s saw the army employ a broad range of opportunity-based themes in order to recruit personnel. Conditions of service, training, education, action and adventure were all used. Differences in emphasis were discernible, however, with increasing emphasis on education and diminished emphasis on travel and pay. The absence in emphasis on pay is somewhat surprising, particularly in the first half of the decade, given the relatively good pay rates offered by the army. In 1983, for example, after four years training, during which an undergraduate degree would be earned, an officer on graduation as a Lieutenant could expect a salary of \$19,500.⁵²² New Zealand's average wage in 1983 was \$17,345, putting a young officer in an enviable financial and educational position.⁵²³ By the end of the decade, however, the country's average salary had risen dramatically to \$28,170, by which time the army was unlikely to have been able to use salary as a draw-card.⁵²⁴ Whatever the reason for pay not being emphasised during the 1980s, while other themes were, the 1980s set a trend that would continue through into the 1990s.

⁵²⁰ Advertisement, *The Board of Protectors*, 1989, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵²¹ A.B. Howie, "A Recruiting Strategy for the New Zealand Regular Army", *Commandant's Papers*, RNZAF Staff College, Staff Course No. 29, November 1988, p.4.

⁵²² *New Zealand Student Gazette*, "Officer Careers", Vol. 1, No. 3, October 1983.

⁵²³ Long Term Data Series, *Average Annual Wages*, Labour Market: Earnings: Table B.3.1, Statistics New Zealand.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

Like the 1980s, the 1990s used the same opportunity-based themes as previous decades, albeit with slight changes in emphasis. During the 1990s, the army continued offering variety, travel, lifestyle and education opportunities as significant recruiting themes – a set of topics that would not have been out of place in the 1960s. The continuity of themes shows that from decade to decade, and generation to generation, the factors young people look for in a potential employer remain largely the same. As with society in general, however, changes do occur. These changes, often over-exaggerated in the labels attached to various generations (baby boomers, generation X, generation Y), are reflected in the emphasis placed on various themes within recruiting material. An example of this change in emphasis, which started decades earlier, was the emphasis placed on training versus education.

By the 1990s, the army's use of trade training as a recruiting theme diminished significantly. No longer were there multiple pamphlets, leaflets or posters being produced offering trade training. This reduction reflected changes in society and in the army. Increasing numbers of children, for example, were remaining at school in order to achieve higher academic achievements.⁵²⁵ Society, due to changes in industry, was also becoming increasingly 'high-tech', resulting in a reduced demand for less skilled staff and an increase in those with higher standards of education.⁵²⁶ As with industry, the army was also becoming increasingly technological, explaining in part why greater emphasis was placed on education over training. Another factor likely to have influenced the change was the suspension of the Regular Force Cadet School in 1991. A significant theme in recruiting material for the Regular Force Cadet School had been the opportunity to obtain trade qualifications.

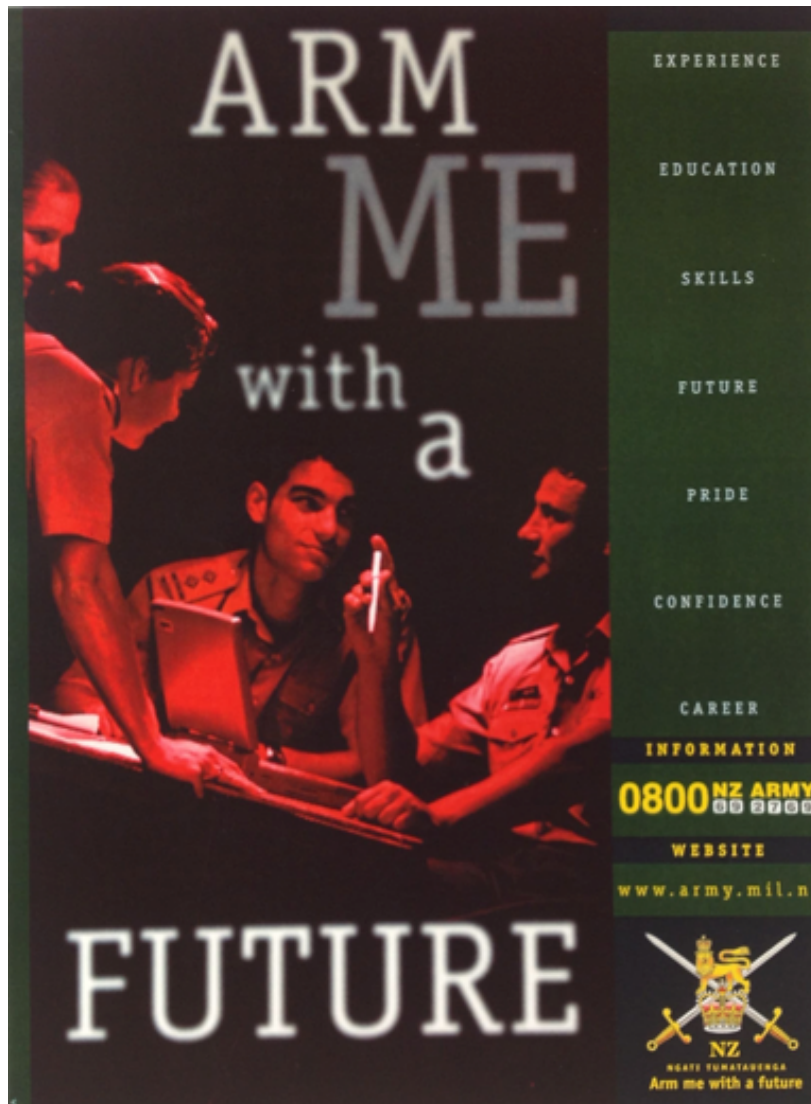
Advertising the army as an opportunity to receive trade training did not, however, disappear. In the army's *Arm Me* recruiting campaign, for example, the advertisement titled *Arm Me with a Future* stated that 'the training you get means you'll be well prepared for the future in or outside the army'.⁵²⁷ Supporting the theme of trade training in the advertisement were photos of chefs, mechanics and carpenters at work. The reference to 'in or outside the army' was a continued reflection of the army's attempts to match youth expectations with respect to not signing up to the army for life. The *Arm Me* recruiting campaign also included

⁵²⁵ C. Blair, "Defence Recruiting Battles a Difficult Environment", *Asia-Pacific Defence Reporter*, November-December 1996, p.22.

⁵²⁶ Blair, p.22.

⁵²⁷ Advertisement, *Arm Me with a Future*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

advertisements titled *Arm Me with Skills*, featuring an army mechanic at work on armoured vehicles.⁵²⁸ The *Arm Me* advertising campaign was not the only one to refer to trade training. The 1996 booklet *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life* used trade skills as an example of the unique benefits of army service.⁵²⁹



Arm Me with a Future, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The titles used in the *Arm Me* campaign, which ran for several years from the mid-1990s through to the early 2000s, reflected the range of opportunity-based themes used during the decade. The campaign promoted the army as arming those that joined with seven

⁵²⁸ Advertisement, *Arm Me with Skills*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵²⁹ Advertisement, *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, 1996, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

core benefits, including experience, education, skills, future, pride, confidence and career. With the exception of pride, each of the benefits offered by the army were largely opportunity-based, reflecting the common title 'Arm Me', which focused on what the potential recruit could gain from joining the army. The coexistence of skills and education as sub-themes of the *Arm Me* campaign reflected the army's need for both soldiers and officers, as well as contrasts within New Zealand society and what individuals from different socio-economic groups tended to value.

According to marketing research conducted in New Zealand during the 1990s, socio-economic background was a key determinant in value preferences between tertiary education and vocational training. Children from professional or managerial backgrounds, for example, typically viewed entry into university as 'natural and beneficial'.⁵³⁰ Children from lower socio-economic families, on the other hand, tended to place greater emphasis on vocational training as offering a more secure future.⁵³¹ The value of this research to potential employers or tertiary education providers is obvious. By tailoring advertising to the target audience's socio-economic ground, advertising is likely to be more successful. For the army, this is particularly relevant given the need to recruit both officers and soldiers, with officers generally requiring a higher standard of educational achievement than soldiers. The implication of this for the New Zealand Army is significant. Officers are more likely to come from families with higher socio-economic, professional and managerial backgrounds, while soldiers are more likely to come from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

As previously discussed, recruiting material from the 1990s placed a greater emphasis on education than it did on trade training. This can in part be attributed to changes in industry requiring higher levels of education. These changes, however, cannot fully explain the greater emphasis given to education. Given the army's hierarchical structure, it will always require more soldiers to fill its ranks than it will officers to lead them. Given the higher academic demands often required of officers and the fewer officers required, this would intuitively lead to the conclusion that less emphasis would be given to education. Education, however, did receive significant emphasis, including the means by which to obtain university degrees through the army. In a 1993 advertisement for the army, for example, it stated 'If you have an

⁵³⁰ A. Chalmers, *Maximising your marketing to senior secondary school students: analysing student decision making and the implications for marketing strategies: paper for IIR conference on Marketing Education*, Auckland, New Zealand Council for Education Research, 2001, p.4.

⁵³¹ Ibid.

A Bursary and are aged between 17-19 1/2, you could find yourself attending the Defence Force Academy in Australia, graduating with a degree'.⁵³² In the booklet *OCS(NZ)*, significant emphasis was given to the 'Massey University Programme', where a degree could be obtained, as well as the Australian Defence Force Academy as a route to gaining a degree.⁵³³ Yet another was titled *Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student Loan*.⁵³⁴ This last example was interesting for its appeal to those who valued tertiary education, but remained undecided about attending university.

**After three years as an Army Officer
I'm still not sure of the daily routine.
And thankfully I never will be.**

As an Officer in the Army, you never know what's coming up next. Take today for instance. I'd planned to work on management strategy, but a 6.30 call put a stop to that. It's now 7am and I'm on my way to help with flood relief further north.

That's what I love about this job. The only thing that's predictable is the fact that you won't spend your days shuffling papers around a desk.

Being an Officer calls for a very wide range of skills. It's a bit like being a teacher, lawyer, historian, tradesman, fitness trainer and the ultimate business manager, all rolled into one.

It's incredibly challenging, but then the training you get means you're well prepared and have the confidence you need to deal with any situation.

To qualify for the Officer Cadet School in Waiouru, you'll be a physically fit young man or woman, have a minimum of a 20 aggregate in your top four 6th Form Certificate subjects (English must be a subject), and aged between 18-24.

If you have an A Bursary and are aged between 17-19 1/2, you could find yourself attending the Defence Force Academy in Australia, graduating with a degree.

Come and talk to us now about a career as an Officer in the Army. Applications for the next officer selections close on Friday 1st October, 1993.
Call 0800-732-666 or clip the coupon.

Yes! I want information on a career as an Officer.

Name: _____
Date of Birth: _____
Phone: _____
Address: _____

Post to: Army Recruiting,
PO Box 43, Napier.

OFFICER
NZ ARMY
You Can Be Your Best.

After Three Years as an Army Officer I'm Still Not Sure of the Daily Routine, 1993, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³² Advertisement, *After Three Years as an Army Officer I'm Still Not Sure of the Daily Routine*, 1993, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³³ Advertisement, *OCS(NZ)*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³⁴ Advertisement, *Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student Loan*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

In addition to education and training, two of the most significant opportunity-based themes to feature in 1990s recruiting material were variety and lifestyle. The army's self-representation as a 'life less ordinary' was the primary focus of several recruiting products during the period. One advertisement from 1993, for example, carried the title *After Three Years as an Army Officer I'm Still Not Sure of the Daily Routine. And Thankfully I Never Will Be*.⁵³⁵ The advertisement went on to state that the only predictable part of an army career was 'the fact that you won't spend your days shuffling papers around a desk'. The booklet *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, confidently stated 'Nothing compares with the variety and opportunity you'll experience as a soldier in the New Zealand Army'.⁵³⁶ The booklet went on to state that 'physical and outdoor training' were part of a soldier's daily working week, offering 'excitement and challenge which just doesn't happen in other jobs'. The Territorial Force was also advertised as offering soldiers an opportunity to 'do things which they would never do in everyday life'.⁵³⁷ The themes of variety, lifestyle and a life-less-ordinary, were designed to appeal across the social spectrum. Recruiting material for officers, soldiers, full-time and part-time, all used variety as a motivating theme for enlistment.

Associated with variety, the army also continued with its use of travel and adventure to attract recruits. Unlike the 1960s and 1970s, however, far less emphasis was given to travelling through Southeast Asia and the associated promise of encounters with attractive local women. Instead, the 1990s saw the travel theme restricted to service on United Nations missions or on exercises with other military forces.⁵³⁸ One advertisement even noted how one officer, after six years in the army, had '17 stamps in his passport'.⁵³⁹ By the 1990s, the use of sex to sell, even subtly, would likely have resulted in an immediate public backlash as society had become increasingly intolerant of the sexual objectification of women. As an alternative, the army advertised the excitement offered by adventure training.

⁵³⁵ Advertisement, *After Three Years as an Army Officer I'm Still Not Sure of the Daily Routine*, 1993, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³⁶ Advertisement, *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, 1996, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³⁷ Advertisement, *Territorials: Infantry*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³⁸ Advertisement, *Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵³⁹ Advertisement, *Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Everything you could want from a tertiary education

Except the Student Loan.



Corporate success isn't a small cell phone

Or a sharp suit. Or a leather briefcase. Corporate success is real. Corporate success is being exactly where you want to be. It's on top of the world. It's in your head. It's in the minds of everyone you inspire. Climb the corporate ladder as an Officer in the New Zealand Army.

ARM ME WITH A FUTURE



Captain Trevor Walker

When Stratford man Trevor Walker joined the New Zealand Army, he hoped it would provide him with a range of challenges - plus the chance to travel. ¶ Six years on he has graduated from the New Zealand Army's Officer Cadet School in Waiouru, has held a number of demanding positions and now has 17 stamps in his passport. ¶

In 1993 Trevor spent six months in Britain after being selected for Exercise Long Look - an annual exchange between the New Zealand Army and the British Army. And last year he was a peacekeeper in the Sinai for six months. He counts both overseas experiences as the highlights in his career so far. ¶ "I wouldn't change a moment of the first five years," says the young officer, who was responsible for a platoon of 30 men at the tender age of 18. ¶ Right now Trevor has a staff posting at Army General Staff in Wellington. And while it differs from his previous postings, it certainly holds fresh challenges. He is in the co-ordination department which helps organise activities involving the General's office. ¶ "It's a responsible position, although not in direct control of men," he says. ¶ Trevor is keen to be involved with another United Nations mission - hopefully in the next couple of years. In the meantime the Army is supporting his studies towards a Bachelor of Science. ¶ He has no hesitation in promoting the Army as a career for people seeking mental and physical challenges. ¶ "If people want to learn and they enjoy responsibility, I recommend joining as an Officer. ¶ "It's good being in an environment where you've got a lot of friends who enjoy the same sorts of things."

Two years into a business management degree at university, Karl Classen of Palmerston North decided it was not for him. ¶ The 23 year old had always been interested in electronics and when he saw the job as a telecommunications technician with the Army advertised three years ago, he decided to apply. ¶ With a high level of academic



Signaller Karl Classen

achievement under his belt and a willingness to learn, Karl beat 100 applicants to secure one of the two roles available. ¶ Today he can see his career taking shape. ¶ "In any calendar year, six months could be spent on a training course," he says. ¶ That training is providing Karl with knowledge about the internal workings of computers, programming, communications equipment and network control. ¶ He did his initial training at Waiouru before being posted to Defence Communications in Wellington. At the end of the year he will be posted to Auckland where there will be opportunities to travel overseas on Army exercises. ¶ As a keen rugby player Karl enjoys the physical as well as the intellectual challenges provided by the Army. ¶ "From my experience the Army's good training and you make a lot of good friends. ¶ There's a place in the Army for everybody."



FREEDOM

isn't just a goatee BEARD or a pierced nose

Freedom is the feeling you get when you are exactly where you want to be. Freedom is choice. A new direction. 36 careers in one. Freedom is a place. We call it the New Zealand Army.

ARM ME WITH A FUTURE

Get an education & career in 1

call 0800 NZ ARMY

for your information pack. 6 9 2 7 6 9

Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Adventure training was used consistently during the period, though seldom as the principal selling point. Adventure training was instead used as a supporting theme, with references to how ‘Most units in the Army do adventure training each year’, including activities like kayaking, diving, mountaineering, tramping and sailing.⁵⁴⁰ The army had always sought to sell itself as a career offering adventure, but now it was one based largely on the great outdoors. The army, it could be argued, was positioning itself as offering an extension of the fun and thrills of the Outdoor Pursuits Centre of New Zealand. Interest in outdoor education had grown significantly in New Zealand by the 1990s, with most young New Zealanders likely to experience the excitement of adventure training in some form.⁵⁴¹

Another supporting theme used in recruiting material was the army as an opportunity to develop and practise business skills. The use of business overtones emerged in the 1970s and peaked in the 1980s. By the 1990s, references to business had become more muted. Society had become jaded with the excesses of the country’s nouveau riche during the 1980s. Nevertheless, some use of business metaphors in relation to army careers were used during the 1990s. The clearest example of this was in the advertisement, *Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student*.⁵⁴² A quarter of the advertisement was dedicated to the business metaphor, stating:

Corporate success isn’t a small cell phone. Or a sharp suit. Or a leather briefcase.
Corporate success is real. Corporate success is being exactly where you want to be.
It’s on top of the world. It’s in your head. It’s in the minds of everyone you inspire.
Climb the corporate ladder as an Officer in the New Zealand Army.

More muted examples of the business metaphor were descriptions of an army officer’s work using management terms. Others included pictures of officers holding leather satchels, working at a desk within a corporate setting, giving presentations and conducting staff interviews.

⁵⁴⁰ Advertisement, *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, 1996, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁴¹ P. Lynch, et al, *Outdoor Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand: An Annotated Bibliography*, Department of Parks, Recreation & Tourism, Occasional Paper No. 9, Lincoln University, Canterbury, June 1994, p.2.

⁵⁴² Advertisement, *Everything You Could Want from a Tertiary Education Except the Student*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

One opportunity-based recruiting theme noteworthy by its absence was that of pay and remuneration. Unlike previous decades, though the 1980s did start the trend, there was no detailed reference to pay in any recruiting items of the 1990s. Pay was only ever referred to in passing. An example of this was in the booklet *OCS(NZ)*, where under the heading ‘Pay’ it simply stated, ‘you will be paid directly into your bank account each fortnight. You can arrange direct credits from your pay if necessary’.⁵⁴³ Other examples of pay being referred to in passing often occurred when noting that soldiers and officers were paid while training. While it would be encouraging to think that those that the army sought to recruit, as well as those attracted to the army, were not motivated by money, such an explanation for the absence of pay as a recruiting theme is unlikely. A more plausible explanation is the army’s relatively low rates of pay, making pay as a selling point untenable. New Zealand’s economic growth through the 1990s had been steady, with a ‘brief interlude’ in 1998.⁵⁴⁴ It is far more likely therefore that army pay had, beginning in the 1980s, failed to keep pace with the civilian sector.

As in the 1970s, one of the most unique items of recruiting material was designed to recruit Clergy into the Armed Forces. As with its 1970s predecessor, the 1990s booklet, *Blessed are the Peacemakers: You Can be Your Best*, used several *selfish* themes to achieve its desired effect of recruiting Clergy.⁵⁴⁵ The booklet stated that those who join the army ‘will receive excellent training’ and have the opportunity to ‘undertake university or other study’. Among the topics listed as options for ‘other study’ were addiction studies, quality management, and executive management. In addition to development opportunities, the booklet also emphasised the variety and excitement of Army Chaplaincy:

The sweat trickles down your brow, the back of your shirt is wet. You feel the weight of it all, the challenge. You ask yourself “God, what am I doing here?” The answer is God wanted you there. In this case it could be in the Malaysian jungle, carrying your pack and communion case, with the humidity producing the perspiration. Or it might have been induced by the vigour of lifting weights during a PT session. Either way,

⁵⁴³ Advertisement, *OCS(NZ)*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁵⁴⁴ J. Singleton, “An Economic History of New Zealand in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries”, Victoria University of Wellington, <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/an-economic-history-of-new-zealand-in-the-nineteenth-and-twentieth-centuries/>, accessed 22 September 2016.

⁵⁴⁵ Advertisement, *Blessed are the Peacemakers: You Can be Your Best*, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

the Padre is there. They're where the soldiers are. That's your parish. From the lush green of the jungle to the vulnerability of being out on the parade ground...

Men and women of God were not, as far as army recruiting material was concerned, exempt from selfish desires including self-improvement and excitement. Lending weight to the assessment that army pay rates were no longer attractive, pay did not feature in 1990s efforts to recruit Clergy as it had done in the 1970s.

The heat trickles down your back, the back of your shirt is wet. You feel the weight of it all, the challenge. You ask yourself "God, what am I doing here?" The answer is God wanted you there. In this case it could be in the Malaysian jungle, carrying your pack and communion case, with the humidity producing the perspiration. Or it might have been induced by the vigour of lifting weights during a PT session.

Either way, the Padre is there. There where the soldiers see. That's your parish. From the lush green of the jungle to the vulnerability of being out on the parade ground taking prayers for a medal parade with proud family and friends looking on.

From the stable to the invisible... "Padre I've got this problem". "Padre my boyfriend and I want to get married". "Padre we had a fight last night". "Padre can you bless our house"... God's work in God's place. The altar might be in the army chapel, a jungle clearing or in the city cathedral on Remembrance Sunday, 1:1 or 1:1000 you bring the living word to people who question, listen and want their chaplain to be there!

So who are we looking for in chaplaincy? Clergy who are communicators, who have a sense of mission based on peace. Self starters who love a challenge. In chaplaincy you receive and give. You will receive excellent training and learn how to be an officer in the Army (you will carry rank, but not executive command). You can undertake university or other study (education studies, quality management, executive management) and you will retain links with your church.

You will give of yourself in a way that you will find demanding, exciting and at times apparently routine. You will be assigned to a unit or camp on a four year contract with the agreement of your denomination. The first year is always probationary. There are two options open to you, Territorial Force and Regular Force. "TF" as it is called, is a good way to have a look at chaplaincy from your present parish base. Regular Force chaplaincy means you join the Army full time and will normally begin your ministry in the Army with a more experienced chaplain, often of another denomination. Each year you will meet with your chaplain colleagues for training and fellowship. After four years you will have acquired and developed skills that will make you an excellent asset to your denomination. If you stay longer, those skills will be developed further.

WANT TO KNOW MORE?
COME AND SEE WHAT IT'S REALLY LIKE.
FOR A NO OBLIGATION AND CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSION CONTACT:
THE PRINCIPAL DEFENCE CHAPLAIN
HQ NEW ZEALAND DEFENCE FORCE
PRIVATE BAG, WELLINGTON
PH (04) 498 4512

ARMY

ONE OF GOD'S MINISTRIES FOR YOU

Blessed are the Peacemakers: You Can be Your Best, circa late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The 1990s, like the decades preceding it, used a wide range of opportunity-based themes to encourage recruitment. Though there were some notable changes in emphasis and presentation, the themes largely remained the same. The continuity of these selfish themes reflects the continuity in the values held by society. Young people will always look for a chance to develop their skills and knowledge. Likewise, they will always look for something that will maintain their interest - hence the heavy emphasis on variety and adventure. Additionally, the range of *selfish* themes used also reflects the broad range of factors individuals look for in employment. Individual themes may be more or less important to each individual, but each individual will take several factors into account when making the choice whether to enlist.

As evidenced in the notes left behind by New Zealand veterans of the First World War, individuals professed mixed motives for enlisting in the army.⁵⁴⁶ It can, therefore, be deduced that the army's hierarchy, and later the advertising agencies employed by the army, have been well aware of this fact. New Zealand Army recruiting material has consistently sought to hit upon as many motives, both opportunistic and obligation-based, as possible. As demonstrated in the last two chapters on opportunity-based themes, the common assumption that earlier generations of New Zealander joined the army for largely selfless or altruistic reasons than later generations has been debunked. As Premier Richard Seddon noted as early as the South African War, New Zealanders would not join out of patriotic sentiment alone; they would also need adequate remuneration. Seddon's opinion, supported by numerous items of recruiting material that focus heavily on pay rates during the century, shows that pay was considered a significant motivator for enlistment.

The relative scarcity of recruiting material from the South African War to Second World War, despite the New Zealand's considerable military commitment per capita during much of this period, should not be viewed as reflective of a society motivated to enlist for purely obligation-based reasons. During the South African War, while patriotic fervour was undoubtedly high, many men and women still enlisted out of a desire for adventure. Then, in 1909 the Defence Act ensured that sufficient men were available for the army when needed. During the First World War, pay, travel, adventure and conditions of service all featured in army recruiting material up until the point conscription was introduced. The immediate post-First World War period witnessed significant military retrenchment, followed by the Depression in which the nation's army virtually went out of existence. Recruiting would not recommence until the period immediately prior to the Second World War. Once the war began, opportunity-based themes re-emerged in the form of travel and adventure offered by wartime service in the army.

After the Second World War, the New Zealand Army entered a period of professionalization. Instead of an army based primarily on part-time soldiers, the army moved to a primarily full-time model, whereby an expeditionary force could be formed around a large nucleus of full-time soldiers supplemented by part-time Territorials. The maintenance of a larger professional army necessitated an increase in recruiting material in order to maintain mandated force strength. The resultant increase in printed recruiting

⁵⁴⁶ G. Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand soldier in the First World War, 1914-1918*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2015, p.27.

material explains why the chapters on opportunity-based themes is weighted towards the period covering 1946 to 1999. Irrespective of the quantity of recruiting material produced through the period reviewed, enough evidence exists to show that opportunity-based themes were present throughout. The increase in recruiting material since 1946 has simply allowed for greater analysis as the sample size has significantly increased.

Chapter Five: Men, manliness and masculinity

This chapter will describe and analyse how masculinity has persistently been employed as a dominant theme in New Zealand Army recruiting material. It will explain how the representation of masculinity has reflected social change in New Zealand society and changes in how the army has sought to sell itself as an organisation and potential employer. The chapter will also explore how the concept of masculinity in army recruiting material adapted over time in order to maintain its appeal to potential recruits, while also seeking to remain socially acceptable.

Comparisons with other nations' recruiting material, in particular those of Australia, Canada, the United States and Britain will also be made, providing broader transnational context to the New Zealand experience. The core argument is that contemporary and widely accepted views of the masculine ideal, including traits such as physical strength, ruggedness, outdoor living, sporting prowess, bravery, sacrifice and fatherhood, have been consciously used to recruit New Zealand soldiers throughout the period. This chapter also contends that masculinity is a remarkably flexible concept that not only changes over time, but can be applied to both women and men. The chapter will also argue that if military service was held up as a masculine ideal, particularly in times of armed conflict, then service in elite units represents the apex of masculine attainment in a military context. Firstly, however, it is necessary to briefly discuss the concept of masculinity and what is meant by the terms 'masculinity', 'manliness' and 'manhood' within the context of this thesis.

Masculinity is a socially constructed concept that encompasses more than a simple biological requirement to have male genitalia. The term *masculinity* is not a synonym for *men*. Instead, it is a set of ideas that influences our social practices, judgements, and views on history.⁵⁴⁷ Traditionally speaking, however, the concept of masculinity has embodied a set of characteristics associated with 'men' – i.e. those with male genitalia. Traits such as physical muscularity, toughness, virility, and ruggedness, amongst others, are associated with the concept of masculinity.⁵⁴⁸ To be judged 'a real man', one must, depending on time and place, be seen to exhibit these characteristics. Like the term *masculinity*, the idea of *manliness* or being *manly*, as used in this thesis, embodies a set of attributes most often, but not

⁵⁴⁷ R. Law, et al., *Masculinities in Aotearoa*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1999, p.13.

⁵⁴⁸ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of The Pakeha Male – A History*, Auckland, Penguin, 1987, p.154.

exclusively, associated with men. *Manliness*, however, does differ subtly from *masculinity* by virtue of its incorporation of more aggressive attributes such as the demonstration of strength and bravery when faced with an external or existential threat.⁵⁴⁹ Finally, the term *manhood* is used in three ways: as a measure of a boy's development from childhood into adulthood; collectively to group men together, as in 'New Zealand's manhood'; and in reference to the testing of an individual, such as one's participation in war being a test of individual manhood.⁵⁵⁰ Before examining New Zealand Army recruiting material specifically, it is worth discussing the socially constructed link between masculinity and war.

The association of war with the masculine ideal is a social gender construction common in many cultures. Likewise, it is often accepted that masculinity associated with military service has an ascendancy over other, lesser forms of masculinity.⁵⁵¹ The association between masculinity and the military becomes increasingly strong during wartime, elevating attributes such as stoicism, heroism, and camaraderie above other forms of masculinity.⁵⁵² It should, therefore, come as no surprise that various nations exploit these cultural myths of the superior masculinity of military men in their recruiting material. Many cultures view participation in war as the ultimate test of manly virtues and, in particular, one of society's more exalted manly traits: bravery. In the United States during the Second World War, for example, the idea that war was a test of manhood and a test by which an individual would be judged by society was used in several recruiting campaigns.⁵⁵³ Like bravery, death in battle is widely seen as the ultimate demonstration of one's loyalty for country, cause or religion.

Those who have read Horace and Wilfred Owen, or visited the Royal Military College Sandhurst Chapel, would be familiar with 'the old lie' - *Dulce et Decorum est Pro patria mori* as a long promoted social ideal. Within New Zealand the same words can be found inscribed at various locations, including the entrance archway to Otago Boys' High School in Dunedin.⁵⁵⁴ According to New Zealand historians Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, the archway was designed with the purpose of making an example of the fallen and to serve

⁵⁴⁹ M. Phillips, "Sport, War and Gender Images: The Australian Sportsmen's Battalions and the First World War", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 14, No.1 (April 1997), p.84.

⁵⁵⁰ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.158.

⁵⁵¹ R. Woodward, "'It's a Man's Life!': Soldiers, Masculinity and the Countryside", *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 5:3, (1998), DOI: 10.1080/09663699825214, p.287.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ M.R. Grandstaff, "Visions of New Men: The Heroic Soldier Narrative in American Advertisements During World War II", *Advertising & Society Review*, accessed 13 April 2015, E-ISSN 1154-7311, p.6.

⁵⁵⁴ "Otago Boys High School Archway", accessed on 28 April 2015, <http://www.cemeteries.org.nz/WarMemorials/OBHSArchway%20&Trails.pdf>.

as ‘a daily inspiration to the young men [of the school] when they entered the school grounds’.⁵⁵⁵ In the first half of the twentieth century, New Zealand boys, and girls for that matter, were taught during their imperial, symbol-laden, education, that one of the ‘highest achievement[s] in the life of a man was to die for the country in battle’.⁵⁵⁶ As explored in *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, the standing of the British Army and the ‘cult of the Christian military hero’ grew significantly in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁷ In the early twentieth century, imperially inspired beliefs were conveyed to New Zealand children through the *School Journal* including ‘chivalric concepts like valour, duty, self-sacrifice, loyalty, service, [and] discipline’.⁵⁵⁸

In popular culture too, poems, including Sir Henry Newbolt’s *Vitā Lampada* in 1897, reflected and reinforced the association between education and preparation for war, to ‘Play up! Play up! And play the game!’ Newbolt’s poem makes an explicit connection between war, sport, and the education of youth – particularly young boys – in their responsibility to duty during wartime; a duty to be learned and not forgotten, ignored or avoided.

There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night—
 Ten to make and the match to win—
 A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
 An hour to play and the last man in.
 And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,
 Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
 But his captain's hand on his shoulder smote
 'Play up! play up! and play the game!'

The sand of the desert is sodden red,—
 Red with the wreck of a square that broke; —
 The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
 And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
 The river of death has brimmed his banks,

⁵⁵⁵ C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Bookprint Consultants Ltd, Wellington, 1990, p.83.

⁵⁵⁶ D. Novitz and B. Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, p.94.

⁵⁵⁷ J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1984, p.5.

⁵⁵⁸ J. Phillips, “War and National Identity”, in D. Novitz and B. Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, p.95.

And England's far, and Honour a name,
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
'Play up! play up! and play the game! '

This is the word that year by year,
While in her place the school is set,
Every one of her sons must hear,
And none that hears it dare forget.
This they all with a joyful mind
Bear through life like a torch in flame,
And falling fling to the host behind—
'Play up! play up! and play the game!⁵⁵⁹

The antithesis to bravery in battle is a refusal to serve in the armed forces, which has brought with it powerful social condemnation. Even in New Zealand's own short military history, examples of the social pressures placed upon men to serve during wartime are well known. In New Zealand during the First World War, for example, significant debate occurred around the introduction of conscription. One of the arguments made against conscription was that its introduction would 'suggest that New Zealanders were less manly or patriotic than the men of other British nations'.⁵⁶⁰ As Paul Baker points out in *King and Country Call*, the contemporary public concern was that New Zealand would be judged by its performance during wartime and did not want to be found wanting. That such concerns regarding comparative performance were held is evidenced by the words of Prime Minister William Massey on 1 of November 1918, the day the Ottoman Empire surrendered, when he stated 'the Anzacs established a reputation equal to the best of the fighting men of the British stock of which history gives us any record'.⁵⁶¹ Massey reinforced the point six days later, stating 'There is no country in the world so prosperous as New Zealand today; and so far as the war is concerned, what country has done its part and performed its share better than this Dominion? The soldiers of no part of the Empire have excelled those of New Zealand'.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁹ H.J. Newbolt, "Vitaī Lampada", *Admirals All*, 1897.

⁵⁶⁰ P. Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1988, p.31.

⁵⁶¹ *NZPD*, Volume 183, p. 109, cited in H. Templeton, et al, *Speeches that Shaped New Zealand 1814-1956*, Cambridge (New Zealand), Hurricane Press, 2014, p.199.

⁵⁶² *NZPD*, Volume 183, p. 277, cited in H. Templeton, et al, *Speeches that Shaped New Zealand 1814-1956*, Cambridge (New Zealand), Hurricane Press, 2014, p.206.

New Zealand was proud of its countrymen's performance in wartime, much as they had been after the South African War. After that conflict Michael King describes how the 'traditions that grew up about New Zealand fighting men [as being] - rugged, enterprising, ready to throw away the rule book when rules were inadequate'.⁵⁶³ War provided a chance of displaying 'New Zealand's Anglo-Saxon manhood,' meaning any refusal to eagerly soldier, and by default prove New Zealand's manly virtue, was socially condemnable.⁵⁶⁴

At a grass roots level, abhorrence for perceived 'cowardice' during wartime manifested itself in other, uglier ways. It gave rise to the brutal treatment of conscientious objectors and the delivery of white feathers to men of military age in New Zealand, regardless of their reasons, moral or physical. During the First World War public sentiment against 'shirkers' was particularly strong. Popular newspapers such the *Observer* and *Freelance* described conscientious objectors as drones, loafers, parasites, decadents, molly-coddlers, cowards and even 'thinly-disguised traitors'.⁵⁶⁵ Official opinion was sometimes little better, with General Alexander Godley, Commandant of the New Zealand Military forces and later Anzac Corps Commander, describing conscientious objectors as 'cranks' and 'faddists'.⁵⁶⁶ In an environment where such strongly held views were voiced, it is hardly surprising that conscientious objectors received harsh treatment.

Perhaps the best-known conscientious objector was Archibald Baxter. In his memoir *We Will Not Cease*, Baxter provided several vivid and brutal accounts of his treatment at the hands of the New Zealand government and military forces during the First World War. He described at one point how another objector, Mark Briggs, was dragged by a piece of cable wire affixed at the wrists along a mile of nail strewn duckboard and subsequently dragged through water-filled shell holes half naked and bleeding.⁵⁶⁷ While many of Baxter's specific accounts remain unverified, there is little doubt that New Zealanders were subjected to 'barbaric field punishments'.⁵⁶⁸ Many women also saw it as their moral and imperial duty to 'urge their menfolk to enlist... a reflection of the imperialistic education to which they had been subjected'.⁵⁶⁹ Thankfully, such harsh treatment was not meted out upon conscientious

⁵⁶³ M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Penguin, 2003, p.292.

⁵⁶⁴ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.139.

⁵⁶⁵ Baker, p.46.

⁵⁶⁶ I. McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli*, Christchurch, GP Books, 1991, p.201.

⁵⁶⁷ A. Baxter, *We Will Not Cease*, Auckland, Cape Catley Ltd, 2012, p.146.

⁵⁶⁸ King, p.302.

⁵⁶⁹ J.C. McLeod, "Activities of New Zealand Women During World War I", M.A. Hons thesis, University of Otago, 1978, p.48.

objectors of the Second World War, though as many as 800 were detained.⁵⁷⁰ Several accounts even exist of the pressure serving soldiers felt with respect to living up to socially enforced expectations to be brave. The fear of being labelled a coward by one's soldier peers and the 'folks back home' was a powerful motivator to be brave in battle.⁵⁷¹ It also supports Baxter's claim that 'each man's fear of what his neighbour might think' prevented a large, united protest movement developing during the First World War.⁵⁷²

New Zealand's first involvement in an overseas conflict occurred during the South African War. Then Prime Minister Richard Seddon was particularly supportive of the war, famously stating New Zealand 'would fight for one flag, one Queen, one tongue, and for one country – Britain'.⁵⁷³ Seddon saw it as New Zealand's duty to assist in this imperial undertaking, and though the offer of support was small, just 210 mounted rifles, Seddon hoped it would send a message to the Boers that the Empire stood united.⁵⁷⁴ Seddon's motion in parliament to support the war was met with widespread approval, with only five of the seventy-four members in the House of Representatives voting in opposition.⁵⁷⁵ Support from the New Zealand public was also strong. The following day New Zealand newspapers were dominated by articles on the subject, including detailed accounts of the Premier's motion, and its subsequent discussion and approval in the House. The *Auckland Star's* parliamentary correspondent summed up his account of the discussion by giving some insight to public sentiment: 'A NEW ZEALAND CONTINGENT OFFERED. NATIONAL ANTHEM SUNG IN PARLIAMENT. A STIRRING SCENE'.⁵⁷⁶

In the following days newspapers published: Maps of South Africa, its states and colonies; reports on the Australian contingent; commentary and speculation on the future course of events; and, amongst other articles, notices calling for volunteers. Given the small size of the commitment, only volunteers from the permanent forces or part-time Volunteer Force were required. This did not, however, reduce eager offers to serve from across the country. According to historian Michael King, Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897 had stirred 'nascent imperialism and nationalism', the result of which was patriotic men desirous of an opportunity to 'show their mettle in a scrap and to demonstrate the country's

⁵⁷⁰ King, pp.392-393.

⁵⁷¹ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.171.

⁵⁷² Baxter, p.22.

⁵⁷³ Quoted in M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Penguin, 2003, p.286.

⁵⁷⁴ *Auckland Star*, 29 September 1899, p.5.

⁵⁷⁵ Statistics New Zealand (Tauranga Aotearoa), *The New Zealand Official Year-book 1899*.

⁵⁷⁶ *Auckland Star*, 29 September 1899, p.5.

unswerving loyalty to Mother Britain'.⁵⁷⁷ Intrinsic to this popular sense of imperialism, as identified earlier, were the image of the righteous Christian military hero and the chivalric concepts of valour, duty, self-sacrifice, loyalty, service, and discipline. Naturally, of course, the righteous Christian military hero was British and, as a loyal outpost of empire, New Zealand men would fight in that role.

Interestingly, no record has been discovered that official government recruiting material was produced during the period of the South African War. This is likely due to the widespread support amongst the public and press for the war, making explicit recruiting efforts on behalf of the government unnecessary. Not only were men 'clamouring' to join early New Zealand contingents, but the press were equally supportive of the war, reporting on official communiqués relating to the recruitment of personnel and contingents.⁵⁷⁸ An early example from the *Ashburton Guardian* occurred on 29 September, with the announcement that the 'Government has sent the following telegram to the officers commanding districts: - "In the case of men being wanted for the Transvaal, could you raise from the mounted corps in your command two officers and fifty men between the ages of 23 and 40..."⁵⁷⁹ Newspapers also encouraged comparisons between New Zealand's support for the campaign by comparing the nation's eagerness and military contribution with those of other nations of the British Empire. On 13 October 1899, for example, the *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported on both the popularity of the war in London; the bitter disappointment felt by Canadians after having 'only 500 of her cavalry and infantry' accepted by Britain for service in South Africa; and Australian efforts 'to raise a corps with horse accoutrements for the Transvaal'.⁵⁸⁰

An example illustrative of both the level of support for the war amongst the general public and the press is reproduced below. The booklet for a matinee titled *Dandy Dick* was organised by the Wellington More Men Fund and printed by the *Evening Post*.⁵⁸¹ The image of the New Zealand mounted soldier, or 'Rough Rider,' was also popular. The term Rough Riders was derived from Theodore Roosevelt's brigade at San Juan Hill Cuba, a group of men as eager to serve in war as New Zealand's own men.⁵⁸² The association of Roosevelt's Rough Riders with the New Zealand contingents 'evoked images every bit as romantic as

⁵⁷⁷ King, p.285.

⁵⁷⁸ I. McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli*, Christchurch, GP Books, 1991, p.113.

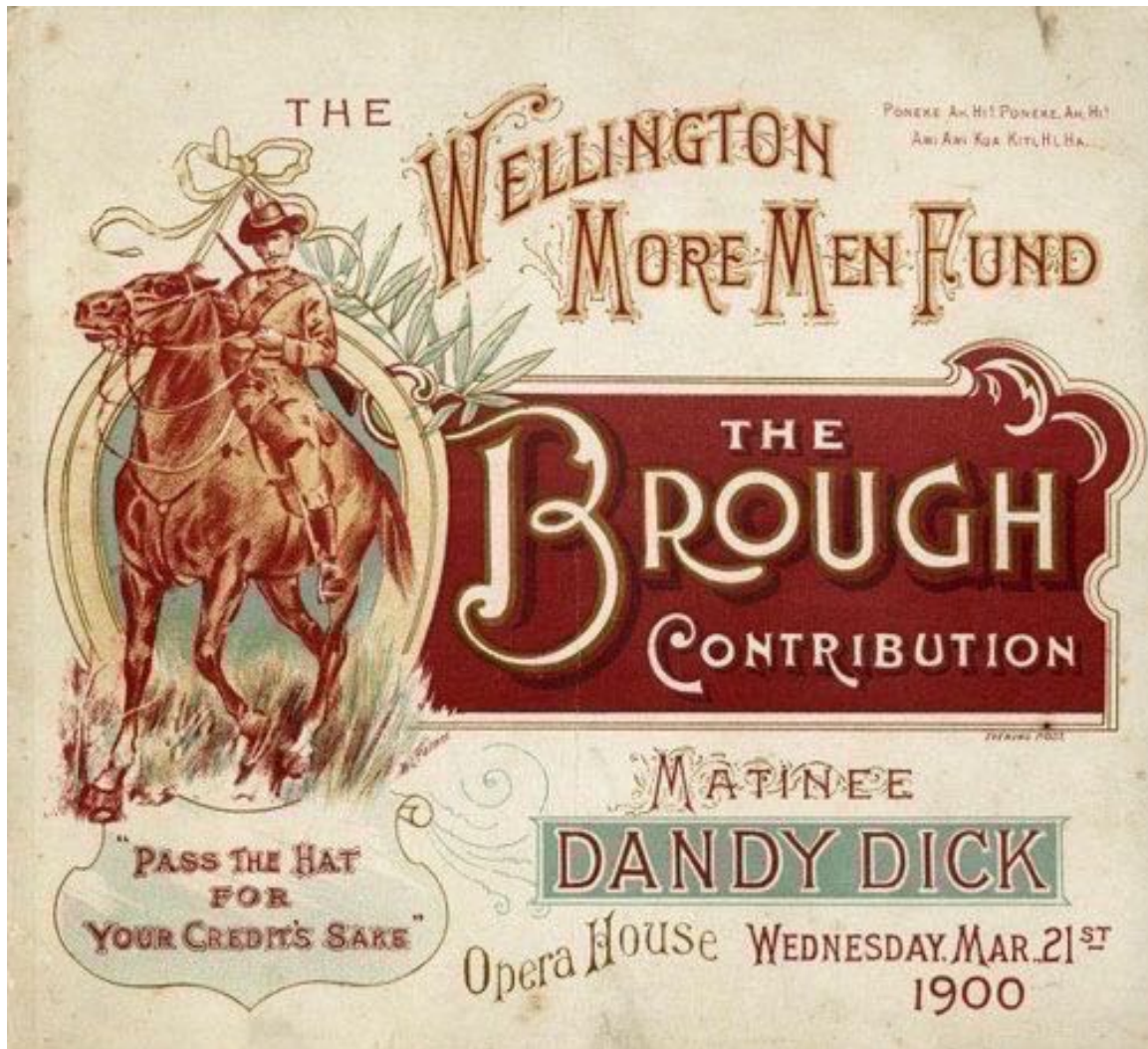
⁵⁷⁹ *Ashburton Guardian*, 29 September 1899, p.3.

⁵⁸⁰ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 13 October 1899, p.3.

⁵⁸¹ Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, Ref: Eph-A-WAR-SA-1900-01-cover.

⁵⁸² J. Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.140.

those of the American frontier'.⁵⁸³ Frontier men of the United States had a reputation for toughness, the ability to adapt and overcome harsh environments, and for performing bravely in combat. Like Roosevelt in the United States, New Zealand held its wartime heroes in high regard, including Lieutenant Colonel Alfred William Robin.⁵⁸⁴ Robin led the first New Zealand contingent to South Africa and would be mentioned in dispatches three times during his service in the war.⁵⁸⁵



Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, Reference: Eph-A-WAR-SA-1900-01-cover.

While many citizens, for their ‘credits sake’, gave money to demonstrate their loyalty to empire, ‘credit’ was also given to the performance of New Zealand’s fighting men. The

⁵⁸³ King, p 288.

⁵⁸⁴ King, p.291.

⁵⁸⁵ “Story: Robin, Alfred William”, Encyclopedia of New Zealand, accessed 29 April 2015, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r25/robin-alfred-william>.

performance of New Zealand's troops was measured in comparison to the other British colonies, and the comparison was often favourable.⁵⁸⁶ New Zealand's soldiers were widely seen as 'courageous, adaptable, full of initiative, tough, with a high degree of self-discipline'.⁵⁸⁷ In short, they measured up well compared to our colonial peers, and perhaps more importantly they measured up as men. The war also led to a major expansion of the Volunteer Force, swelling by sixty-three per cent between 1899 to 1900.⁵⁸⁸ While the popularity of the Volunteer Force inevitably waned after the South African War finished, it remained strong in terms of numbers. In 1909 the New Zealand government instituted compulsory military service for men aged between eighteen and thirty. It was anticipated that the system, which came into force in 1911, would allow a peacetime establishment of 30,000 to be reached by 1915.⁵⁸⁹

By the time the First World War began, New Zealand had a strong military force from which it could draw. Nevertheless, the government still asked for volunteers rather than mobilise its existing territorial forces. Within a week of calling for volunteers, 14,000 had offered their services.⁵⁹⁰ The volunteer system continued to work adequately for some time, providing sufficient troops for the initial 'Main Body' and subsequent reinforcements for the next two years.⁵⁹¹ While the initial response to serve was overwhelmingly positive, it did not take long before a recruitment campaign began in earnest to maintain the flow of new recruits. One of the most prominent themes used during the campaign, alongside that of loyalty to empire, was the idea that enlisting to serve was a demonstration of one's manliness. Many aspiring recruits were, however, deemed unfit for military service and rejected on medical grounds; indicating many New Zealand men fell short of the physical manly ideal depicted in recruiting posters.⁵⁹² In 1914 the British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) produced a barrage of recruiting posters with titles such as: 'Why More Men are Needed',⁵⁹³ 'England Expects Every Man To Do His Duty',⁵⁹⁴ 'Men of the Empire To

⁵⁸⁶ J. Crawford and E. Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Reed, Auckland, 1999, p.208.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.207.

⁵⁸⁸ G.J. Clayton, *The New Zealand Army: A History from the 1840's to the 1990's*, Christchurch, Wyatt & Wilson Print, 1990, p.66.

⁵⁸⁹ F.W. Perry, *The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organisation in Two World Wars*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p.176.

⁵⁹⁰ Baker, p.15.

⁵⁹¹ Clayton, p.83.

⁵⁹² Baker, p.142.

⁵⁹³ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH017347.

⁵⁹⁴ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH016312.

ARMS!’,⁵⁹⁵ ‘Every Fit Man’,⁵⁹⁶ and ‘Offer Your Services Now: Our Brave Soldiers at the Front Need Your Help’.⁵⁹⁷ Many of these posters ended up on display in New Zealand and were in stark contrast to the ‘visual plainness of New Zealand’s own war posters’.⁵⁹⁸ New Zealand’s own recruiting products were functional rather than visually arresting, with many appearing as official notices.



Offer Your Services Now: Our Brave Soldiers at the Front Need Your Help, Museum of New Zealand, Registration Number: GH016290

⁵⁹⁵ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH016015.

⁵⁹⁶ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH016014.

⁵⁹⁷ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH016290.

⁵⁹⁸ S. Gibson, “First World War Posters at Te Papa”, *Tuhinga*, Number 23, 2012, p.73.

Below are two examples of domestically produced recruiting advertisements. The first appeared in the *Evening Post* on the 15 February 1915. It called for ‘Reinforcements’ and was addressed ‘To the Manhood of New Zealand’.⁵⁹⁹ The appeal to one’s *manhood* was reinforced by a number of subtle mechanisms. First it addressed the viewer as ‘you’, making the notice personal, much in the same way as Alfred Leete’s famous Kitchener poster, though far less dramatically. The advertisement also referred to ‘the patriotism of your forefathers’, encouraging the viewer to ask the question of whether they live up to the reputation of their ancestors. As already discussed, stories of the empire’s heroes and of New Zealand’s own performance during the South African War had been widely socialised and accepted. Finally, guilt was used, ‘Don’t feel for the rest of your life you shirked your duty’. To shirk one’s duty was tantamount to cowardice and therefore the antithesis of what it meant to be a man.

Evidence exists that such ploys proved effective. In a minute to the Minister of Defence, dated 20 April 1917, Colonel Potter as Camp Commandant described the ‘Character of Soldiers’.⁶⁰⁰ He wrote that the ‘spirit of adventure’ found in recruits earlier in the war had given way to ‘a fear of being despised for not answering the plain call of duty; still later, the desire to avoid being called up under ballot and entering Camp under compulsion’. The second advertisement, this time a public notice, was distributed in 1916 and again addressed ‘To New Zealand’s Manhood’, though this time as a headline.⁶⁰¹ As in the previous advertisement, the appeal to *manhood* was reinforced through a series of appeals to deeply held social values, as the following excerpt demonstrates:

The cry comes to us from our sons, brothers, and kinsmen in the trenches: “Come over and help us!” It rings through every note of the official despatches; it is echoed by the sick, the wounded, and by the men who have returned invalided from the front; the graves of Gallipoli appeal to us silently, yet eloquently, that the sacrifices made there, and the heroic lives laid down on that shell-swept Peninsula shall not have been given in vain. No man worthy of the name can remain deaf to such appeals.

Contained within these few lines were a number of complex appeals. First, there was the ‘cry’ from family already at the front. Not only was this appeal made personal by the

⁵⁹⁹ *Evening Post*, 15 February 1915, p.10.

⁶⁰⁰ Archives New Zealand, Reference Number: AD1 735.

⁶⁰¹ Poster, *To New Zealand’s Manhood*, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1980.6574.

mention of sons, brothers, and kinsmen, but by the inferred question asked of the reader, why are you not at the front alongside them? The second, equally emotionally manipulative, appeal was the reference to the physical and in some cases ultimate sacrifices already made by 'heroic' New Zealanders at the battlefront. The reader was thereby encouraged to compare their own sense of masculine self and to consider whether they were prepared to make the same heroic sacrifices. Finally, if it was not clear enough already that the decision to volunteer or otherwise was an issue of manhood, it stated 'No man worthy of the name can remain deaf to such appeals'. To be a man, a real man, one had to serve in war.



NEW ZEALAND EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

REINFORCEMENTS

To the Manhood of New Zealand between the ages of 20 and 40 years.

HALT!

YOUR EMPIRE CALLS YOU, AND—ENGLAND EXPECTS!—

IN order to maintain a regular supply of REINFORCEMENTS for the NEW ZEALAND EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, every man of the required age who is a British subject and is medically fit owes a duty to his EMPIRE. REGISTER YOUR NAME AS A RECRUIT TO SERVE YOUR KING AND COUNTRY.

Due to the patriotism of your forefathers, ENGLAND is to-day able to assert the principle of JUSTICE and RIGHT. Are you by your neglect going to deprive our Empire of this privilege and power?

PROVISION IS MADE FOR YOU WHEN SERVING YOUR COUNTRY to receive PAY at the following rate: As a Private, from the day of leaving for Camp you will receive 4s. per diem for seven days in the week. This will be paid to you in full at intervals of ten to fifteen days for the first calendar month. After that date the daily rate will be 5s. You will be fed and clothed until discharged. Arrangements can be made to enable you to allot any portion of your pay to relatives or friends, or to a bank until your return, but only 2s. a day can be drawn after embarkation. The balance, if not allotted, will be held as deferred pay, and paid to you on discharge or on return to New Zealand.

REGISTER NOW

Registration-cards can be obtained from any post-office or Defence Office. When filled in, send to the nearest Defence Office, or to the Officer commanding your Unit.

DON'T GIVE UP WORK UNTIL ORDERED TO DO SO.

Don't feel for the rest of your life you shirked your duty when your Empire's existence depended on your help.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

CONDITIONS.—INFORMATION FOR INTENDING RECRUITS.

1. HOW TO ENLIST:—

Apply to the nearest Defence Office or Post-office for information and registration-card. Fill in the card and send it to the nearest Defence Office (no stamp required). When you are called on for medical examination do not give up your civil employment. Medical examination is only a stage in the proceedings, after which you return to work and wait until you are ordered to parade. Due notice will be given so that arrangements may be made to settle private affairs.

2. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF REGISTRATION:—

Registration-cards received by the Defence Authorities will be acknowledged. The acknowledgment will be given a registration (serial) number, which should be referred to in all subsequent correspondence.

3. CHANGE OF ADDRESS:—

Intending recruits who change their place of residence must notify the Defence Office with whom they registered. Should they go to another district they must re-register in the new district.

4. TERMS OF ENLISTMENT:—

Enlistment is for the period of the war and until such time thereafter as may be necessary for return and discharge in New Zealand.

5. OATH OF ALLEGIANCE:—

Every soldier is required to take the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty the King in a prescribed form.

6. REQUIREMENTS:—

Age must be between twenty and forty years.
Height must be over 5ft. 4in.
Weight must be under twelve stone.
Fit for service.

7. MEDICAL TEST:—

The medical examination requires, amongst other matters, that a recruit should have good eyesight, good hearing, no ruptures, no defects, not subject to fits, and be possessed of sufficient teeth for efficient mastication.

8. VACCINATION AND INOCULATION:—

In the interests of himself and of his comrades, every soldier is required to have been vaccinated and inoculated for enteric. No recruit will be accepted unless he agrees to vaccination and inoculation.

9. EQUIPMENT:—

All equipment, clothing, blankets, etc., will be provided free by the New Zealand Government.

10. TRAINING:—

Before leaving New Zealand men are liable to be trained for four (4) months at Trentham or for any shorter period ordered.

11. PAY:—

Men who enlist for service with the Expeditionary Force receive pay at Territorial Force rates for the first month in camp—that is, 4s. per day in the case of privates. The whole of this money is paid direct to the men at intervals of ten to fifteen days.

At the end of the first month pay is increased to Expeditionary Force rates—that is, 5s. per day in the case of privates. From this pay is deducted any allotments that the men desire to make.

Only 2s. a day can be drawn after embarkation, the balance, if not allotted, being held as deferred pay, and paid to the soldier on discharge or on return to New Zealand; in case of death, paid to next-of-kin or legal representative.

To New Zealand's Manhood.

THE CALL TO BATTLE!

Shall the Sacrifices made be in vain?

"EVERY OUNCE INTO THE SCALE!"

MANIFESTO BY THE RECRUITING BOARD TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND.

IT is now close upon eighteen months since the Government of New Zealand, with the full consent and approval of the people of the Dominion, decided to place an Expeditionary Force at the disposal of the Imperial Authorities. In the interval we have despatched over 34,000 troops to the front, we have 12,000 more in training, and we stand committed to the despatch of 2,250 men every four weeks by way of Reinforcements. This means that by the end of the current year we shall have sent not less than 61,000 men into the fighting line—no small achievement for a country which has only a population of a little over a million.

Greater effort is called for.

We are all proud of the magnificent response that has already been made to the Empire's call for men to do battle in the cause of justice and liberty and for the deliverance of the oppressed. But the effort which loyalty and patriotism demand of us now is greater than was at one time anticipated, and requires that we should put every ounce of energy we possess into the scale against Germany.

The need is for Men, More Men, and still More Men!

The call comes to every man in this country who is in a position to do so to prepare to take his place in the fighting line! The cry comes to us from our sons, brothers, and kinsmen in the trenches: "Come over and help us!" It rings through every note of the official despatches: it is echoed by the sick, the wounded, and by the men who have returned inviolated from the front; the graves of Gallipoli appeal to us silently, yet eloquently, that the sacrifices made there, and the heroic lives laid down on that shell-swept Peninsula shall not have been given in vain. No man worthy of the name can remain deaf to such appeals. The Empire needs the faithful and devoted services of all its citizens if it is to prove victorious in the stupendous task to which it has set its hand. Never in all its glorious history has it called upon its peoples in vain. Shall we fail it now? The Motherland, which has made many sacrifices on our behalf, appeals to her sons across the seas for their assistance and co-operation. Zeppelin raids, coastal bombardments, and the grim menace of submarines have familiarized her with the horrors of a warfare we have so far happily escaped, and which we too should experience but for the protection the British Fleet affords us. It is our duty, nay, more, our privilege, to go to her help.

The Talk of "Prussianizing."

In certain quarters of late we have heard talk of the "Prussianizing of New Zealand." Only in one way is it possible to Prussianize New Zealand, and that is by allowing the enemy to become victorious. If, by apathy and indifference, we fail in our duty, and so make conquest an easy matter for our adversaries, the responsibility will rest upon those who have declined to accept the privileges and duties of citizenship, chief amongst which is the defence of the country. Self-preservation, a care for our homes, and the sanctity of family life, apart altogether from love of country, alike demand that we should be on the alert to repel the foe, and to defend the Empire on the fields of battle, where the decisive blows must be struck that will bring either victory or defeat to the opposing forces, and which will decide our destiny, together with that of the Empire with which our fate is inseparably connected.

The German Dream of Conquest.

Germany's plans of conquest, which have been unfolded before the eyes of an astonished world since the war began, included the annexation of the British Overseas Dominions, also of Egypt and probably India. We need be under no illusions as to our fate if the Central European Powers proved victorious. The German Eagle would replace the Union Jack and the New Zealand flag in these Southern Seas. The Huns would simply enter upon and despoil the country, and German autocracy, backed up by Krupp's guns, would take the place of our free institutions. Democracy as we know it would perish under Prussian rule, and it would become a crime to speak the English language. Has not a leading Berlin paper told us, with the approval of the German official world, that "Mankind needs German methods" and "must make use of them for its spiritual preservation"? And has not the Berlin *Deutsche Tageszeitung* declared that we must also accept "the blessing" of the German tongue? "On all men," it arrogantly writes, "not those belonging to the more cultured races only, but on men of all nationalities and colours, the German language sets as a blessing which, coming direct from the hand of God, sinks into the heart like a precious balm, and ennobles it!" And so, "English," the journal proceeds, "the bastard tongue of the canting Island Pirates, must be swept from the place it has usurped and forced back into the remotest corners of Britain, until it has returned to its original elements of an insignificant pirate dialect."

The dangers we have to guard against are very real; but if we are true to ourselves, true to the traditions of our race, and faithful stewards of the sacred heritage committed to us by our forefathers, we need not fear the result. Only by disunion, disloyalty, and half-heartedness can the victory pass from our grasp. We New-Zealanders pride ourselves most of all upon our loyalty to our Empire, our Country, and our Flag. We have made sacrifices on their behalf, but the call is for greater sacrifices still. We are proud to think that tens of thousands of New Zealand's sons count it an honour to take up arms on behalf of the Empire, and that her heroic daughters have willingly braved the perils of the battlefield and of service in strange lands in order to minister to the suffering and to succour the wounded. Duty calls us to battle on behalf of the Right. Failure to defeat the damnable doctrine that "Might is Right" will land the world into the abyssal depths of savagery. Honour demands that we should make sacrifices for the good of our fellow-men, for the protection of our women and children, and for the sanctity of our home life.

We must Fight on.

For Britain's sake we have sent our sons, our brothers, and our kinsmen to the war; for her sake and for our own protection, and for the safety and happiness of our womenfolk and children, we must continue to reinforce them and to strengthen their hands in every possible way. We must fight on until a durable peace becomes possible, and the sword must not be sheathed until Belgium's wrongs have been righted, until Russian Poland and Serbia are again freed from the yoke of the oppressor, and until ample guarantees are available for the safety of the smaller nationalities of the world. In this way we can all play our part. But to this end we must be prepared to make sacrifices, and we are satisfied that the people of New Zealand, who have already done so much in this direction, will continue steadfast to the last, and bear themselves worthily and well in this war and in this hour of the Empire's greatest need.

The Call is still for Volunteers.

Many who read this appeal should enlist right away. Duty reminds them of their obligations; from the trenches their comrades call to them; the cry of "To the front!" rings out more and more insistently.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Men of New Zealand! We must keep the Germans out of "Old England" and out of New Zealand and every other British possession. What is wanted now is the spirit of the Lancashire man that was related recently. His two sons had gone to the war, and word came that the younger had been killed. The father was not content, although he was considerably above military age, until he was able to take his boy's place, and one day found himself in the fighting line by his eldest son's side "somewhere in France." Gripping his boy by the hand, the father said: "I've coom to take Andy's place. When word came about thy brother, thy mother bade me coom to thee, and I'd be ashamed man if I failed to do stumast to keep the Bosches out of old England; and we've got to do it, lad, for the sake of thy mother and thy sisters."

"We shall save Civilization." Keeping the Bosches out of English territory we shall save civilization, we shall save the Empire, and shall be in a better position to efficiently assist our gallant Allies and redeem Belgium, Poland, and Serbia. It is our privilege to set to-day. A duty deferred or neglected may cause us life-long tribulation and anguish of mind. Let us, then, "act in the living present."
ENLIST AT ONCE! And, like a certain soldier in Kitchener's Army, you will be able to say, "I was not among the first to go, but I went, thank God, I went."

W. F. MARSEY, Chairman.
J. G. WARD, } Members of Board.
J. ALLEN, }

By Authority: JOHN MACKAY, Government Printer, Wellington.—1916.

22,000/2 (10—2286)

To New Zealand's Manhood, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number:
1980.6574.

The theme of manliness permeated almost all recruiting material, reinforcing the message that war service and manly status were inextricably linked. In a booklet given to troops who had already joined the forces, a series of statements and appeals about masculinity were made. The booklet, addressed to the ‘Sons of New Zealand!’ repeated a series of familiar themes.⁶⁰² It encouraged the New Zealand troops to ‘emulate the noble example of your fathers’; it ‘enjoins them to be men’; and to ‘acquit yourselves like men’. To add weight to the booklet, it stated that Field Marshal Lord Kitchener himself ‘appeals to their manhood’. An appeal from the esteemed imperial hero of Khartoum, now Secretary of State for War, must have carried serious weight at the time. The same booklet also made the claim that the ‘Germans have been guilty of unparalleled cruelty, destruction, and barbarism’. Much had been made at the time of alleged German atrocities, many of which were exaggerated, whilst others had been made up. Nevertheless, the idea that the empire was fighting to defend Britain and the world from a fierce and uncivilised regime was widely accepted. Examples such as the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the execution of Edith Cavell, as will be discussed in the next chapter, were used extensively in recruiting drives. Tied to this idea of a righteous defence against an evil opponent was an appeal to protect the innocent, particularly children.

Several posters were developed by the PRC and subsequently used in New Zealand that linked service to the defence of children. In one poster held by the National Army Museum Archive in Waiouru, a female toddler was depicted alone and uncertain, accompanied by the text ‘Daddy died for me. Will You fight for me now?’⁶⁰³ Guilt, as noted before, was often used as a motivator. The similar message of protection was depicted in the poster, ‘The Empire Needs Men’, depicting the imperial British Lion surrounded by its lion cubs of Australia, Canada, India and New Zealand.⁶⁰⁴ In the poster it also stated ‘All answer the call. Helped by the YOUNG LIONS. The OLD LION defies his foes’. While this poster did not depict children per se, the young lions of empire themselves represented young nations, protected by the fatherly image of the imperial lion. In another famous PRC poster, the idea of protecting children was presented in such a way as to shame the reader into enlisting; ‘Daddy, what did YOU do in the Great War?’⁶⁰⁵ The shame, powerfully depicted in

⁶⁰² Auckland War Memorial Museum, Reference: MS 2012/4.

⁶⁰³ National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1980.6574.

⁶⁰⁴ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH016383.

⁶⁰⁵ Imperial War Museum, Catalogue number: Art.IWM PST 0311.

the poster's image, included the shame of not living up to the expectation of one's children. It also depicts the shame as inescapable in a society where the deeds of its soldiers would be celebrated in books and through being re-enacted for generations to come by children at play with their toy soldiers. A very similar message to this was used on a railway tram in Cathedral Square, Christchurch in 1915.⁶⁰⁶ Inferred in these themes was that if fathers were protectors of their families, then soldiers were the protectors of society.



Daddy Died for Me: Will You Fight for Me Now?, National Army Museum Archive,
Accession Number: 1980.6574.

⁶⁰⁶ Photo, *A Question*, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, Reference: 1/1-007696-G.



Daddy, What Did YOU do in the Great War?, Imperial War Museum, Catalogue number:
Art.IWM PST 0311.



A Question, Press, Christchurch, 1915, National Library, Reference: 1/1-007696-G.

The use of fatherhood as a theme was a reflection of society at the time. Men were expected to lead the family, provide for it, and ultimately protect it. Fatherhood, therefore, encompassed a set of social responsibilities and a privileged status. It was for these reasons that reference to fatherhood and children occurred so often in recruiting material. The soldier was represented not only as a father of a single family, but of society as a whole, and with that idea came the concept of a duty to protect.⁶⁰⁷

With the passing of the Military Service Act 1916, the need for formal recruiting ceased. The Act was implemented 'to make Further Provision for the Raising and Maintenance of Expeditionary Forces during the Present War'.⁶⁰⁸ Controversy surrounded the introduction of the Act and whether it was necessary. New Zealand's proportionate rate of reinforcement at the time was greater than other dominions. Furthermore, the monthly rate of reinforcement was also greater than the number of casualties, leading to the formation of an additional brigade on the Western Front out of the country's surplus reinforcements.⁶⁰⁹ Compulsion reduced the need for recruiting material, though it still remained in use to encourage volunteers and remained on display until at least 1917.⁶¹⁰

Very little recruiting material exists for the period between the two World Wars, and that which does exist is limited to the immediate pre-Second World War period. This is perhaps unsurprising, as the army's relevance to the nation diminished following the end of the First World War, while poor archiving policies may also have contributed. Budget cuts led to a significant reduction in the size of the army and Compulsory Military Training was suspended.⁶¹¹ In the early 1920s, the situation was so dire that funds were unavailable to pay Territorial Force Personnel for the attendance on annual camp. The late 1920s brought a brief reprieve with CMT being reintroduced, only to be suspended once more in 1930.⁶¹² Despite advice from the Chiefs of Staff to reinstitute CMT in the lead up to the Second World War, the government failed to do so. As a result, New Zealand's Territorial Force was at its

⁶⁰⁷ P. Guardino, "Gender, Soldiering, and Citizenship in the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848", *American Historical Review*, February 2014, p.24.

⁶⁰⁸ Military Service Act 1916, No. 8, p.84.

⁶⁰⁹ Baker, p.133.

⁶¹⁰ See page 36-37.

⁶¹¹ Clayton, p.105.

⁶¹² Ibid, p.106.

weakest in the late 1930s as tensions in Europe and Asia mounted.⁶¹³ As war approached, the Regular Force component of the army numbered less than 600 and the Territorial Force a mere 3,700.⁶¹⁴ Historian Christopher Pugsley described the New Zealand Staff Corps and Permanent Staff of the 1930s as having been 'run down to a rump' of those who were prepared to soldier on.⁶¹⁵ Major-General Sir Howard Kippenberger provided the following summary account of the army in 1930s:

A few recruits, mostly those not very interested in sports or not fit for them, were obtained, but only about 40 per cent. ever attended camps or regularly attended parades... Equipment was never replaced, however worn or useless. The economy axe fell mercilessly on the small Regular Force. Nominal strength fell to about 6,000, actual strength to about half that number. The Government imported another inspecting general, faced facts, and reduced establishments to fit actual strengths. This was in 1938, with war clearly imminent. Four colonels who publicly denied a Ministerial statement that all was well were placed at once on the Retired List.⁶¹⁶

The 'colonels revolt' to which Kippenberger referred took place in 1938. Four Territorial Force Colonels argued that the Territorial Force was insufficient in size to defend New Zealand and that voluntarism, as a form of enlistment, was not working. The colonels published their concerns in a public manifesto and were subsequently placed on the retired list as a result.⁶¹⁷ The publication of the manifesto was not taken lightly by the public and led to increased public debate around defence issues.⁶¹⁸ As the outbreak of a Second World War looked more likely, the New Zealand government finally took measures to increase its military strength. Merely two weeks prior to the outbreak of war, advertisements were published in an attempt to bolster New Zealand's personnel numbers. In one advertisement published on 30 June 1939, Prime Minister Michael Savage was depicted making a signed, personal appeal to every New Zealander declaring, 'EVERY MAN CAN DO HIS PART.'

⁶¹³ P.D.F. Cooke, *Fit to Fight: Compulsory Military Training and National Service in New Zealand 1949-72*, Auckland, David Ling Publishing, 2013, p.21.

⁶¹⁴ M.R. Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: A History from the 1940s to the 1980s*, Wellington, P. D. Hasselberg – Government Printer, 1982, p.31.

⁶¹⁵ C. Pugsley, *A Bloody Road Home: World War Two and New Zealand's Heroic Second Division*, Auckland, Penguin, 2014, p.17.

⁶¹⁶ H. Kippenberger, "The New Zealand Army", *Royal United Service Institution Journal*, 102:605, p.71.

⁶¹⁷ Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m22/macky-neil-boyd>, accessed 18 May 2015.

⁶¹⁸ Clayton, p.110.

JOIN UP - NOW'.⁶¹⁹ In the advertisement, Savage not only called on 'all young men of spirit' to join with 'that splendid body of men' known as the Territorial Force, he also appealed 'to the manhood of New Zealand, if not eligible for the Territorial Force, to enrol in the National Military Reserve'.



A VITAL MESSAGE TO EVERY NEW ZEALANDER

DISTRICT HONOURS LIST

The following centres are included in the District Honours List, however they have already completed their quota for the Territorial Force. It is requested, however, that even although the quota is reached in one centre, an effort may be made to fill other centres.

Auckland City	Balclutha
Wellington City	Milton
Christchurch City	Roxburgh
Clinton-Owaka	Arrowtown
Lumsden	Riverton
Omakau	

The following areas are calling for volunteers to complete the local establishment of Territorials. The number needed is shown alongside the name of the area.

Dunedin City - 240	Dunrobin-Karoro - 8
Dunbar - 62	Dunrobin - 18
Palmerston South - 30	Eastfield - 15
Port Chalmers - 18	Okereke - 15
Gore-Mataura - 49	Beaumont - 15
Invercargill - 64	Cromwell - 30
Queenstown - 12	Mongia - 25

CITIZENS! BRING YOUR LOCAL TERRITORIALS UP TO STRENGTH! DON'T LEAVE IT TO THE OTHER FELLOW!

Apply nearest Defence Office for particulars of pay, uniform and equipment.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Every recruit who is up to standard will be accepted at any training centre, even although the quota for that centre may already be filled.

I APPEAL to every patriotic New Zealander to do his duty towards the defence of the Nation. The way is simple. The need is urgent. If an educated democracy takes determined measures for its own defence, it will not suffer defeat if attacked.

If you are a loyal citizen, peaceful minded, anxious that this country should not go to War—yet prepared to defend a precious heritage, the best service you can render the cause of peace in these shores is by service in the Territorial Force or enrolment in the National Military Reserve.

The establishment of the Territorial Force has been increased to a total of 16,000 all ranks. I therefore appeal to all young men of spirit between the ages of 18-25 to take their place in the Territorial Force with that splendid body of men already rendering national service of the highest value.

I appeal also to the Mayors, County Chairmen and Councillors and local Government Officials to do all in their power to recruit their local units up to strength. I appeal to employers of labour to assist in granting leave and facilities for employees to attend camp. A good Territorial is a good workman. I appeal to the manhood of New Zealand, if not eligible for the Territorial Force, to enrol in the National Military Reserve.

Finally, the women of the Nation can do their part by encouraging enlistment in either the Territorial Force or the National Military Reserve. The man who is ready and willing to defend your home is worthy of your highest respect.

J. W. G. Ormond
Prime Minister

EVERY MAN CAN DO HIS PART

JOIN UP—NOW

IN THE TERRITORIAL FORCE OR THE NATIONAL MILITARY RESERVE

BE PROUD TO SERVE YOUR COUNTRY

Evening Star, 30 June 1939, p.5.

Following New Zealand's entry into the Second World War in September, a recruiting campaign was quickly initiated. Of the approximately half-a-dozen recruiting posters and advertisements in the period following New Zealand's entry to the war, and prior to the introduction of conscription, only one did not explicitly mention masculinity. This exception, a poster picturing then Major General Bernard Freyberg in front of Egypt's pyramids, did, however, appeal to the viewers' masculinity implicitly, stating, 'We look to you... We shall not look in vain!'⁶²⁰ The inference was that every eligible New Zealand male, who considered himself a 'man', knew what was required of him. The poster was also reminiscent of Alfred

⁶¹⁹ *Evening Star*, 30 June 1939, p.5.

⁶²⁰ Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration number: GH015837.

Leete's famous Kitchener poster. There were two other Second World War posters developed in New Zealand to exploit the idea of war service as inherently masculine. The first stated 'ENLIST NOW. MEN WANTED FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE'. The specificity of that simple phrase 'men were wanted' simultaneously excluded all those who were not men, including women and boys. It could also be argued that the poster inferred that those who failed to enlist forfeited, or at the very least diminished, their status as men.

This poster featured prominently in a national recruiting tour conducted by Major E. J. Whiting, as he travelled 3,500 miles in an army staff car painted in camouflage.⁶²¹ The poster was also distributed at railway stations throughout the country.⁶²² Major Whiting, a First World War veteran, had been an active public relations and recruiting officer prior to the war. In an *Evening Post* article on 8 December 1938, Major Whiting was quoted as saying to potential recruits who feared ridicule for joining the Territorials - '...you are a better man in every way than the one who jeers'.⁶²³ With respect to the poster, it featured, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters, a soldier in the iconic New Zealand 'Lemon Squeezer' hat. The inclusion of the hat, and its association with New Zealand, can be interpreted as an early example of growing awareness of New Zealand troops as distinct from British troops. The New Zealand soldier in his iconic uniform also played on the association between the Anzac troops of the First World War and their heroic deeds.⁶²⁴ In a society that celebrated heroic deeds, the soldier represented those social values, offering a new generation of New Zealand men an opportunity to embody those qualities.

⁶²¹ Auckland War Memorial Museum, Archives, Reference: MS2014/4 - Whiting, Edward Harold 1894-1984 Scrapbooks, Volume 1.

⁶²² Archives New Zealand, Reference: R18W2496 2, Display of army recruiting posters at stations, 1940-1944.

⁶²³ *Evening Post*, 8 December 1938, p.11.

⁶²⁴ C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow & the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*, Wellington, Bookprint Consultants Ltd, 1990, p.72.



Auckland War Memorial Museum, Archives,

Reference: MS2014/4 - Whiting, Edward Harold 1894-1984 Scrapbooks, Volume 1.

The second poster was far more direct in its appeal to masculinity, stating 'there's a MAN'S job to be done. Volunteer for overseas service!'.⁶²⁵ The poster, reminiscent in style of Alfred Leete's seminal, and iconic, 'Kitchener' poster, appealed to the viewer through word and image.⁶²⁶ The finger pointed to the viewer directly, while the text stated there's a 'man's job to be done'. The viewer, as the man, was left with the choice of enlisting and being a man or failing to enlist and thereby calling his status as a man into question. The effectiveness of these posters, though difficult to judge, may in small part be measured by the number of volunteers enlisted by the time voluntary service ended on 22 July 1940. Between 12 September 1939 and 22 July 1940, 59,644 New Zealand men had volunteered for service.⁶²⁷ During the following five years of conscription, a further 306,000 men would be called up.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁵ Poster, *There's a MAN's Job to be Done*, Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration Number: GH015836.

⁶²⁶ P. White, "Grabbing Attention: The Importance of Modal Density in Advertising", *Visual Communication*, Vol. 9, Dec 2010, p.372.

⁶²⁷ NZ Army, Publication No. 78, Wellington, dated 2012.

⁶²⁸ NZ Army, Publication No. 78, Wellington, dated 2012.



There's a MAN's Job to be Done, Museum of New Zealand, Collections, Registration
Number: GH015836.

During the brief period of voluntary recruiting that followed the outbreak of war, the soldier, as a masculine ideal for men to live up to, remained the dominant theme in efforts to recruit another generation of men to fight. Contemporary recruiting material exploited the prevailing public culture that derived a sense of national achievement through the performance of its troops in war.⁶²⁹ As one veteran of the war recalled, the motivation to ‘be able to look the old man in the eye and say, “I was as good a soldier as you, Dad!”’ was a compelling motivation for enlistment.⁶³⁰ The desire among young men to prove themselves in the eyes of their fathers, as well as society, was a powerful incentive to enlist for military service. That such appeals would prove acceptable, let alone successful, in a society that had largely turned its back on the military between the wars had a lot to do with education. Young men were still being raised on books celebrating British military triumphs, inculcating in them an association between war and manly achievement.⁶³¹

Following the end of the Second World War, the performance of the nation’s soldiers was again celebrated. Even during the war, the story of the New Zealand Division’s exploits was being told to a receptive public. A series of publications, including *Return to the Attack: The New Zealand Division in Action in Libya* and *The Diamond Track: From Egypt to Tunisia with the Second New Zealand Division 1942-1943*, were produced by the Army Board in Wellington. These publications provided factual, but undeniably glossy, representations of the war, particularly with respect to the photographs contained within them. The war and war service were talked about in exciting ways, particularly for those amongst the New Zealand public most likely to devour such accounts - adolescent boys. Another example of the promotion of bravery and New Zealand soldiers' performance in war was the book *The Price of Citizenship: Ngarimu V.C.* The book, written by Sir Apirana Ngata, was produced within months of Ngarimu's death at Tebaga Gap. The attention given to the brave exploits is clearly articulated in Ngata's introduction of Ngarimu's award citation: 'For this record the citation, which has been preserved in many a scrap-book and on many a file throughout the English-speaking world, is repeated'. Ngata went on to quote in full the dramatic citation of Ngarimu's bravery on the battlefield, in effect promoting the concept of warrior masculinity for future generations of New Zealanders.⁶³²

⁶²⁹ J. Phillips, “War and National Identity”, in D. Novitz, and B. Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, p.103.

⁶³⁰ A. Henderson, et al, *The Gunners: A History of New Zealand Artillery*, A Raupo Book, North Shore, 2008, p.191.

⁶³¹ Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.193.

⁶³² A.T. Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship: Ngarimu V.C.*, Wellington, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1943, pp.9-10.

These records, and those like them, helped create a public memory of the war centred on romantic notions of daring deeds against a backdrop of dramatic landscapes. It reinforced and refined the characterisation of New Zealand men as egalitarian, resourceful, warriors.⁶³³ Many of these values were not, of course, unique to New Zealand's soldiers, regardless of how much New Zealanders would like to believe that were the case. Attributes of physical fitness, self-discipline, self-reliance and the willingness to use aggression or physical violence are common socially constructed ideals linked to military service in many countries.⁶³⁴ Popular culture within the empire also continued the representation of adventure and bravery as admirable, aspirational qualities for young boys. One example from the period, *The Wonder Book of Daring Deeds*, stated 'Kindness is often misunderstood, wisdom is by many little esteemed, but pluck – readiness to do and dare and endure – will always command our admiration'.⁶³⁵ As if this was not enough to inspire the next generation of young recruits, the book, dominated by stories of military heroism, went on to state, 'And if any one tells you the age of adventures is over, don't believe it. There are plenty waiting for you – if you want them and have fitted yourselves to face them'. The result of official publications and popular culture would predispose future generations of New Zealand boys to idealise war and to see it as a rite of passage to manhood, as Jock Phillips recounts:

It was one of my first articles of faith, a certainty of early boyhood – one day I would fight in a war. My father's generation had the Second World War, my grandfather's the First World War, and further back were other wars – the Boer War, the New Zealand Wars, wars against Napoleon, crusades against the Arabs. Every 20 years, it seemed, there was a war in which a new generation of young men could prove their manhood. We would eventually get our war, and we would of course, 'do well'. That was another article of faith, that New Zealanders were 'good' at war.⁶³⁶

Immediately following the Second World War, the army reduced in size and returned to a volunteer system of enlistment, with the exception of some of those conscripted for

⁶³³ R. Rabel, "New Zealand's Wars." In G. Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 2009, p.259.

⁶³⁴ R. Hinojosa, "Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity", *The Journal of Men's Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Spring 2010, p.180.

⁶³⁵ W. Lock, *The Wonder Book of Daring Deeds*, London, Ward, Lock and Co. Ltd, 1949, dust cover.

⁶³⁶ Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p.132.

service in the occupation forces in Japan.⁶³⁷ Voluntarism did not last long, with CMT being reintroduced in 1950. As the country entered the 1950s, not only did it enter an era of operational deployments aimed at stemming communist expansion in Asia, it also entered a phase of using overtly masculine recruiting imagery. During the Korean War, for example, the army used a very muscular and handsome looking soldier loading an artillery projectile within a combat scene to recruit personnel.⁶³⁸ This representation of warrior masculinity, combining physical strength and endurance within a combat scenario, would become a key feature in recruiting imagery for the next thirty years. Fitness was again emphasised in another advertisement from the period titled: *The Fight in Korea is New Zealand's Fight*.⁶³⁹ In the advertisement it stated, 'If you are YOUNG, FIT and INTERESTED IN THE SECURITY OF NEW ZEALAND, THE FIGHT IN KOREA IS YOUR FIGHT'. It went on to reiterate the need for 'young, fit' volunteers, adding the requirement to be 'of stout heart'.

Supporting the image of the muscular 'K' Force soldier depicted, the advertisement also stated, 'Your grandfather, your father, your brothers, your mates ... all answered the same call when they volunteered for World War I or World War II. Now it's YOUR chance to show you can accept a challenge... Until the peace is won'.⁶⁴⁰ The clear inference was that failure to answer the call was a failure to measure up to one's grandfather, father, brothers and mates. These other men had passed through their rite of passage from boyhood into manhood through war, now it was the viewer's turn. The desire to emulate relatives who served during the Second World War has been acknowledged elsewhere as a motivating influence for some who joined.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁷ L. Brocklebank, *Jayforce: New Zealand and the Military Occupation of Japan 1945-48*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.21.

⁶³⁸ Advertisement, *Your Help is Needed to Stop Aggression in Korea*, circa 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶³⁹ Advertisement, *The Fight in Korea is New Zealand's Fight*, circa 1951, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁴⁰ Advertisement, *Your Help is Needed to Stop Aggression in Korea*, circa 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁴¹ S. Boag, *Ice and Fire: New Zealand and the Korean War 1950-1953*, Wellington, Agenda, 2000, p.11.



Your Help is Needed to Stop Aggression in Korea, circa 1950,
National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The next deployment New Zealand would become involved in was the Malayan Emergency. Initially, New Zealand deployed a Special Air Service (SAS) Squadron in 1955, while later the 1st Battalion of the New Zealand Regiment was deployed.⁶⁴² In a phenomenon reflected in recruiting efforts overseas and discussed later in this chapter, images of the SAS on operations in Malaya were used to recruit regular soldiers. In the lead up to the announcement of the 1st Battalion of the New Zealand Regiment being raised, a public

⁶⁴² Clayton, p.139.

relations campaign featuring SAS troopers on patrol was published in national newspapers, 'timed to stimulate interest in the first 10 days of recruiting'.⁶⁴³ The *New Zealand Free Lance* featured an article titled 'On Patrol in Malayan Jungle with the Special Air Service Squadron'. The title was not the only aspect of the article that sounded exciting. The article, which was more of an advertisement, was dominated by a montage of photographs showing soldiers on patrol, the jungle canopy, a trooper's 'basha' in the jungle, aboriginal tribesmen, and Iban trackers from Borneo 'heavily tattooed with tribal and religious designs'.⁶⁴⁴

The case was similar in the *Weekly News*, where an article titled 'New Zealanders on Jungle Patrol' stated, 'In the dense, steaming jungles of Malaya the almost forgotten war against the terrorists still continues. Men of the New Zealand Special Air Service Squadron head deep into the jungle on foot to seek out the terrorists with the aid of their native trackers and dogs. Six rigorous days with unseen danger lurking behind every tree, heat, privation, disease and fatigue the allies of the enemy - and then back to the base to rest and re-equip'.⁶⁴⁵ Again the photos were exciting, perhaps even more exciting, showing the SAS on patrol through jungle, village, and river crossing, tracking their elusive enemy. The language used in the article to describe SAS operations would not have been out of place in a *Boys Own Annual*. The image constructed by reference to 'dense, steaming jungles', moving 'deep into the jungle...to seek out the terrorists', and the 'unseen danger lurking' appealed to a desire for adventure actively developed in popular culture. The promotion of the SAS as fearless was also implicit in these themes, suggesting mental strength alongside physical endurance – both desirable manly traits.

The emergency in Malaya provided a focus for the recruiting efforts of an Army, which, for the first time in its history, became a volunteer army after the Compulsory Military Training scheme was abolished in July 1958.⁶⁴⁶ In one recruiting advertisement for the 2nd Battalion New Zealand Regiment titled *YOUR Chance for OVERSEAS Army Service* it stated, 'This is the chance that young men of spirit and character have been waiting for - the chance to serve in Malaya with the New Zealand Regiment'.⁶⁴⁷ What awaited such 'men of spirit' was the chance to carry assault rifles whilst on jungle patrol, play rugby and visit the sites of

⁶⁴³ Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJW35087291 Box 300, Far East Land Forces (FARLEF): NZ Army Force Recruiting, Publicity and Advertising Policy 1957 – 1964.

⁶⁴⁴ *New Zealand Free Lance*, 21 June 1957, p.24.

⁶⁴⁵ *Weekly News*, 26 June 1957, p.24.

⁶⁴⁶ NZ Army, Publication No. 78, Wellington, dated 2012.

⁶⁴⁷ Advertisement, *YOUR Chance for OVERSEAS Army Service*, circa 1959, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Southeast Asia as depicted in the advertisement. Service in the army provided an opportunity to fulfil the desire not only for adventure, but a chance to do so in the manliest way possible: as a soldier on active service. In a later advertisement for Malaya titled *His Term of Service is Ending, WILL YOU REPLACE HIM?* it stated, 'He's a member of New Zealand's toughest fighting force, the men in Malaya. But his term of service is ending... That's why the Army needs men...who can match the menace of jungle patrols. How about it?' The advert finished with the subheading, 'ARMY Needs Men For MALAYA'.⁶⁴⁸ Like the Korean War advertisement that used the example of grandfathers, fathers, and brothers as exemplars of masculinity to match up to, so did this advertisement, but with respect to men within the target audience's own peer group. The question being asked by the advertisement was whether the viewer was as much of a man as his contemporaries who had already served. Furthermore, these advertisements sought to create a sense of urgency and a fear that the reader might miss the opportunity to earn the respect of their seniors if they failed to enlist quickly.

Not all printed recruiting material of the period referred to Malaya. Even these other items, however, presented New Zealand Army soldiers as embodying desirable masculine traits. In one 1959 advertisement for the 'New' New Zealand Army titled *Calling New Zealand's Finest, Fittest Young Men!*, it described the army as 'an operational force - hard trained, fighting fit, equipped with modern weapons and ready to go *anywhere*'.⁶⁴⁹ Being prepared for overseas service, fitness and possessing weaponry appeared once again in a trinity of manly virtues associated with army service. The idea that service in the army provided character-building opportunities for those with sufficient 'spirit' was echoed in the 1962 booklet *Officer Cadets*. In his foreword to the booklet, the then Chief of the General Staff, Major General L.W. Thornton, wrote, 'Modern armies require... men who are abreast of the times, men of education and presence, of sound character, commanding respect - and above all, young men of adventurous spirit and personal enterprise... The New Zealanders who will fit that pattern are the best young men this country has; and these are the men the Army needs'.⁶⁵⁰ The emphasis given to 'commanding respect' and being 'the best young men this country can offer' was a clear effort to represent army service as a means for an

⁶⁴⁸ Advertisement, *His Term of Service is Ending, WILL YOU REPLACE HIM?*, circa early 1960s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁴⁹ Advertisement, *Calling New Zealand's Finest, Fittest Young Men!*, 1959, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁵⁰ Booklet, *Officer Cadets*, Wellington, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1961, p. 3, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

individual to establish himself as a man within a broader social context. That the eligibility criteria for officer cadetships at the time required applicants to be between 18 and 23 years of age provides additional relevance and meaning to General Thornton's foreword.⁶⁵¹

**Calling New Zealand's
finest, fittest young men!**

Here is the opportunity of a lifetime to build a rewarding career around adventure and action.

New Zealand is extending its Regular Army to include, for the first time in history, an operational force—hard trained, fighting fit, equipped with modern weapons and ready to go *anywhere*.

This is a NEW Army, with a new role, new weapons and new opportunities and prospects for the men who serve in it. Men are needed now for Artillery, Armour, Signals and other specialised units.

There's good pay, with gratuities or superannuation, opportunities for promotion, modern training, the possibility of overseas service, and many more advantages which your nearest Army Office will be glad to tell you about. Call in and talk it over.

Or simply write for information to The Director of Recruiting, Army H.Q., Box 99 Wellington.

BE IN THE NEW ARMY
**—BUILD YOUR CAREER
AROUND ADVENTURE**

Application forms available at all Post Offices.

Calling New Zealand's Finest, Fittest Young Men!, 1959, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

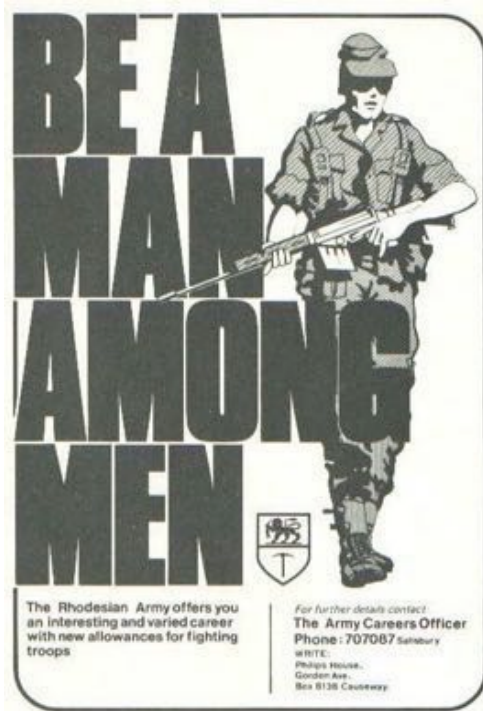
⁶⁵¹ Booklet, *Officer Cadets*, Wellington, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1961, p. 13, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

General Thornton's equating of army service with manly status was echoed in other recruiting material of the period. In particular, it was echoed in advertisements advertising officer careers in the *Student's Digest* magazine, targeting the magazine's adolescent male readership. The first example, headed *YOU'LL BE A LEADER AMONG MEN...* stated 'You'll be responsible for men - their welfare, training, maybe their lives - if you've got the quality of leadership, and the academic capabilities the Army seeks in its officers... Your training will be tough, your Army life will be full and varied. But to a man who understands the vital national character of his job, there's nothing more rewarding'.⁶⁵² In a similar advertisement seeking young 'men' for officer careers titled *HAVE YOU GOT IT?* it stated, 'The quality that makes you a natural leader ... a man men will follow ... a man who'll make the right decision at the right time ... a man who will be responsible for other men: their welfare, training - maybe their lives! The Army needs leaders. Young men - like you'.⁶⁵³ The belief that being a soldier would make an individual a 'man among men', was not unique to the New Zealand Army. Many other nations promoted similar notions in their recruiting material, with examples for the Rhodesian Army and U.S. Army being pictured below. The Rhodesian Army poster, originally produced in the mid 1960s, gained notoriety, and in some quarters iconic status, through its appearance in *Soldier of Fortune* magazine in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁵⁴ My own experience in the late 1990s confirmed that other men, including family members, considered you a 'man' once one had joined the army, even if you were an eighteen-year-old Officer Cadet studying at university!

⁶⁵² *Students' Digest*, Wellington, August 1964, p.14.

⁶⁵³ *Students' Digest*, Wellington, October 1965, p.4.

⁶⁵⁴ www.rhodesianservices.org/posters---maps.htm, accessed 2 June 2015.



Be a Man Among Men, Rhodesian Army, 1960s, www.rhodesianservices.org/posters---maps.htm, accessed 2 June 2015.



Man Among Men!, US Army, www.digitalpostercollect.ipage.com/propaganda/1945-1991-cold-war/usa/1950-man-among=men=thats=the-airborne=soldier-for-you/, accessed 2 June 2015.

In the US Airborne poster *Man Among Men!*, an obvious comparison was made between the soldier and civilian - both the civilian man and woman who look upon the airborne soldier admiringly.⁶⁵⁵ The suggestion of social approval inferred added manly status to what was already advertised as a job for a 'man among men'. Less obvious, but equally significant according to Padilla and Laner, was the use of an example of elite military masculinity for recruitment purposes. Padilla and Laner, through their research into US Army recruitment themes over the period 1954-1990, identified the use of elite units as a common ploy designed not only to attract individuals to those units, but also 'potential recruits who would not themselves be going into these specialized units'.⁶⁵⁶

This technique was also used in New Zealand, advertising for the Special Air Service (SAS). In 1965, the army published a poster and advertising campaign for the SAS titled, *A Special Kind of Man!*.⁶⁵⁷ The advertisement version of the same poster reinforced the 'special' status accorded to soldiers in the SAS by stating that it took 'a special kind of man' to do the work of an SAS soldier half a dozen times. The advertisement also stated, 'It takes a special kind of man to measure up to the mental and physical demands of the intensive training programme that will equip a man with these skills. Because the special kind of man we're looking for is made - not born!'.⁶⁵⁸ This statement sought not only to appeal to the desire of men to 'measure up' against other men, but also for an opportunity to transform themselves with respect to being 'made - not born'. In other words, manhood, even an elite form of military manhood, was within the grasps of young New Zealand men willing to accept the challenge. A similar theme was identified by Melissa T. Brown in *Enlisting Masculinity*, a book which explores in detail the construction of gender in US military recruiting advertising from the 1970s through to 2007. Brown identified that the US Army, through its recruitment advertising, promised the opportunity for 'character development and personal transformation, developing a soldiering masculinity that involves young men testing and proving themselves'.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁵ www.digitalpostercollect.ipage.com/propaganda/1945-1991-cold-war/usa/1950-man-among=men=thats=the-airborne=soldier-for-you/, accessed 2 June 2015.

⁶⁵⁶ P. Padilla and M. Laner, "Trends in Military Influences on Army Recruitment Themes: 1954-1990", *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 2002, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Summer):113-133, p.116.

⁶⁵⁷ Poster, *A Special Kind of Man!*, Wellington, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁵⁸ Advertisement, *A Special Kind of Man!*, circa 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁵⁹ M.T. Brown, *Enlisting Masculinity: The Construction of Gender in U.S. Military Recruiting Advertising during the All-Volunteer Force*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p.41.



A Special Kind of Man!, Wellington, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Another theme identified by Brown is that of 'hybrid masculinity', combining contemporary traditional warrior attributes with changing social expectations around

masculinity. The same occurred in New Zealand Army recruiting material as the army sought to appeal to the widest possible audience. To do this, the army routinely emphasised the many benefits of joining, such as trade skills, education, promotion opportunity and financial benefits. While many of these themes have been addressed in previous chapters, it is worth considering one such example within the context of male masculinity of the 1960s. An advertisement titled *These Men are Army Officers!* stated, 'The Army needs leaders, young men like you' and depicted army officers in a diverse range of roles and contexts.⁶⁶⁰ Included among the images were an officer on parade inspecting troops; on a tank; explaining a technical diagram; playing basketball; grappling with modern equipment; and at home with a young child on his knee. The caption supporting the final image stated, 'Officers enjoy a full family life, and make many lasting friendships'. Being a military man, a man among men, provided an opportunity to be both manly in terms of ruggedness and strength. It also involved being a financially stable household provider and father, reflecting New Zealand's complex understanding of masculinity, including that of the 'family man'. As the following three decades of recruiting material showed, masculinity is adaptive and temporally contingent.

The requirement for the army to present a multi-dimensional and nuanced form of masculinity in order to reach the widest possible audience was recognised by Major deJoux when serving as the army's Deputy Director of Recruiting. In a minute written by deJoux to the Deputy Chief of General Staff in 1980, he argued that, 'Gutsy, gritty advertising suggesting, "If you are man enough to cope with the Army, the Army is for you" is suitable for soldiers, as a soldier likes to impress the people at home that he has a hard life'.⁶⁶¹ In contrast to recruiting material using more traditional representations of a warrior masculinity, Major deJoux expressed his belief that recruiting material focussed at potential officers needed to be more 'philosophical'.⁶⁶² DeJoux argued that potential officers were more conscious of political and patriotic motives than potential soldiers, thereby necessitating a very different marketing approach. If deJoux's argument was valid, it suggests that concepts of masculinity are not only temporally contingent, they are also contingent on factors including educational background.

⁶⁶⁰ *Students' Digest*, Wellington, August 1966, p.20.

⁶⁶¹ Minute, *Recruiting: Regular Force Officers*, DD Rec (A) to DCGS, 10 Nov 1980, Archives New Zealand, Service Recruiting – New Zealand Army – Policy, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁶⁶² Minute, *Recruiting: Regular Force Officers*, DD Rec (A) to DCGS, 10 Nov 1980, Archives New Zealand, Service Recruiting – New Zealand Army – Policy, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

Another aspect of masculinity not yet discussed is the connection between masculinity and the physical environment. During the 1960s, soldiering was routinely depicted in the outdoors, or, more specifically, in rugged or harsh terrains. The jungles of Malaya and the bleak tussock covered hills of Waiouru's training area were regular features in recruiting material. Images of endurance in harsh terrain were seen in several recruiting products during the period, echoing a pattern found in other countries. The relationship between environment and the infantry was particularly pronounced, with the infantryman's outdoor working environment helping to define what he was – a man of the land and a man who could conquer his physical environment.⁶⁶³ In the leaflet *New Zealand Regiment: The INFANTRY*, for example, it stated, 'The infantry soldier is an out-of-doors man, alert, resourceful, trained to use rifle, bayonet, sub-machine-gun and light machine-gun, mortars, and grenades... in battle drill, tactics and field exercises... and camouflage'.⁶⁶⁴

One of New Zealand's most powerful masculine archetypes is the image of the rural male or farmer.⁶⁶⁵ Farmers helped 'settle' New Zealand and tame its wild environment. Accordingly, farmers attained a place in the country's social make-up worthy of respect. Farmers were also seen to embody many of the attributes desired in a soldier and reflected in popular culture, such as ruggedness, independence of spirit and decisiveness.⁶⁶⁶ Like soldiers, farmers, particularly the country's earlier settlers, battled their environment, and like soldiers they were victorious. Another advertisement to emphasise the mastery of one's physical environment was titled *SURVIVAL TRAINING IN FIJI ... JUNGLE TACTICS IN THE QUEENSLAND BUSH ... COMBAT EXERCISES ON THE WEST COAST ... AND TWO YEARS IN SINGAPORE TO COME*.⁶⁶⁷ The advertisement for those 'looking for a rugged outdoor job' featured a young Lance Corporal Jerry Mateparae, emphasising the army as an outdoor job with variety. 'Jerry' also explained that 'The Army's invested a lot in training me - my future's secure'. His faith in the army providing a secure future was certainly borne out, with 'Jerry' later being commissioned, rising to the rank of Lieutenant General and becoming

⁶⁶³ R. Woodward, " 'It's a Man's Life!': Soldiers, Masculinity and the Countryside", *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 5:3, (1998), DOI: 10.1080/09663699825214, p.291.

⁶⁶⁴ Leaflet, *New Zealand Regiment: The INFANTRY*, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁶⁵ E.K Teather, review of "Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand", R. Law, H. Campbell, J. Dolan (eds), Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1999, *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol. 16, 2000, p.402.

⁶⁶⁶ R. Liepins, "Making Men: The Construction and Representation of Agriculture-Based Masculinities in Australia and New Zealand", *Rural Sociology*, 65 (4), (2000), p.612.

⁶⁶⁷ Advertisement, *Survival Training in Fiji ... Jungle Tactics in the Queensland Bush ... Combat Exercises on the West Coast ... and Two Years in Singapore to Come*, circa 1974, Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force, Defence Recruiting Section.

Governor General of New Zealand - His Excellency Lieutenant General the Right Honourable Sir Jeremiah Mateparae, GNZM, QSO, KStJ.

While working in harsh environments and overcoming adversity were important elements of masculinity, it remained a secondary measure to service in wartime. During the period of New Zealand's 'hesitant' involvement in the Vietnam War, very little recruiting material actually mentioned the New Zealand army's involvement in Vietnam.⁶⁶⁸ Instead, recruiting material tended to refer to Southeast Asia, disguising Vietnam within New Zealand's wider commitment to the region. In one rare exception (shown below), however, the full range of idealised masculine traits were put to work in an effort to recruit soldiers for service in Vietnam, including a none-to-subtle phallic symbol in the form of an artillery gun at high elevation.⁶⁶⁹ The advertisement stated 'New Zealanders now stand shoulder to shoulder with the forces fighting for peace in Vietnam. We need men ... tough, intelligent. Will you help? You'll face danger and difficult conditions'. Comradeship, toughness, facing danger and perseverance in a harsh environment were all noted as challenges that awaited any man prepared to 'help'. Having established active service in Vietnam as a worthy trial of manhood, the advertisement placed the decision to accept that challenge at the feet of the young male reader. As in earlier periods, service in combat was still advertised as the ultimate means of establishing one's manhood.

⁶⁶⁸ R. Rabel, *New Zealand and the Vietnam War: Politics and Diplomacy*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2005, p.103.

⁶⁶⁹ Advertisement, *Go with The Artillery to Vietnam*, circa 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Go with The Artillery to Vietnam, circa 1965, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

While not wishing to overstate the use of phallic symbols within recruiting material, there is a valid argument that weapons were used as a symbol of male potency and power. Several recruiting items throughout the period under review prominently displayed weapons, in particular weapon barrels, as the salient graphic feature. Examples include: *Put Yourself in the Picture* (1960s),⁶⁷⁰ featuring a tank barrel at high elevation; *The Royal N.Z. Armoured Corps* (1962),⁶⁷¹ featuring a raised M41 tank barrel pointing towards the viewer; *Regular Force Cadets: A Fast Start to Your Army Career* (1977),⁶⁷² featuring the barrel of a soldier's M16 rifle; and *Future Leaders: Regular Force Cadets* (1980),⁶⁷³ featuring the barrels of three soldiers' self-loading rifles (SLRs) in the foreground. Proving that weapons were used as phallic symbols is difficult objectively. Whether the decision to do so was subconscious or otherwise, weapons were used in such a way as to intimate the potency of a soldier, and these

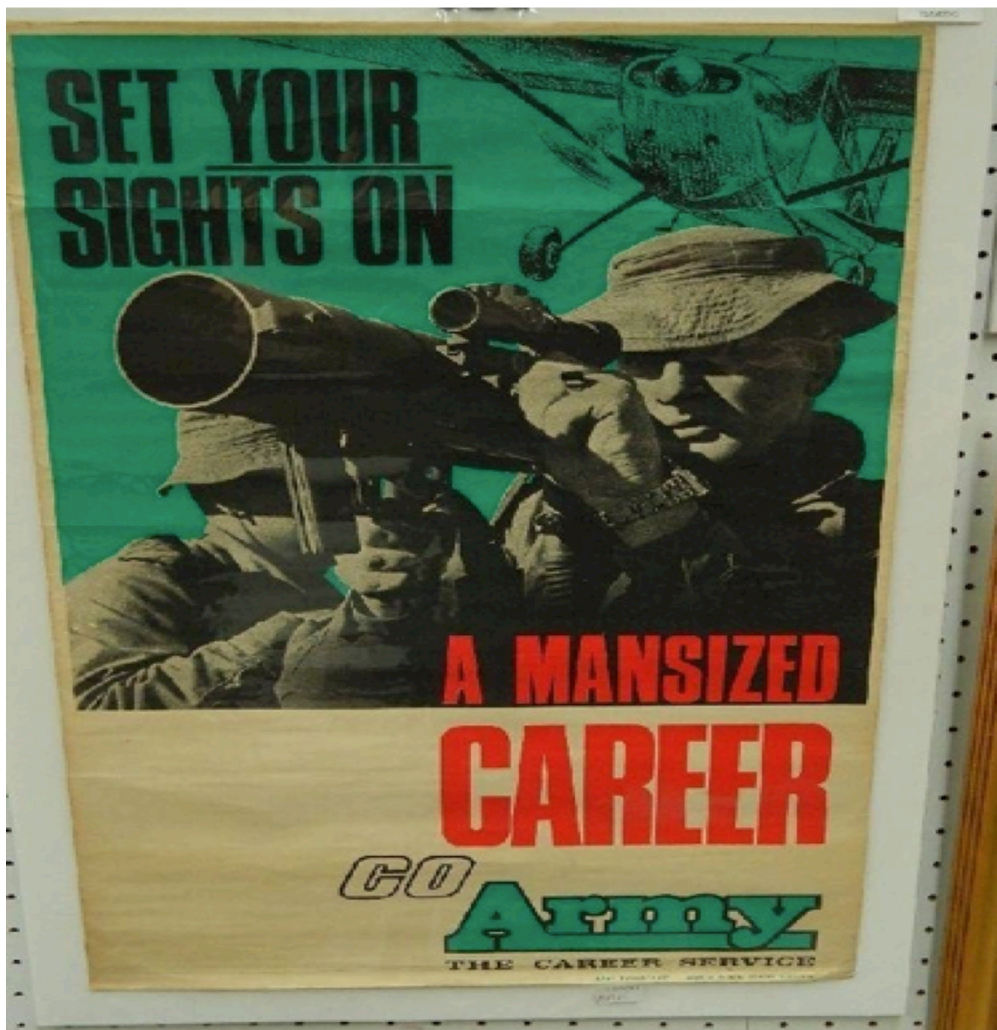
⁶⁷⁰ Advertisement, *Put Yourself in the Picture*, circa 1960s, Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force, Defence Recruiting Section.

⁶⁷¹ Booklet, *The Royal N.Z. Armoured Corps*, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁷² Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets: A Fast Start to Your Army Career*, 1977, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁷³ Booklet, *Future Leaders: Regular Force Cadets*, 1980, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

weapons often featured prominently. To provide broader context to the use of weapons in this way, one need only look to the Australia for an overseas example. In the poster, *Set Your Sights On ... A Mansized Career*,⁶⁷⁴ it is the text, which refers to both ‘your’ and ‘mansized,’ coupled with the image of a large tubular weapon, that infers a correlation between soldiering as a manly occupation and the size of a soldier’s genitalia.



Set Your Sights On A Mansized Career, <https://www.carters.com.au/index.cfm/index/1549-war-and-militaria-posters/?page=2>.

While combat remained the ultimate test, the army continued to be represented as offering a transformative environment from which to move from boyhood into manhood. This was reflected in a variety of recruiting products, including the advertisement 'the making

⁶⁷⁴ Poster, *Set Your Sights On A Mansized Career*, <https://www.carters.com.au/index.cfm/index/1549-war-and-militaria-posters/?page=2>, accessed 29 September 2017.

of a successful man'.⁶⁷⁵ The advert was specifically designed to recruit young men aged between 15 and 17 into the Regular Force Cadets. The Regular Force Cadets were created after the Second World War, providing an opportunity for young men to enter the army and train as future Regular Force instructors and tradesmen. The scheme was eventually 'suspended' in 1991 due to budget cuts.⁶⁷⁶ In the 1970s booklet *Regular Force Cadets*, a similar theme of attaining manhood through army service ran subtly throughout.⁶⁷⁷ The subheading to the booklet described the army as having 'something for most boys'. In the following two paragraphs, however, it went on to describe the 'young men' of the army serving 'throughout South-east Asia' aiding the 'security of our country'. Following these introductory paragraphs, the booklet then explained how the Regular Force Cadet School prepared 'boys' to become the 'dedicated young men' of the New Zealand Army. This idea that the army and, in particular, war service can create 'men out of boys' is not unique to New Zealand, but rather is a belief held in many cultures.⁶⁷⁸



Student Digest, June 1961.

⁶⁷⁵ Advertisement, *The Making of a Successful Man*, circa 1970s, Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force, Defence Recruiting Section.

⁶⁷⁶ NZ Army, Publication No. 78, Wellington, dated 2012.

⁶⁷⁷ Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets*, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁷⁸ Brown, p.19.

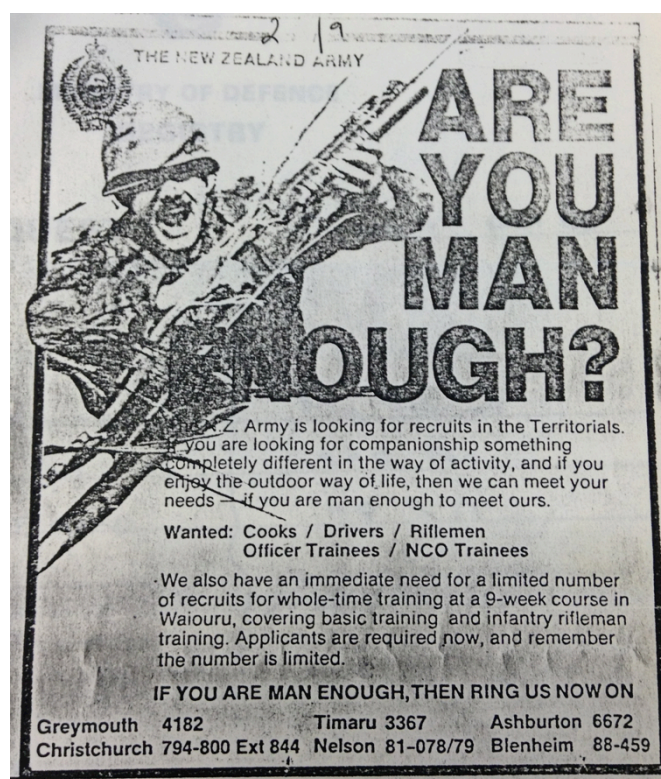
A hierarchy of masculinity is a consistent theme running through army recruiting material. Whether it be the relative masculinity of boy and man; man and veteran; or simply soldier and civilian, masculinity is represented as existing within a hierarchy of masculinity. The army was advertised as 'a unique profession, which will extend you in ways that few civilian careers will ever do'.⁶⁷⁹ The theme of comparative and hierarchical masculinity is most clearly exemplified in the advertisement *Prove Yourself as an Army Officer and You Prove Yourself Anywhere*.⁶⁸⁰ As noted earlier, measuring up to one's forbears has often been used to encourage enlistment. Likewise, representing soldiering as an opportunity to become 'a man among men' has also been discussed. Proving oneself to other members of society, whether they be male or female, old or young, reflects the central importance of establishing one's masculine identity. By advertising the army as an opportunity to 'prove' oneself 'anywhere' the advertisement is also making a direct appeal to the insecurity experienced by many young men around their status as a man and transition from boy into manhood. As though to emphasise the point, the advertisement once again uses visual phallic reinforcement in the form of a piece of military equipment at high elevation - this time a tank barrel, to affirm army service as the embodiment of masculinity.

As explored in detail during the following chapter on women's gender representation, the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 represented a significant piece of legislation designed to reduce endemic discrimination in New Zealand. While the Act made gender-based recruiting illegal for most employers, a clause existed allowing the armed forces to continue to discriminate according to gender with respect to 'combat trades'. Despite being afforded this concession, the army deemed it wise to move away from gender-based recruiting, or at least it attempted to. This decision is evidenced by the stark reduction in explicitly gender-based recruiting material. Women-specific recruiting material disappeared, while specific references to the army as 'a man's career' reduced significantly. The representation of the army as an inherently masculine institution and soldiering as the embodiment of traditional masculine virtues, however, continued. The army's decision to move away from gender-specific references, though not legislatively necessary, was a wise

⁶⁷⁹ Advertisement, *Army Officer: A Unique Profession which Will Extend You in Ways that Few Civilian Careers Will Ever Do*, circa 1970s, Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force, Defence Recruiting Section.

⁶⁸⁰ Advertisement, *Prove Yourself as an Army Officer and You Prove Yourself Anywhere*, circa 1970s, Headquarters New Zealand Defence Force, Defence Recruiting Section.

decision, because on occasions where the army did specifically refer to the need for men, criticism was quick to follow.



Archives New Zealand, *SERVICE RECRUITING: Publicity/Advertising: NZ Army, 1984-1986*, Ref. ABFK W4948 7494 Box 312.

In 1986 the army released an advertisement titled, *Are You Man Enough?*. Unsurprisingly, the advertisement, which came out nearly a decade after the Human Rights Commission Act was passed, led to several complaints. 'Letters to the editor', the Human Rights Commission, as well as members of parliament, all followed. The army was quick in their response. Colonel Mike Dudman, on behalf of the Chief of General Staff, wrote to the commission explaining that a local advertising agency was in fact responsible for the wording of the advertisement and not the army per se.⁶⁸¹ Furthermore, the army stated that once it became aware of the advertisement's content it 'directed its withdrawal and reminded units that there must not be any discrimination regarding sex in future advertising'. Internally, not all discussions were as conciliatory as Colonel Dudman's. In one document, released only days before, the argument was made by a junior officer involved in recruiting that 'the wording quote are you man enough unquote should be taken to mean have you the required

⁶⁸¹ Archives New Zealand, *SERVICE RECRUITING: Publicity/Advertising: NZ Army, 1984-1986*, Ref. ABFK W4948 7494 Box 312.

attributes rather than its literal meaning'.⁶⁸² The junior officer further argued that the unit responsible for the advertisement's placement was a combat unit with a limited number of positions for females, pointing out that 'they already have the permitted number [of women]'.⁶⁸³ Based on those facts, the author argued that the advertising rightly targeted young men as vacancies existed for them and not for women. Somewhat boldly, the junior officer showed an element of immaturity and being out-of-touch with society by stating, 'this point should be stressed as it negates the Human Rights Commission's argument that it is unlawful to indicate an intent to discriminate on sex'.⁶⁸⁴

Had the 1986 advertisement been produced five years earlier, the reaction may have been more muted. In 1981 the army launched an officer recruiting campaign featuring New Zealand Army officers who had been recognised for valour, including Lieutenant General Sir Bernard Freyberg VC and Captain Charles Upham VC and bar. The headline used in the advertisement was similarly gender-explicit, asking '*How Does the Army Always Produce the Right Man for the Job?*'⁶⁸⁵ Only one negative response to this advert is recorded in archival records. It focussed primarily on whether the name Zimbabwe should have been used rather than Rhodesia, as occurred in the advertisement when referring to the army's most recent deployment. When comparing the 1986 and 1981 recruiting adverts, both were gender-biased towards men, yet only one resulted in a complaint to the Human Rights Commission. This may have been due to the use of well-known exemplars of New Zealand Army officer bravery, all of whom were men, thereby justifying the gender-specific question. Alternatively, it may reflect how time, even a relatively small span of time, can produce significant changes in what is socially acceptable. The 1986 poster *Are You Man Enough?* also raises the question as to whether a gap exists between prevailing social values within the wider public and the army as an organisation.

As the army's recruiting efforts continued to move through the social changes of 1980s and 1990s New Zealand, it continued to adapt. Recruiting material continued to be primarily gender-neutral so far as representing men and women in a variety of comparable roles. In doing so, as identified in the following chapter, the majority of recruiting material retained masculine overtures and as a result imposed a form of masculinity onto women.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Advertisement, *How Does the Army Always Produce the Right Man for the Job?*, 1981, Alexander Turnbull Library, Reference: Eph-B-ARMY, 1 box containing 4 folders.

Overt masculinity and the traditional traits associated with the masculine ideals of strength, ruggedness, and daring did, however, mellow during the period. Likewise, life in the army was described in gender-neutral terms, avoiding any reference to the continued embargoes in place on women joining combat trades. The army and soldiering were still represented as a physically active, outdoors-based lifestyle, but such representations were balanced with images of regular office work, working to learn and adventure training opportunities.⁶⁸⁶



Officer Cadet School (New Zealand), mid-late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

A facet of masculinity commonly emphasised in recruiting material was the opportunity to compete in sports. Games such as soccer and cricket, as well as sporting pursuits such as mountain climbing, featured regularly in recruiting material. Rugby, however, was the most commonly referenced of all games. Sport is a highly gendered aspect of human social life, with different sports being deemed more appropriate for certain sexes to play than others.⁶⁸⁷ Sport has also been traditionally considered the preserve of men and shares a special relationship with the male population's preparation for war. During the First World War, sports, and in particular team sports, were thought to teach 'loyalty,

⁶⁸⁶ Advertisement, *Everything You Could Want from a Territory Education. Except the Student*, circa 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁸⁷ B. Tagg, "Imagine, a Man Playing Netball!", *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 43/4(2008), p.409.

consideration and selflessness, whilst simultaneously generating courage, strength and pluck'.⁶⁸⁸ The sports field was also considered of central importance to the development of other essential characteristics, such as the ability to act fairly; physical and moral courage; and the ability to take orders, all considered important for success in life and war.⁶⁸⁹ Sports Battalions were formed in both the United Kingdom and Australia, with war being described in one New South Wales recruiting campaign as 'the best sport on Almighty God's earth'.⁶⁹⁰ The two examples below, one from Australia⁶⁹¹ and the other from the United Kingdom,⁶⁹² show how sports have been used as a motivational theme in recruiting material.



Enlist in the Sportsmen's Thousand, Sportsmen's Committee, Australia, State Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1917, Australian War Memorial, ID number: ARTV00026.

⁶⁸⁸ C. Veitch, "'Play Up! Play Up! And Win the War!' Football, the Nation and the First World War 1914-15", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (July 1985), p.365.

⁶⁸⁹ M. Phillips, "Sport, War and Gender Images: The Australian Sportsmen's Battalions and the First World War", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 14, No.1 (April 1997), p.86.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.79.

⁶⁹¹ Poster, *Enlist in the Sportsmen's Thousand*, Sportsmen's Committee, Australia, State Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1917, Australian War Memorial, ID number: ARTV00026.

⁶⁹² Poster, *Rugby Union Footballers are doing their duty*, Great Britain, Publicity Department, Central London Recruiting Depot, 1912-14, Imperial War Museum, Catalogue number: Art.IWM PST 7806.



Rugby Union Footballers Are Doing Their Duty, Great Britain, Publicity Department, Central London Recruiting Depot, 1912-14, Imperial War Museum, Catalogue number: Art.IWM PST 7806.

In New Zealand, a country that has traditionally reserved a special place for rugby in the public imagination, it is unsurprising that rugby featured routinely in recruiting material. The physical and combative nature of rugby, made famous by tours such as the 1956 Springbok Tour of New Zealand, became legendary for the tour's war-like campaign nature. Contemporary newspapers variously described the players as 'the embodiment of virile manhood', 'the answer to a maiden's prayer', and even 'the epitome of glorious manhood'.⁶⁹³ Rugby was a 'man's game' and the army 'a manly occupation', so the army sought to advertise its support for rugby in any way possible. During New Zealand's commitment in South-east

⁶⁹³ F. Andrewes, "Demonstrable Virility: Images of Masculinity in the 1956 Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15:2, (1998), pp.119-123.

Asia from 1950s through until the 1980s, rugby routinely featured as the sport of choice played by soldiers serving in Malaya and Singapore. Another example is the pocket-sized itinerary the army produced for the 1966 Lions Tour of New Zealand.⁶⁹⁴ Another is a 1990s poster that pictured provincial representative rugby player and army Corporal Tim Kareko, emphasising the army as an opportunity to progress one's rugby aspirations.⁶⁹⁵ Rugby, however, was not the only male-dominated sport used for recruiting purposes. In 1988 the army published the advertisement *It's Not Just for Kicks* in a number of magazines including *Time*, *Metro*, and the *New Zealand Listener*.⁶⁹⁶ The advertisement was designed to appeal to those interested in sports - in particular, those of soccer and rugby.



1966 Lions Itinerary, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁹⁴ Itinerary, *1966 Lions Itinerary*, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁹⁵ Poster, *Arm Me with Success*, circa 1997-1998, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁶⁹⁶ Advertisement, *It's Not Just for Kicks*, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



It's Not Just for Kicks, 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Various forms of masculinity have been represented in army recruiting material during the twentieth century. Men have been displayed as strong, aggressive, sporting and good fathers. They have been pictured with weapons, in vehicles, behind guns and patrolling the jungle. In exchange for their service, men have been offered training, skills, financial security, and most importantly, a chance to validate themselves as men. Soldiering is sold to the prospective recruit as offering an opportunity to transform, not only from boyhood into manhood, but an exemplary form of manhood. New Zealand society, like many others, has accorded its soldiers as embodying a form of warrior-masculinity with superior status to other forms of masculinity.

Sports, particularly those associated with men, have also held an important place in recruiting material. The concept of the army offering an opportunity to pursue sporting opportunities, and the link between the combative nature of sport and army service, has appeared throughout the period under review. From the early twentieth century, and in

particular the First World War, the connection between the attributes required of a successful sportsman and a soldier was clearly made. War was represented as the ultimate sport and soldiers as the ultimate sportsmen. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the link between sports and war may have become invisible, but the link between soldiers and sports had not.

The analysis of army recruiting material over a one-hundred-year period shows that the army has presented soldiering as an inherently masculine job. Why it has done so is reflective of the material's intended target audience – the young male population of the country. Within that cohort of the population, the various forms of masculinity shown by the army held particular appeal. Central among the forms used was the idea of transformative masculinity, whereby joining the army would aid in the transition from boyhood to manhood. At the same time, the transition would also be one recognised by others due to the army's reputation for being an inherently masculine profession. If a one was a soldier, then one was also a man.

The army also sought to adapt its representation of masculinity during the period reviewed. From the 1960s, the army actively sought to maximise recruiting efficacy by broadening its appeal. From that time onwards, a more inclusive, hybrid-masculinity, was used to resonate with a broader section of New Zealand society. This included representations of soldiers as family men, adventurers, outdoorsmen, and gentlemen. By the 1980s, recruiting material was even depicting officers in fashionable clothes and as businessmen. That the army did so is a reflection of the changing nature of New Zealand social values and what was, therefore, likely to appeal to young men. Similarly, it also reflects the declining appeal of traditional representations of soldiering limited to archetypes of warrior-masculinity alone. In recognising this, the army adapted to the changes in society, not just for recruiting purposes, but also to remain relevant. If the army failed to demonstrate its ability to adapt, its attractiveness as an organisation and the level of public support it received would diminish. The need to adapt is also reflected in the next chapter where the army's depiction of women in recruiting material will be examined. As the chapter will show, women appeared in recruiting material aimed at recruiting both men and women. The chapter will also show the evolution of the army's depiction of women from victims to combat-ready soldiers.

Chapter Six: Women, recognition, and objectification

During the period 1899 to 1999, New Zealand went through significant social and economic change. The country led the world in several areas of progressive social policy, while in others it retained legislation that perpetuated and protected traditional social structures. One such issue concerned the roles and rights of women. Whether at home, at school or in the workplace, the roles and rights of women in New Zealand society would change significantly during the period. From the middle of the twentieth century, for example, the fight for gender equity, particularly in the work place, came into conflict with fears around maintaining the 'gender balance'. The Second World War saw women enter new, previously male-dominated, fields of employment, creating palpable concern towards the end of the war that, if measures were not taken to return to pre-war notions of gender-appropriate employment, society would be placed at risk.⁶⁹⁷ As society and the government grappled with these issues, so too did smaller microcosms of New Zealand society, including the army.

This chapter will examine female gender representation in New Zealand Army recruiting material. It will discuss how women have been represented in recruiting material, not only as prospective soldiers, but also in other roles, such as the attractive guests of male officers at formal dinners, or as what men were meant to fight to protect during war. It will review the contents of a century's worth of posters, pamphlets, leaflets and advertisements to determine how women have been depicted throughout the period. Change and continuity of representation will be explored, as well as the question of why such representations changed or persisted over time. It will also consider the often-contradictory nature of women's gender representation in recruitment advertising. One example from 1972 relates to nursing in the army, with a leaflet that described Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps personnel as 'Women of the modern world,' and appealed to those looking for opportunities to travel the globe, while simultaneously picturing them in traditional, feminine and very gender-specific nursing uniforms.⁶⁹⁸

Although thirty New Zealand women served as nurses during the South African War, they did not do so as members of the nation's army. Fifteen of the nurses even paid their own

⁶⁹⁷ D. Montgomerie, *The Women's War: New Zealand Women 1939-45*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2001, pp.11-12.

⁶⁹⁸ Leaflet, *The Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, circa 1972, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

passage.⁶⁹⁹ Despite the New Zealand Army officially having positions for women from at least 14 May 1908, when the New Zealand Medical Corps Nursing Service Reserve was first gazetted, no women's recruit advertising has been discovered prior to 1950.⁷⁰⁰ The absence of such recruiting items prior to the middle of the century, and notably after the Second World War, does not necessarily indicate such items did not exist. By its very nature, recruiting material is disposable and designed to be ephemeral. It is more than possible that such items have been simply lost to posterity. It is somewhat surprising, however, that during a period of significant need for personnel, such as the Second World War, at least some items have not survived. It is known, for example, that by October 1940 the Women's War Service Auxiliary (WWSA) had conducted a substantial recruiting drive.⁷⁰¹ The only printed recruiting item discovered that provides evidence of a recruiting drive, however, is a WWSA enrolment form.⁷⁰² Another explanation for the absence of recruiting material is their possible destruction in the Hope Gibbons office building fire of 1952. This fire resulted in a 'tremendous loss' of public records, including labour and employment records.⁷⁰³

The apparent absence of New Zealand-specific recruiting material is surprising given the readily available and considerable quantities of British, Canadian, Australian and United States recruiting material for women's wartime services. During the Second World War, as previously during the Boer War and First World War, many New Zealand women had been eager volunteers; contributing to the national effort through their work in patriotic organisations, as unofficial recruiters of servicemen, as nurses and as replacement 'manpower' on the home front. During the two World Wars women were often as eager to demonstrate their loyalty to Empire as the country's men, with the greatest challenge being to channel efforts effectively.⁷⁰⁴ It is conceivable, therefore, that little published recruiting material was produced, other than small public notices in newspapers. One such notice during the Second World War appeared in the *Press* notice notifying readers of a 'Recruiting Campaign for Women'.⁷⁰⁵ The notice itself, however, was not an official recruiting

⁶⁹⁹ A. Rogers, *While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899 – 1948*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2003, p.16.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p.33.

⁷⁰¹ Montgomerie, p.46.

⁷⁰² Enrolment Form, *Women's War Service Auxiliary*, circa 1940, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 1996.118.

⁷⁰³ Te Ara, the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, "Hope Gibbons fire 1952", Accessed on 19 March 2015, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/41758/hope-gibbons-fire-1952>.

⁷⁰⁴ J.C. McLeod, "Activities of New Zealand Women During World War I", M.A. Hons thesis, University of Otago, 1978, p.34.

⁷⁰⁵ Notice, "Recruiting Campaign for Women", *Press*, Christchurch, 17 July 1942, p.6.

advertisement. Instead, it represented another example of the New Zealand press' support for wars to which the country was committed during the early twentieth century.

RECRUITING CAMPAIGN FOR WOMEN

An advertisement appears in "The Press" this morning announcing a campaign to recruit women for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Miss M. B. Howard (chairwoman of the District Committee of the W.W.S.A.) said yesterday that the need for women in the forces was urgent. "Everyone knows," she said, "that New Zealand is on the defensive. There is a place in the forces for every able-bodied woman who is not already doing her bit in the home or in an essential industry." The campaign will continue for a fortnight. The services are open to women between the ages of 18 and 45.

Press, 17 July 1942, p.6.

Despite an absence of recruiting material specifically seeking to recruit women into the New Zealand army prior to 1950, women nevertheless appeared in recruiting material. During the First World War, for example, women were widely used in recruiting posters throughout the Empire. One of the most prevalent examples is the image of Edith Cavell, who, following her execution in 1915, became a common example of alleged German barbarism in recruiting material.⁷⁰⁶ Women would continue to be primarily represented in nursing and secretarial type roles for much of the twentieth century. They would also be used, as previously mentioned, as an attractive side benefit of an army career for men. It would not be until the mid-1990s that a female soldier would be depicted in recruiting material carrying a weapon.

⁷⁰⁶ Edith Cavell was executed by firing squad on 12 October 1915 in Brussels, Belgium.

During the First World War, women were used extensively in recruiting material, but not to recruit potential female recruits. Women were instead used to motivate men to enlist. The need to protect women from 'German Barbarians' and their alleged atrocities against women and children were common. In the poster 'Cold Blooded Murder!' for example, Germany was accused of all manner of 'crimes against god and man' including: sacking Holy Places, murdering thousands of civilians, and assassinating 'our Wounded'.⁷⁰⁷ In the same poster, the sinking of the *Lusitania* was cited as a further example of German barbarism. Two equally famous posters produced by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) are *Women of Britain Say - "Go!"*⁷⁰⁸ and *Remember Belgium*.⁷⁰⁹ Both of these posters were used in New Zealand during the First World War.⁷¹⁰ Both posters represent the sacrifices and suffering of women. The cumulative propaganda message of these posters was that, if women did not encourage their men to go, then they might well suffer the same fate as the poor women of Belgium. As Nicoletta Gullace has described it, German atrocities were a key part of marketing the war.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁷ Poster, *Cold Blooded Murder!*, Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915, Te Papa Object Collections, Registration Number: GH016325.

⁷⁰⁸ Poster, *Women of Britain Say - "Go!"*, Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa, Registration Number: GH016292.

⁷⁰⁹ Poster, *Remember Belgium*, Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa, Registration Number: GH016304.

⁷¹⁰ S. Gibson, "First World War Posters at Te Papa", *Tuhinga*, Number 23, 2012, p.73.

⁷¹¹ N. Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2002, p.18.



Women of Britain Say - "Go!", Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa, Registration Number: GH016292.



Remember Belgium, Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa, Registration Number: GH016304.

The English nurse Edith Cavell provided possibly the most famous example of women being used to recruit men. Cavell was executed for the crime of treason by German military authorities after admitting she had helped Allied soldiers and Belgian men to escape from German occupied territory. Her execution, justified or not, was depicted as 'murder' in the press and subsequently used for propaganda purposes throughout the Empire.⁷¹² In New Zealand, her death was widely reported in the media and was subsequently used alongside the sinking of the *Marquette*⁷¹³ to recruit New Zealand servicemen.



“The German Challenge”, *Press*, Christchurch, 1915, National Library, Reference: 1/1-007697-G.

⁷¹² K. Pickles, *Transnational Outrage: The Death and Commemoration of Edith Cavell*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p.44.

⁷¹³ The 10 New Zealand nurses, along with as many as 22 other New Zealanders, were being transported to Serbia on a troopship. They were not on a hospital ship and therefore the *Marquette* represented a legitimate military target (<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/page/troopship-marquette-sunk-killing-32-nz-medical-staff>). The carriage of New Zealand medical staff on the troopship rather than a hospital ship by British authorities remains a subject of criticism.

The use of the 'martyr' Edith Cavell alongside New Zealand's own *Marquette* nurses was cleverly calculated. Nurses were protected under the Geneva Convention, making their deaths at the hands of Germany seem inexcusable, reinforcing the propaganda theme of German barbarism.⁷¹⁴ Using the example of a British nurse alongside New Zealand's own nurses reinforced another common propaganda theme - that the empire faced a common peril. This was mentioned in other New Zealand recruiting posters such as 'Why Britain is at War', printed in the *Lyttelton Times*. That recruiting poster stated 'You can take no risks for your wives' and children's sake'.⁷¹⁵ With respect to how these women were depicted, they were portrayed as victims. Female victims represented all noble and honourable women of the Empire who needed protection. The billboard sought to elicit in New Zealand men a desire to avenge Cavell and the *Marquette* nurses, and to prevent further atrocities stating, 'Men Are Wanted NOW go Avenge Them'. This point was further reinforced by the presence of the poster 'Take Up the Sword of Justice' to the right of the billboard.⁷¹⁶ Such emotive appeals made it difficult for the eligible fighting age male to provide a credible excuse not to enlist. Women, like children, were represented as needing male protection.

As the death of the nurses on the *Marquette* attests, New Zealand women were not merely bystanders to the conflict. Following the noteworthy contribution made by New Zealand nurses during the Boer War, and the subsequent tenacious lobbying of individuals such as Hester Maclean⁷¹⁷, Minister of Defence James Allen signed the New Zealand Army Nursing Service (NZANS) into formal existence on 11 January 1915.⁷¹⁸ This date may, therefore, be considered the earliest time in which women entered into Regular, as opposed to Reserve, service with the New Zealand Army. Yet formal recruitment of nurses for the NZANS was unnecessary due to the abundance of ready volunteers. Such was the eagerness of nurses to serve that a columnist in *New Zealand Freelance* went so far as to joke '... our people are so willing to nurse wounded soldiers that there is danger of some of our boys being nursed - till they are sick!'.⁷¹⁹ The level of support provided by the nation's women

⁷¹⁴ First Geneva Convention, "Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field. Geneva, 22 August 1864", Accessed 17 March 2015, <https://www.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/120?OpenDocument>.

⁷¹⁵ *Lyttelton Times*, "Why Britain is at War", 1914, Auckland War Memorial Museum Poster Collection, Call Number: EPH-PW-1-69.

⁷¹⁶ Poster, *Take Up the Sword of Justice*, Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915, Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Accession number: IWM PST 0409.

⁷¹⁷ Hester Maclean was the founding Matron-in-Chief of the New Zealand Army Nursing Service.

⁷¹⁸ New Zealand Army Nursing Service - Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps, "History", Accessed 23 January 2015. <http://www.nzans.org/NZANS%20History/NZANSHistory-1915-1922.html>.

⁷¹⁹ *New Zealand Freelance*, 18 June 1915, p.26.

nurses almost certainly negated the requirement for formal recruiting material to be produced, offering an explanation for why none has been found from this period.

Had a concerted recruiting effort been necessary, the army would likely have had to negotiate a complex web of contemporary social values to avoid controversy. While nursing had by the turn of the twentieth century become a socially acceptable profession for middle class girls, many people still feared any trend towards growth in women's education and employment.⁷²⁰ In a 1915 article in the *New Zealand Observer*, this sentiment was expressed in relation to female education. The article described how the 'educational authorities lately dropped a tear' on discovering that girls had been awarded dux in 19 out of 22 schools reviewed.⁷²¹ The author of the article went on to opine that 'School for the normal girl is simply the half-way house between infancy and matrimony, and school of the gruelling kind that spurs a girl to achieve school dukedom is waste of health and a handicap to maternal efficiency'. The author was far from alone in such views. The war, far from liberating women from restrictive social values, reinforced the 'cult of domesticity and motherhood'.⁷²² At the time, employment for women was seen merely as a transitional period between school and married life.⁷²³ World War had made motherhood even more heroic than it had previously been during the Victorian period. Mothers, after all, provided the men required to fight for Empire. It was against this backdrop that women were used as victims in recruiting posters. Despite the privations many NZANS nursers suffered whilst at war, these realities were not reflected in recruiting material of the period.

Nursing at this time was presented as 'one of the finest jobs for women'.⁷²⁴ Nursing, as Susan Carruthers explains, was considered 'the peak of womanly achievement, just as fighting was the ultimate male task'.⁷²⁵ It therefore comes as little surprise that New Zealand women would have been as quick to volunteer as nurses as men were to join the expeditionary forces. Through various social conventions and pressures, women were encouraged into caring professions such as nursing and teaching, or at least until such time as they were married. While no NZANS recruiting material from the war has been found, those

⁷²⁰ McLeod, p.68.

⁷²¹ *New Zealand Observer*, 13 March 1915, p.3.

⁷²² McLeod, p.49.

⁷²³ K.H. Sharp, "New Zealand Women: A Contribution to the History of the Part Played by Women in the Social and Political life of the Dominion", M.A. Thesis, University of New Zealand (Canterbury), 1930, pp.98-99.

⁷²⁴ S. Carruthers, " 'Manning the Factories': Propaganda and Policy on the Employment of Women, 1939-1947", *The Journal of the Historical Association*, June, 1990, Vol. 75 Issue 244, p. 236

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

of Allied nations typically emphasised the saintly, caring aspect of nursing, rather than its often-grim reality.⁷²⁶ The performance of New Zealand nurses during the war was also celebrated on the home front. Their successes and promotions were acknowledged alongside those of the nation's men.⁷²⁷

At the outset of the Second World War, New Zealand women found themselves in a similar position to the one they faced during the First World War. They were eager to serve the nation in its time of need, but the position of the state was at best tentative as to how women should do so.⁷²⁸ Unlike Britain, which at the outset of the war enlisted women into the auxiliary branches of the armed forces, New Zealand took somewhat longer to recognise the potential of women.⁷²⁹ New Zealand women, however, did not wait for opportunities to serve formally, with many volunteering to undertake unpaid and unofficial work. In the first few days after war was announced, for example, 500 women enrolled for Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) courses with the Red Cross in North Canterbury alone.⁷³⁰ By the end of the year 12,000 certificates had been awarded nationally, and, by the end of 1941, 230 fully trained VADs were deployed to the Middle East to support the war effort.⁷³¹ Women, like men, were eager to do their bit and to make a timely contribution to the war and all that war might bring.

Despite having proved their worth during earlier conflicts, by the outbreak of the Second World War women had yet to be accepted as a Regular feature of the New Zealand Army. Women nevertheless had remained active after the First World War, even forming a Women's Territorial Army Association in Tarata alongside other New Zealand Territorial Force Association branches set up by men around the country.⁷³² In the intervening period between the World Wars, little to no recruiting of women took place other than the 1936 creation of a register of 60 nurses in the NZANS Reserve.⁷³³ Lobbying was once again required to ensure women were granted an opportunity to formally serve the war effort. Fortunately, New Zealand women had a powerful ally in the form of Janet Fraser, Prime

⁷²⁶ P. Kalisch and M. Scobey, "Female Nurses in American Wars: Helplessness Suspended for the Duration", *Armed Forces & Society*, 1983 9:215, p.216.

⁷²⁷ *Auckland Star*, 22 December 1917, p.12; *Colonist*, 2 July 1919, p.5.

⁷²⁸ I. Latham, *The WAAC Story*, Trentham, Wright & Carman Ltd, 1986, p.1.

⁷²⁹ R.D. Munro, *New Zealand Women in World War II*, Upper Hutt, Wright and Carman's, 1991, p.i.

⁷³⁰ N.M. Taylor, *The New Zealand People at War: The Home Front Volume II*, Wellington, V.R. Ward, 1986, p.1055.

⁷³¹ *Ibid*, pp.1055-1056.

⁷³² P. Cooke and J. Crawford, *The Territorials: The History of the Territorial and Volunteer Forces of New Zealand*, Auckland, Random House New Zealand, 2011, p.221.

⁷³³ C. Marquand, *Official History of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, Wellington, 1978, p.12.

Minister Peter Fraser's wife. She supported a deputation headed by Agnes Bennet to approach Peter Fraser on the issue of creating an official Women's War Service Auxiliary (WWSA).⁷³⁴ Once approved, Janet Fraser took up a more visible role, becoming head of the WWSA's Dominion Council.⁷³⁵

The WWSA was, as Deborah Montgomerie has described, 'envisaged as a quasi-military organisation with uniform'.⁷³⁶ It was not a traditional military service like the Army, Navy, or Air Force. Recruiting for the WWSA was under way by October 1940 and sought to create a register of women prepared to undertake national service.⁷³⁷ The WWSA also served as an umbrella organisation to cover various women's groups around the country. Some of these groups, such as the Women's Service Corps (WSC) in Auckland, were well established by the time the WWSA was formed and some resentment was felt with respect to answering to Wellington.⁷³⁸ Such resentment was understandable given the success of the WSC (also referred to as the Women's National Service Corps), who, at their own expense, had not only fitted themselves out with uniforms, but also undertaken relevant military training in drill, clerical duties, signals, driving and vehicle repair.⁷³⁹ Nevertheless, the WSC was one of the first bodies to affiliate with the national WWSA.⁷⁴⁰

WWSA registration forms were headed 'Emergency Reserve Corps' and contained the statement, 'I desire to join the Women's War Service Auxiliary, and to serve my country to the best of my ability in whatever capacity I am best fitted for in time of national emergency'.⁷⁴¹ It would not be until July 1942 that the formation of a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) would finally be approved.⁷⁴² Neither the WWSA, NZANS or WAAC had any difficulty finding willing recruits. In the case of the NZANS, a 'waiting list' for selected applicants had to be established, a remarkable fact given 643 Registered Nurses served in the NZANS during the war.⁷⁴³ In addition to serving one's country, volunteering

⁷³⁴ D. Montgomerie, *The Women's War: New Zealand Women 1939-45*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2001, p.45.

⁷³⁵ Latham, p.2.

⁷³⁶ Montgomerie, p.45.

⁷³⁷ Ibid, p.46.

⁷³⁸ The WSC had 500 members by 1940. I. Latham, *The WAAC Story*, Trentham, Wright & Carman Ltd, 1986, p.1.

⁷³⁹ Taylor, p.1063.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid, p.1064.

⁷⁴¹ Registration Card, *Women's War Service Auxiliary*, circa 1940, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number 1996.118.

⁷⁴² Latham, p.4.

⁷⁴³ C. Marquand, *Official History of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, Wellington, 1978, pp.16-19.

also represented an opportunity to learn new skills and ‘experience the adventure of foreign travel’.⁷⁴⁴ In many respects, the motivations for women to volunteer for service were the same as those for men and were reflected in recruiting material aimed at women from the 1950s onwards. There were some difficulties in recruiting for the Women's Land Corps, which was administered by the WWSA and the National Service Department.⁷⁴⁵ Advertising for the Women's Land Service, as it was later called, is useful for the purposes of this study despite not technically being part of the army.

EMERGENCY RESERVE CORPS.

CONFIDENTIAL. **Women's War Service Auxiliary.** No. _____

ENROLMENT FORM.

I desire to join the Women's War Service Auxiliary, and to serve my country to the best of my ability in whatever capacity I am best fitted for in time of national emergency.

Name (Mrs. or Miss) : _____ Year of birth : _____
(Surname first.) (Block type.)

Present address : _____ Telephone No. _____

Certificates and special qualifications—e.g., hospital nursing, first-aid or home nursing, motor-driving, farm-work, cooking, factory-work, &c. : _____

Occupation (Present) : _____ Name and address of employer : _____

Give particulars of any expert knowledge, trade, or craft, other than usual occupation : _____

State if willing to return to full-time industrial employment : _____

State whether available for voluntary service, full-time or part-time : _____

State type of work, in order of preference, you are willing to train for—e.g., }
 farm-work (including domestic duties on farms), factory employment, }
 canteen work, emergency hospital-work, &c. : _____

State what war work you are at present doing and if associated with }
 any organization: } _____

Number and age of children for whom care is required, if war work is }
 allotted to you : _____

Date : _____ Signature : _____

N.S.O.—2.]

Women's War Service Auxiliary, circa 1940, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1996.118.

The Women's Land Service was advertised as a ‘vital war job’,⁷⁴⁶ setting a precedent in terms of officially recognising the contribution women could make during war time outside of nursing, clerical or domestic roles. It also reinforced the fact that women could replace men in the workforce, including jobs traditionally viewed as physical and, therefore, the business of men. The view that the Land Service was a vital war job was reinforced by L.R. Sceats of the War Publicity Committee when writing to the manager of the Advertising

⁷⁴⁴ B. Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.260.

⁷⁴⁵ D. Montgomerie, “Men's Jobs and Women's Work: The New Zealand Women's Land Service in World War II”, *Agricultural History Society*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Summer, 1989), p.4.

⁷⁴⁶ Poster, *Call to Farms: Join the Women's Land Service*, Whitcombe and Tomas Ltd, 1940, Archives New Zealand Reference: R18W2496.

Branch of the New Zealand Railways. In his memorandum, Sceats took the opportunity to thank the Railways Advertising Branch for their 'co-operation in this matter of national importance' by placing Land Service posters on display at railway stations.⁷⁴⁷ From the outset of the war, New Zealand Railways had keenly lent their support to recruiting campaigns. Beginning with early recruiting efforts, then switching to labour mobilisation after conscription was introduced in 1940, the New Zealand Railways helped various government departments reach the target audience through poster displays.

Women's Land Service posters are also relevant for the manner in which their design appears to have provided a blueprint for future army recruiting posters.⁷⁴⁸ In particular, emphasis was given to smart but feminine uniforms, which became a feature of army recruiting material for the next thirty years. The apparent message of these posters was that women need not fear a loss of their femininity, as they would be no less ladylike on account of their service. Portraying such an image was no doubt intended to allay the concerns of prospective recruits, as well as those who might fear changes in gender roles that women's employment in the work force represented. That 'smart' uniforms were an effective recruiting tool is evidenced in numerous recollections of Women's Land Service members. In a 2009 interview for *Radio New Zealand*, former members described the uniform as 'becoming' and 'smart' in nature. One also recalled that the uniform came with 'definite advantages' at dances, on trains, and in making one feel important.⁷⁴⁹

⁷⁴⁷ Archives New Zealand, *Display of Army Recruiting Posters at Stations (1940-44)*, Accession Number: R18W2496.

⁷⁴⁸ Poster, *Help Farm for Victory: Join the Women's Land Service*, Whitcombe and Tomas Ltd, 1940, Archives New Zealand Ref R18W2496.

⁷⁴⁹ *Radio New Zealand*, "Sounds Historical - Hour One", 16 August 2009, Accessed 20 February 2013, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/soundshistorical/20090816>.



Call to Farms, Women's Land Service, New Zealand, Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Catalogue Number: Art.IWM PST 16805.

While a smart and attractive uniform was an essential part of the recruiting process, it should not be seen as the most important. There is little doubt that women, like men, were significantly motivated by an obligation-based sense of patriotism and duty. This can be seen in the reference to 'freedom', to farming as a vital war job, and to land work as a means of supporting 'our own people, Great Britain, our Allies'. This sense of patriotism was enforced through contemporary popular culture and the state education system. Doreen Foss, a former Women's Land Service worker, recalled how patriotic school was prior to the war; 'You lined up in the morning and saluted the flag for a start-off then you marched into school with 'Colonel Bogey' or something like that. In class you all stood up and said 'God Save the King' and sat down'.⁷⁵⁰ Sandra Coney went as far as to claim that women's patriotism at the turn of

⁷⁵⁰ G. Fyfe, *War Stories Our Mothers Never Told Us*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1995, p.36.

the century was every bit as great as that of men, and argued that they saw it as their 'duty to produce sons for the Empire and sacrifice them in wars'.⁷⁵¹

The representation of working on the land as a vital war job, therefore, provided women with an opportunity to help win the war. This theme was commonly used as a persuasive tool in recruitment propaganda in Allied nations, and was used for all employment areas where women were supplementing the depleted male workforce.⁷⁵² Appeals to patriotism supported by images of attractive uniforms and improved pay started to have an effect. With the aid of more effective advertising and promotion, including tours by female Members of Parliament, there was soon a significant increase in volunteers. By September 1944, the Women's Land Service reached a strength of 2,088 personnel.⁷⁵³

Before considering post-war recruiting material, it is worth considering female gender representations in Allied countries. Analysing the recruiting material of New Zealand's Allies not only allows for a comparative analysis and wider social context to be established, it also offers an opportunity to make good on the possible loss of archival material in the Hope Gibbons fire. Below is a selection of four Allied wartime recruiting posters from the United States,⁷⁵⁴ Australia,⁷⁵⁵ Canada⁷⁵⁶ and Britain.⁷⁵⁷ These posters closely echo the themes and presentation style of the New Zealand Women's Land Service posters. Patriotism, contributing to the war effort and attractive uniforms all come through strongly. With respect to maintaining one's femininity, the Australian Women's Army Service advertisement explained, 'I'm as interested in my hair-do, my make-up and my nails as you are... but I'd hate to have to admit later on, that I 'flapped' whilst others fought'. Oddly, while patriotism comes through in the Australian advertisement through the use of the Australian national flag, this image was contradicted somewhat in the text, stating 'I'm not an Amazon, a flag-flapper, or a hip-hurrah girl'. This reference may have been designed to address the concerns of some women regarding jingoism and supporting the war effort when their principles may have

⁷⁵¹ S. Coney (ed.), *Standing in the Sunshine*, Auckland, Penguin, 1993, p.308.

⁷⁵² S. Carruthers, "'Manning the Factories': Propaganda and Policy on the Employment of Women, 1939-1947", *The Journal of the Historical Association*, June, 1990, Vol. 75 Issue 244, p.239.

⁷⁵³ D. Montgomerie, "Men's Jobs and Women's Work: The New Zealand Women's Land Service in World War II", *Agricultural History Society*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (Summer, 1989), pp.4-5.

⁷⁵⁴ Poster, *Are You a Girl with a Star-Spangled heart?* National Park Service, Accessed on 19 March 2015, http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/137fomc/137Images/ss_heartLG.jpg.

⁷⁵⁵ Advertisement, *I Said I'd Never Wear Uniform ... but I Couldn't Stand Back Now!* National Archives of Australia, Accession Number: B5499, volume 10.

⁷⁵⁶ Poster, *Shoulder to Shoulder*, Canadian War Museum, Reference: 19880069-860.

⁷⁵⁷ Poster, *Women with a Will to Win!* Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Accession Number: Art.IWM PST 14542.

been opposed to war and unthinking patriotism. Another common feature was the poster's stylistic mimicry. The United States WAC poster and Australian AWAS advertisement, both produced in 1943, shared obvious similarities. Sharing of design ideas amongst the Allied nations recruiting material was routine, with the most famous example being that of Montgomery Flagg's Uncle Sam *I Want You* poster, which was based on the Kitchener *Wants You* poster designed by Alfred Leete.⁷⁵⁸ Shared design styles demonstrated more than a form of artistic flattery or attempts to create the most effective advertising possible. It also demonstrated a shared visual culture and, more importantly, common social values amongst the Allied nations. Advertising for the British Women's Land Army and New Zealand Women's Land Service also shared close design similarities.



Are You a Girl With a Star-Spangled Heart?, United States Army Recruiting Publicity Bureau, 1943, Library of Congress, Call Number: POS - WWII - US .J22 1943 (C size).

⁷⁵⁸ C. Ginzburg, "‘Your Country Needs You’: A Case Study in Political Iconography", *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 52, 2001, p.3.



I Said I'd Never Wear Uniform... But I Couldn't Stand Back Now!, Australian Women's Army Service, 1943, National Archives of Australia, Record Number: NAA: B5499 volume

10.



Shoulder to Shoulder, Canadian Women's Army Corps, 1939-1945, Canadian War Museum, Object Number: 19880069-860.



Women With a Will to Win!, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, Great Britain, Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Catalogue Number: Art.IWM PST 14542.

The posters of New Zealand's allies arguably demonstrate that during the war the United States, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom were more progressive in their acceptance of the role women could play in the army. The posters' existence, as well as their content, collectively convey the message, succinctly articulated in the Canadian poster, that women were an integral part of the army. While this was no less true of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces and the contribution the WWSA, NZANS and WAAC made to New Zealand's war effort, the only posters to convey New Zealand women in comparable terms were those for the Women's Land Service. A possible counter-interpretation to this would be that New Zealand women wished to serve in such numbers that official recruiting was made unnecessary.

The contribution of women to the war effort, particularly in the WAAC, resulted in the establishment of the New Zealand Women's Army Corps in 1948.⁷⁵⁹ The 'official rationale' cited in several NZWAC recruiting pamphlets was 'experience had proved that the Women's Services are both practical and necessary. It has been shown that women can carry out certain duties better than men and their employment will enable more effective use to be made of trained manpower'.⁷⁶⁰ The theme of women measuring their worth in the army in terms of their ability to free up men for other duties, often 'more important' combat duties, was common. It was also persistent, both prior to the creation of the NZWAC and up until its disbandment as the NZWRAC in 1977. The NZWAC obtained royal status in 1952 and was renamed the New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps (NZWRAC).⁷⁶¹

The creation of the NZWAC in 1948 made the New Zealand Army a leader amongst the armies of the Commonwealth in recognising the contribution women had made during wartime, and would make in the army of the future. The creation of the NZWAC came a year earlier than the British Women's Royal Army Corps (WRAC), which was created in 1949,⁷⁶² and three years earlier than the Women's Royal Australian Army Corps (WRAAC) created in 1951.⁷⁶³ New Zealand did, however, create a women's army corps after Canada, which created the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) in 1942. The status of women in the CWAC at that time, however, was still that of an auxiliary to, but not part of, the Canadian armed services.⁷⁶⁴ In many ways, therefore, the CWAC positioned women in a subordinate service status similar to that of the WAAC, AWAS and ATS.

With the end of the Second World War and the creation of the NZWRAC, the army found itself entering the 1950s faced with a new challenge, recruiting women into a peacetime army. The Second World War had in many ways created new employment opportunities not previously available to women. Jobs, previously the preserve of men, were opened to women and more women entered a wider selection of jobs than ever before. This

⁷⁵⁹ By the end of the Second World War, nearly five thousand women had served in the WAAC, 920 of whom deployed overseas. At peak strength in 1942, some 75,000 women were members of the WWSA and affiliated groups. S. Coney (ed.), *Standing in the Sunshine*, Auckland, Penguin, 1993, p.319.

⁷⁶⁰ Booklet, *NZ Army Women's Services*, circa 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number 2013.195.1.

⁷⁶¹ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, National Army Museum Archive, accession number 2013.195.1.

⁷⁶² Women's Royal Army Corps Association, "Background", Accessed on 19 March 2015, <http://wracassociation.org.uk/about/xs/background>.

⁷⁶³ National Library of Australia, "Women's Royal Australian Army Corps", Accessed on 19 March 2015, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/people/712063?c=people>.

⁷⁶⁴ D.C. Wadge, *Women in Uniform*, London, Imperial War Museum, 2003, p.257.

experience ignited in some women a desire to pursue professional careers, but would not necessarily lead to significant social change. As Deborah Montgomerie summarised, 'Men and women emerge from periods of national emergency changed by their experiences, but also longing for normality and a return to pre-war certainties'.⁷⁶⁵ To recruit women in peacetime, the army would, therefore, have to battle a desire among some women to return to the pre-war certainties offered by more domestic lives. Perhaps more significantly, it would also have to battle social pressures for women to return to 'the home'.⁷⁶⁶

Against this social backdrop, and without the patriotic imperative of war to make service in the army attractive, recruiting material of the 1950s had to recruit women into the Regular army. Recruiting material of the period therefore holds significant historical value, setting several precedents for how the role of women in the army would be represented in the public sphere in a post-war New Zealand. Themes that would soon become routine in their use included equal status to men, career opportunities for modern women, protection of womanly virtues, lifestyle, remuneration, and travel opportunities. Themes used during the Second World War that would continue to be used were women as carers, particularly as nurses, and the glamorous and attractive uniforms worn by women in the army.

Army recruiting material began this period by representing women in many ways as equal to men. Several army recruiting advertisements of the early 1950s depicted the happy faces of men and women side by side. The impression gained from these advertisements is that men and women were needed by the modern army in equal measure and were of equal status.⁷⁶⁷ The advertisement *A Choice of Over 70 Careers* was remarkably gender-balanced, an attribute that army recruit advertising would not retain for long. It soon moved into a period of highly gendered advertising, a style it would not fully move away from until the mid-1990s. The advertisement below was also inclusive rather than exclusive in the specific trades listed, even pointing out that 'Men and women required for all phases of office work and administration'.⁷⁶⁸ The theme of working alongside men in equal roles was one of the most persistent of all themes present in recruiting material targeting women. The leaflet *Do YOU Work in Town? Here's a Job for You Near Home* also showed a distinct gender

⁷⁶⁵ Montgomerie, p.13

⁷⁶⁶ M. Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2000, pp.15-16.

⁷⁶⁷ Advertisement, *A Choice of Over 70 Careers*, 1950, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁷⁶⁸ Advertisement, *A Choice of Over 70 Careers*, 1950, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

balance.⁷⁶⁹ The front cover, for example, depicted both men and women as being involved in the daily rush to catch a commuter train to work, offering service life in the army as a happy alternative. A list of vacancies in several trades were then listed for both men and women, with the good chances of promotion being emphasised as being available with the NZWAC.

In 1957, one advertorial prepared for the November issue of *Student's Digest* confidently reported how 'several Army camps and units have women as adjutants, and a number of responsible positions in Army and district headquarters are held by women of the New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps'.⁷⁷⁰ It proudly concluded that 'In short, women are now completely integrated into Army life' and that 'many [women] are now doing the same work as being done by male officers'.⁷⁷¹

A CHOICE OF OVER 70 CAREERS...

in the
ARMY



You'll find the Army a place of opportunity, with a choice of over seventy different careers. Most civilian trades and professions are represented, in addition to a number of technical Army occupations. Pay rates and conditions of service are first class, and vacancies exist for men and women 18 years of age and over. Below are just three of the careers open to you.

INSTRUCTORS
Should have good education and be capable of absorbing and imparting instruction.

MOTOR MECHANICS
To service and maintain all types of vehicles. Qualified mechanics and learner automotive tradesmen are needed.

CLERKS
Men and women required for all phases of office work and administration. Suitable applicants will be trained.

Call at your local Army Office for further details, or write to the Public Relations Officer, Army Headquarters, Wellington, for illustrated booklet . . . free and without obligation.

**FOR BETTER PAY . . . FOR BETTER PROSPECTS
. . . A BETTER LIFE ALL ROUND**

JOIN THE REGULAR ARMY!

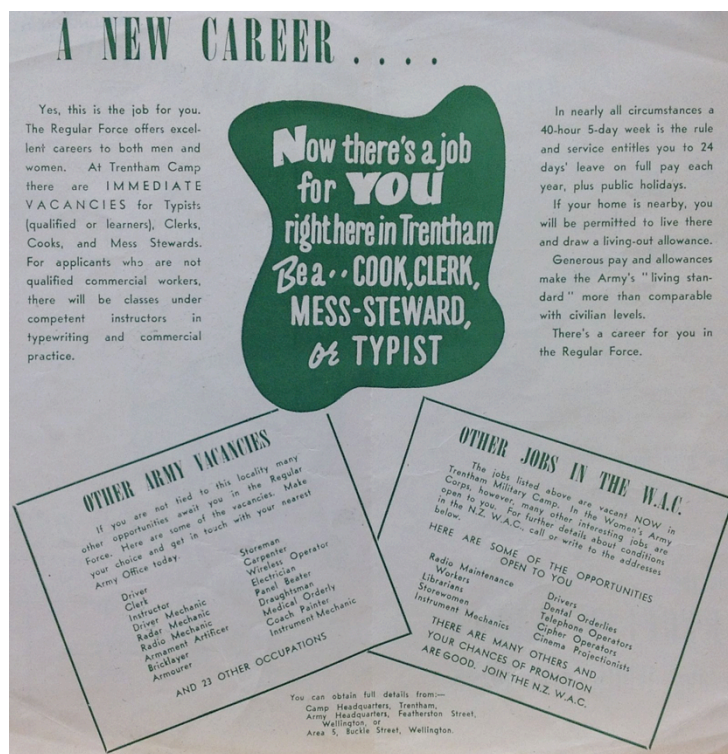
A Choice of Over 70 Careers, 1950, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington.

⁷⁶⁹ Leaflet, *Do You Work in Town? Here's a Job for You Near Home*, Army Headquarters, circa 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number 2013.195.1.

⁷⁷⁰ *Students' Digest*, "Women in the Army", 1 Oct 1957, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*

The status of women in the army, however, was far from equal. The number of what would now be known as career 'pathways' for women was severely limited by the proportionate number of trades open to them.⁷⁷² For much of the decade, barely two dozen trades were open to women in the army. Trades that were open to women in the NZWRAC included; clerks, shorthand typists, telephone operators, cooks, mess-hands or stewards, motor transport drivers, draughtsmen, radio maintenance workers, cipher operators, tailoresses, librarians, education assistants, instrument mechanics, cinema projectionists, drill and physical training instructors, driver-mechanics, typewriter mechanics, teleprinter operators and clothing store assistants.⁷⁷³ These nineteen trades, even when added to those of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps (RNZNC), meant that less than a of the claimed 70 career choices available were actually open to women. Recruiting material does not have to be accurate, however, to be effective and to gain the attention of its target audience.



Do You Work in Town? Here's a Job for You Near Home, Army Headquarters, circa 1950, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁷² Ministry of Defence, *Maximising Opportunities for Military Women in the New Zealand Defence Force*, Evaluation Division, Ministry of Defence, Wellington, February 2014, p.4.

⁷⁷³ Booklet, *Women in the Services*, circa 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, accession Number 2013.195.1.

The army was nevertheless advertised as offering great career opportunities for women. The emphasis on careers at this time was interesting for several reasons; not least of which was that a woman's entry into the workforce was often temporary. For many women, their working life was limited to the short period between school and marriage, when they would leave paid employment for unpaid domestic work.⁷⁷⁴ The emphasis on career opportunities for women is also noteworthy given the restrictions on married women joining the army. The army was unabashed in its desire to attract only single women. Being single was an often-cited eligibility preference for women, with married women only being accepted under 'special circumstances'.⁷⁷⁵

Other common themes used in women's recruiting material by the army during the 1950s can be found in the booklet *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps* published in 1956.⁷⁷⁶ The booklet described the army as offering women 'opportunities to get ahead, to make for herself a career with a future, and possibly a chance of travel'.⁷⁷⁷ To emphasise this point the booklet went on to provide three detailed examples of women who had succeeded in the corps. The three careers do indeed seem remarkable. The first woman was promoted to lance-corporal rank within six months and corporal within the first year after joining. She was then commissioned, appointed Adjutant at Narrow Neck Camp and Officer Commanding of NZWRAC at the camp. The next example was of a warrant officer of ten years' service who, in 1953, had the opportunity to travel to London to represent the NZWRAC at the Queen's Coronation Parade. The last was a soldier, who in her six years of service had risen to the rank of corporal and served in Burnham near Christchurch, Army Headquarters in Wellington and Papakura Camp in Auckland. To show that these girls were not exceptional examples, the booklet emphasised that they 'show the measure of attainment open to any girl who joins ... and takes full advantage of the many opportunities that will come her way'.⁷⁷⁸

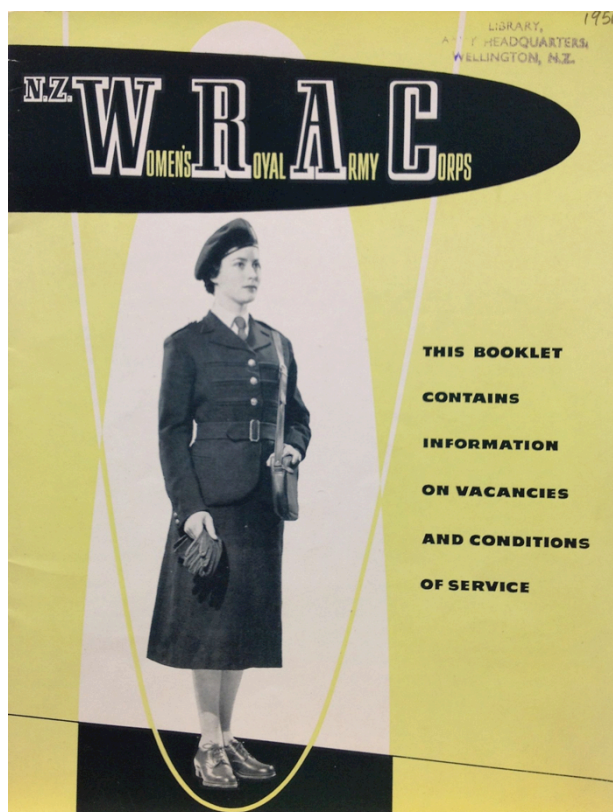
⁷⁷⁴ D.M. Carter, "An Estimate of the Political Development of New Zealand Women, with Reference also to their Social and Economic Position in Society", M.A. and Honours Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1947, p.94.

⁷⁷⁵ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, p. 3, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁷⁶ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁷⁷ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁷⁸ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, p. 1, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Equal status alongside men was also emphasised. The booklet explained how most members of the NZWRAC were attached to other corps within the army and in a variety of roles. A total of seventeen trades across eleven corps were listed as open to the over 200 women of the NZWRAC.⁷⁷⁹ The vast majority of these trades, however, were either secretarial (nine) or domestic (four) in nature. Women were very much excluded from combat and combat support roles. The only two trades available at this time that stand out as progressive and opening up genuinely new opportunities for women were that of draughtsmen and instrument mechanic. Women were also depicted as conducting normal military duties, including parades and physical training, helping to present their service as similar to that of men, despite the limited number of trades actually open to women.

Many of the themes in the booklet appear to have the intended purpose of addressing the predicted reservations of potential recruits. Unlike the more positively geared enticements of career opportunities and travel, several themes stand out as different from those used in recruiting material focussed on men during the same period. Amongst the themes unique to

⁷⁷⁹ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, pp.1-2, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

women were: accommodation, gentle life in the barracks, the ability to leave the service early and attractive uniforms. Women who ‘lived in’ would, the booklet described, live in a single or double room, with ‘her own wardrobe, a dressing table or lowboy, bedside mat and chair, and of course a comfortable bed with sheets and pillowslips laundered weekly’.⁷⁸⁰ Several photos were included of barracks as a ‘home away from home’ and of NZWRAC soldiers enjoying the many benefits of living in barracks.⁷⁸¹ A similar description of life in barracks was given in the booklet *NZ Army Women’s Services*.⁷⁸² With respect to leaving the service early, the booklet explained that a soldier may be released not less than three months before the desired release date on either compassionate grounds where satisfactory proof was provided, or for the purpose of marriage.



ACCOMMODATION for the New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps in the Auckland area is now provided at Jowett House, Narrow Neck. This home away from home for girls in the Army is named after the wartime Commander of the Corps. Accompanying photographs show the high standard of comfort and convenience achieved in Jowett House. Army girls "living in" at Trentham are to be provided with equally modern quarters. The building was nearing completion when this booklet was printed.

N.Z. Women’s Royal Army Corps, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, p.9,
National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁸⁰ Booklet, *N.Z. Women’s Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, p.2, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.9.

⁷⁸² Booklet, *N.Z. Army Women’s Services*, 1952, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The other significant theme unique to women, and one with origins in recruiting posters for the *Women's Land Service*, were the attractive uniforms worn by women in the army. The 1956 booklet *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps* proudly noted that the dress uniform worn by the corps on 'special occasions and walking out [in public]' was based on a design by the Queen's dressmaker, Norman Hartnell.⁷⁸³ It was described as being in 'a shade of green similar to that worn by the British Women's Royal Army Corps, the uniform is worn with black accessories, cream shirt, and green tie'.⁷⁸⁴ It was then shown being worn by an attractive member of the NZWRAC in a pose reminiscent of an actress from Hollywood's 'golden age'.⁷⁸⁵ Perhaps appropriately given the apparent emphasis on attractive uniforms, this rather glamorous picture was found on the centre page. The same also occurred in the booklet *Women in the Services* from the same period.⁷⁸⁶ In *Women in the Services* the 'winter uniforms with and without greatcoats and summer uniforms, or tropical kit' were pictured for the three services over a two-page centre-spread.⁷⁸⁷ Further evidence of the perceived importance of emphasising NZWRAC uniforms was demonstrated by the employment of professional models for recruiting purposes. In 1959, over a period of four days, photos were taken at both Army Headquarters and the National Publicity Studios of a female model in army uniform.⁷⁸⁸ The use of models for the purposes of recruiting was an extraordinary measure with no evidence discovered to indicate it was ever done with men.

⁷⁸³ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, p.4, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1

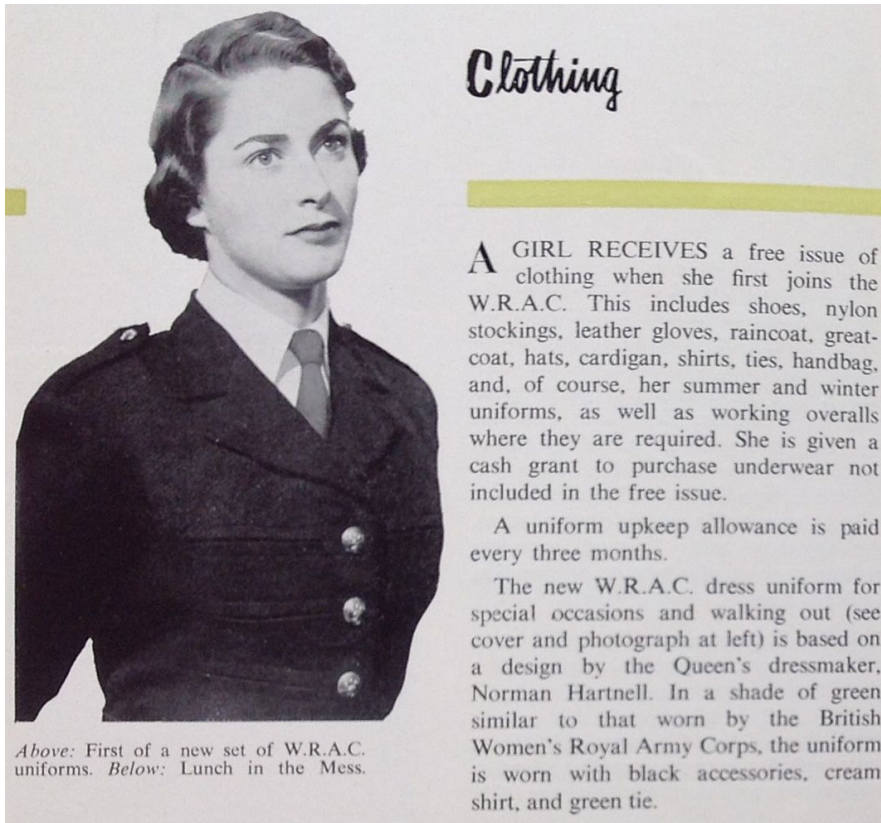
⁷⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ Booklet, *Women in the Services*, circa 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁸⁷ Booklet, *Women in the Services*, circa 1950s, pp.7-8, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁸⁸ New Zealand Army and National Publicity Studio copyright notices x 4, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.



Clothing

A GIRL RECEIVES a free issue of clothing when she first joins the W.R.A.C. This includes shoes, nylon stockings, leather gloves, raincoat, greatcoat, hats, cardigan, shirts, ties, handbag, and, of course, her summer and winter uniforms, as well as working overalls where they are required. She is given a cash grant to purchase underwear not included in the free issue.

A uniform upkeep allowance is paid every three months.

The new W.R.A.C. dress uniform for special occasions and walking out (see cover and photograph at left) is based on a design by the Queen's dressmaker, Norman Hartnell. In a shade of green similar to that worn by the British Women's Royal Army Corps, the uniform is worn with black accessories, cream shirt, and green tie.

Above: First of a new set of W.R.A.C. uniforms. Below: Lunch in the Mess.

N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, p.4, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Women in the Services, circa 1950s, pp.7-8, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

One of the greatest challenges faced by the NZWRAC and its Director was the need to alter public, and sometimes internal, perceptions of women in the army. Likewise, increasing public awareness of the role women filled in the peacetime army presented a significant challenge. In 1959, one internal memo expressed the belief that a lack of publicity and public ignorance of the opportunities for women in the services was contributing to recruitment issues.⁷⁸⁹ It stated that ‘recent publicity has given no indication of the need for the Women’s Services, and this is also having a marked effect, not only on the public attitude, but also on the serving woman who is left with the impression that her services will suffice as a second best while there is a shortage of men’. This last point appeared to paint a picture of an army where a women’s status was considerably lower than that advertised in recruiting material. Coupled with these challenges was the loss of personnel on completion of their initial term of service or for the purpose of marriage. The end result was an annual intake that compensated for discharges, but did not allow for the desired growth in numbers of women in the army. By May 1959, the problem of women’s recruitment had become acute, with 129 vacancies existing in the Regular Force for NZWRAC personnel.⁷⁹⁰

In response to this looming crisis, the army took several proactive steps. Advertising was placed in a variety of print media including journals in May and June 1959, as well as classified advertisements in the ‘eight principal daily newspapers’.⁷⁹¹ Radio advertising also took place, with four spots in *Aunt Daisy’s* sessions and six breakfast sessions across fourteen stations.⁷⁹² 150 information leaflets were also dispatched to each recruiting military district for distribution to area officers. Challenges in recruiting sufficient numbers of women were not new. Shortly after achieving ‘royal status’, the NZWRAC was experiencing personnel wastage in excess of supply. The situation was described in an internal minute in 1954 as getting desperate in some areas.⁷⁹³ A year later, the situation was no better. The answer, it was decided, was the lateral recruitment of British Army WRAC personnel into the NZWRAC. A minimum of 30 personnel was requested, as without these numbers a new building being built for NZWRAC personnel in Trentham might otherwise be lost to the

⁷⁸⁹ Memo, *Recruiting NZWRAC*, 1959, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁷⁹⁰ Minute, *Recruiting and Enlistment NZWRAC - RF*, 25 May 1959, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁷⁹¹ Minute, *Recruiting - NZWRAC*, 30 April 1959, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁷⁹² Aunt Daisy was a well-known New Zealand broadcaster with a career spanning the period 1930-1963.

⁷⁹³ Minute, *Recruiting NZWRAC*, 3 February 1954, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

'male sergeants on the grounds of economy'.⁷⁹⁴ The loss of the building was described by the Director of the NZWRAC as 'something that must be prevented because housing is just as important as pay and clothing from a recruiting angle'.⁷⁹⁵

With respect to the need to change perceptions, one minute prepared by the Director of the NZWRAC to the Adjutant General was particularly revealing. In it she stated that 'It should be noted that Plunket Rooms and Ladies Rest Rooms are not suitable for this purpose'.⁷⁹⁶ This reference, clearly meant to pre-emptively counter any suggestion to use these facilities, was no doubt based on previous experience. Given the army's stance on the employment of married women, it should have been obvious that such sites would be unsuitable. One is left wondering whether this pre-emptive statement was reflective of some internal, male, perceptions of gender appropriate public spaces for women.

The representation of women in advertising directed at a male audience gives the impression that the army was less progressive in terms of gender equity than women's recruiting material indicated. The booklet *A Man's Career* provides a good example of other perceptions of women in the army.⁷⁹⁷ It is not, however, the title of the booklet that does this, despite appearing somewhat chauvinistic. A significant amount of recruiting material directed at women was equally gender-exclusive. What is revealing is the cringe-worthy representation of women on page six, accompanied by the caption 'A regular soldier proudly displays his sports car - product of his own ingenuity and spare time in the camp's well-equipped hobby hut'.⁷⁹⁸ In the photo, members of the NZWRAC were reduced to the role of 'dolly birds'. The woman soldier closest to the 'proud' male soldier looked decidedly unimpressed. While it can only be guessed, it is more than possible her presence in the car was part of a staged photo shoot. One doubts that when she joined to work as an equal alongside men, she envisaged being represented as a 'dolly bird', or used as an incentive to help aid the recruitment of men.

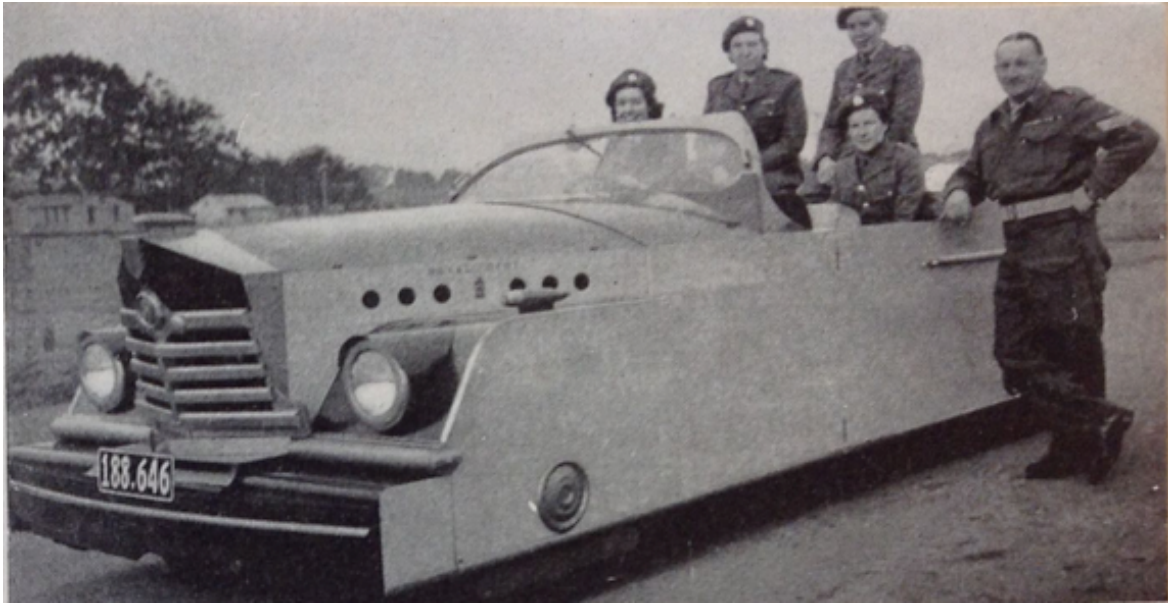
⁷⁹⁴ Memorandum, Director NZWRAC, Army Headquarters, 4 April 1956, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁶ Minute, *NZWRAC Recruiting Tour*, 25 November 1957, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁷⁹⁷ Booklet, *N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps*, Hutcheson, Bowman & Stewart Ltd, Wellington, 1955, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid, p.6.

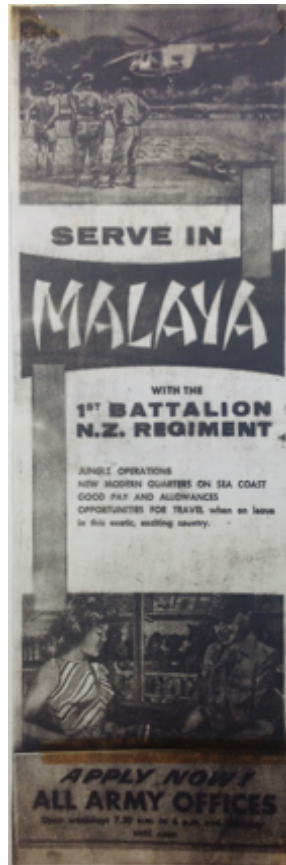


N.Z. Women's Royal Army Corps, Hutcheson, Bowman & Stewart Ltd, Wellington, 1955, p.6, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Women were also used as 'attractions' in recruiting material advertising service in Malaya during the 1950s. Images of busy markets, nightspots, and attractive local women all appeared in recruiting items. One such example supported an offer for 'opportunities to travel when on leave in this exotic, exciting country' with a picture of a serviceman being served by an attractive young local woman (see below).⁷⁹⁹ Another poster from Malaya featured an attractive young Malay woman boarding a cyclo, with the simple heading 'Fly to Malaya with the Army'.⁸⁰⁰ The representation of women during this period was somewhat contradictory, with women being shown both as professional, career service women in their own right, and as attractive side benefits of service life for men.

⁷⁹⁹ Advertisement, *Serve in Malaya*, circa 1957, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁰⁰ Poster, *Fly to Malay with the Army*, circa 1958, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Serve in Malaya, circa 1957, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

A Man's Career was not unique in representing women in socially subordinate roles. In the 1960s, a fresh range of recruiting material was produced using women in this way. This fresh range of products, using the latest graphic design styles, retained familiar themes to those used in the 1950s. In the booklet *The Queen's Commission - Officer Cadets* women, for example, continued to be represented as a social accessory to their male dates – the real focus of the booklet.⁸⁰¹ In the booklet, avenues for attaining a Commission were said to include the various military academies officer cadets could attend. Under the Royal Military College Duntroon section of the booklet, it showed a photo of two newly commissioned officers at their graduation ball. In addition to attaining the Queen's Commission, their apparent prize on graduation was the admiration of two attractive young female companions.⁸⁰² It is also worth noting that only one page of the booklet contained information pertaining to women.

⁸⁰¹ Booklet, *The Queen's Commission - Officer Cadets*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁰² *Ibid*, p.7.



The Queen's Commission - Officer Cadets, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

On the second to last page, almost as an afterthought, it noted that 'The Queen's Commission is also granted to officers of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps and New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps'.⁸⁰³ Women at the time were not eligible to attend many of the more prestigious military academies open to men, including the Royal Military Colleges of Duntroon, Portsea, and Sandhurst, or Westpoint Military Academy. This was officially due to overseas military colleges not providing accommodation facilities for females.⁸⁰⁴ According to recruiting leaflets of the period, women could only obtain a commission through the Army Schools in Waiouru if they were a member of the NZWRAC,⁸⁰⁵ or as a specialist officer in the RNZNC as a registered nurse.⁸⁰⁶ The depiction of women in attractive uniforms also remained a familiar, if not stronger, theme in recruiting material in the 1960s than it had in the 1950s, as the image below testifies. New Zealand Army representations of officer careers for women were more conservative than those used in

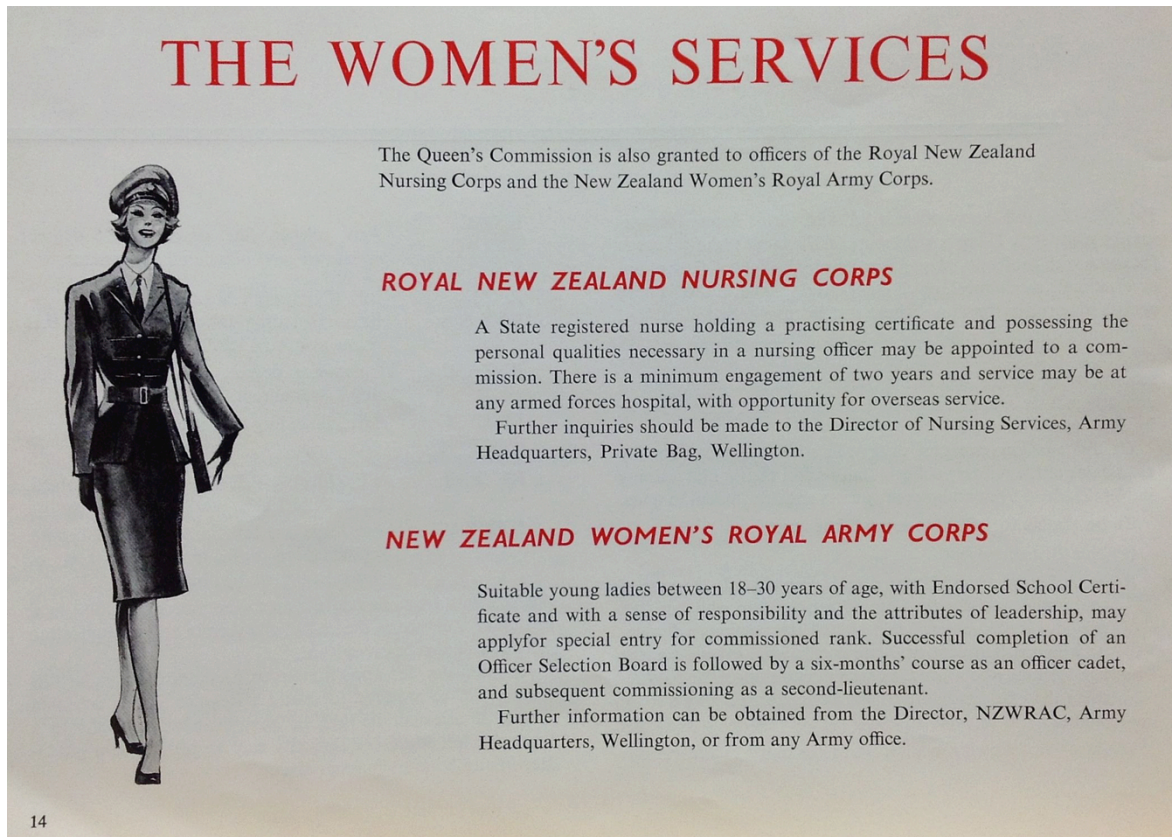
⁸⁰³ Booklet, *The Queen's Commission - Officer Cadets*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, p.14, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁰⁴ Letter, Major Roche to Miss J.D. Risk, Army Headquarters, 16 August 1977, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁸⁰⁵ Booklet, *Special Entry for Commissioned Rank*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1967, p.5, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁰⁶ Booklet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, p.3, National Library Reference: PAM 355.345 ROY 1967.

Australia. Advertising for officers in the Women's Royal Australian Army Corps (WRAAC), even in the 1950s as the poster below attests, depicted a more assertive woman.⁸⁰⁷



THE WOMEN'S SERVICES

The Queen's Commission is also granted to officers of the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps and the New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps.

ROYAL NEW ZEALAND NURSING CORPS

A State registered nurse holding a practising certificate and possessing the personal qualities necessary in a nursing officer may be appointed to a commission. There is a minimum engagement of two years and service may be at any armed forces hospital, with opportunity for overseas service.

Further inquiries should be made to the Director of Nursing Services, Army Headquarters, Private Bag, Wellington.

NEW ZEALAND WOMEN'S ROYAL ARMY CORPS

Suitable young ladies between 18–30 years of age, with Endorsed School Certificate and with a sense of responsibility and the attributes of leadership, may apply for special entry for commissioned rank. Successful completion of an Officer Selection Board is followed by a six-months' course as an officer cadet, and subsequent commissioning as a second-lieutenant.

Further information can be obtained from the Director, NZWRAC, Army Headquarters, Wellington, or from any Army office.

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The Queen's Commission - Officer Cadets, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, p.14, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁰⁷ National Library of Australia, *Accomplishment: Officer Cadet School: WRAAC*, Women's Royal Australian Army Corps, Bib ID: 6342544.



Accomplishment: Officer Cadet School: WRAAC, Women's Royal Australian Army Corps, National Library of Australia, Bib ID: 6342544.

Life in the services, the uniforms worn by service women and the women themselves continued to be represented as glamorous into the 1960s. Recruiting material showed more than that, however, and was similar to contemporary consumer advertising of the period. In a 1960s advertisement for *Mum* roll-on deodorant, a female secretary was depicted as 'efficient, feminine, responsible and attractive'.⁸⁰⁸ The message was that women could prove their worth as a professional, while still retaining their femininity. Another recruiting leaflet for the NZWRAC stated that women of the corps did 'much the same work and in many cases assumes many of the same responsibilities - yet her social status as a woman is carefully

⁸⁰⁸ H. Phillips, *SELL! Tall Tales from the Legends of New Zealand Advertising*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2013, p.137.

maintained'.⁸⁰⁹ A similar message was focussed at parents who might be apprehensive of their daughters joining the army. The 1967 leaflet *Why Not be an Army Nurse?* pointed out that 'welfare supervision of girls enlisted into the service is undertaken by women officers'.⁸¹⁰ The importance of conveying this message can be seen in recruiting material of the period and in official correspondence. In a letter written to prospective NZWRAC recruits, the Corps Director confirmed that women of the NZWRAC would be able to use cosmetics in moderation, as well as lightly coloured nail varnish whilst in uniform.⁸¹¹ The Director also suggested that new recruits bring several articles with which to decorate their otherwise well-appointed rooms.

Women of the NZWRAC were sold as 'a distinctive sight in military camps and offices throughout New Zealand' in their 'stylish uniforms'.⁸¹² Print advertising was also supported through the use of static displays, with the prominent display of the uniforms on offer to women in the army.⁸¹³ A further recruiting booklet for the RNZNC described how 'Attractive indoor and outdoor uniforms are issued free'.⁸¹⁴ Making sure uniforms were as attractive as advertised in recruiting material was a challenge. In the early 1960s, 'Indoctrination Courses' for recruits in the NZWRAC were held in each of three military districts, prior to their subsequent attendance at Basic training in Burnham.⁸¹⁵ This led to challenges outfitting recruits with appropriately fitting uniforms, on account of difficulties stocking complete size ranges and the reported inability of outlying areas to take sizes correctly.⁸¹⁶ To remedy the issue, it was recommended that the two North Island military district Indoctrination Courses be combined at Trentham.⁸¹⁷

⁸⁰⁹ Leaflet, *New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps*, Wellington, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸¹⁰ Leaflet, *Why Not be an Army Nurse?*, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸¹¹ Letter, *Information for NZWRAC Recruits*, Director NZWRAC, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 6 August 1969, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁸¹² *Students' Digest*, June 1960, p.7

⁸¹³ Photo, Display Centre Wellington, November 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1996.118.

⁸¹⁴ Booklet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, p.3, National Library Reference: PAM 355.345 ROY 1967.

⁸¹⁵ Minute, *Enlistment NZWRAC (Indoctrination Courses)*, 13 August 1962, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁸¹⁶ Ibid.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid.



Display Centre Wellington, November 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1996.118.

As Michael King explained, the arrival of the television and jet travel had 'plugged New Zealand into the Global Village'.⁸¹⁸ The result of this was a generation who were more critical of the established social orthodoxy. In recognition of the considerable social changes taking place in New Zealand, and indeed the wider Western World, the army needed to adapt its recruiting message. The army recognised that attitudes amongst women towards professional careers and life aspirations were changing and adjusted accordingly. Life in the NZWRAC and RNZNC was advertised in one leaflet as offering 'splendid career opportunities to women who want to do something different and worthwhile'.⁸¹⁹ Another noted that 'Most girls want to get something extra out of life to broaden their outlook of the world around them'.⁸²⁰

An important aspiration for a growing number of women was a desire to travel overseas. This sentiment was succinctly captured in the recollections of two RNZNC nurses,

⁸¹⁸ M. King, *After the War: New Zealand Since 1945*, Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton, 1988, p.91.

⁸¹⁹ Handbill, *NZWRAC and RNZNC*, 1966, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸²⁰ Leaflet, *New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1

Clair Jacobson and Margaret Jupp, in *No Front Line: Inside Stories of New Zealand's Vietnam War*. While serving as a nurse in the 1960s Claire Jacobson was asked how she felt about serving overseas, to which she replied 'Any travelling that's going I'll go, please'.⁸²¹ A similar desire to get overseas was recalled by Margaret Jupp, 'I'd really been interested in the East when we stopped at Penang and Singapore. I thought I'd like to see more of the East; I wonder if there's any way you can work over there. I didn't really know what options there were but I had heard the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps sent nurses to Malaysia. So I thought, I'll make some enquiries about that. And before I knew, I was in'.⁸²² As Jupp's recollections attest, the army was using travel abroad as a recruiting theme. The 1967 leaflet *New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps* stated amongst other benefits 'the chance to serve overseas'.⁸²³ The claim was tangibly backed up by photos of four NZWRAC personnel on leave in Singapore and Malaya.



New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Women as carers and nurses, which received significant attention during periods of armed conflict, received renewed emphasis in the 1960s in a number of recruiting products

⁸²¹ C. Hall, *No Front Line: Inside Stories of New Zealand's Vietnam War*, Auckland, Penguin, 2014, p.164.

⁸²² Hall, p.17.

⁸²³ Leaflet, *New Zealand Women's Royal Army Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

focussed on the RNZNC. The corps, best known for its wartime contributions, used this to their advantage: 'This famous corps, which forged its traditions on the battlefields of two world wars, today offers a peace-time job which is the envy of many a girl'.⁸²⁴ Also in keeping with 1940s wartime attitudes towards nursing being a socially acceptable career for women, the same leaflet described nursing as 'one of the most rewarding careers for girls'.⁸²⁵ Such traditional sentiments were reinforced by the depiction of women in caring roles. Recruiting material for the Regular Army, RNZNC, NZWRAC, and Royal New Zealand Dental Corps all showed women as carers. Often these images were very traditional in nature and reminiscent of First and Second World War representations of the saintly female nurse.⁸²⁶ In defence of the Army's traditional representation of gender roles, it should be noted that, in the words of Melanie Nolan, many see the '1950s and 1960s as the height of female domesticity in New Zealand'.⁸²⁷ At a time of social change when the army was tailoring many of its recruiting themes, it also recognised those that continued to resonate with their audience without adjustment.



Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967,
National Library Reference: PAM 355.345 ROY 1967.

⁸²⁴ Leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps: Be an Army Nurse*, Army Headquarters, 1963, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸²⁵ Ibid.

⁸²⁶ Booklet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, p.3, National Library Reference: PAM 355.345 ROY 1967.

⁸²⁷ M. Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2000, p.17.

The continued growth in career opportunities for women in the army remained a feature of 1960s recruiting material and was reflective of increased employment opportunities for women in general. In 1965, the challenge of competing with private sector employment opportunities led the Director of NZWRAC to argue for lowering the age limit for recruitment of women into the corps. According to one document, as many as forty applicants were lost to the army due to their being seventeen years of age.⁸²⁸ The prospective recruits were described as 'of good calibre' indicating that recruiting efforts were attracting the right people.⁸²⁹ This was considered particularly concerning given an intensive effort was then under way to recruit personnel for key trades. As the Director explained, 'In the main, by the time the girls have reached 18 years of age, they have got another job in civilian life and are lost to Army'.⁸³⁰ She went on to argue that 'If we were able to recruit girls at a lower age - say 17 1/2 yrs - we would undoubtedly increase our recruiting figures to release male soldiers to fd [field] force'.⁸³¹ This last comment was revealing for the manner in which it measured a women's worth to the army in terms of freeing up men for other duties. Whether this last point was made by the Director in the belief that it would offer genuine organisational benefits, or was simply added to make the argument for reduced recruiting age more appealing to senior officers, can only be guessed. Whatever the case, the recommendation was rejected by the Adjutant-General without justification. A provision for 'special cases' to be put to Army HQ for 17 1/2 year old girls was, however, granted – provided the recruit were 'stable and mature enough to live in camp'.⁸³² By way of gender comparison, it is worth noting that teenage boys could join the army as Regular Force Cadets from as early as 15 1/2 years of age.⁸³³ There was no requirement to prove young male recruits were 'stable and mature enough', even at this much younger age.

While this decision by the Adjutant-General indicated that women were still treated somewhat differently to men, gender equity in the workplace continued as a theme in women's recruiting material. In the *Student Digest* advertorial referred to earlier, women of the NZWRAC were described as 'Performing essential tasks in the day-to-day running of an

⁸²⁸ Minute, *Recruiting: Lower Age Limit*, NZWRAC, 1964, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ Ibid.

⁸³² Minute, *Enlistment Age - NZ WRAC*, Army Headquarters, 15 April 1964, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁸³³ Booklet, *Boys in the Army: The Regular Force Cadets*, 1955, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 1990.811.72.

efficient Army'.⁸³⁴ A booklet for women interested in commissioned service, stated 'female officers enjoy the facilities of the officers' mess'.⁸³⁵ Women were also represented in a number of jobs alongside male colleagues, including cypher work, clerk duties and even fixing vehicles. Perhaps the best illustration of the theme of gender equity was the 1967 booklet for the RNZNC: 'On being granted a Regular Force Commission in the Services, a Nursing Officer assumes the status and privileges equal to those of the male officer, together with the obligations and responsibilities of the rank'.⁸³⁶ Women in the army were carving out a hard-earned reputation and were both proud of their achievements and keen to use them to their advantage to recruit equally determined New Zealand civilian women.

By the 1960s, perceptions of women in the army and their public profile was changing. If requests for women's career pamphlets are considered a good measure of public interest, then interest was high. The concerns raised by the Director of the NZWRAC in the 1950s regarding poor public awareness of women in the services, and the subsequent public relations campaign to address it, appears to have achieved the desired impact. Many requests were received by Army Headquarters from school careers advisors and Department of Education vocational advisors alike wanting further information on women's career opportunities in the army. In one letter from the Department of Education 'as many copies as you can spare on all information available on the Women's Royal Army Corps' were requested.⁸³⁷ A similar request was also put through by the Department of Education for 200 copies of the RNZNC leaflet *Why Not Be an Army Nurse?*⁸³⁸

The survey *New Zealand Women: Family, Employment and Education*, revealed that the 1970s was a period of 'pivotal significance' for New Zealand women.⁸³⁹ An examination of 1970s recruiting material reveals it was also a period of significant cultural change within the army. A decade that began with women's roles in the army being as gender-defined as they were in the 1950s and 1960s, ended with the representation of women as equals

⁸³⁴ *Students' Digest*, June 1960, p.7.

⁸³⁵ Booklet, *Special Entry for Commissioned Rank*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1967, p.5, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸³⁶ Booklet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1967, p.3, National Library Reference: PAM 355.345 ROY 1967.

⁸³⁷ Letter, *N.Z.W.R.A.C. - Information*, Department of Education, 4 May 1965, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁸³⁸ Letter, Department of Education to Director of Nursing Services, 17 December 1968, Archives New Zealand, Reference: AALJ W3508 7291 Box 128.

⁸³⁹ I. Pool and K. Johnstone (eds), *The Life Courses of New Zealand Women: Fertility, Family Formation and Structure, Fertility Regulation, Education, Work and Economic Wellbeing*, Hamilton, University of Waikato, 1999, p.14.

alongside their male colleagues. Social changes that had been ongoing for decades in New Zealand culminated in a series of progressive legislative changes designed to encourage greater gender equity. The Equal Pay Act of 1972 encouraged employers to provide equal pay for equal work, the gender differential in minimum wages was eliminated and the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 sought to abolish discrimination in the work place. The latter Act brought about the demise of the NZWRAC, a corps that had developed a proud tradition of serving the army and New Zealand. This led to the absorption of serving women into existing corps within the army based on the trades they performed. It did not, however, result in all trades being opened to women, though it was seen as a move in the right direction.

The NZWRAC began the decade facing many of the same recruitment issues as it had in previous decades, namely an inability to recruit enough women to fill available vacancies. In a 1971 newspaper article, Major Goodman, the Deputy Director of army recruiting, was quoted as saying 'Women are needed and many do not realise the interesting careers the Army offers'.⁸⁴⁰ In 1971 there were 68 vacancies.⁸⁴¹ The situation was only marginally better in 1973, with 63 vacancies existing in the NZWRAC. Only three corps had more vacancies, the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, Royal New Zealand Armoured Corps and Royal New Zealand Army Ordnance Corps.⁸⁴² To indicate how significant the NZWRAC shortages were, their vacancies were greater than those for the Royal New Zealand Artillery, Royal New Zealand Engineers, Royal New Zealand Corps of Signals, or Royal New Zealand Electrical Mechanical Engineers, each of which were much larger corps than the NZWRAC.⁸⁴³

The depiction of life for a woman in the army as glamorous was well established. Attractive officers and soldiers were commonly used in recruitment advertising and the 1970s was no exception. The importance of attractiveness and femininity was not solely defined in pictures. A leaflet titled *The Army Nurse* stated a requirement to be a member of the RNZNC was the need to have 'a bright and cheerful personality, be able to mix well, be well

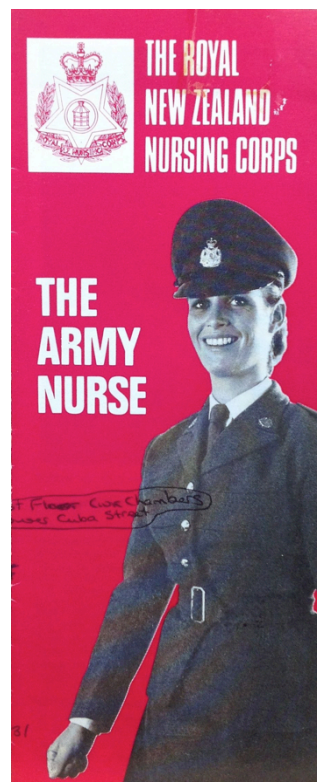
⁸⁴⁰ Newspaper clipping, *Army Recruiting to be intensified*, 26 April 1971, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 34.

⁸⁴¹ Minute, *Army Recruiting Requirement 1971/72 NZWRAC*, 7 May 1971, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 30.

⁸⁴² Minute, *Adult Recruiting 1973*, Defence Headquarters, 4 January 1973, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 30.

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

groomed...'.⁸⁴⁴ Another RNZNC leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, stated 'Life in a predominantly male environment calls for poise and integrity. The Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps in offering a professional experience with a difference also offers a way of life in which your social and feminine status is assured'.⁸⁴⁵ The later leaflet also continued the representation of nurses in traditional, hospital-based, carer roles. Women medics and nurses were never shown in realistic, combat zone, medical situations. The avoidance of any recognition of combat roles in military recruiting material also occurred in the United States. Of the experience of female nurses in the US military, Kalisch and Scobey conclude: 'it would appear that the military has sought to deemphasise the past, active role of nurses in combat in favour of a more conventional nursing image. Rather than capitalising on the distinguished performance of nurses during wartime, the armed services have adopted a Madison Avenue approach to their recruitment problems'.⁸⁴⁶ The two examples below encourage the same conclusion with respect to the New Zealand Army's depiction of women nurses in recruiting material.



The Army Nurse, Wright & Carman Ltd, New Zealand, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁴⁴ Leaflet, *The Army Nurse*, Wright & Carman Ltd, New Zealand, 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁴⁵ Leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1972, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁴⁶ Kalisch and Scobey, p.234.



Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1972, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

As Kalisch and Scobey found in United States recruiting, New Zealand recruiting material for nurses, and women in general, frequently alluded to travel and adventure.⁸⁴⁷ One leaflet for the RNZNC even went so far as to claim that 'Nurses serving in the Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps will find that the world is their ward'.⁸⁴⁸ It went on to state, 'Posting to the different Services will take them [RNZNC personnel] to Service hospitals through New Zealand and South-east Asia, as well as for duty on long-range overseas flights by transport aircraft of the Royal New Zealand Air Force'. The leaflet summarised by saying 'In short, they [RNZNC personnel] become "Women of the modern world"'. Travel remained an important theme in recruiting material, with images of women service personnel shopping whilst on leave in Singapore continuing to be used.⁸⁴⁹ So too did the promotion of an army career as a life less ordinary.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁸ Leaflet, *Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps*, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, 1972, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁴⁹ Leaflet, *New Zealand Women's Army Corps*, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Even more so than in the 1960s, recruit advertising promoted the image of the army as a career with a difference. Advertisements with titles such as, *A Whole World of Opportunities NZWRAC* had supporting arguments that 'Today a girl needs the same exciting choice of jobs as a man'.⁸⁵⁰ The advertisements targeted those who wanted career options that offered something more, 'You want something special out of your work. Not just a dull 'fill-in-time job ... but a career ... where you can meet new people, make new friends, do something interesting and worth-while'.⁸⁵¹ The army as a job worth-while was also sold as one of substance, 'Few girls have a job as interesting and responsible as this'.⁸⁵² These themes were not only used in New Zealand. They were common in other Commonwealth countries, as shown in the British WRAC newspaper advertisement, *Bored with a Routine Job? The ARMY has a Lot to Offer a Girl Like You!*.⁸⁵³ Or, as one Australian leaflet for the WRAAC succinctly put it, 'wraac, a place where life begins'.⁸⁵⁴

As in previous decades, opportunity for career advancement and promotion was used in 1970s recruiting material. Furthermore, promotion, it was argued, would be based on 'sheer ability and nothing else'.⁸⁵⁵ What constituted the 'nothing else' was not explicitly clear, though one may surmise that it referred to a soldier's good looks or perhaps something less savoury. As in previous decades, examples of rapid promotion amongst service women were provided. One example was Susan Black, who, after 18 months service, was promoted to full Corporal.⁸⁵⁶ Closely linked to issue of promotion based on merit was promotion and job responsibility comparative to men. The advertisement *A Whole World of Opportunities NZWRAC* provided reassurance to the prospective recruit that 'She needs to know that promotion is available on the same terms, that she can work alongside and share the same responsibilities as her male counterpart'.⁸⁵⁷ Employment equity and equal status were a

⁸⁵⁰ Advertisement, *A Whole World of Opportunities NZWRAC*, 1970s, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁸⁵¹ Advertisement, *A Smart Idea: You in the NZ Women's Royal Army Corps*, 1970s, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁸⁵² Advertisement, *Few Girls have a Job as Interesting and Responsible as This*, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁸⁵³ Advertisement, *Bored with a Routine Job?*, The Times, 12 November 1971, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁸⁵⁴ Shrine of Remembrance Melbourne, "A fine Career for a Woman", Accessed 26 March 2015, <http://www.shrine.org.au/Exhibitions/Temporary-Exhibitions/A-fine-career-for-a-woman>.

⁸⁵⁵ Advertisement, *Few Girls have a Job as Interesting and Responsible as This*, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁸⁵⁶ Advertisement, *If You're a Girl who Likes Meeting New People You'll Enjoy the ARMY*, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

⁸⁵⁷ Advertisement, *A Whole World of Opportunities NZWRAC*, 1970s, Defence Recruiting Records, HQNZDF, Freyberg House, Wellington (no accession number).

common theme in most recruiting products, even prior to the passing of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, indicating it was an issue taken seriously by the army's hierarchy.

In 1976, the army produced a series of fresh recruiting products targeting officer careers for women. Many were headed *CHALLENGE Young Women: Join a Select Group* and were featured in the regional press.⁸⁵⁸ While these advertisements featured an attractive woman officer as usual, something was noticeably different. The officer was depicting striding confidently as one might expect a career businesswoman, while changes in the text foreshadowed major workplace developments for women in the army. They may also have been influenced by a 1974 PSA report on discrimination in the public service, including job advertisements.⁸⁵⁹ This report helped bring about important changes in pay, the advertising of job vacancies and trade training opportunities for women in the state service sector.⁸⁶⁰ Outside the public-sector, employment indicators for women were similarly concerning. The proportion of women in top white-collar jobs dropped between 1950 and 1970. The percentage of women doctors, lawyers, dentists and accountants also dropped in the fifteen years prior to 1971.⁸⁶¹

In the advertisement version of the *Challenge* recruiting campaign, those with University Entrance or at university were challenged to become officers in the New Zealand Army, not the NZWRAC.⁸⁶² The poster version of the campaign listed the qualities of strong leadership, common sense, a mature outlook, an ability to get on with people, a sound academic record, and physical fitness.⁸⁶³ In summary, it stated 'You need to be a bit of an all-rounder, and a sense of humour helps - it's no cushy job, but the incentives are there'.⁸⁶⁴ These posters would be the last gender-specific recruiting advertisements to target women, as after the introduction of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, recruiting was targeted at both men and women.

⁸⁵⁸ Advertisement, *CHALLENGE Young Women: Join a Select Group*, 1976, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁵⁹ Nolan, p.259.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid, p.260.

⁸⁶¹ J. Park (ed.), *Ladies a Plate: Change and Continuity in the Lives of New Zealand Women*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1991, p.31.

⁸⁶² Advertisement, *CHALLENGE Young Women: Join a Select Group*, 1976, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁶³ Poster, *ARMY: Careers for Woman Officers*, 1976, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

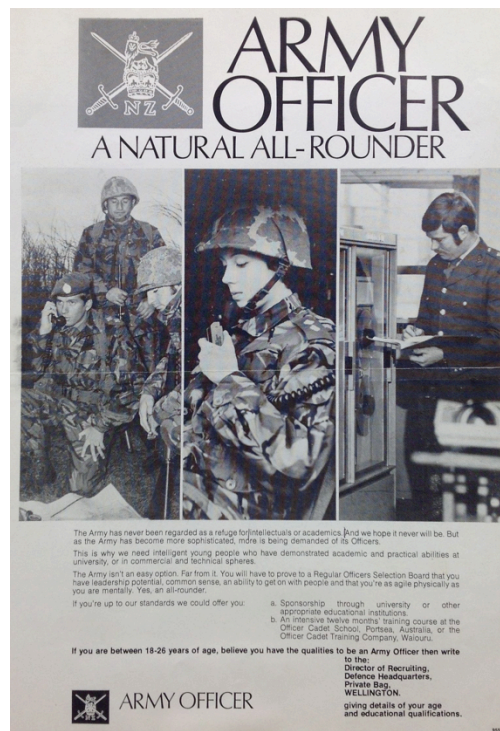
⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.



ARMY: Careers for Woman Officers, 1976, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The concept of the army officer as an all-rounder, seen in the 1976 recruiting campaign for women officers, was picked up in 1978 for a new officer recruiting campaign aimed at both men and women. The 1978 campaign was noteworthy for at least three reasons.

The first is that it constituted the beginning of a new wave of gender-inclusive advertising, including both a male and female audience. Instead of stating that the army sought men or women, it used the gender-neutral term 'people'. The second is that it depicted, for what appears to be the first time, a woman officer in a tactical situation and wearing a helmet.⁸⁶⁵ The third is that a similar version of the advertisement was also produced in French, one of the very few occasions in which recruiting for the New Zealand Army was not carried out in English and likely in an attempt to target those with sufficient academic potential to study a second language at school.⁸⁶⁶ Only on a handful of occasions have recruiting material even been printed in Māori, one of New Zealand's official languages. Another widely distributed officer recruiting booklet from 1978 used the gender-neutral term 'leader' and emphasised that as a leader the officer would 'become responsible for the men or women in your platoon, troop or section'.⁸⁶⁷ With the disestablishment of the NZWRAC and integration of women into the remaining corps, along with increased trade opportunities for women, it would become more common for men to command women and women to command men than ever before.



Army Officer: A Natural All-Rounder, 1978, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁶⁵ Advertisement, *Army Officer: A Natural All-Rounder*, 1978, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁶⁶ Advertisement, *Officer A L'Armee: Un Defi Pour Les Quelques Elus*, 1978, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁶⁷ Booklet, *Graduates in the Army*, 1978, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The message in both recruiting material and official correspondence of the period was that the army was fully supportive of equal opportunities for women. A letter from Major Tom Roche, Director of Army Recruiting to Miss J.D. Prisk, Principal of Christchurch Girls High School, stated: 'In line with recent demands on society for equality and equal opportunity, Army policy has changed [and] we now offer interesting and demanding careers to women. The only limitation placed on their employment is that they will not undertake tasks related to combat. There is, however, a wide range of management executive and staff appointments which, given the same training as their male counterparts, women will perform on exactly equal terms as male officers'.⁸⁶⁸ Behind the scenes accommodations were being made to ensure women were getting more opportunities than ever before. 'Corps Directors are reminded of the requirement to modify their Corps promotion courses for servicewomen to reflect employment restrictions'.⁸⁶⁹ In some cases at least, rather than women being granted the genuine opportunity to serve on the same terms as their male colleagues, the standards were being adjusted to accommodate women. In its effort to provide women equal opportunities the army had inadvertently reduced women's chances of doing so credibly among their male peers by changing standards to accommodate them, as well as arguably lowering the bar for all soldiers, men and women alike.

Publicly at least, the army had avoided any chance of being accused by its detractors of being reluctant to effect positive change. The situation, however, was not to last. Treatment was not necessarily equal, as Lieutenant Colonel Janet Castell would later recall of her experience at Officer Cadet School in 1977:

Our male classmates were sent to Waiouru where they learnt to fire weapons, navigate and do peace administration. We women went to Burnham where we fired 10 rounds from an M16, spent two nights in the field, and learned to iron our frocks and polish our shoes - it was a waste of time as far as I was concerned. We came back here to Waiouru to join our male counterparts and found we were floundering because people expected us to be at the same level as they were, and we weren't.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁸ Letter, Major Roche to Miss J.D. Risk, Army Headquarters, 16 August 1977, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁸⁶⁹ Minute, *Integration of Servicewomen Implementation Instruction*, Army General Staff, 5 December 1977, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 198.

⁸⁷⁰ *Defence Quarterly*, No. 16, Autumn 1997, p.22.

The 1980s brought plenty of challenges for the army, triggered by its recruiting efforts. Army records from the period reveal a time of significant sensitivity towards the representation of women and whether they were receiving fair treatment. From a reputational perspective, the army was fortunate that many of these challenges came in the form of private correspondence. Most letters were directed to the Chief of General Staff, or local Members of Parliament. Some, however, were more public and challenged the army's gender equality policies. In one 'letter to the editor' referring to the advertisement *Are You Man Enough?*, the army was accused of taking 'the cake for its crudeness and total lack of sensitivity towards the male gender (and female)'.⁸⁷¹ The complainant went on to opine that the army's advertisement was 'even more debasing than the common D.B. advertisement which carries similar overtones'. Advertising in the 1980s was renowned for the objectification of women as 'sexpots' and 'tits-and-teeth'.⁸⁷²

The complainant then described how insensitive gender advertising promoted attitudes 'which are false and socially destructive'.⁸⁷³ His point soundly and justifiably made, he then went on to damage his credibility by accusing the army of being 'actively employed for the purpose of mass murder in order to enhance the livelihoods of capitalist arms manufacturers'.⁸⁷⁴ If there was one thing the New Zealand Army was not known for, it was committing mass murder or purchasing weapons in sufficient numbers to significantly enrich arms manufacturers. This last comment is an issue that has been discussed in previous chapters, namely the impact public opinion had on army recruiting at various times. The army undoubtedly sought to leverage positively disposed public attitudes to its advantage and avoid those that might be seen to confirm more contentious aspects of the army, such as its involvement in the Vietnam War.

The objectification of women in advertising was blatant in the 1980s and led a group called *Media Women* to conduct a study of contemporary television advertising.⁸⁷⁵ The survey was conducted over the period 8-22 August 1984 and looked at prime-time television

⁸⁷¹ Letter to the Editor, 'Army Recruiting', *Press*, 5 September 1986, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 312.

⁸⁷² H. Phillips, *SELL! Tall Tales from the Legends of New Zealand Advertising*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2013, p.135.

⁸⁷³ Letter to the Editor, 'Army Recruiting', *Press*, 5 September 1986, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK ABFK W4948 7494 Box 312.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷⁵ H. Phillips, *SELL! Tall Tales from the Legends of New Zealand Advertising*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 2013, p.135.

advertising between 6-10pm daily.⁸⁷⁶ Their content analysis revealed that men enjoyed a wider range of roles and dominated the voices heard, while women were relegated to the role of household cleaners or 'sexpots'. In a 1996 interview with Allison Webber, a member of the *Media Women* group, she recalled how the study revealed a gap between advertising and reality; 'all we see is women smiling, washing their houses, their cars, their babies, their floors, or we see these women at home, then that distorts our reality and has nothing to do with what a majority of women in New Zealand were doing and that is a lie'.⁸⁷⁷ It is hardly surprising given these findings that by the mid-1980s the army's own advertising efforts came under public scrutiny.

In the context of women's right to equality, 1984 was also significant for being the year in which the Ministry of Women's Affairs was established. The primary aims of the Ministry were to achieve quality outcomes for women, improvements in the opportunities available to women, and responsiveness to the policy needs of Māori women.⁸⁷⁸ Five years earlier, in 1979 the United Nations General Assembly approved the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*.⁸⁷⁹ Despite both domestic and international legislation, women were seldom taken seriously in media advertising at the time. A gap clearly existed between official efforts to ensure better opportunities for women in the workplace and their stereotyped treatment by the advertising industry. But was this true of army advertisements as the earlier 'letter to the editor' complaint suggests? Or, as a result of widespread public attention to the issue of gender equity, had the public become hypersensitive to the issue?

The story told by recruiting material of the 1980s is one of change and continuity. Women were depicted in a far broader range of employment fields within the army than ever before, while at the same time nursing and secretarial roles continued to dominate. The army appeared to be moving with the times and at the same time holding on to traditions. Holding on to traditions, however, should not be construed as an indication of the organisation's

⁸⁷⁶ T. Gating, *Images of Women in Advertising: The Reality Gap: Results of a Media Women Survey of Prime-Time Advertising Transmitted by Television New Zealand from 6 p.m.-10p.m. between 8-22 August 1984*, Wellington, Media Women, 1984.

⁸⁷⁷ A. Webber, *Sunday*, 1996, Accessed on 30 March 2015, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/video/27924/women-in-the-media>.

⁸⁷⁸ Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Status of New Zealand Women 1992: Second Periodic Report on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, Wellington, Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1992, p.7.

⁸⁷⁹ United Nations, *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women: Resolution 34/180*, New York, 18 December 1980.

reluctance to provide a more equitable workplace in the face of changing social values. In 1988, the Department of Education conducted a pilot survey on the future aspirations of school leavers titled *Project Fast*. The survey revealed that, 'Girls showed a preference for careers in the social service area, such as teaching, childcare, nursing and hairdressing. Boys on the other hand, tended to aspire to jobs in the armed forces and in the trades, particularly engineering and construction'.⁸⁸⁰ Traditional role representations of women in the army as nurses, medics and office workers were very much in line with the career goals of school age women at least. As items of advertising, army recruiting material were designed to have maximum relevance, something best achieved by appealing to the aspirations of the target audience.

The majority of 1980s recruitment advertising by the army was gender-neutral. The army also appeared keen to promote the message that soldiering was a job for men and women alike, as the foldout leaflet *Your Career as a Soldier* attests. The leaflet described the opportunities awaiting 'keen, willing and competent young men and women of New Zealand'.⁸⁸¹ It then stated, 'Life as a regular soldier (and that means women too) offers much more than just another way to earn a living'.⁸⁸² While limitations on the employment of women in combat roles still existed, women were now eligible to serve in 74 out of 95 of the army's trades – a significant improvement on the roughly two dozen trades available a few years earlier.⁸⁸³ The leaflet also pictured some of the positions of responsibility available to women including the New Zealand Provost Corps [Military Police].⁸⁸⁴ In the booklet *Territorials* a female soldier was also pictured cooking 'in the field', emphasising a new equality of treatment for women in the army as true soldiers.⁸⁸⁵ While it is true that all soldiers must cook in the field, the choice of activity was hardly an inspired choice, opening the opportunity for a more critical interpretation of the image to occur.

⁸⁸⁰ Department of Statistics & Ministry of Women's Affairs, *Women in New Zealand*, Wellington, Wright & Carman, 1990, pp.50-51.

⁸⁸¹ Leaflet, *Your Career as a Soldier*, Graphic Press, New Zealand, 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁵ Booklet, *Territorials*, 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number 2013.195.1.



Your Career as a Soldier, Graphic Press, New Zealand, 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1



Territorials, 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

A review of officer recruiting material tells a similar story of gender neutrality. In *The Profession of Arms*, a glossy booklet on officer careers, it stated, 'the Army requires a constant stream of well-motivated young men and women to volunteer as potential career

officers'.⁸⁸⁶ The booklet listed the attributes of leadership, a sense of duty, and responsibility as being required of young officers, male and female alike. At one point in the booklet, officers were described as 'tacticians, man-managers, administrators, men and women of action with the assertive brain of the executive'.⁸⁸⁷ This reference to officers being tacticians and individuals of action indicates that the army viewed women on more equal terms with men than ever before. Women were now required to show tactical ability and the spirit of action. Women officers would no longer be restricted to administrative, management, or medical functions well behind the line. They may have been restricted from direct combat roles, but they were required in combat support roles.⁸⁸⁸ A similar tone of action was set in the advertisement *Are You Good Enough?* The advertisement featured in the *Dominion Sunday Times*, along with other newspapers, in September 1988.⁸⁸⁹ The advertisement promoted the attributes of youth, ambition, physical conditioning, leadership, intellect and those looking for a challenge. Pictured in the advert were two confident young adults, male and female. The advertisement also stated the 'Army is looking for young men and women. People who will not be second best... determined to reach their full potential'.⁸⁹⁰ The message was simple - the Army of the 1980s needed the same qualities of its female officers as it needed of its men.

⁸⁸⁶ Booklet, *The Profession of Arms*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid.


⁸⁸⁸ Army roles are often described using the terms Combat, Combat Support, and Combat Service Support, with Combat roles being those on the front lines and Combat Service Support roles generally being furthest from the front lines. Combat Support roles were those not directly on the front line, but responsible for providing direct support to front line Combat troops and activities.

⁸⁸⁹ Advertisement, *Are You Good Enough?*, Wellington, Dominion, Sunday Times, 18 September 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid.

Are you good enough?

You are young and ambitious. Physically, you are in top condition. You demonstrate leadership qualities, and you are bright. Now you want a challenge. You need a meaningful lifestyle. The Army is looking for young men and women. People who will not accept second best. People between 17 and 24, determined to reach their full potential. You can achieve your potential, as an Officer in the New Zealand Army. It's not just a job. It's a lifestyle.

 **NZ ARMY OFFICERS**

Minimum education requirement: aggregate of 20 in top 4 subjects of 6th form certificate. Call your Army Recruiter now. Refer to "Army" in the yellow pages.

Are You Good Enough?, Wellington, Dominion, Sunday Times, 18 September 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Another firm indication the army was moving into a new era of increased opportunities for women was the opening up of eligibility to attend the Regular Force Cadet School. For decades, the School offered school-aged young men the opportunity to continue their academic studies, learn a trade, or commence an early leadership career within the Regular army. For some time the question had been asked when the Army would change its policy to allow women to enter the school. The main impediment, according to Army records, was logistics. Female cadets would require separate accommodation and ablutions and sufficient female staff to mentor them. According to one former cadet, it was an environment of continued verbal and physical abuse, which may provide another explanation for the reluctance of the Army Headquarters to extend eligibility to attend the school to young women.⁸⁹¹ In 1988, the Army advertised *Life Begins at 16 1/2*. The advert, which appeared in *RTR Countdown* - a popular music magazine, and the *NZ Listener* - a widely read

⁸⁹¹ R. Taylor, *A Favoured Few: Regular Force Cadet School: 1948-1991*, Cosmos Publications, Napier, 1998, p.151.

current affairs magazine, sought individuals described as 'young, lean and hungry'.⁸⁹² It offered the opportunity to 'be part of a tight-knit team of young, ambitious men and women'.

In early 1987, an inquiry from a secondary school guidance counsellor had prompted the Minister of Defence to question the Army's male-only policy. In a minute to the Deputy Chief of General Staff, Colonel D.J. Grant noted that while it was timely to review policy in light of the 'Government's position regarding discrimination against women by the services', he also noted 'practical problems'.⁸⁹³ Chief amongst these problems were accommodation and staffing. According to the minute, 'present facilities could not be used by females unless an entire barrack block of 60 beds were so allocated because of the shared ablutions'.⁸⁹⁴ With respect to staffing, 'school staff would need to be adjusted to include a range of female officers and NCOs'. Colonel Grant then stated if the 'current political climate' made integration inevitable, then a study would need to be conducted into the implications of such a step.⁸⁹⁵ Colonel Grant's reference to the political climate and government policy suggests the Army felt itself under scrutiny with respect to its performance as an equal opportunity employer.

But was the Army under pressure? At least one recruiting booklet, *You're in Good Company*, suggests they were. Under the heading *General conditions of service* the booklet stated, 'Section 16(2) of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 permits the Chief of General Staff to exercise a preference in the recruitment of either men or women into the Corps annotated and thereafter to extend such preferential treatment to the career progression and employment of either men or women in the specific Corps'.⁸⁹⁶ By referring to the Human Rights Act and the exemptions afforded the Armed Services under the Act, the Army appears to have been pre-emptively attempting to counter accusations of gender inequity. This comes as little surprise given the number of challenges the Army faced during the period: In 1981, for example, a Senior Vocational Guidance Officer wrote to Head Office asking why women could not be butchers, coach-painters, fire-persons, plumbers, drain-layers or any kind of

⁸⁹² Advertisement, *Life Begins at 16 1/2*, RTR Countdown, June 1988, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁸⁹³ Minute, *Females at RF Cadet School*, Colonel D.J. Grant to DCGS, Army General Staff, 23 March 1987, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁶ Booklet, *You're in Good Company*, Army Headquarters, Wellington, 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

instructors in the Army;⁸⁹⁷ in 1982, a letter to the Minister of Defence from a young woman complained, 'I was wanting to join the Territorials - patriotic indeed! When I rang I discovered that there were no vacancies for females but lots for males. Isn't this Equality for you? I find it downright disgusting that someone cannot join because of their sex';⁸⁹⁸ in 1983, a letter complaining about an advert titled *How Does the Army Always Produce the Right Man for the Job*, complained 'the right men (no women?) for the job';⁸⁹⁹ in 1984, a 'Letter to the Editor' stated 'I am aware that the military is exempt from laws designed to decrease this type of institutional sexism, but I would nevertheless be interested to hear the Army's justification for seeking this exception and practicing chauvinistic recruiting';⁹⁰⁰ and in 1985, an article in the *New Zealand Herald* stated that no women had been recruited into the Army during 1984.⁹⁰¹

In each of the cases above, the Army had to either rebut the accusations where false or defend their position, often by way of explanation to a Member of Parliament. In the case of the aspiring Territorial soldier, several jobs were available in the Territorials for women in her area, just not at the infantry combat unit she likely contacted, which had already filled all its vacancies for women.⁹⁰² With respect to the *New Zealand Herald* article, the reporter's facts were erroneous, with 54 women having joined the Regular Force in 1984.⁹⁰³ Perhaps the most revealing defence offered by Army at this time was made by Major M. Wicksteed in response to the 1984 'Letter to the Editor' referred to above. Major Wicksteed wrote:

There is a valid social reason for this provision [exemption in Human Rights Act]. As a last resort, it is a fundamental role of the Armed Forces to engage in combat. In New Zealand, however, it is not socially acceptable to deliberately or potentially involve women in combat. Generally, this attitude is not regarded throughout the community as 'institutionalised sexism' or 'chauvinistic'. In order to strike a balance between undesirable restrictions upon women's employment opportunities in the Army, and the likelihood of their being exposed to active combat, women would not

⁸⁹⁷ Memo, *Career Opportunities for Women in the Army*, 26 February 1981, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁸⁹⁸ Letter, 31 May 1982, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁸⁹⁹ Letter, 31 March 1983, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁹⁰⁰ Letter, 20 August 1984, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁹⁰¹ Letter, Minister of Defence to Ann Hercus MP, 1985, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁹⁰² Letter, 31 May 1982, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁹⁰³ Letter, Minister of Defence to Ann Hercus MP, 1985, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

normally be employed forward of a brigade group headquarters or other such operational base. In respect of the recruiting advertisement Mr Parton refers to, women are employed in the Army in all the listed trades except that of 'rifleman'.⁹⁰⁴

The Army, however, could not be described as an innocent victim of public oversensitivity to gender issues. In 1986, the Army ran a rather tactless advertisement with the title *Are You Man Enough?* Unsurprisingly, the advertisement led to several complaints to newspaper editors, the Human Rights Commission and to Members of Parliament. The Army was quick in their response. Colonel Dudman, on behalf of the Chief of General Staff, wrote to the commission explaining that a local advertising agency employed by the Army were in fact responsible for the wording of the advertisement.⁹⁰⁵ Furthermore, he claimed, once aware of the advertisement's content the Army 'directed its withdrawal and reminded units that there must not be any discrimination regarding sex in future advertising'. Internally not all discussions were as conciliatory as this. In an internal document the argument was made by one officer that 'the wording quote are you man enough unquote should be taken to mean have you the required attributes rather than its literal meaning'.⁹⁰⁶ The author also argued that the unit responsible for the advertisement was a combat unit with a limited number of positions for women that had already been filled.⁹⁰⁷ He went on to suggest that the advertising rightly targeted young men as vacancies existed for them and not for women. He then concluded, writing; 'this point should be stressed as it negates the Human Rights Commission's argument that it is unlawful to indicate an intent to discriminate on sex'.⁹⁰⁸ Colonel Dudman did not take this advice, however, choosing instead to admit fault, albeit on behalf of the advertising agency responsible for the problematic wording of the advertisement, allowing the issue to rest without further antagonism.

Army recruiting material of the 1980s showed an Army finding its feet with respect to how to represent women. Most of the time it did so equitably and in line with social values. At others times it seemed to forget and when it did so, criticism was quick to follow. Records in Archives New Zealand, however, show that even when unjustified the Army found itself a subject of criticism. There is little doubt, therefore, that the Army was under scrutiny during

⁹⁰⁴ Letter, 20 August 1984, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁹⁰⁵ "SERVICE RECRUITING: Publicity/Advertising: NZ Army, 1984-1986", Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W4948 7494 Box 312.

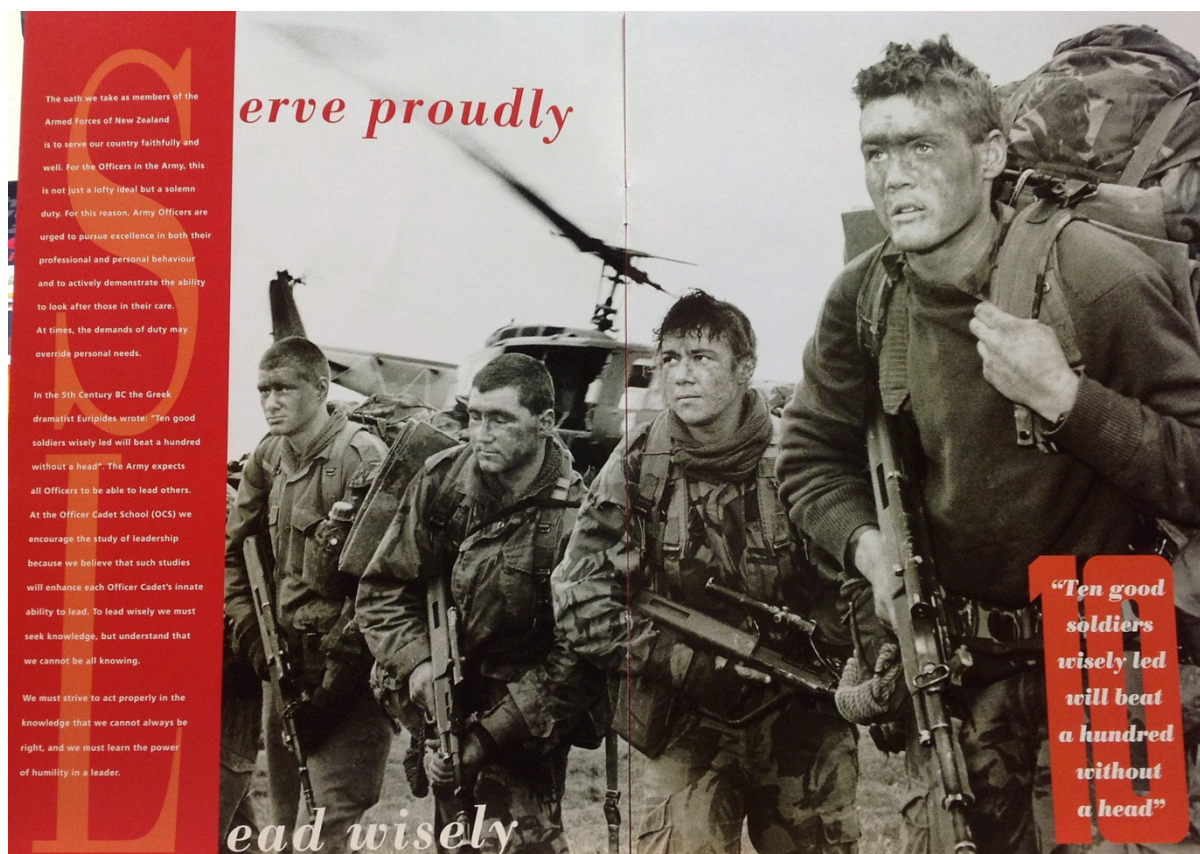
⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid.

this period and recruiting advertising was, given its public nature, always going to be a difficult enterprise. Also conspicuous by its absence in the 1980s were glamorous representations of women in the Army. The Human Rights Act brought about the demise of gender-specific recruiting material for women, though not as indicated above for men. It had become undesirable for the Army to be seen to treat women as different to men. As a result, those themes that had for so long been considered effective in recruiting women into the Army ceased to be used in preference for more gender-neutral recruiting. In reality, however, those themes specific to women were dropped from recruiting material, while those specific to men were not. Masculinity, for example, would remain an important feature of Army recruiting material, as discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Ironically, in its attempt to be gender-neutral and by dropping those themes most relevant to women, the Army had in fact reduced its appeal to women.

By the 1990s, the issue of gender representation in Army recruiting material matured. Gender-neutral recruiting became the norm and contentious references to male-only combat roles were generally avoided. The Army also began actively promoting stories of successful women in the Army, much as they had prior to the 1980s. How effective this was in reducing the number of accusations of institutional sexism and reaching the target audience is not possible to determine, due the absence of archival material. The New Zealand Defence Force continues to hold on to its more recent official records, making them inaccessible to the historian. Fortunately, recruiting material for the period is available, as are a number of other sources, providing essential context to an analysis of female gender representation during the decade.



Officer Cadet School (NZ), 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

One of the most striking examples of 1990s recruiting material representing women on equal terms to men is found in an officer recruiting booklet. The opening page of the booklet prominently featured four soldiers in a tactical field environment.⁹⁰⁹ The camouflage paint on their faces, the packs on their backs, and the helicopter departing behind them suggested the soldiers are performing the duties of a dismounted infantry element. More importantly, they are all carrying weapons - the first time in New Zealand Army recruiting material that a woman is depicted with a weapon. While women were still restricted from combat roles in the army at that time, the inference to be drawn from the pamphlet was army officers, male and female alike, required the same ability to lead 'in the field'. A similar message was conveyed in the booklet *NZ Army Officer*. In this case the female officer was on a motorbike, but still in a tactical setting and carrying a rifle (just visible behind her back).⁹¹⁰ Female officers were also represented as physically strong and capable, with a number of

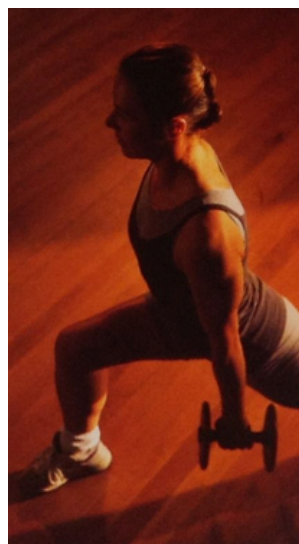
⁹⁰⁹ Booklet, *Officer Cadet School (NZ)*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁹¹⁰ Booklet, *What do You Want Out of Life?*, 1990s, Dan Wildy Private Collection.

recruiting products depicting athletic women in the gym,⁹¹¹ or conducting physical training alongside their male peers.⁹¹²



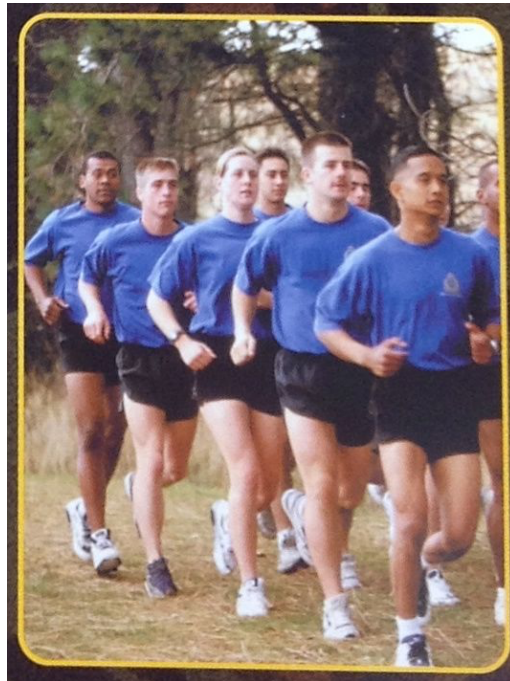
What Do You Want Out of life? 1990s, Author's Private Collection.



Officer Cadet School (NZ), 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁹¹¹ Booklet, *Officer Cadet School (NZ)*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁹¹² Booklet, *Kiwis Armed to Make a Difference*, late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Kiwis Armed to Make a Difference, late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

A similar message of gender equity, qualitatively rather than quantitatively, can be seen in recruiting material focussed on the recruitment of soldiers into the Army. In the leaflet *Proud to Serve New Zealand*, soldiers were described as 'men and women who provide the Army with specialist skills and people power'.⁹¹³ It went on to list a variety of trades without any reference to the gender exclusivity of some trades. The booklet *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life* took gender neutrality one step further. Nowhere in the leaflet was gender mentioned at all. Instead the leaflet referred to 'you' as a 'soldier' in the army, speaking only of what a soldier did, not men or women.⁹¹⁴ The booklet also included a variety of images of soldiers at work, and while most were men, women were depicted in physical and 'tactical' contexts.⁹¹⁵

Coupled with its message of equal employment opportunity found in recruiting material, the Army also undertook an active public relations campaign to reinforce the message. Public relations are inextricably linked to recruiting as both seek to improve brand

⁹¹³ Booklet, *Proud to Serve New Zealand*, late 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁹¹⁴ Booklet, *Lifestyle that Lasts for Life*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid.

awareness and promote positive associations with that brand.⁹¹⁶ During the 1990s, the Army made a concerted effort to promote the message of female success within its ranks. The June 1993 issue of *Te Maori News* carried a career advertorial on Captain Fiona Cassidy.⁹¹⁷ The article provided a brief *whakapapa* for her, establishing her place, and then provided an account of her life and career to date. The cultural aspects of this article and of ethnic representations in recruiting material will be covered in the next chapter on ethnicity. With respect to Fiona Cassidy, it discussed how from a young age, she was encouraged to be assertive. This quality, along with her playing several sports and leading her school's Māori culture club were cited as contributing to her success in the Army. A similarly styled advertorial featured in the November/December issue of *Mana Magazine* in 1993.⁹¹⁸ This article focussed on Major Carol Ngatai. The article described how Major Ngatai had enjoyed 'overseas travel, positions of responsibility - and being treated simply as a soldier rather than a female soldier'.⁹¹⁹ The article focused on the command appointments she had filled during her career, both in New Zealand and on operations with the United Nations in Somalia. The 'real bonus' of her job, the article argued, 'is that her gender doesn't come into it', going on to quote her as saying "It makes no difference, whether I'm male or female".⁹²⁰

A similar sentiment was expressed in another *Te Maori News* advertorial in 1995; titled *Maori Women Can Make a go of a Military Career*.⁹²¹ The article covered the achievements of two officers who had recently become the first female officers to become ammunition technical officers. It quoted one of those officers, Lieutenant Blandina Diamond, as saying "For me joining ... the Army, there was not only the challenges of physical full-on military field training, but also a number of administrative training programmes and practical courses in office, business, and trade related fields that are directly accessible to women...".⁹²² Alongside this advertorial, however, was one less complimentary towards gender relations within the Army. The second article, titled *Good Advertisement for Women in the Army*, provided a brief article on the career of Warrant Officer Class Two Alex Whittaker.⁹²³ While her career made for positive reading with respect to the opportunities available to women in the army, Alex Whittaker also admitted that sexism still existed. She

⁹¹⁶ T. O'Reilly and M. Tennant, *The Age of Persuasion; How Marketing Ate Our Culture*, Toronto, Vintage Canada, 2010, p.3.

⁹¹⁷ *Te Maori News*, Vol. 2, No. 9, June 1993.

⁹¹⁸ *Mana Magazine*, No. 4, November/December 1993.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹²¹ *Te Maori News*, Vol. 4, No. 2, PePURE 1995.

⁹²² *Ibid.*

⁹²³ *Ibid.*

played it down, however, by saying that such views were held by 'a small minority'.⁹²⁴ The article quoted her as saying "They used to say there's no place for a women [sic] in the military but there are so many of us excelling in different areas now. If anything I'd like to encourage women reading this to give the army a go and don't be put off by your gender".⁹²⁵

Another successful woman in the Army, used on more than one occasion to illustrate the potential of women, was Lieutenant Colonel Janet Castell. Janet Castell featured in a *Sunday Star Times* article in 1995 alongside two other successful female officers in the New Zealand Defence Force.⁹²⁶ The article stated that 'Gender discrimination is anathema to the resolutely confident Lt-Col Castell (40)'.⁹²⁷ It attributed her as saying, however, 'there will always be frustrations for women in the military', going on to quote her; 'But a lot of that, I feel, is caused by their expectations outweighing their capabilities. A lot of men have those frustrations too. If you are the right person for the job - and good enough - you'll get what you want'.⁹²⁸ In a later article in *Defence Quarterly*, a positively titled *This Woman's Army* once again discussed the successful career of Lieutenant Colonel Castell.⁹²⁹ This article focused on Lieutenant Colonel Castell's prestigious position as Commanding Officer of the New Zealand Army's Officer Cadet School. The article presented Castell as a hard but fair commander, equal in strength and ability to any man. The article stated how she told female cadets 'they must work twice as hard as males to get anywhere in the Army. "That's the rule. When I was a young officer I didn't make a mistake because I was a young officer, I made a mistake because I was a woman, and I suspect that attitude is still prevalent to some extent. Attitudes are changing though"'.⁹³⁰ In seemingly fitting style, she added that while male and female cadets faced the same hurdles, it might in some ways be harder for men: "The expectation is that because you are a man you are tougher, you will be staunch and able to take the physical and mental pressure of this place, just because you're a man. And some guys just can't do that when they are 18".⁹³¹

Through its recruiting material and public relations advertising, the Army projected a more mature approach to gender roles and representations. Women were represented as

⁹²⁴ Ibid.

⁹²⁵ Ibid.

⁹²⁶ *Sunday Star Times*, 17 September 1995, p.C4.

⁹²⁷ Ibid.

⁹²⁸ Ibid.

⁹²⁹ *Defence Quarterly*, No. 16, Autumn 1997, pp.21-25.

⁹³⁰ Ibid, p.23.

⁹³¹ Ibid.

having equal opportunities to men, but it did not hide that there would in some cases be additional challenges for women. Sexism, the Army admitted, still occurred in some areas, but those areas were shrinking and represented no impediment to a woman's success. The Army was both comfortable with the continuing challenges it faced and with women as significant, successful, leaders within the organisation. If an adolescent's development could be used as an analogy for the maturing of the Army's acceptance of women, the late-1970s and 1980s represented an awkward self-awareness and the 1990s a comfortable acceptance of one's personality.

If women's gender representation during the period reviewed were summarised in a single sentence, it would be best described as: half a century waiting to be seen as soldiers, followed by a period of gradual evolution, ending with two decades of rapid change. As service personnel, female soldiers were for several decades depicted in a limited number of gender-stereotyped roles. They were represented as nurses and in secretarial roles. In other words, they were represented in roles that were considered appropriate for women in wider society. Social norms undoubtedly limited the number of roles available to women, though the same could not be argued of recruiting material. The material did not influence what society considered gender appropriate, it merely reflected society's values. As items of advertising, printed recruiting material seeks to attract prospective recruits through the mechanism of advertising. The themes used in recruiting material and the roles depicted in them therefore have to appeal to existing values. As such, it can be argued that the depiction of women in the role of a nurse or secretary was reflective of what many women of the period aspired to do. It has also been shown that many women, though by no means all women, viewed employment as a temporary period between school and marriage.

Enlisting recruits by advertising what they want provides an explanation for the gendered role depictions of servicewomen in army recruiting material. It also explains why so much emphasis was given to attractive uniforms, comfortable accommodation, and after-hours independence. Similarly, it explains why printed recruiting material focused at potential servicewomen depicted serving women as almost universally attractive, representing service in the army as a literally attractive employment option. What it does not adequately explain or justify, however, is the representation of women as attractions for men. As discussed earlier, women were also used to recruit men. They were depicted alongside the 'proud' male serviceman and his sports car; as one of Southeast Asia's many exotic

attractions; and as the companions of male officers graduating from the Royal Military College Duntroon. Women were undoubtedly objectified in recruiting material aimed at male recruits. This objectification, though objectionable by today's standards, was subtle for its time and broadly speaking acceptable. It was not until the 1980s that Army recruiting material became the subject of routine criticism for perceived gender-bias.

Printed recruiting material also reveals that over time the opportunities for women in the army increased. With it, a commensurate improvement in the status of their place in the organisation also occurred. Women were more frequently depicted working alongside their male colleagues, and in increasingly equal roles. More trades were opened up to women, including those once considered the sole preserve of men. By the late 1970s, women were depicted in tactical headquarters and by the 1980s living 'in the field'. Then, in the 1990s, women finally broke through a barrier few would have realised existed: shown carrying weapons. It wasn't until this time that one could argue that women were truly treated as the equals of male soldiers, in recruiting material at least. Up until this point women had been shown in support roles, as significant contributors to the organisation, but not in its primary role as a fighting soldier. It is worth noting that it took more than a decade after the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 for women to be treated as equals in Army recruiting material. Legislative change, albeit with exceptions for the military, was not enough on its own. Social values also had to change before the Army was prepared to publicly advertise female soldiers as being 'armed', despite this having been the case for some time. The NZ Army is not a revolutionary organisation. It does not seek to spearhead social change. It is one that seeks support from the largest portion of the population possible, for that is the best way to ensure a broad audience of potential recruits. It took until the 1990s for the Army to believe that the majority of the population was ready to see women depicted as a quintessential soldier: an infantryman.

Ironically, the move away from gender-specific advertising that occurred in the 1990s may have contributed to low numbers of women being attracted to a career in the army. From the 1940s through to the 1970s, army recruiting material specifically targeted women. It used themes and enticements considered most likely to be successful. In moving to gender-neutral recruiting, the Army inadvertently dropped many of these themes, reducing the appeal of a

service career to the female audience.⁹³² *Maximising Opportunities for Women in the New Zealand Defence Force* found that a 'passive approach has been taken to women's recruitment, meaning little work is undertaken to actively encourage women to apply'.⁹³³ This observation was attributed as contributing to low rates of recruitment for women. As a result, it was recommended that an active recruiting strategy be developed and implemented for female applicants.⁹³⁴ Many aspects of military life are equally attractive to men as they are to women. The same study noted, for example, that women join for travel, a sense of family, opportunities to study, sports, adventure, and service to country.⁹³⁵ As a result of this study, the New Zealand Defence Force has refocussed its recruiting efforts on women, most notably using the experiences of current servicewomen to allay concerns potential recruits might hold with respect to military service. This move reinstated something formerly addressed in recruiting material aimed at women, but dropped following the passing of the Human Rights Act and the resulting move towards a 'gender-neutral' approach to recruiting: A good example of unintended consequences.

As this chapter has shown, however, attracting women to serve in the desired numbers will almost certainly present a challenge. For several decades the Army operated such targeted recruiting strategy for women and still had difficulty meeting its modest recruiting targets. In the 1950s and 1960s the Army struggled to recruit and retain roughly two hundred women. As the 1980s survey *Project Fast* revealed, young women showed a preference for careers in social services and did not aspire to jobs in the armed forces like many of their male peers.

⁹³² In 1980 the ratio of male to female applicants was 3:1, Minute, *ACDS (Pers) B to AGS*, dated 13 March 1980, Archives New Zealand, Reference: ABFK W5563 7494 Box 18.

⁹³³ Evaluation Division, *Maximising Opportunities for Women in the New Zealand Defence Force*, Ministry of Defence, Wellington, February 2014, p. 15.

⁹³⁴ Ibid, p.19.

⁹³⁵ Ibid, p.15.

Chapter Seven: Ethnicity – From monoculturalism to biculturalism

General histories of New Zealand record, and popular culture promotes, the New Zealand Army having performed well in war.⁹³⁶ Many of these popular mythologies also tell a story of ethnic equality, of Pākehā and Māori serving alongside one another as equals.⁹³⁷ At Anzac Day each year, the story of New Zealanders in war is repeated, with the nation's past soldiers commemorated, if not celebrated, for their valour. For many years, Gallipoli was promoted in popular culture and by historians as the crucible in which New Zealand's nationhood was forged.⁹³⁸ In more recent times, the historical interpretation of the significance of Gallipoli has changed, though the notion of the campaign as a formative event in New Zealand's national identity endures.⁹³⁹ Furthermore, it has been used to encourage the myth of New Zealand as an egalitarian society. Unlike the myth of equality often recalled, however, the reality of New Zealand's social cohesion is more complex and far less rosy.

This chapter will analyse the role ethnicity has played in army recruiting material and explain how it reflects the country's wider social context. The chapter will also explain how the army's use of ethnicity in recruiting has reflected its own effort to promote its place within New Zealand society.

The earliest example of printed recruiting material being used in New Zealand is the poster *Military Training. Dominion of New Zealand* published in April 1911. The notice was directed to 'every male inhabitant of New Zealand, who on the 1st day of March, 1911, had attained the age of fourteen years or upwards, but not attained the age of twenty-one years'.⁹⁴⁰ The notice went on to add that only those who were 'a British subject and has resided in New Zealand for at least six months' were required to register for compulsory military training. According to the Defence Act 1909, 'No person shall be an officer or member of any of the Forces unless he is a subject of His Majesty by birth or naturalisation'.⁹⁴¹ While non-British immigrants were excluded by the Act, possibly out of fear regarding their loyalty to the Crown and therefore trustworthiness to carry arms, Māori

⁹³⁶ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image Of The Pakeha Male – A History*, Auckland, Penguin, 1987, p.132.

⁹³⁷ D. Novitz & B. Willmott *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, p.105.

⁹³⁸ D. Fenton, "Birthplace of Mateship", New Zealand Listener, <http://www.noted.co.nz/archive/listener-nz-2015/birthplace-of-mateship/>, 26 February 2018.

⁹³⁹ M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Penguin, 2003, pp.300-301.

⁹⁴⁰ Notice, *Military Training. Dominion of New Zealand*, Wellington, April 1911, National Library, Ref: Eph-D-ARMY-1911-01.

⁹⁴¹ Defence Act, 1909, No. 28, Part I, Article 7.

were included. This could be viewed as a step forward in recognising the status of Māori as equal subjects of the Crown, as well as a people whose loyalty to the Crown and trustworthiness to bear arms was the accepted government view. Given the relatively recent end of the Land Wars in New Zealand, and the ongoing struggle for autonomy by some Māori tribes, the inclusion of Māori as liable for military training could also be viewed as a sign of progressive and conciliatory outlook on the part of the government. Equally, however, it could be viewed as a continuation of government policy to use Māori troops as they had done during the Land Wars, including the last major battle of the war, Te Pōrere.⁹⁴²

The inclusion of Māori liability for service under the Act would almost certainly have pleased those Māori who were excluded from service in the South African War. One of the strongest advocates for the deployment of a Māori Contingent to the South African War had been the Native Affairs Minister, James Carroll.⁹⁴³ Many Māori, predominantly from tribes with kūpapa heritage and a tradition of loyalty to the Crown, welcomed the outbreak of war in South Africa – including Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou.⁹⁴⁴ Carroll himself offered to lead a 300-strong native contingent to South Africa, a contingent the same size as that with which he deployed as an early teen in 1870 in the war against Te Kooti.⁹⁴⁵ Richard Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, supported Māori in their aspiration to fight in South Africa. British authorities, however, held a policy position that ‘blacks should not be used against whites’.⁹⁴⁶ Of this policy, Seddon complained that the Colonial Office had ‘neglected to take into account the equal status afforded to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi’.⁹⁴⁷ Māori too ‘protested vigorously’ against the policy, and, when these arguments failed, those Māori who could, enlisted as individuals and made their way to South Africa.⁹⁴⁸ One example is that of Āhere Te Koari Hōhepa who enrolled in the Third Contingent under the name Arthur Joseph.⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴² “Te Kooti’s War: Te Pōrere and retreat”, from NZ History, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/te-kootis-war/te-porere-and-retreat>, accessed 26 February 2018.

⁹⁴³ M. King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland, Penguin, 2003, p.285.

⁹⁴⁴ N. Robson, ‘Counting the Cost: The Impact of the South African War 1899-1902 on New Zealand Society’, M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 2012, p.38.

⁹⁴⁵ A. Ward, “Carroll, James”, from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, updated 6 June 2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2c10/carroll-james>, accessed 3 December 2016.

⁹⁴⁶ King, pp.287-288.

⁹⁴⁷ J. Crawford and E. Ellis, *To Fight for the Empire: An Illustrated History of New Zealand and the South African War, 1899-1902*, Auckland, Reed, 1999, p.32.

⁹⁴⁸ King, pp.287-288.

⁹⁴⁹ Robson, p.38.

The exclusion of non-British subjects from the Defence Act – even those who had been resident in the country for more than six months – may also have been influenced by theories popular in New Zealand at the time, which promoted the concept of British racial superiority.⁹⁵⁰ Racism towards non-British immigrants entering New Zealand, especially Chinese, was widespread. Such was the power of these concerns that a series of Bills were passed in parliament to discourage immigration to New Zealand, including the 1881 Chinese Immigration Bill, 1891 Aliens Bill, and the 1899 Immigration Restriction Bill. The underlying cause of this fear was likely economic in origin, with Pākehā settlers in particular concerned that Asian groups, and to a lesser extent certain European groups, threatened their welfare.⁹⁵¹ William Pember Reeves and Richard Seddon, two of the country's most prominent politicians of the time, both sought to pass legislation that would extend laws focussed on excluding the Chinese from New Zealand to Indians and the Japanese.⁹⁵² Seddon, and later Prime Minister Joseph Ward, would both find their efforts to exclude all Asians from the country frustrated by the imperial government. The imperial government was concerned that overtly racist laws passed in the Dominion would anger the Japanese and Indian governments.⁹⁵³

Support for the war in South Africa and the eagerness of many young men and women to serve the Empire was such that formalised recruiting was unnecessary. As a result, no recruiting material were produced for the purposes of gaining recruits for deployment as part of the country's successive Mounted Rifles contingents. Even if recruiting efforts and associated advertising had been necessary, it is unlikely, due to Colonial Office policy, that Māori would have appeared in recruiting material. In the period following the war in South Africa, New Zealand's preoccupation with militarism reached its zenith. A sense of nationalism, albeit within an imperial context, was also growing. One contemporary observer, Richard Jebb, for example, noted in 1905 that the 'colony had seized the idea that they were an island race apart... no longer 'Britons of the South', nor Australasians, but Māorilanders first'.⁹⁵⁴ The 1909 Defence Act, which introduced compulsory military training, was a reflection of the country's military and patriotic fervour. Despite this fervour being shared by many Māori, as well as the Act intending for there to be no distinction between Māori and

⁹⁵⁰ King, pp.293-294

⁹⁵¹ P. Spoonley, et al, *New Zealand: Sociological Perspectives*, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1982, p.271.

⁹⁵² P.S. O'Connor, "Keeping New Zealand White, 1908-1920", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1968, Vol.2, pp.41-65, p.42.

⁹⁵³ Ibid, pp.44-7.

⁹⁵⁴ R. Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, London, 1905, cited in K. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.126.

Pākehā, the compulsory aspects of the Act were not applied to Māori, with the exception of senior cadets. Nevertheless, many Māori volunteered and were posted to the country's Territorial Force.⁹⁵⁵

Once again, the compulsory nature of the Act, along with prevailing social sentiment negated the need for recruiting material beyond public notices, including material depicting Māori as New Zealand soldiers. The notices also provide little insight into how the army as an organisation wished to portray its place within society. The notices simply relayed the facts of the Act in text format, with no effort to present a particular image of the army, ethnically-based or otherwise.

It was not until the First World War that recruiting material would be seen to a large extent around the country. The outbreak of the war, like that of the South African War, was greeted enthusiastically by many New Zealanders, including many Māori, particularly among traditionally 'loyalist' tribes and Māori MPs.⁹⁵⁶ At the outbreak of war, Māori MP Maui Pomare announced that 'Māoris of the Dominion have expressed as with one voice unswerving loyalty to the British throne'.⁹⁵⁷ Pomare's enthusiasm was somewhat overstated, as was the assertion that Māori spoke with one voice. In his later role as Chair of a committee to encourage Māori recruitment, Pomare met resistance among some Māori, including his own constituents in the Waikato.⁹⁵⁸ The reluctance among the Waikato and Kingitanga tribes to support the war effort was founded on principled, as well as pragmatic, grounds.⁹⁵⁹ Grievances continued to be held against the Crown relating to land confiscations, particularly those in the Waikato during the 1860s, and there was a very real fear that the declining Māori population would decrease even further if their young men were sent to war.⁹⁶⁰ Following the extension of compulsory registration to Māori in June 1917, and the drawing of the first Māori conscription ballot in May 1918, the young men of Kingitanga refused to come

⁹⁵⁵ I. McGibbon, *The Path to Gallipoli*, Christchurch, GP, 1991, p.200.

⁹⁵⁶ R.S. Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2004, p.104.

⁹⁵⁷ P. Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War*, Auckland, AUP, 1998, p.211.

⁹⁵⁸ G. Butterworth, "Pomare, Maui Wiremu Piti Naera", from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012, URL:

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p30/pomare-maui-wiremu-piti-naera>, accessed 4 December 2016.

⁹⁵⁹ A. Parsonson, "Herangi, Te Kirihaehae Te Puea", from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h17/herangi-te-kirihaehae-te-puea>, accessed 4 Jun 2018

⁹⁶⁰ F. Walker, "'Descendants of a Warrior Race': The Māori Contingent, New Zealand Pioneer Battalion, and Martial Race Myth, 1914-1919", *War & Society*, Vol. 31 No. 1, March, 2012, p.5.

forward, resulting in 111 of their number being in gaol at war's end, with a further hundred subject to warrants for their arrest.⁹⁶¹

Though some Māori refused to support the war or to volunteer, particularly Waikato Māori and Tuhoe, the majority, including Nga Puhī, Ngati Porou, Te Arawa and Ngai Tahu, were, as Pomare pronounced, largely supportive of the war.⁹⁶² The war offered an opportunity to 'prove their loyalty and value to Pakeha', much as the country as a whole wished to 'prove its loyalty and worth to Britain'.⁹⁶³ Fortunately for those wishing to serve, Britain – in contrast to its position during the South African War – agreed to allow the formation of a 200-strong Māori contingent in New Zealand's Expeditionary Force, later raising the size of the contingent to 500.⁹⁶⁴

Recruiting for the contingent followed a similar pattern to that for Pākehā during the war. The initial rush of volunteers required little encouragement to enlist, with the eagerness and quantity of volunteers waning as time passed and the reality of war began to be felt. In order to encourage volunteers, particularly from those 'one or two' tribes that had shown little enthusiasm for the war, the threat of exercising the ballot under the Military Service Act was used by Ministers, military officers and Māori recruiters.⁹⁶⁵ Efforts were also taken by the government to remove those known to be blocking the work of the recruiting committees, most notably Rua Kenana. Kenana was a charismatic leader amongst the Tūhoe people, who claimed to have 'inherited the mantle of Te Kooti'.⁹⁶⁶ Rua had discouraged Tūhoe from volunteering, stating the time of war had ended with Te Kooti, who 'in 1881 had thrust the barrel of his gun into the ground, announcing that there would be no more war in New Zealand'.⁹⁶⁷ A similar message had been given to Waikato Māori by King Tawhiao.⁹⁶⁸

Determining an objective measure of the war's popularity, or otherwise, among Māori is problematic, due in large part to the variety of opinions held and the voice given to those

⁹⁶¹ Hill, p.108.

⁹⁶² A. Anderson, J. Binney, and A. Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2015, p.301.

⁹⁶³ Baker, p.211.

⁹⁶⁴ W. Gardiner, *The Story of the Māori Battalion*, Auckland, Reed Publishing, 1995, p.14.

⁹⁶⁵ Captain Cosgrove, Director of Recruiting, New Zealand Military Forces, *New Zealand Expeditionary Force 1914 – 1918; Recruiting 1916-1918; Report by the Director of Recruiting, New Zealand Military Forces*, D.R./47/D.C., Wellington, 31st March, 1919, Defence Library, HQNZDF, p.53.

⁹⁶⁶ Anderson, Binney, and Harris, p.296.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid, p.301.

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid.

opinions. One measure that may prove useful for assessing the popularity of the war among Māori in a general sense is the percentage of men that served overseas. Using census data from 1911⁹⁶⁹, the closest date prior to the war commencing, and figures for those that served in the NZEF and Māori units respectively,⁹⁷⁰ it has been possible to determine that approximately 17.9% of Pākehā⁹⁷¹ men served overseas in the NZEF, while 8.4% of Māori⁹⁷² served in Māori units. The percentage of Pākehā men to serve in the NZEF may be slightly inflated, as it will include Māori who served in non-Māori units within the NZEF. Another factor reflected in these figures is health and fitness for military service. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Māori health statistics were much worse than those of Pākehā, which would have affected the fitness of young men. More Māori men may, therefore, have been eager to volunteer, but judged unfit for military service. Another statistic useful in drawing conclusions about the popularity of the war is the proportion of men to volunteer as opposed to being compelled – 80% volunteered and 20% served under conscription.⁹⁷³ As such, despite conscription coming into force in 1916 for Pākehā and 1918 for Māori, four times as many men volunteered for service compared with those who entered under compulsion.⁹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, using the figures available it is reasonable to conclude that the war, though supported by many Māori, was less popular among Māori than their Pākehā countrymen. Such a conclusion is unsurprising given the ongoing dissatisfaction among many Māori, including the Kingitanga tribes, relating to nineteenth century land confiscations. The Kingitanga tribes, for example, discouraged many of their young men from assisting in what they viewed to be a Pākehā war effort.⁹⁷⁵

The majority of recruiting material used in New Zealand during the First World War was produced by the British Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) and as a result was principally designed for a British audience. The posters did not therefore depict New Zealanders as a distinct people, or indeed Māori. Nevertheless, the posters were considered suitable for use in New Zealand, and from the success of voluntary recruitment in the early years of the war; it might be judged that they were in practice suitable. The posters, depicting

⁹⁶⁹ Statistics New Zealand, Long-term Data Series: Population: Size, Distribution and Ethnicity.

⁹⁷⁰ <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/first-world-war-by-numbers>, accessed 24 January 2017.

⁹⁷¹ Served overseas in NZEF (98,950) less Māori unit personnel (2,227), divided by male Pakeha population (531,910) = .179.

⁹⁷² Served in Māori unit of NZEF overseas (2,227), divided by male Māori population (26,475) = .084.

⁹⁷³ “First World War by the numbers”, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/first-world-war-by-numbers>, accessed 24 January 2017.

⁹⁷⁴ F.W. Perry, *The Commonwealth Armies: Manpower and Organisation in Two World Wars*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, p.178.

⁹⁷⁵ Hill, pp.106-7.

the brave and loyal servants of His Majesty the King, invariably depicted soldiers as white. As in Britain, however, not all men in New Zealand were white, with Māori making up approximately 5% of the population. The posters, which idealised the soldier as the embodiment of masculine virtue, therefore promoted an image of the ideal man as white, with these posters being displayed throughout New Zealand. The absence of Māori in recruiting material, however, was to have little effect on recruiting. The heavy lifting of encouraging enlistment was instead carried out by recruiting committee agents, including returned soldiers Lieutenants Te Awarau and Puke Cross, who went from tribe to tribe making public addresses on the need for more volunteers.⁹⁷⁶ Only one printed recruiting item notifying Māori of their obligations under the Military Service Act 1916 has been found; reminding Māori males between the ages of 20 and 46 of their obligation to enrol for the Expeditionary Force Reserves.⁹⁷⁷

Though Māori never featured pictorially in recruiting material used in New Zealand, they were depicted in a military context in contemporary printed recruiting material of the time. In the *Observer* newspaper's 1915 Christmas Annual, a soldier of the Māori contingent is depicted charging a Turkish position with bayonet to the fore, backed by the 'Spirit of his Fathers'. The full-page illustration promoted the idea of Māori as particularly ferocious soldiers embodying traditional warrior spirit. In effect, the Annual was celebrating the role Māori had played in the war to date, a war considered important in proving the country's value and loyalty to empire. The Annual's representation of the Māori soldier might, therefore, be viewed as acknowledging the contribution made by Māori in service of the empire.

⁹⁷⁶ J. Cowan, *Māori in the Great War*, Christchurch, Willson Scott Publishing, 2011, p.31.

⁹⁷⁷ Poster, *Rehitatanga I Nga Maori Hei Hoia*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1918, Alexander Turnbull Library, Call Number: P ffD499M NZ.STA 1918.

TURE WHAKARITE MAHI HOIA, 1916.
MILITARY SERVICE ACT, 1916.

REHITATANGA I NGA MAORI HEI HOIA.
ENROLMENT OF MAORIS.

PANUITANGA.
NOTICE.

KO nga tane Maori katoa kei waenganui i te 20 me te 46 tau te pakeke tenei ka whakahaua kia haere atu ki te teihana pirihihana tutata ki o ratou kainga kia tuhituhia ratou ki roto ki te rehita o te Rahui Ope Hoia o Niu Tirenī mo te Pakanga i mua mai o te 20 o nga ra o Pepuere, 1918.

**Ko te whiu—E rima tekau pauna,
e toru marama ranei ki te
herehere.**

Kua whakaturia nga Apiha Pirihihana katoa hei Apiha Rehita, a kua whakama-naia ratou hei tuhituhi ki roto ki te rehita i nga Maori katoa e noho ana i roto i o ratou takiwa kua rite nga tau mo te mahi hoia.

Ki te nuku tetahi Maori Tangata Rahui ki tetahi atu kainga noho ai me tere tonu tana whakaatu ki te Kaitatau a te Kawanatanga (Government Statistician), Poneke, kei te nuku ia ki tetahi atu kainga; ko nga whooma (forms) mo taua mahi kei nga poutapeta katoa e takoto ana.

Ko te whiu—E rua tekau pauna.

He mea whakahau.

MALCOLM FRASER,

Kai-tatau a te Kawanatanga.
(Government Statistician.)

Poneke,
31 o Hanuere, 1918.

ALL male Maoris between the ages of 20 and 46 are required to attend at the nearest police-station and make application for enrolment in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force Reserve on or before 20th February, 1918.

**Penalty—Fifty pounds or three
months imprisonment.**

All Police Officers have been appointed Registration Officers, and are empowered to enrol all Maoris of military age in their respective districts.

Any Maori Reservist changing his place of abode is required to immediately notify the Government Statistician, Wellington, thereof. Forms for this purpose are provided at all post-offices.

Penalty—Twenty pounds.

By order.

MALCOLM FRASER,
Government Statistician.

Wellington,
31st January, 1918.

By Authority: MARCUS F. MAXX, Government Printer, Wellington.

Rehitatanga I Nga Maori Hei Hoia, Government Printer, Wellington, 1918, Alexander
Turnbull Library, Call Number: P ffD499M NZ.STA 1918.

Like the *Observer*, the *Free Lance* also celebrated the success of Māori troops at Gallipoli, publishing an article titled ‘The Māoris at Gallipoli’ with the bi-line ‘How Wiremu and Tamihana, of Wakanae, all on their own captured a Turkish Trench at Gallipoli’.⁹⁷⁸ Wiremu and Tamihana were depicted as giant-like in their size and ferocity as warrior-soldiers. Reference to the Māori tradition of warfare was given through the representation of the two soldiers performing the pukana (bulging eyes), whetero (protruding tongue), and wearing Huia feathers – a traditional sign of high social rank – while charging the Turkish position. Also in circulation at the time was a postcard by artist J.D. Perret, titled *The War-Dog of New Zealand*.⁹⁷⁹ The image was of a British Bulldog, complete with moko, Huia feathers and tiki, ready to protect the New Zealand flag and Union Jack on which he stands. This postcard, like the Annual, could be seen as recognising the contribution of Māori to the empire’s war effort, as well as the unique nature of the New Zealand contribution – unique because it included Māori. It should be remembered that the colloquial term ‘Kiwi’, to mean New Zealanders, was less commonly used among soldiers at the time than terms such as ‘Fernleaf’ and ‘Māoriland’.⁹⁸⁰ New Zealanders, it would seem, had a sense of who they were distinct from other nations of the British Empire. So too did contemporary publishers, and in both cases, Māori were acknowledged as contributing to New Zealand’s distinctive nature compared to nations of empire.

An image of Māori as warriors and capable soldiers was popular at the time. The Māori Contingent at Gallipoli and the Pioneer Battalion on the Western Front, meant to be support troops, quickly found themselves involved in fighting. As the fighting continued and their casualties rose, so too did the gratitude of a largely Pākehā New Zealand public.⁹⁸¹ By October 1917, almost all of the battalion’s sub-unit commanders were Māori, recognising the quality of Māori soldiers and their leadership.⁹⁸²

⁹⁷⁸ *Free Lance*, 23 December 1915, p.9.

⁹⁷⁹ J.D. Perret, *The War-Dog of New Zealand*, URL: <http://www.100nzww1postcards.blogspot.co.nz.2013/05/the-war-dog-of-new-zealand.html?m=1>, accessed 4 December 2016.

⁹⁸⁰ G. Harper, *Johnny Enzed: The New Zealand soldier in the First World War*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2015, pp.12-3.

⁹⁸¹ Hill, p.106.

⁹⁸² Ibid.



J.D. Perret, *The War-Dog of New Zealand*, 1915.



THE SPIRIT OF HIS FATHERS.

The *Observer*, 17 December 1915, p.37.

Not all contemporary ephemera was so complimentary. In its 18 May 1918 edition, for example, the *Observer*, in a notable turn around in opinion of Māori and their contribution to the war effort, depicted Māori as ‘shirkers’. The timing of the *Observer*’s criticism coincided with the extension of the conscription ballot to Māori. Māori were, of course, not the only part of New Zealand society to be criticised for shirking their duty and were, therefore, receiving much the same as their countrymen. The difference, however, was that Pākehā as an ethnic group were never singled out for shirking. Instead, those singled out by domestic newspapers were identified by character traits including ‘chicken hearts’ boarding ships for the United States;⁹⁸³ fat bankers, editors, politicians, pulpiteers, lawyers and bosses;⁹⁸⁴ staff officers for strutting around like roosters but not fighting like such,⁹⁸⁵ flag waiving gentlemen happy to wave the troops off to war though unwilling to go themselves,⁹⁸⁶ and simply those with cold feet.⁹⁸⁷



“MOARI SHIRKING”

Observer, 18 May 1918, p.16.

⁹⁸³ *Free Lance*, 19 November 1915, p.1.

⁹⁸⁴ *Māoriland Worker*, 25 August 1915, p.1.

⁹⁸⁵ *Observer*, 22 July 1916, p.17.

⁹⁸⁶ *Observer*, 26 August 1916, p.16.

⁹⁸⁷ *Observer*, 16 March 1918, p.5.

Irrespective of how the *Observer*, or other newspapers', editorial staff viewed Māori support of the war by 1918, there is little doubt that Māori, as part of the Māori Contingent and later Māori Pioneer Battalion, contributed in a meaningful way to the New Zealand Expeditionary Force's reputation. Māori had fought alongside their Pākehā countrymen and, as historian Keith Sinclair wrote, 'Māori and Pākehā soldiers felt united in pride in their heroism and achievement'.⁹⁸⁸ The idea of the Māori warrior, already popular before the First World War, was entrenched positively in the nation's psyche through its promotion in popular culture after the war.⁹⁸⁹ In addition to heroism, the legend promulgated was that Māori had demonstrated their loyalty to the empire and forged a brotherhood with Pākehā through their service in the trenches, an idea physically embodied in the 'magnificent war memorials on North Island maraes'.⁹⁹⁰ So enduring has the mythology of Māori loyalty and courage been in New Zealand, that in 1985 former Prime Minister Robert Muldoon used it as a point of contrast with contemporary Māori activists.⁹⁹¹ Due to the downsizing of the army after the war, as well as the economic depression that followed, little recruiting took place in New Zealand between the World Wars. As a result, little printed recruiting material from the period was produced on which to assess the representation of ethnicity in recruiting material during the 1920s and much of the 1930s.

As the Second World War approached, advertisements to enlist in the Territorials appeared in newspapers throughout the country. Despite the popular mythology that had fermented with respect to Māori as natural warriors during the First World War, none of the advertisements depicted or referred to Māori, nor did they depict any other minority ethnic group. Instead, the advertisements were aimed solely at recruiting the average New Zealand male, demographically speaking a Pākehā. Even after the war began and routine references were being made to the traditions of ANZAC (of which the Māori Contingent and later Māori Pioneer Battalion had formed a noteworthy part) no depictions of Māori soldiers, or indeed specific reference to Māori, were made in recruiting material. While Māori had been part of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps through their membership in the New Zealand Division, it could be contested as to whether the concept of the ANZAC legend included Māori. While the popular mythology that grew out of the First World War undoubtedly depicted Māori as courageous and capable soldiers, most representations of the hardy

⁹⁸⁸ K. Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p.205.

⁹⁸⁹ Walker, p.8.

⁹⁹⁰ D. Novitz and B. Willmott (eds), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, Wellington, GP, 1989, p.105.

⁹⁹¹ Novitz and Willmott, p.97.

ANZAC, whether Australian or ‘Kiwi’, were typically European in appearance, the offspring of hardy settler stock. Even the ethnically inclusive British propaganda posters of the Second World War, *Freedom Shall Prevail!*,⁹⁹² and *Together*,⁹⁹³ both depicted Australian and New Zealand soldiers as ‘white’.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, some Māori showed themselves as eager to support the war effort as the rest of New Zealand. One example is provided by a cable sent by Tawhai Tamepo to Sir Apirana Ngata the day after war was declared, stating ‘Ngati Porou Māori Returned Soldiers Association gives its whole-hearted support, cooperation and loyalty to the King and country. All members are available for immediate service’.⁹⁹⁴ As occurred in the First World War, Māori political leaders petitioned the Government to establish a distinct Māori unit for active service. Months prior to the outbreak of the conflict in September 1939, Sir Apirana Ngata advocated the formation of a Māori unit.⁹⁹⁵ It was not just political leaders amongst Maoridom that supported the war. Young Māori men, like many young men irrespective of ethnicity, quickly volunteered, viewing the war as ‘the greatest adventure of their lives’, enlisting as ‘individuals, as kin and as groups of mates’.⁹⁹⁶ Once finally approved, the unit was titled the 28th Māori Battalion and enlistment for the unit began on 9 October 1939, less than a month after general enlistment (12 September).⁹⁹⁷ Admittedly, however, just three tribes contributed three-quarters of the unit’s strength: Ngāpuhi, Arawa and Ngāti Porou, demonstrating a far from universal level of support amongst Māori for the war.⁹⁹⁸ Recruitment for Māori would remain on a voluntary basis throughout the war, even after compulsion was announced for Pākehā on 30 May 1940.⁹⁹⁹ Recruitment for Māori was the responsibility of the wartime Māori parliamentary recruiting committee, comprised of the four Māori MPs and Legislative Councillor Rangi Mawhete. Māori politicians and their Pākehā colleagues determined voluntary recruitment to be the preferred option, lest the

⁹⁹² Poster, *Freedom Shall Prevail!*, Fosh and Cross Ltd, London, 1939-45, IWMPC Ref: IWM PST 15703.

⁹⁹³ Poster, *Together*, Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, Lowe and Brydone Printers Ltd, London, 1939-45, IWMPC Ref: IWM PST 15795.

⁹⁹⁴ Tamepo to Ngata, 4 September 1939, AD1 226/19/7 vol.1, ANZ, cited in M. Soutar, *Nga Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship: C Company 28 (Maori) Battalion 1939-1945*, Auckland, David Bateman Ltd, 2008, p.33.

⁹⁹⁵ J.F. Cody, *28 (Māori) Battalion: Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force*, Christchurch, John Douglas Publishing, 2012, p.1.

⁹⁹⁶ M. Soutar, *Nga Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship: C Company 28 (Maori) Battalion 1939-1945*, David Bateman Ltd, Auckland, 2008, p.33.

⁹⁹⁷ M.R. Wicksteed, *The New Zealand Army: A History from the 1940s to the 1980s*, Wellington, P. D. Hasselberg – Government Printer, 1982, p.33.

⁹⁹⁸ J. McLeod, *Myth and Reality: The New Zealand Soldier in World War Two*, Auckland, Reed Methuen Publishers, 1986, p.24.

⁹⁹⁹ Perry, p.181.

introduction of conscription should trigger Kingitanga tribes, purist Ratana followers or other ambivalent sections of Māoridom to resist.¹⁰⁰⁰

One eye-catching poster produced in 1941 that could easily be mistaken for being a recruiting poster targeting Māori, carried the message ‘He Karanaga Na Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu’ (The Māori Battalion calls to you to help).¹⁰⁰¹ The poster, featuring an illustration of a Māori soldier holding a ‘Tommy Gun’, was produced by the National Savings Committee and, while resembling a recruiting poster in appearance, was in reality aimed at raising money for food, uniforms, guns, ammunition and other weapons of war. It is likely the purposeful demeanour of the soldier depicted in the poster had at least some effect as a recruiting poster, particularly among young Māori men. Whether the decision to depict the Māori fighting man in this way was done deliberately with recruiting rather than war savings in mind can only be speculated, though it did appear around the time when voluntary recruitment had begun to flag.¹⁰⁰²

¹⁰⁰⁰ Hill, p.185.

¹⁰⁰¹ Poster, *Taringa Whakarongo! He Karanga Na Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu*, National Savings Committee, Wellington, 1941, Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Reference: Art.IWM PST 16817.

¹⁰⁰² Hill, p.188.



Taringa Whakarongo! He Karanga Na Te Hokowhiti-a-Tu, National Savings Committee, Wellington, 1941, Imperial War Museum Poster Collection, Reference: Art.IWM PST 16817.

It is worth noting, in addition to the proud performance of the 28th Māori Battalion during the war, that formal recruiting material was not produced to encourage enlistment, even though recruitment remained on a voluntary basis. While the absence of recruiting material for Pākehā can be explained by the introduction of compulsion, no such compulsion applied to Māori. The absence of recruiting material targeting Māori during the war supports the assessment that Māori volunteered in ‘high numbers’ without the need for official encouragement.¹⁰⁰³ As noted during the war, ‘The Maori people are behind the country’s war effort with a willingness and enthusiasm which in proportion to their numbers, would be hard to equal even by the pakeha’¹⁰⁰⁴ It also speaks to the efficacy of the Māori War Effort

¹⁰⁰³ D. Montgomerie, *The Women’s War: New Zealand Women 1939-45*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2001, p.43.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cited in R.S. Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2004, p.193.

Organisation, an organisation comprising 480 tribal committees that helped underpin the Māori war effort.¹⁰⁰⁵

At the end of the war, when volunteers were called to participate in Jayforce, Māori continued to come forward in more than sufficient numbers, forming D Squadron of Divisional Cavalry Squadron.¹⁰⁰⁶ The same was not achieved for the remainder of the force, with insufficient volunteers coming forward from other parts of the 2nd NZEF to fill the ranks of Jayforce. As a result, it was decided that a conscripted Brigade would be deployed to Japan.¹⁰⁰⁷ Following the deployment of New Zealand's first Jayforce rotation, recruitment for the force did occur on a voluntary basis, with a variety of advertisements being produced to encourage enlistment. The advertisements, most commonly found in newspapers, depicted the various attractions of service in Japan. In keeping with previous trends, however, and despite the early eagerness shown by Māori troops of the 2NZEF to serve in Japan, soldiers represented in the advertisements were Pākehā in appearance. The absence of Māori in Jayforce recruiting material constitutes a missed opportunity to target a promising pool of recruits; it might also be viewed as reflecting Pākehā racial bias, including a tendency to ignore minority ethnic groups, even those who had made so recent a contribution to the nation's army.

Much had been made, or at least hoped, by Māori leaders during the Second World War that the contribution of Māori would, in the words of Sir Apirana Ngata, pay the 'price of citizenship' and lead to more equitable treatment for Māori.¹⁰⁰⁸ The translation of Māori sacrifice during the war into tangible benefits was partially realised by the introduction of the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act in April 1945. The Act was designed to meet government objectives of equality through the promotion of socio-economic development, while at the same time meeting Māori objectives of greater autonomy in managing their own affairs.¹⁰⁰⁹ Disappointingly, by the early 1950s, the Act lost its original momentum when Welfare Officers – many of whom were former officers of the 28th Māori Battalion – came under increased bureaucratic control by the Māori Affairs Department.¹⁰¹⁰ It could also be

¹⁰⁰⁵ Gardiner, p.179.

¹⁰⁰⁶ L. Brocklebank, *Jayforce: New Zealand and the Military Occupation of Japan 1945-48*, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1997, p.28.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.21.

¹⁰⁰⁸ A. Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship*, Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1943.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Hill, p.210.

¹⁰¹⁰ Gardiner, p.182.

argued, using recruiting material as a yardstick, that Māori had also lost momentum in terms of their profile within the army after the war.

An analysis of recruiting material from the 1950s reveals the army sought to attract recruits looking for a rewarding career, by promoting the army as an organisation where an individual's career aspirations could be fulfilled. The army was a place where boys (in the Regular Force Cadets), men (in the Regular Army), and women (in the NZWRAC) could achieve professional success. The depiction of the army as a career, though primarily depicted using images of Pākehā soldiers, also included Māori in a variety of career streams. Where Māori were depicted, however, it was never in a prominent role or as the central figure in a photo. Instead, Māori typically featured in the background, faces to be seen amongst a group of soldiers, or within a row of soldiers on parade.¹⁰¹¹ The number of Māori depicted within recruiting material of the decade was small in proportion to Pākehā, giving the impression that the army had few Māori soldiers. Though small in quantity, however, Māori soldiers were at least represented as the qualitative equal of their peers, both male and female. A more cynical interpretation of the evidence could be that Pākehā were deliberately pushed to the fore and Māori to the back.

The recruiting booklet *The New Zealand Regiment: Infantry Spearhead of the Army*, was representative of the way in which Māori were simultaneously represented as insignificant in terms of numbers, but equal in terms of role.¹⁰¹² Of the six soldiers whose faces can be seen only one appeared to be Māori. The Māori soldiers' role, however, was as part of a team of soldiers operating a mortar. Another example was the 1955 booklet, *Boys in the Army: The Regular Force Cadets*.¹⁰¹³ The booklet featured numerous pictures of Cadets in training, whether in the classroom, workshop, library, barracks or parade ground. Of the forty-four Cadets whose ethnicity can be judged by their appearance, only three appeared to be Māori, with the remaining forty-one being Pākehā. In other words, 7% of Cadets were shown to be Māori, while the remaining 93% were Pākehā.¹⁰¹⁴ As a percentage of the

¹⁰¹¹ Booklet, *NZWRAC*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰¹² Booklet, *The New Zealand Regiment: Infantry Spearhead of the Army*, Government Printer, Circa 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰¹³ Booklet, *Boys in The Army: The Regular Force Cadets*, R.E. Owen Government Printer, Wellington, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰¹⁴ No other obvious ethnic groups or individuals featured in the booklet.

population at the time, those identifying as Māori made up 6.2%.¹⁰¹⁵ Whilst the representation of Māori within the booklet may, therefore, appear proportionate to the overall population, it did not reflect the army's ethnic demographics at the time, which included a greater proportion of Māori than wider society. The Māori Cadets did, however, appear as equals in stature, rank and performance to their Pākehā colleagues.



Booklet, *The New Zealand Regiment*, 1950s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰¹⁵ Statistics New Zealand, "Long Term Data Series", http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/economic_indicators/NationalAccounts/long-term-data-series/population.aspx, accessed 26 February 2017



Boys in the Army, 1955, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

The general impression provided by recruiting material during this period was one where the number of Māori within the army were numerically small. Such an impression, however, was inaccurate. The 1950s saw the number of Māori within the armed forces, in particular the army, increase significantly, most likely as a result of the social standing earned by the soldiers of the Māori Battalion. According to research completed by historian Ian McGibbon, between a quarter to a third of later Kayforce rotations were Māori, while as much as 22.5 per cent of the New Zealand infantry battalion serving in Malaya during 1957 were Māori.¹⁰¹⁶ The contrast between the actual proportion of soldiers who were Māori and those depicted within recruiting material of the period lends weight to the interpretation that Māori were relegated to a background role at the expense of promoting a Pākehā face. Even if true, an ethnic bias in recruiting material does not necessarily reflect a form of discrimination against Māori. Māori were, after all, over-represented as a proportion of the population, suggesting the decision to promote a Pākehā image of the army might have been a deliberate attempt to encourage the largest, albeit under-represented, ethnic segment of the population to consider the army as a career option.

¹⁰¹⁶ I. McGibbon, *New Zealand's Vietnam War: A History of Combat, Commitment and Controversy*, Auckland, Exisle Publishing, 2010, p.78.

Recruiting material of the 1960s continued to depict the army as a predominantly Pākehā organisation. Despite unofficial estimates in the mid-1960s that as much as 40 per cent of the army were Māori, recruiting material gave the impression that there were numerically few Māori soldiers.¹⁰¹⁷ As some consolation, as in the previous decade, Māori soldiers were consistently depicted as the equal of their Pākehā peers. Some recruiting material also featured Māori soldiers more prominently than in the past, as in the 1960 booklet *New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys*, which featured a photo of four boys undertaking training as Engineer apprentices, with two of the featured apprentices being Māori. The increased profile of Māori within the Army was also reflected in the 1961 leaflet *Royal N.Z. Signals*, featuring a Māori radio operator on the front cover, while the 1962 booklet *A Boy's Career in the Regular Force Cadets*, featured a Māori cadet undertaking a bayonet charge on the back cover.¹⁰¹⁸ The later image was strikingly reminiscent of the First World War *Observer* cartoon of the Māori soldier charging a Turkish trench. The message that Māori were the equal of their Pākehā peers within the army was also supported by actions. An example of this was the recruitment of several Māori officer cadets to train in Australia at both Portsea, Victoria, and at the Royal Military College Duntroon, demonstrating that Māori were not only seen as equals with the 'other ranks', but also as officers.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁸ Leaflet, *Royal N.Z. Signals*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1961, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1; Booklet, *A Boy's Career in the Regular Force Cadets*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰¹⁹ W. Gardiner, "Colour Blind: Māori in the Forces", *New Zealand Defence Quarterly*, Number Fifteen, Summer 1996, p.4.



A Boy's Career in the Regular Force Cadets, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

Some caution must be taken not to read too much into individual images or items of recruiting material. For example, in the 1960 booklet *New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys* the back cover featured a photograph of the Governor General inspecting a Regular Force Cadet Guard of Honour at the opening of parliament. In the photograph, of the seven soldiers whose ethnicity can be judged from their appearance, only one appears to be Māori. The photograph is factual, as opposed to staged, unlike many of the photographs used in recruiting material. The decision to use the photo was almost certainly done on the basis of advertising the status afforded to Regular Force Cadets and the opportunities presented by becoming a cadet, rather than a means to promote an image of the army's ethnic diversity or otherwise. More can perhaps be read into those examples, such as the 1961 leaflet *Royal N.Z. Signals* and 1962 booklet *A Boy's Career in the Regular Force Cadets*, where a Māori soldier

was chosen for use as a prominent feature of the recruiting item – in the case of these two items, on the front and rear covers respectively.



New Zealand Army: Career Training for Boys, 1960, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

One Māori officer cadet recruited during the 1960s was Lieutenant Colonel (retired) Sir Wira Gardiner. In 1962, Sir Wira headed to Duntroon to undertake the College's comprehensive four-year officer training course. Reflecting on his early experiences in the New Zealand Army, Sir Wira commented on the 'single-minded focus of senior NCOs - many of whom were Māori – as well as officers on developing a professionalism which left little room for belittling individuals on the basis of their ethnic origin'.¹⁰²⁰ Nor did he recall being 'picked on because of race' while at Duntroon in Australia. In seeking to explain the apparent absence of racism within the army, Sir Wira concluded, 'When your life depends on the actions and snap decisions of others you inevitably become more concerned about qualities of dependability, consistency, integrity, and professionalism rather than race, gender or creed'.¹⁰²¹ As a former infantry commander with combat experience in Vietnam and

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰²¹ W. Gardiner, "Colour Blind: Māori in the Forces", *New Zealand Defence Quarterly*, Number Fifteen, Summer 1996, p.3.

peacetime service in the Regular Force, Sir Wira is well qualified to comment on the place of Māori within the army of the 1960s and in particular on the opportunity for Māori to serve as equals within the army's 'officer elite'. Furthermore, his view that the army was 'colour blind' and free of the 'worst aspects of bigotry and racism' to be found in wider society is equally valuable, painting a picture of the army as an institution with partially independent values.¹⁰²²



Blueprint for a Boys Career..., 1962, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

By the 1970s, Māori were beginning to feature far more prominently in army recruiting material than they had in previous decades. An analysis of the photographs used in recruiting material, including those as cover photos for booklets and central images in advertisements, indicates that between 25 and 50% of the army were Māori at the time.¹⁰²³ Unfortunately, official statistics on the ethnic make-up of the army were never kept; thereby preventing an accurate assessment of whether recruiting material had caught up with reality in terms of the army's ethnic composition. A positive interpretation of the army's lack of data on ethnicity is that all soldiers were seen as equal, irrespective of their ethnic background. A

¹⁰²² Ibid.

¹⁰²³ Booklet, *Operation Career*, 1970; Leaflet, *Your guide to Territorial Force whole time training*, circa 1970s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1; Poster, *Make Army your decision now: Regular Army*, circa 1970s; Leaflet, *In the Army: over 100 different jobs to choose from*, 1971, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1; Booklet, *Regular Force Cadets*, 1972; Advertisement, *join the young professionals*, Students' Digest, June 1973, p.6., National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

less favourable interpretation might suggest the army was inherently indifferent to matters of ethnicity, or to creating an organisation reflective of the nation's ethnic diversity. An observation of 1970s recruiting material is the exclusively bicultural nature of soldiers depicted being made up of Māori and Pākehā, while New Zealand's population was increasing in its ethnic diversity.

One contemporary study to provide some insight in to the attractiveness of the army as a career option was the Defence Research Report titled, *Civilian Attitudes to Employment: A Report on a Study of New Zealand Males*, conducted in 1974. The study revealed that when it came to civilian opinions of the Armed Forces, Māori were more inclined to join the Army than Pākehā, while at the same time being less inclined to join the Air Force.¹⁰²⁴ Unfortunately, the report did not elaborate as to why Māori demonstrated a preference for the army, though the information contained in the survey would no doubt have been taken into consideration in subsequent recruiting initiatives. One explanation for a general preference among Māori to join the army was the standing in which the 28th Māori Battalion was held within society, particularly among Māori, and the already significant numbers of Māori in the Regular Force. Studies revealed the decision to join the army was often influenced in a positive way by interaction with current or former soldiers, adding weight to the assessment that surviving members of the Māori Battalion within the community, other returned soldiers, and the large number of current service personnel would have played an important role in maintaining high levels of Māori recruitment.¹⁰²⁵

¹⁰²⁴ P. Phipps, *DRPS Research Report 67/74 Civilian Attitudes to Employment A Report on a Study of New Zealand Males*, Directorate of Personnel Research and Psychological Services, Personnel Branch, Defence Headquarters, Wellington, New Zealand, April 1974, p.33.

¹⁰²⁵ Minute from Deputy Director Recruiting (Army) to Deputy Chief of General Staff, 10 November 1980, Archives New Zealand, Service Recruiting - New Zealand Army - Policy, Ref: ABFK 5563 7474 Box 18.

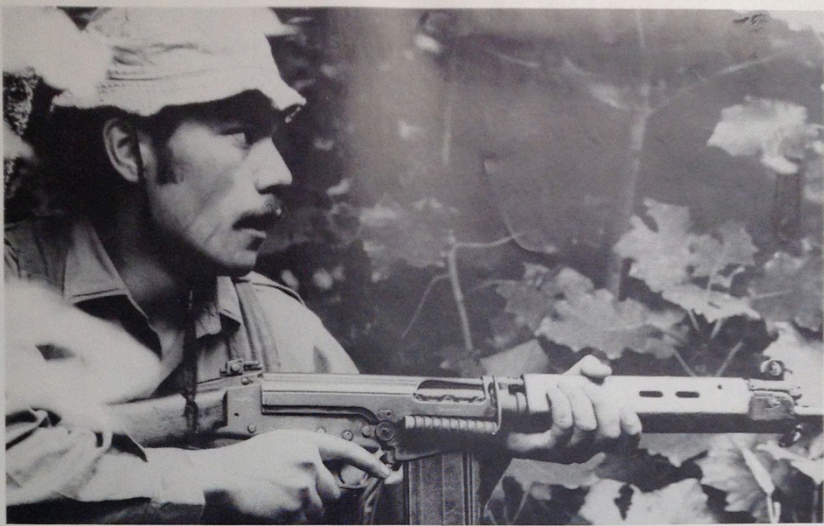


Operation Career, 1970, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

A notable item of recruiting material produced in the 1970s was an advertisement featuring Lance Corporal Jerry Mateparae, who later became Lieutenant General (retired) Sir Jerry Mateparae, Chief of the Defence Force, Governor General of New Zealand, and senior New Zealand diplomat.¹⁰²⁶ The advertisement focussed on Lance Corporal Mateparae's career to date, which was significant not only for its focus on a Māori soldier, but also for its early use of a soldier as an exemplar of what a prospective recruit might achieve. According to the advertisement, Lance Corporal Mateparae had attained his current rank within two-and-a-half years of joining the army, had already completed his promotion course qualifying him for further promotion to Corporal, and was about to be posted to Singapore for two years. While it was his likely success as a soldier that saw him chosen as the advertisement's focus, the fact that he was Māori is also significant. The advertisement demonstrated that Māori could succeed in the army based on merit, free from any prejudice that might be found elsewhere in New Zealand society – a point supported by Sir Wira Gardiner's recollection. The auspicious nature of the advertisement not only foreshadowed Sir Jerry's later success within the army and in public life; it was also published in the year that Dame Whina Cooper

¹⁰²⁶ Advertisement, *Survival Training in Fiji... Jungle Tactics in the Queensland Bush... Combat Exercises on the West Coast... and Two Years in Singapore to Come*, 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

famously led a Land March to Parliament, symbolising the Māori cultural renaissance that would gather pace in the years the followed.¹⁰²⁷



**SURVIVAL TRAINING IN FIJI...
JUNGLE TACTICS IN THE QUEENSLAND BUSH...
COMBAT EXERCISES ON THE WEST COAST...
AND TWO YEARS IN SINGAPORE TO COME**

If you're looking for a rugged outdoor job with your fair share of travel and adventure, read what Jerry Mateparae (20) says about his life as a professional soldier in the Infantry.

'Desk work wasn't for me — I wanted an outdoor job with more variety'
"I took a job as a clerk when I left Wanganui High School in '71. But after about 3 months or so I knew I wanted something with a lot more variety and better opportunities to travel. The Army seemed more the kind of life I was looking for... just after I turned 17½ I was accepted for training and joined the infantry. It's the best thing I ever did."

'Basic training was tough but I wouldn't have wanted it any other way'
"The first weeks were pretty hectic. Drill, P.T., weapon handling, minor tactics, bushcraft, operating from helicopters and armoured personnel carriers. We were kept at it round-the-clock. But at the end of it I was fitter and more confident in myself than I'd ever been. It's a bit hard to explain... but when you're really fit and ready to tackle just about anything... you feel you've proved something to yourself!"

'If you want to travel, Infantry gives you the chance'
"We handle SLR's (self-loading rifles), mortars, machine guns, rocket launchers, anti-tank guns. You've got to know what you're doing and keep your wits about you. I specialised as a rifeman and later on took a mortar course as well. In May '73 I was selected for an instructor's course which included a 3-week exercise in Fiji with jungle survival training as part of it. A couple of months later I was in Queensland on a 4-week battalion exercise with Australian troops. We spent two weeks in the bush learning close-country fighting techniques."

'No two days are the same — you never know what's coming up next'
"Our battalion stationed at Burnham is ready for emergencies of any kind. We can be fully operational in a matter of hours. Search and rescue work... disaster relief... bush fires. You meet all types of people, inside and outside the Army. I was in the Commonwealth Games Guard of Honour — also the Guard of Honour for the Shah of Iran. And just after that I was involved in 'Pacific Coaster' — a combined N.Z./ Australian/American combat exercise on the West Coast. No two days are the same in the Infantry."


'I'm looking forward to Singapore — it's a whole new way of life'
"I've got a 2-year posting to Singapore coming up. I'll be doing the infantry job I've been trained for... taking part in joint exercises with allied forces... jungle training in Malaysia. The money's good, too... duty free shops... plenty of sport... great beaches... night life... and the chance of leave in Hong Kong, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur (maybe U.K. if I'm lucky)."

'The Army's invested a lot in training me — my future's secure'
"My promotion to Lance Corporal came through in April last year. I'm now second-in-command of a rifle section. Since then I've taken a course for promotion to full Corporal. Every promotion and extra qualification I get means extra pay. I'm married now, too, so the security of an Army career is important to me. I'll be going on a tactical instructor's course shortly — so looking ahead a bit — I could become an instructor training other Regular Force infantrymen and probably Territorials as well. That's the great thing about the Army... you needn't get stuck in the same job year after year. If you want a change, the opportunities are there."

If the infantry sounds like your kind of job, contact your local Army Office now (it's under 'Armed Services' in the Yellow Pages). Or send this coupon for further details — there's no obligation.
Age limits 17½-26.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
DATE OF BIRTH _____
Mail to the Army Careers Adviser at your local Army Office — see under 'Armed Services' in the Yellow Pages.

Make Army your decision now.



Survival Training in Fiji..., circa 1975, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰²⁷ M. King, "Cooper, Whina", from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, updated 6 June 2013, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5c32/cooper-whina>, accessed 5 December 2016.

The late 1970s were also significant for Māori within the army, with the promotion of Brian Poananga to the rank of Major General and his appointment as the New Zealand Army's first Māori Chief of General Staff.¹⁰²⁸ As in the 1970s, recruiting material in the 1980s increasingly featured Māori soldiers in large numbers and in prominent visual roles, including on the front cover of recruiting booklets or as examples of high performance. In the 1980s booklet *Your Career as a Soldier*, Māori soldiers featured throughout, including on the front cover.¹⁰²⁹ Likewise in the 1980s recruiting poster *A Career in the Modern Army*, two of the seven soldiers depicted fulfilling various roles within the army appeared to be Māori, with one of those soldiers – along with another Pākehā soldier – being female.¹⁰³⁰ The title of the poster, along with the choice of seven soldiers to represent the 'modern army', was indicative of the army's effort to increasingly depict itself as representative of broader society. Another example of Māori being depicted in a variety of roles is provided by the advertisement *Training for Life*.¹⁰³¹ The advertisement, which appeared in the periodical *Parents and Schools*, promoted the learning and development opportunities afforded by the army to those enlisted as Regular Force Cadets, Regular Force soldiers and as Officer Cadets. The advertisement featured a command team of three soldiers in a tactical setting, with one of the three soldiers, a radio operator, being Māori. The message portrayed by the advertisement was not only one of opportunity for Māori and Pākehā alike to gain skills in the army, but also of Māori soldiers being an integral part of a command team.

There is some evidence that the army's depiction of the organisation as one offering opportunities for Māori to succeed on their individual merits had had a positive impact on public perceptions of the army as an institution. In 1986, a Defence Committee of Enquiry formed under Frank Corner, producing a report titled, *Defence and Security: What New Zealanders Want*. In the report, Māori perspectives were sought by the Committee on behalf of the government in relation to the future of Defence and Security in New Zealand. Those perspectives noted that a fairly even split between younger more 'radical' Māori being generally opposed to the military, and older more 'traditional' Māori who supported the military. One of the latter urged a return to National Service as a means of training and

¹⁰²⁸ "Poananga, Brian Matauru", from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p32/poananga-brian-matauru>, accessed 3 March 2017.

¹⁰²⁹ Booklet, *Your Career as a Soldier*, circa 1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

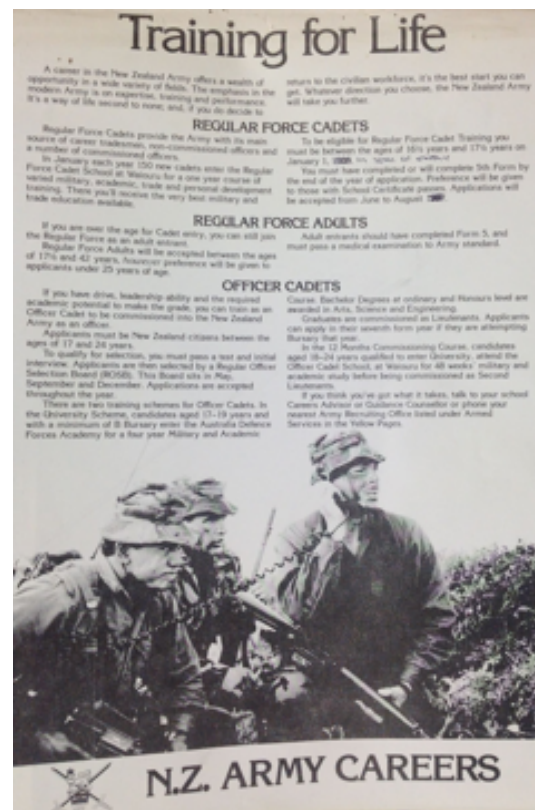
¹⁰³⁰ Poster/Advertisement, *A Career in the Modern Army*, circa early-1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰³¹ Advertisement, *Training for Life: NZ Army Careers*, circa late-1980s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

teaching young Māori, noting ‘The Armed Forces... have been, and still are, practical and proven agencies of education and training for young Māoris, and because this is so, it seems only sensible that they should be used to better prepare more of today’s youth for service to their communities and country and for worthwhile self-development’.¹⁰³² Another positive impression of the army expressed to the committee noted how the army was ‘relatively free of institutionalised racism’, treating all people on their merits.¹⁰³³ This perspective, though qualified by the term ‘relatively’, could be considered complimentary given the fraught nature of broader Māori-Pākehā relations in New Zealand during the 1980s.



Your Career as a Soldier, circa 1980s,
National Army Museum Archive, Accession
Number: 2013.195.1.



Training for Life, late 1980s, National Army
Museum Archive, Accession Number:
2013.195.1.

By the 1990s, Māori had unequivocally become a major feature and focus of army recruiting material. Not only did Māori feature prominently in recruiting material, often as the central focus of advertisements or on the front page of booklets, several items specifically

¹⁰³² F. Corner, *Defence and Security: What New Zealanders Want*, Defence Committee of Enquiry, Wellington, July 1986, p.59.

¹⁰³³ *Ibid.*

emphasised the achievements of Māori within the army. One such example was an advertisement titled *Arm Me with Success*, which featured Corporal Tim Kareko in his ‘Vikings’ rugby team uniform, wearing the gold medal he received following his team’s success in winning the National Provincial Championship Second Division.¹⁰³⁴ Other advertisements to feature Māori in the army included the posters *Arm Me with Education* and *Arm Me with Skills*, with the former featuring a young officer and the latter a mechanic.¹⁰³⁵ These two examples are significant, as entry standards for both officers and as mechanics are higher than those required for most army trades. Despite Māori academic achievement levels being statistically lower than the general population, the army had chosen to frame the army as an institution where Māori could excel. A feature of the *Arm Me* advertising campaign of the 1990s was its focus on the diversity of army soldiers in terms of ethnicity – at least on a bicultural basis – and gender.

In addition to the continued promotion of Māori succeeding in a variety of roles within the army, recruiting material of the 1990s also introduced the use of advertisements published in Te Reo Māori (the language of Māori). The advertisements, featured in *Mana* magazine and *Te Māori News* newspaper, not only embraced Māori culture, they appeared alongside advertorials featuring successful Māori soldiers and officers.¹⁰³⁶ The advertising encouraged ‘young Māori who want to test themselves and achieve their potential’ to accept the challenge offered by the New Zealand army.¹⁰³⁷ Taking up the challenge was emphasised by the inclusion of two images of soldiers wielding taiaha (long club), one in traditional dress laying down the taki (enticement) during a wero (challenge), the other in full army dress uniform. The advertorial accompanying the advertisement *Kia Hiwa Ra*, looked at the career of Major Carol Ngatai. In the advertorial it stated how army life had ‘meant security, overseas travel, positions of responsibility - and being treated simply as a soldier rather than a female soldier’.¹⁰³⁸ The cumulative message of the advertisement and advertorial was that Māori, irrespective of gender, could succeed in the army, as well as retain their unique cultural identity. Furthermore, the appearance of the advertising in a magazine specifically

¹⁰³⁴ Advertisement, *Arm Me with Success*, 1999, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰³⁵ Poster, *Arm Me with Education*, circa late-1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1; Poster, *Arm Me with Skills*, circa late-1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰³⁶ *Mana Magazine*, “Kia Hiwa Ra, Kia Kiwa Ra”, No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993; *Te Māori News*, “Kia Hiwa Ra, Kia Kiwa Ra”, Vol. 2, No. 14, August 1993; *Te Māori News*, Vol “If We Were A University We’d Call It A degree in Leadership”, 4, No. 2, February 1995; *Te Māori News*, “Apprenticeships & Trade Training”, Vol. 4, No. 2, February 1995.

¹⁰³⁷ *Mana Magazine*, “Kia Hiwa Ra, Kia Kiwa Ra”, No. 4, Nov/Dec 1993.

¹⁰³⁸ *Mana Magazine*, “One more step for Major Ngatai”, No.4, Nov/Dec 1993.

targeting a Māori audience, reinforced that the army sought Māori to join its ranks and, therefore, valued the contribution they could make to the New Zealand Army.

The booklet *Officer Cadet School (NZ)*, similarly featured numerous Māori Officer Cadets enjoying the opportunities afforded by the army.¹⁰³⁹ The same booklet also included several photos of Officer Cadets from various ethnic backgrounds, including Pacific Island, Melanesian and Southeast Asian. While the photos of the other ethnic groups was likely a reflection of the Officer Cadet School's role in supporting the Mutual Assistance Programme, the programme was not specifically mentioned.¹⁰⁴⁰ The only indication that foreign students attended the course was a reference to bringing both a ten-minute presentation on one's country and traditional dress for special functions if coming from overseas. As a result, the booklet left the reader with the impression students at the school came from a broad ethnic cross-section of New Zealand society. This impression was further developed in the booklet's text. Under the heading of *Personal Development*, the booklet stated, 'You will also learn about other aspects of the NZ Army, gain an insight into the NZ government and increase your cultural awareness'.

¹⁰³⁹ Booklet, *Officer Cadet School (NZ)*, circa late-1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

¹⁰⁴⁰ The Mutual Assistance Programme was originally created to provide training assistance to Tonga, Singapore and Malaysia and has since expanded to include the Philippines, Thailand, Brunei, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, Cook Islands, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Niue. <http://www.army.mil.nz/about-us/what-we-do/our-training/map.htm>, accessed 5 March 2017.



Arm Me with Education, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.



Officer Cadet School (NZ), 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

In 1995, the New Zealand Army, in acknowledgement of its shared history of biculturalism, adopted the identity of *Ngati Tumatauenga*, Tribe of the War God.¹⁰⁴¹ Membership to the tribe was through association with the New Zealand Army as a service person, past or present, or family member of a service person.¹⁰⁴² Also in 1995, and as part of its new identity, the army dedicated its national Marae at Waiouru. Alongside these outward displays of bicultural acceptance, the army also moved to progressively include cultural training into its formal training programmes. An indication that cultural training was in fact introduced is provided in the booklet *Officer Cadet School (NZ)*. According to serving army officer and historian Richard Taylor, the adoption of the *Ngati Tumatauenga* identity reflected the ‘mutual respect which has for so many years existed between Māori and Pākehā throughout the structure of the New Zealand Army’.¹⁰⁴³ The timing of the change in official

¹⁰⁴¹ R. Taylor, *Tribe of the War God: Ngati Tumatauenga*, Napier, Heritage New Zealand, 1996, p.7.

¹⁰⁴² *Ibid.*, p.111.

¹⁰⁴³ *Ibid.*

identity was also influenced by other factors. James Belich's book *The New Zealand Wars* in 1986, for example, brought the wars back into focus and made the case that the achievements of Māori during the conflict had been under-rated. Also in 1980s, the army adopted a policy requiring all army officers to complete academic papers in military history. According to Richard Taylor, a serving Royal New Zealand Army Education Corps officer at the time, 'you could feel a sense of pride in the realisation of a shared history' between Māori and Pākehā officers, developed as a result of completing papers on the New Zealand Wars.¹⁰⁴⁴ After five or six years, as many as three hundred officers had completed the papers and 'picked up a sense of ownership of Māori warfare and the warrior' concept.¹⁰⁴⁵

The year of the army's move towards recognising its shared Māori-Pākehā heritage was one of continued friction between Māori and the Crown. In March 1995, Moutoa Gardens in Whanganui were occupied in protest against the land's ownership by the Crown, as much as the garden's use as a memorial to kūpapa Māori (those seen as loyal to the crown) and in particular of Major Kemp.¹⁰⁴⁶ In the 1860s Kemp had fought against Pai Mārire followers, Tītokowaru and Te Kooti. In celebrating its bicultural martial heritage, one wonders whether the army's formal inclusion of Ngati Tumatauenga in its identity celebrated Māori warrior traditions in their totality, including those that fought against the Crown, or only those of kūpapa Māori. The question of Māori loyalty, to the Crown or otherwise, is one Sir Apirana Ngata was acutely aware of and addressed when farewelling Māori volunteers for the Second World War in 1940. He stated, 'Descendants of both factions are represented in the contingent leaving this morning and I do not know to whom the most honour is due, whether to those whose ancestors supported the Queen or to those who opposed her'.¹⁰⁴⁷

The contribution of Māori to the New Zealand Army has undoubtedly been significant. From the nation's first contribution to an overseas conflict in 1899, to more contemporary conflicts in East Timor and Afghanistan, Māori have served proudly and with distinction. The eagerness of many Māori to serve was not always welcome, as was the case during the South African War. Nevertheless, Māori have always found a way to serve and to increasingly serve in more prominent and celebrated ways. The contribution of the Māori

¹⁰⁴⁴ Interview, Author with Richard Taylor, NZDF Staff College, Wellington, 7 March 2017.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁶ NZ History, "Moutoa Gardens protest", <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/moutoa-gardens-protest>, accessed 5 March 2017.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Gisborne Herald*, 26 January 1940, cited in M. Soutar, *Nga Tama Toa: The Price of Citizenship*, Auckland, David Bateman Ltd, 2008, p.20.

Contingent and Pioneer Battalion during the First World War, and 28th Māori Battalion in the Second World War, established a legacy for future soldiers to aspire to, both Māori and Pākehā. For Māori, however, the performance of their forebears in conflicts during the first half of the twentieth century ensured they would have a place as equals within the nation's army. While this was true throughout the second half of the century, it was not fully reflected in army recruiting material until the 1970s.

As discussed in this chapter, an analysis of army recruiting material across the twentieth century gives little to no emphasis on the contribution of Māori soldiers to the organization. Soldiers depicted in recruiting material throughout much of this time were almost exclusively white. Outside of recruiting booklets for the Regular Force Cadets, it was not until the 1970s that Māori faces started to be seen in recruiting material, and even then in numbers that grossly underrepresented the number of Māori serving within the organization. From a recruiting perspective, however, this can be justified by the fact that the army had no difficulty in recruiting Māori, and, therefore, little need to focus on them as a target audience.

It was not until the 1990s, and in particular 1995 and the adoption of the shared identity Ngati Tumatauenga/New Zealand Army, that Māori began to be depicted in a way that recognized their contribution. The 1990s were the only decade in which Māori featured prominently in recruiting material and were specifically targeted as potential recruits. This development counters the argument that the absence of Māori in earlier recruiting material was unnecessary due to high Māori numbers already in the army. The prominence Māori gained in army recruiting material during this time reflected the army's effort to promote the organisation's bicultural history as a unifying theme and was set against a backdrop of social discord in Māori-Pākehā race relations. The recruiting material was designed to promote the army amongst Māori as an organisation that respected Māori culture and heritage, and distanced the army from contemporary controversies relating to race relations.

Conclusion

When the idea first occurred to me that printed army recruiting material might provide a record of New Zealand's social values, it was accompanied by an assumption that there would have been significant changes. This assumption was supported by the evidence present on the table at Archives New Zealand - the poster of the British lion surrounded by the young lions of the Dominions¹⁰⁴⁸ - coupled with my familiarity with the army's 'Arm Me' campaign of the late-1990s. Not only was it assumed that change had occurred, the assumption was also judgemental, and led to an expectation that society had changed for the worse, becoming inherently selfish and individualistic. As this thesis has shown, the assumption that society had changed was correct, but not for the worse and not to the extent expected. Instead, analysing one hundred years of army recruiting material has demonstrated that society's values remain largely unchanged, certainly concerning what motivates young people to join their nation's army. The recruiting material revealed a story that was as much about continuity of values it was about change. It also revealed how the army remained in tune with social sentiment, adapting its recruiting themes appropriately. As for whether duty and patriotism as motivations for enlistment were the preserve of generations past, the 1990s leaflet *Proud to Serve New Zealand* provides evidence to the contrary.¹⁰⁴⁹

This thesis has analysed New Zealand Army recruiting material to determine whether the material used to recruit the nation's army reflected the society from which they were drawn. Three questions have been asked and answered. They were: What themes were used in army recruiting material? Why were those themes used? And, how did the army portray its role in society through recruiting material?

The first two chapters established the significant role obligation-based themes have played in recruiting material. The chapters also showed how themes associated with patriotism, duty, and honour remained a consistent feature of recruiting material throughout the period reviewed, though not necessarily in every single item. Through the use of symbols, at first imperial and later New Zealand-specific, the army appealed to a New Zealander's sense of social obligation. In addition to these symbols, direct textual references to serving

¹⁰⁴⁸ Poster, *The Empire Needs Men!*, 1915 (original design by Arthur Wardle, United Kingdom; redesigned and printed in the *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland). Archives New Zealand Ref: AD 1 9/169/2/1 SEP 598.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Leaflet, *Proud to Serve New Zealand*, 1990s, National Army Museum Archive, Accession Number: 2013.195.1.

one's country were used to encourage New Zealanders to volunteer for service. The use of obligation-based themes can be seen as a direct reflection of widely-held social values. One example of social change was how New Zealanders' treasured membership of the British Empire in the early part of the twentieth century gradually shifted to viewing their country as an independent western nation. A review of recruiting material also demonstrates the relevance of obligation-based themes during both wartime and peace – an important observation when considering the prevailing view of wartime recruiting material's use of patriotic themes as being propagandistic in nature and, therefore, inherently manipulative. Obligation-based themes were used consistently through the period for their continuing relevance and appeal to New Zealanders.

The army's use of obligation-based themes can also be viewed as a reflection of its efforts to position itself within society as the embodiment of patriotic and honourable virtues. In so doing, the army sought to associate itself with values that were largely sacrosanct and, therefore, difficult to criticise. It also sought to demonstrate its value in keeping the peace, as well as its value in disaster relief operations. By promoting itself in this way, the army could be viewed as seeking to insulate itself from the threats associated with economic downturns, where the expense associated with the maintenance of a standing army might be challenged, or with periods of heightened popular pacifism.

Throughout the period reviewed, the opportunities available to those who chose to serve in the army were also consistently used as recruiting themes. The presence of opportunity-based themes reflects the enduring importance of individual needs, including financial reward, and desires for: job security, adventure, and career progression. Moreover, the consistent presence of opportunity-based themes was important to New Zealanders during periods of heightened patriotism or imperial fervour, such as the early part of the First World War, as well as during periods of relative peace. Detailed analysis of recruiting material has shown that at no time in the army's history were obligation-based themes considered sufficient on their own to persuade New Zealanders to volunteer. On the contrary, it was acknowledged and accepted that to be effective the army had to offer more than a sense of social or patriotic service to attract recruits. This finding challenges the popular view that New Zealand soldiers have served for altruistic reasons alone, particularly during the country's early expeditionary wars.

In addition to aiding recruitment, the use of opportunity-based themes can also be viewed as seeking to promote positive public perceptions of the army. In particular, by advertising the opportunity to gain trade qualifications, the army was able to depict itself as contributing to wider society's need for skilled tradespeople. By promoting itself as an opportunity to learn, the army can also be seen as targeting an audience who were unlikely themselves to join, but who would be influential in helping others decide to do so – family and teachers in particular.

Following the chapters on obligation and opportunity-based themes, the thesis focused on the depiction of men, women, and ethnicity. The first of these chapters analysed how men have been represented in recruiting material, using various forms of masculinity to appeal to potential recruits. As with other themes, the depiction of soldiering in the army as an inherently manly form of employment featured consistently throughout the period under review. Manliness has also varied, adapting to forms that were socially acceptable at the time of publication, with the notable exception of the 1980s advertisements *How Does the Army Always Produce the Right Man for the Job?* and *Are You Man Enough?* Soldiers have routinely been depicted as brave, rugged, muscular and, in some cases, a picture of male virility. Another aspect of the army's use of masculinity as a theme is transformative masculinity. The army advertised itself as place where boys could transform into men. More specifically, the army promoted itself as a place where boys could become men in the eyes of others. The enduring desire among many men, and among boys in particular – as the predominant target audience of recruiting material – to be viewed as 'men amongst men' explains why recruiting material consistently employed masculine themes.

By depicting itself as an inherently masculine organisation, physically capable and rugged, the army also promoted its role as society's protector. With respect to transformative masculinity, the army sought to promote its role in assisting individuals in their coming-of-age journey. The army as an environment suitable for turning boys into men was most obvious in recruiting material aimed at the Regular Force Cadets. As with opportunity-based themes, by promoting itself in this way, the army sought to target potential recruits indirectly by influencing those who would play a role in whether others would join, in particular the parents of adolescent boys.

While men and masculinity were depicted in various forms, the depictions were normally harmonious with one another. This was not the case where the depiction of women was concerned. The conflicting manner in which women were depicted, sometimes as independent career-focussed women, while at other times the reward for a man's overseas service in Southeast Asia, reflects wider changes in the social attitudes of women and towards women.

One of the most significant discoveries made during this thesis was the army's progressive depiction of women from as early as the late-1950s. The significant contribution women had made during the Second World War, particularly in uniformed roles, had secured for women a permanent place in the Regular Force army during peacetime. The army also made sure that recruiting material targeting women as its audience was carefully prepared to have an appealing and reassuring effect, with such reassurance designed to address preconceived prejudices against army service. To do this, the army advertised the various opportunities afforded women, while simultaneously seeking to allay concerns regarding loss of individuality or personal freedoms. Similar efforts to address possible concerns among the army's male audience were not identified, indicating that women were either viewed as more discerning in their career choices, or that public perceptions of the army gave women cause for concern.

While the depiction of women was often positive and progressive, this was not always the case. As some recruiting material focussed at a male audience showed, women were at times portrayed as prizes for servicemen, whether on graduation from officer training or on deployment to Southeast Asia. Following the introduction of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, the army's efforts to promote the role of women in the army, while simultaneously and pre-emptively addressing concerns around loss of individuality or personal freedoms, diminished. This change in recruiting strategy relating to women was a direct result of the Act and likely had a negative impact on the attractiveness of the army to women. In other words, the Act, in its attempt to eradicate discrimination, including discrimination against women, pushed the army away from gender-specific recruiting, inadvertently making the army appear more male-dominated. Army women were still depicted as the equal of their male colleagues, but little effort was made to specifically address the interests of potential women recruits.

The army firmly positioned itself as an employer that offered unique opportunities for women, particularly from the period of the Second World War through to the late 1970s. Recruiting material clearly reflected the army's awareness that women wanted more out of life, including fulfilling careers and overseas travel. The army, therefore, sought to emphasise these opportunities, thereby making the organisation as attractive as possible to young women. At the same time, the army was also aware of some of society's more conservative views, including those often held by the parents of young women. To address these views, the army also included in recruiting messages the provisions the army had in place to safeguard the reputation and honour of women in the army.

The final chapter of this thesis assessed the use of ethnicity in recruiting material. An analysis of recruiting material showed how, until the 1970s and arguably the 1990s, the army advertised itself as a predominantly Pākeha organization. It was not until the 1970s that Māori began to feature prominently in recruiting material, or in numbers that reflected their proportionate contribution to the army's strength in terms of personnel. There is no clear evidence to explain why this was the case. Conscious or deliberate discrimination does not, however, appear to be the reason, as Māori were consistently represented as the equal of their Pākeha colleagues. The most likely explanation is that the army had little difficulty in recruiting Māori in numbers exceeding their relative proportion of the overall population of New Zealand. With respect to why the army, from the 1970s onwards, featured Māori more prominently, this likely reflected a shift in recruiting strategy towards targeting the most receptive audiences. This would explain why, in the 1990s in particular, the army dramatically increased its recruiting material exclusively focused at Māori. Likewise, it also explains why, with the exception of Māori, there are few examples of non-Pākeha personnel appearing in recruiting material.

The army's representation of ethnicity in recruiting material indicates that it promoted itself, prior to the 1970s, as a predominantly Pākeha army. The Pākeha face of the army, placed alongside its equipment, uniforms and traditions, made the organization look like a miniature version of the British Army. Such a depiction would have comfortably aligned with many New Zealanders' view of the country as playing a role in supporting the empire, and, after the Second World War, the commonwealth. In representing itself in this way, the army established its role not just within New Zealand society but within a larger social context under the Crown. From the 1970s, the army's increasing use of Māori in printed recruiting

material can likewise be viewed as the army adapting its self-projected place in society to reflect a growing domestic consciousness of the country's identity unique from Britain. The army in its use of Māori in recruiting material by the late 1990s can be viewed as positioning itself very clearly as New Zealand's army.

This thesis has shown that throughout the period 1899-1999, the New Zealand Army used a wide range of themes to help persuade individuals to join the army. Themes ranged from appeals to a sense of social obligation and duty to remuneration and career prospects. In analysing the themes used, it is clear that the majority of them have remained consistent over time, reflecting continuity of social values and individual motivations among successive generations of New Zealanders. This conclusion goes some way to challenge the commonly held view that wartime recruiting posters were items of propaganda. The alternative is to treat all recruiting material as propaganda, though this would be a difficult position to defend. Propaganda is generally judged as exploitative, misleading and inherently manipulative, a description that bears little resemblance to most recruiting material, especially during peacetime when the risk of death is low. How the themes have been used has also changed, reflecting the army's awareness and willingness to adjust to prevailing social norms. Why the themes were used can be explained by their relevance to New Zealanders and, therefore, the likelihood the themes would be effective in the role of recruiting volunteers.

The thesis has also revealed how recruiting material had a secondary role as a public relations tool, used to enhance the army's image and perceived value among New Zealand society. The public relations aspect of recruiting material had a dual purpose as an indirect aid to recruitment, as well as a defence against foreseeable critiques of the army's role or value. In order to establish how the army contributed to society, particularly during peacetime, printed recruiting material emphasised the army's more humanitarian uses during civil defence emergencies or as peacekeepers in war-torn countries. Creating a positive perception of the army amongst the wider public was also viewed as an indirect aid to recruitment, influencing those who would have a say in the decision of others to join.

This thesis has examined a heretofore largely unaddressed aspect of New Zealand history. It has also examined the history of one of the country's oldest institutions and most significant employers, providing an analysis of how it encouraged successive generations of New Zealanders to volunteer for service in a potentially lethal occupation. The themes

employed by the army for the purpose of recruiting show surprising continuity and adaptability over time, as well as their enduring relevance to the country's people. In this respect, General Sir John Winthrop Hackett's assertion that a nation's fighting forces are a reflection of society from which they are drawn is clearly validated.

The value of this research extends beyond establishing a purely historical record. It also has the potential to allow the army to look to its past methods and successes for inspiration, rather than commissioning at significant cost professional services companies and marketing agencies to tell the army something already buried within its own institutional memory. No better example of this is the army's former awareness that women joined for largely the same reasons as men, but were more discerning in their decision to do so and therefore required more information. This same conclusion was reached in the recent study *Maximising Opportunities for Women in the New Zealand Defence Force*.¹⁰⁵⁰ This thesis clearly shows that New Zealanders join the army for a mixture of obligation and opportunity-based reasons. Potential recruits are eager to serve their country, taking pride in the opportunity to do so, but expect recognition for that service in the form of personal development opportunities, life experiences, and fair remuneration.

As discussed in the introduction, certain parameters had to be set with respect to the scope of material considered. Areas of future study that could expand on this thesis include studies into recruiting material of the Royal New Zealand Navy and Royal New Zealand Air Force to consider whether any differences exist between the three services, why this is the case and what it might mean. An examination covering the period after 1999 to the present day could also be conducted, providing a bridge between history and the contemporary recruiting environment to determine whether the advent of the information-age has altered society in ways that affect military recruiting. Another area of specific research that would likely provide enlightening conclusions would be a detailed analysis of the effects of the Human Rights Commission Act on promoting opportunities for women in the uniformed services, military and civilian. As this thesis has indicated, the impact of the Human Rights Commission Act in the army had a contrary effect to that sought.

The thesis has also revealed how the army consistently undertook, as part of its recruiting efforts, to more broadly promote its role in society. The revelation that the army

¹⁰⁵⁰ Evaluation Division, *Maximising Opportunities for Women in the New Zealand Defence Force*, Ministry of Defence, Wellington, February 2014.

has, for much of its existence, viewed it as necessary to promote its role in society as a public institution and to constantly affirm its worth to the people it serves is significant. The requirement to do so is not new and is not something unique to our current times or the period following the army's contribution to the contentious Vietnam War. It reveals the complex relationship that exists between New Zealanders and their nation's army. It is a relationship that on the one hand recognises, and in many respects celebrates, the contribution the military has made to society during Anzac Day commemorations, and, on the other hand, requires affirmation of the military's continued worth. This somewhat contradictory state reflects Hackett's statement, 'What a society gets in its armed services is exactly what it asks for, no more and no less'. New Zealand society demands that its army reflects its own values, as well as its value to society. This has been clearly featured in New Zealand Army recruiting material in the hundred years since 1899.

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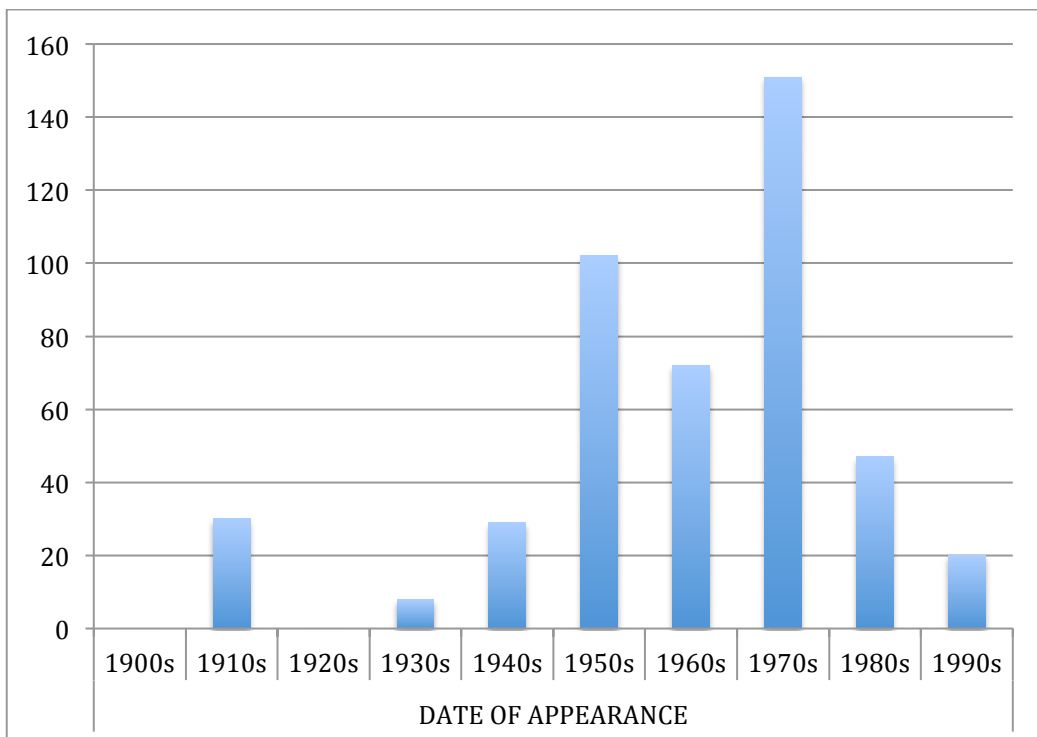
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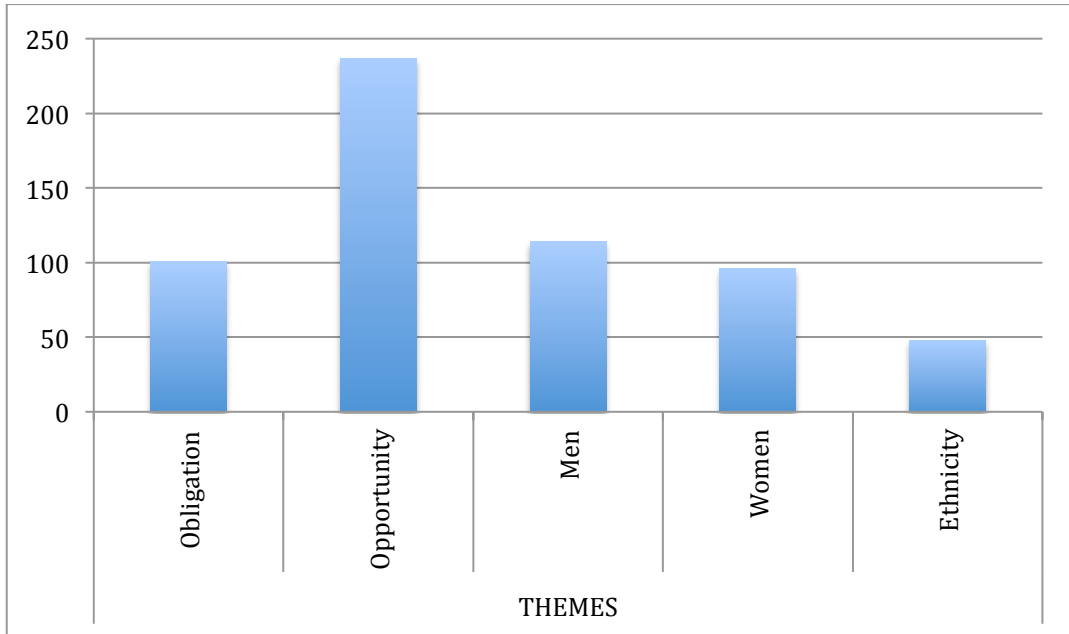
Appendix

Quantitative data

DATE OF APPEARANCE									
1900s	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
0	30	0	8	29	102	72	151	47	20



THEMES				
Obligation	Opportunity	Men	Women	Ethnicity
101	237	114	96	48



TYPE OF RECRUITING MATERIAL				
Poster	Advert	Leaflet	Booklet	Other - box of matches, sticker, banner, placard, notice, bill board
101	186	84	69	19

